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PAAVO CASTRÉN

PHILOLOGIAE CLASSICAE
IN UNIVERSITATE HELSINGIENSI PROFESSORI
SEPTUAGENARIO
AMICI COLLEGAE DISCIPULI
3. 4. 2008

EVA MARGARETA STEINBY

ARCHAEOLOGIAE ROMANAE
IN UNIVERSITATE OXONIENSI PROFESSORI
SEPTUAGENARIAE
AMICI COLLEGAE DISCIPULI
21. 11. 2008

**IMPIEGHI DEL ΛΙΒΥΣΤΙΚΟΝ
NELLA MEDICINA GRECA ANTICA.
UNA POSSIBILE IDENTIFICAZIONE DELLA PIANTA**

LUIGI ARATA

Il sostantivo λιβυστικόν è impiegato solo in ambito medico: la parola, tra l'altro, è attestata soprattutto in Galeno, per poi finire in passi paralleli in autori più tardi, in special modo in Aezio di Amida (VI sec. d.C.) e in Alessandro di Tralle (VI sec. d.C.). La pianta, che è designata da questo termine e della quale si usano seme e radice,¹ presenta queste caratteristiche:

1. possiede una forte capacità riscaldante² (si dice che, se una qualunque malattia è dovuta al freddo, il λιβυστικόν è decisamente utile,³ tant'è che il medico ateniese dell'XI–XII sec. Ierofilo⁴ ne suggerisce un uso specifico durante la stagione fredda, e in particolare a gennaio)⁵ e per questo motivo serve per curare i flussi flegmatici;⁶ di conseguenza, ha proprietà dissecanti:⁷ fa sudare;⁸ è diuretica;⁹ è emmenagoga;¹⁰ è

¹ Si vedano ad es.: Gal. *Simpl. med.* 12,62; Orib. *Syn.* 4,21,1.

² Si vedano in generale: Gal. *Ad Glauc.* 11,113; Gal. *Simpl. med.* 12,52,62; Aët. 2,198,10; 12,67.

³ Alex. Trall. 2,257 (stomaco); 2,275 (problemi digestivi, tosse); 2,341 (flussi freddi); Ps. Gal. *Urin.* 152 (disturbi di stomaco e fegato). Cfr. anche Aët. 9,23.

⁴ Una nuova edizione del trattato di Ierofilo è stata approntata da R. Romano, "Il calendario dietetico di Ierofilo", *AAP* 47 (1998) 197–222. Ierofilo è stato confuso con Erofilo di Alessandria, fino alla pubblicazione e all'esame del suo trattato dietetico, che non può essere certamente opera di quest'ultimo.

⁵ Hierophilus, *De nutriendi methodo* 1,5 = Hierophilus, Πῶς ὀφείλει διαιτᾶσθαι ἄνθρωπος ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ μηνί 457.

⁶ Gal. *De sanitate tuenda* 6,267; Aët. 9,24. La pianta è usata in un catartico della bile in Aët. 3,103; questa stessa medicina libera dagli esantemi e perfino dalla forfora.

⁷ Gal. *Alim. fac.* 6,668; Aët. 2,240; Orib. 1,18,2; Orib. *Syn.* 4,1,2.

⁸ Aët. 3,157.

⁹ Gal. *Simpl. med.* 12,52,62; Aët. 9,24.

¹⁰ Gal. *Simpl. med.* 12,62.

perfino lassativa,¹¹ può essere un coadiuvante nelle cure dimagranti¹² e evacua i calcoli renali;¹³

2. è indicata in casi di cattiva digestione;¹⁴
3. è efficace contro la flatulenza o la formazione di gas interni;¹⁵
4. è un evacuante nei casi di sovrabbondanza di umori interni;¹⁶
5. è utile nei casi di cattiva respirazione¹⁷ e di tosse,¹⁸ di podagra e di artrite.¹⁹

In particolare, è uno degli ingredienti più importanti di alcuni farmaci tradizionali, raccolti da Galeno e dalle generazioni di medici successivi, spesso legati alla testimonianza di un medico specifico:

- il *diacalaminthes* (τὸ διὰ καλαμίνθης) o anche τὸ πολυετές (cioè "efficace per molti anni"): Galeno (*De sanitate tuenda* 6,281–283) lo impiega per riscaldare un paziente che soffre per la presenza nel suo corpo di umori viscosi (οἱ ὀμοὶ χυμοί). Essi possono essere allontanati dal suo corpo, solo dopo averli resi più fluidi grazie all'aumento della temperatura. La ricetta, più o meno con gli stessi ingredienti, viene ripresa da Aezio (9,24.88), che la menziona come galenica ed aggiunge che può essere diuretica e lassativa. Infine, Oribasio (4,147)²⁰ la utilizza, senza l'aggiunta di miele, anche come spezia aromatica in cucina.
- il farmaco dei tre pepi (τὸ διὰ τριῶν πεπέρεων): a quanto sostiene Galeno (*De sanitate tuenda* 6,267; cfr. Aët. 9,24), si tratta di una medicina complessa da realizzare, costruita su tre tipi di pepe: a parte il λιβυστικόν, l'ajwain (*Carum Copticum*) e l'ombrellino (*Tordylium officinale*). Ne esistono due ricette diverse: una più semplice da dare a quei malati che soffrono per non aver digerito bene e che

¹¹ Aët. 3,69;110; 6,10; 9,24; Alex. Trall. 2,275.

¹² Gal. *De victu attenuante* 20,28.

¹³ Aët. 3,149. Cfr. anche Aët. 11,13.

¹⁴ Gal. *De sanitate tuenda* 6,267; Gal. *De remediis parabilibus* 14,521; Alex. Trall. 2,275.279.577; Aët. 9,23.24.30; Ps. Galeno *Urin.* 152. In ambito veterinario, *Hippiatr. Berolinensia* 129,35,4.

¹⁵ Gal. *Simpl. med.* 12,52,62; Gal. *De remediis parabilibus* 14,521; Aët. 2,258; 3,69; 6,10; 9,23; Alex. Trall. 2,275.317; Orib. 1,38,1; Orib. *Syn.* 4,21,1; *De alimentis* 16; *De cibis* 18; Ps. Gal. *De affectuum renibus insidentium dignotione et curatione* 19,668.

¹⁶ Alex. Trall. *Febr.* 1,399.401; Aët. 3,86 (a seconda degli ingredienti che lo accompagnano, può servire ad evacuare flegma, bile e bile nera); 3,103 (si tratta di un farmaco inventato dal medico del III sec. d.C. Filagrio l'Epirota contro la bile nera). In ambito veterinario, *Hippiatr. Parisina* 631,1; *Hippiatr. Cantabrigensia* 109,3.

¹⁷ Gal. *Comp. med.* 13,109; Aët. 8,63.

¹⁸ Alex. Trall. 2,275.

¹⁹ Aët. 12,67.

²⁰ Orib. *Syn.* 3, 195; Paul. Aeg. 7,11,33,3.

sentono freddo al ventre e hanno umore flegmatico; l'altra più efficace che serve per combattere i flussi che scendono dalla testa al petto.

- il farmaco per i dispnoici di Antonio Musa (Gal. *Comp. med.* 13,109): il farmaco è citato da Galeno, ma attribuito a Antonio Musa, il medico che restò famoso nella storia per aver curato l'imperatore Augusto. Antonio era anche un botanico (a lui è stato attribuito per lungo tempo il *De herba vettonica*). Non sorprende dunque che conoscesse anche questa misteriosa pianta.
- il farmaco del metodo metodico Poseidonio,²¹ come lo definisce Aezio (6,10; 118): si tratta di un lassativo che combatte anche la flatulenza. Ne va dato mezzo cucchiaino all'alba e alla sera.
- il farmaco a base di mele cotogne: la prima attestazione è in Alessandro di Tralle (*Therapeutica* 2,257), che lo consiglia in casi di inappetenza dovuti alla presenza nel paziente di umori viscosi e sensazioni di freddo nello stomaco. Paolo di Egina (7,11,27) ne conosce un'altra versione, con diverse varianti, dove, a differenza di ciò che è detto da Alessandro, il λιβυστικόν è ingrediente insostituibile. Alessandro, dal canto suo, propone di mettere al suo posto o la mirra o il costo (un'erba usata come spezia) oppure il puleggio (una varietà di menta).
- il farmaco di Philoumenos,²² come è definito da Aezio (9,23): si tratta di un rimedio per la cattiva digestione.
- il farmaco riscaldante di Filagrio, medico epirota del III sec. a.C. (Aët. 12,67), contro podagra e artrite.
- l'ossimele σκιλλετικός, inventato da Archigene (fr. 11):²³ si trattava di un ossimele aromatico, tra i cui ingredienti era anche il silfio. Menzionato anche in altri medici (Alex. Trall. 2,315; Aët. 3,77; Paul. Aeg. 7,11,11), secondo Aezio, il preparato toglie l'aria nelle viscere ed è adatto a curare le coliche.

²¹ Della sua attività restano scarsi frammenti: si veda M. Tecusan, *The Fragments of the Methodists*, Leiden – Boston 2004, 119, 691.

²² Medico della seconda metà del II sec. d.C. (cfr. a proposito H. Mörland, "Zu Philumenos", *SO* 32 (1956) 84–85), è conosciuto per aver scritto un libro sui veleni, al quale si ispirò Aezio per la redazione del XIII libro del suo trattato medico (J. Theodoridès, "Sur le 13e livre du Traité d'Aetios d'Amida, médecin byzantin du VIe siècle", *Janus* 42 (1958) 221–37).

²³ Su Archigene, cfr. C. Brescia, *Frammenti medicinali di Archigene*, Napoli 1955; G. Larizza Calabro, "Frammenti inediti di Archigene (X, 4; 5; 17; 25)", *BPEC* 9 (1961) 67–72; J. Pigeaud, "Rhétorique et médecine chez les Grecs. Le cas d'Archigène", *Helmantica* 36 (1985) 39–48; S. Ihm, "Archigenes als Verfasser des Traktates perì tòn iobólou therion kai deleterion pharmákon?", *Sudhoffs Archiv* 80 (1996) 220–28; A. D. Mavroudis, *Archigenis Filippou Apamefs: o vios kai ta erga enos Ellina giatrou stin aftokratoriki Romi*, Athina 2000. Su Archigene come fonte di Aezio, si veda anche R. Masullo, "Problemi relativi alle fonti di Aezio Amideno nei libri IX–XVI: Filumeno, Areteo e altri medici minori", in A. Garzya (ed.), *Tradizione e ecdotica dei testi medici tardoantichi e bizantini: atti del convegno internazionale: Anacapri 29–31 ottobre 1990*, Napoli 1992, 237–256.

L'unica fonte greca che fa considerazioni non medicinali su questa pianta è il lessico pseudo-galenico, Λέξεις βοτάνων: in due glosse differenti, prima il λιβυστικόν è equiparato al seme del basilico (390,20), dopo ad un tipo specifico di sedano, quello aromatico (392,2). Interessante è anche osservare i succedanei che vengono citati al posto del λιβυστικόν: curiosamente (ma per una spiegazione vedi *infra*), il seme della carota (Paul. Aeg. 25,11,7; Ps.Gal. *De succedaneis* 19,735,8), o del sio (Ps.Gal. *De succedaneis* 19,735,8).²⁴

Alessandro Tralliano definisce miscela salata una mistura con il λιβυστικόν come ingrediente (Alex.Trall. *Febr.* 1,399.401); Galeno lo equipara ad un pepe: dunque, doveva trattarsi di una pianta importata, dalla quale era possibile trarre anche una spezia da aggiungere nelle pietanze. Il nome stesso sembrerebbe denotare una provenienza dalla Libia, cioè da quella regione dalla quale erano esportate altre piante, tra le quali, probabilmente, la più importante era il silfio²⁵ di Cirene.²⁶ In alcuni casi, a parte quello già citato dell'ossimele

²⁴ In realtà, l'osservazione nel trattato suona così: ἀντὶ λιβυστικοῦ σπέρματος, ῥίζα λυβιστικοῦ ἢ σπέρμα σταφυλίνου ἢ σίου. Si dovrà credere che λυβιστικόν non sia altro che una variante ortografica del più attestato λιβυστικόν. Da notare, tuttavia, che sempre lo stesso trattatista annotava qualche pagina oltre: ἀντὶ σίου, ἀσπαράγου ῥίζα ἢ λυβιστικοῦ (19,742,15).

²⁵ Il silfio, o *laserpitium*, come lo chiamavano i Latini, era una spezia famosa, utile non solo in cucina (a proposito dei suoi impieghi culinari, cfr. C. Dobias, "À propos du silphion: les prescriptions du bon goût", in *Nourriture: prescriptions et interdits. Actes du colloque organisé par la MAFPEN et l'ARELAD*, Dijon 1990, 33–43; E. Catani, "Il silfio nel De re coquinaria di Marcus Gavius Apicius", *QAL* 16 (2002) 339–44), ma anche in medicina, visto che il suo succo, chiamato *laser* a Roma, aveva molteplici proprietà curative. Secondo una ricostruzione relativamente affidabile della sua storia, esso diventò raro al tempo di Nerone (si veda anche D. Romano, "Lasericarius mimus: Petronio, Sat. 35, 7", *Dioniso* 61 (1991) 289–94), tanto che qualche secolo più tardi non se ne trovava più traccia, sostituito dal *laser partico*, ricavato dalla *Ferula asa foetida*, abbondante in Iran e Belucistan, pianta ancora utilizzata nel mondo orientale e soprattutto nell'India meridionale (*contra*, D. Roques, "Synésios de Cyrène et le silphion de Cyrénaïque", *REG* 97 (1984) 218–31, che ritiene che il silfio sia esistito fino al V secolo d.C.; cfr. anche D. Roques, "Médecine et botanique: le silphion dans l'œuvre d'Oribase", *REG* 106 (1993) 380–99). Il fatto che, dunque, esistessero diverse varietà di silfio ha reso quasi impossibile identificare con sicurezza l'erba cui corrisponde nella botanica moderna: cfr. R. Feuarent, "Le silphion", *RN* 13 (1951) 13–20; W. Capelle, "Theophrast in Kyrene?", *RhM* 97 (1954) 169–89; Vl. Vikentiev, "Le silphium et le rite du renouvellement de la vigueur", *BIE* 37 (1954–55) 123–50; S. Benton, "Birds on the Cup of Arkesilas", *Archaeology* 12 (1959) 178–82; A. Abel, "Deux identifications mythiques, le lotos et le silphium", *RBPh* 42 (1964) 1420; F. Michelon – J. M. Chabert – D. Molero – A. Mousnier, "Le silphium, plante médicinale de l'Antiquité", *Histoire des sciences médicales* 18 (1984) 343–56; F. Chamoux, "Le problème du silphion", *BSAF* 1985, 54–59; J.-P. Bocquet, "Le silphium, nourriture des dieux", *DossArch* 123 (1988) 88–91; V. Beltrami, "Le tracce del silfio classico nell'odierna farmacopea sahariana, I", in A. Mastino (ed.),

scilletico, il λιβυστικόν viene usato col silfio: Alex. Trall. 2,577; Aet. 3,103; 110; 11,13.

La vasta gamma di impieghi in medicina ne mette in evidenza soprattutto la qualità espulsiva e purificatrice. In effetti, a questa caratteristica se ne deve aggiungere almeno un'altra, che emerge chiaramente, anche se da un numero meno consistente di testimonianze: la sua balsamicità, che spiega come mai un tipico evacuante e lassativo possa essere usato anche con pazienti che hanno problemi di respirazione. Del resto, non è un caso che si trovi accoppiato con la menta nel *diakalaminthes*.

Mentre è da osservare l'alternanza delle fonti tra forme più o meno simili (non solo λιβυστικόν, ma anche λυβιστικόν, per cui vedi n. 24, e λιγυστικόν,²⁷ che con ogni probabilità indicano la stessa pianta medicinale), l'identificazione della pianta può essere condotta a partire da considerazioni

L'Africa romana: atti del VII Convegno di studio, Sassari 15–17 dicembre 1989, Sassari 1990, 81–87; N. Fisher, "Laser-Quests: Unnoticed Allusions to Contraception in a Poet and a Princeps?", *Classics Ireland* 3 (1996) 73–96; R. Kandeler, "Das Silphion als Emblem der Aphrodite: zur Deutung eines Siegelringes aus dem Schatz von Mykene", *AW* 29 (1998) 297–300; L. André, "Le silphium", *ConnHell* 84 (2000) 51–53; A. Roselli, "Breve storia del silfio", *AION(archeol)* 8 (2001) 11–20; S. Amigues, "Une panacée mystérieuse: le silphium des anciens", in S. Amigues (ed.), *Études de botanique antique*, Paris 2002, 195–208; M. Luni, "Iconografia del silfio e realtà botanica", *QAL* 16 (2002) 351–62; E. Amato, "Kurenaïke pale: una testimonianza mal compresa sul silfio cirenaico? (nota a St. Byz., p. 72, 8 Meineke)", *Maia* 56 (2004) 111–25; S. Amigues, "Le silphium: état de la question", *CRAI* 4 (2004) 541–42. Per citare solo alcune delle identificazioni, si è pensato che fosse una specie estinta della *Thapsia garganica* (N. G. Kharin – U. Prатов, "Rencontre avec le silfium 2 000 ans après?", *Priroda* 4 [1982] 92–96) o la *Cachrys Ferulacea* (A. Manunta, "Cachrys Ferulacea (L.) Calestani: è il silfio cirenaico?", *QAL* 16 [2002] 345–49) oppure la *Mergotia gummifera* (S. Amigues, "Le silphium: état de la question", *JS* 2 [2004] 191–226).

²⁶ Sul commercio di questa pianta lucrò assolutamente la città di Cirene: E. Fabbricotti, "Silphium in Ancient Art", *LibStud* 24 (1993) 27–33; E. Marshall, "Cyrenaican Civilisation and Health", *Pegasus* 39 (1996) 9–17. A proposito della sua presenza sulla monetazione di Cirene, cfr. M. Troussel, "Arbres et plantes sacrés. Palmier et silphium", *RSAC* 70 (1957–59) 39–64; A. Davesne, "La divinité cyrénéenne au silphion", in L. Kahil, C. Augé, P. Linant de Bellefonds (edd.), *Iconographie classique et identités régionales. Paris 26 et 27 mai 1983*, Paris 1986, 195–206; J.-P. Bocquet, "Contribution de la numismatique à l'histoire des sciences médicales. Les monnaies de la Cyrénaïque et le silphium", in *Archéologie et médecine. VII Rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes, 23, 24, 25 octobre 1986*, Juan-les-Pins 1987, 443–57; C. Parisi Presicce, "La dea con il silfio e l'iconografia di Panakeia a Cirene", *LibStud* 25 (1994) 85–100.

²⁷ "Ligusticum" è il termine che viene usato spesso nel *De re coquinaria* di Marco Apicio, quale componente di salse, per aromatizzare zuppe di pesce, carni pollame e quale componente del famoso "Garum". Cfr. E. Salza Prina Ricotti, *L'arte del convito nella Roma antica*, Roma 1983, 231–33.

etimologiche: il nome, infatti, può non derivare, come a prima vista sembrerebbe presumibile, da Λιβύη, ma dal latino *levare*,²⁸ nel senso che essa "toglie, allevia" piccoli dolori. La pianta in esame è dunque il levistico (*Levisticum officinale*),²⁹ altrimenti conosciuto anche come sedano di montagna, una pianta erbacea perenne rustica dal profumo gradevole e intenso appartenente alla famiglia delle *Apiaceae* o *Umbelliferae*. Questa identificazione è, così, confermata anche dal lessico pseudogalenico, che la equipara ad un altrimenti sconosciuto "sedano di montagna", e perfino dal *De succedaneis*, visto che i più importanti componenti aromatici delle sue foglie, il ligustilide, il butilftalide e il sedanolide, appaiono anche in altre piante della famiglia della carota, alla quale è avvicinata dall'estensore del trattato.³⁰

Il levistico, inoltre, è usato, ancora oggi, al posto del pepe per il suo sapore amarognolo: le sue foglie, fresche o essiccate, fortemente aromatiche e in qualche modo somiglianti al sedano o anche al fieno greco, sono, infatti, assai adatte per insaporire minestre e bolliti.³¹

La pianta, secondo gli studi erboristici moderni, presenta proprietà stimolanti, carminative, diaforetiche e emmenagoghe, del tutto simili a quelle del λιβυστικόν: anzi, per la precisione, sarebbe perfetta nei casi di flatulenza, di dolore allo stomaco e alle viscere e di stati di debolezza dell'apparato digerente, cioè nei campi di azione della pianta greca. Del resto, il sedano di

²⁸ Forse, invece, come sembrano preferire gli studi etimologici moderni, la pianta prenderebbe questo nome dalla forma λιγυστικόν, che sembrerebbe indicare semplicemente la sua origine (dalla Liguria). Cfr. ad es. *Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary*, Springfield 1913, s.v. lovage.

²⁹ Il levistico presenta un fusto rotondo e cavo che può superare l'altezza di un metro, spesso ramificato verso la cima; le sue foglie sono tripennatosette, incise e dentate, simili per forma a quelle del sedano; i piccolissimi fiori, di un colore tra il giallo pallido e il verde, sono riuniti in ombrelle. Altri nomi volgari in italiano sono: prezzemolo dell'amore, rovistico, ligustro, ligustico, appio di montagna, sistra, sedanina. Per l'identificazione della pianta, cfr. P. Zangheri, *Flora Italica (Pteridophyta–Spermatophyta): chiavi analitiche corredate da 7750 illustrazioni in 210 tavole, per la determinazione delle piante spontanee indigene, naturalizzate, avventizie e delle più largamente coltivate*, Padova 1976, II 85, 91; S. Pignatti, *Flora d'Italia*, Bologna 1982, II, 228; T. G. Tutin et al., *Flora europaea*, Cambridge – New York, 1993, II, 358.

³⁰ Cfr. E. Small, *Culinary Herbs*, Ottawa 2003, 159.

³¹ U. P. Hedrick, *Sturtevant's Edible Plants of the World*, Albany 1919, 380–81; J. C. Th. Uphof, *Dictionary of Economic Plants*, Weinheim – New York 1959, 165; B. Brouk, *Plants Consumed by Man*, London – New York 1975, 277; E. Launert, *Edible and Medicinal Plants*, London 1981, 102–103; S. Facciola, *Cornucopia – A Source Book of Edible Plants*, Vista 1990, 17; Small (sopra n. 28) 15–16.

montagna favorisce l'attività renale e riduce i ristagni di liquidi; se ne ricorda perfino l'impiego contro le bronchiti.³²

Secondo alcune tradizioni erboristiche, le foglie di levistico possono essere usate come antisettico della pelle; sembra invece provata scientificamente la diureticità della radice.³³

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³² W. M. Richter, *Geschichte der Medicin in Russland*, Moskau 1813–17, I 108; H. Wickes Felter – J. Uri Lloyd, *King's American Dispensatory*, Cincinnati 1898, 267–68; J. M. Scudder, *The American Eclectic Materia Medica and Therapeutics*, Cincinnati 1898, 364; L. E. Sayre, *A Manual of Organic Materia Medica and Pharmacognosy*, Philadelphia 1917, 336; H. Leclerc, *Précis de Phytothérapie*, Paris 1927, 154; A. Grieve, *A Modern Herbal*, London 1931, 499–500; G. Madaus, *Lehrbuch der Biologischen Heilmittel*, Leipzig 1938, 241, 290; W. Demitsch, *Russische Volksheilmittel aus dem Pflanzenreiche*, in *Historische Studien zur russischen Volksmedizin*, Leipzig 1968, I 223; J. E. Simon – A. F. Chadwick – L. E. Craker, *Herbs: An Indexed Bibliography. 1971–1980. The Scientific Literature on Selected Herbs, and Aromatic and Medicinal Plants of the Temperate Zone*, Hamden 1984, 62–63; A. Chevallier, *The Encyclopedia of Medicinal Plants*, London 1996, 226; C. Kowalchik – W. H. Hylton, *Rodale's Illustrated Encyclopedia of Herbs*, Emmaus 1998, 369–70.

³³ I primi esperimenti al riguardo furono condotti su topi da M. R. Bonsmann – F. Hauschild, "Diureseversuche an der Maus", *Naunyn-Schmiedeberg's Archiv für experimentelle Pathologie und Pharmakologie* 179 (1935) 620 e su conigli da H. Hertwig, *Gesund durch Heilpflanzen*, Berlin 1935, 105. Cfr. anche R. Kobert, *Lehrbuch der Pharmakotherapie*, Stuttgart 1908, 370; H. Schulz, *Vorlesungen über Wirkung und Anwendung der deutschen Arzneipflanzen*, Leipzig 1921, 235. Sulla composizione della radice, vedi C. Wehmer, *Die Pflanzenstoffe, botanisch-systematisch bearbeitet*, Jena 1931, II 887.

SVPPLEMENTA LVCRETIANA

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The text of Lucretius' *de rerum natura* as preserved in the three ninth-century mss of the work, O Q GV(U),¹ is manifestly lacunose. Although there is no scope for certainty for modern critics with regard to the restoration of verses lost *in toto*, considerably greater degrees of plausibility can be attained with regard to line-internal lacunae. In such instances, a word or more of a given line has been lost owing to physical damage to a manuscript in the tradition,² the accidental repetition or anticipation of other elements in the verse or its immediate vicinity, or simple scribal omission of a word. The purpose of this article is not to offer a full-scale analysis of Lucretian lacunae but rather to discuss those line-internal instances where I believe that there is scope for disagreement with the vulgate supplement. I shall treat the passages sequentially.

1,217–18: *nam si quid mortale <e> cunctis partibus esset,*
 ex oculis res quaeque repente erepta periret.

217 <e> *suppl.* L: *om.* OQG

The sense demanded is 'if anything were mortal in all its parts', i.e. 'in its parts taken as a whole'. *in* would provide a more natural Lucretian expression than the partitive use of *e(x)* (cf. the simple use of *in* with *partibus* at 2,1075; 5,147; 5,676 and 5,696). At 1,996, where <e> is the typical supplement (a conjecture

¹ Since I am among those scholars convinced that the Italic mss of Lucretius are not independent witnesses to the tradition, I treat the fifteenth-century codices of the poet simply as a repertory of Renaissance conjectures.

² A fact made particularly evident by the prevalence of textual loss at the close of the verse: cf. 1,748; 1,752; 1,1068–75; 2,331; 2,428; 2,1115; 3,159; 3,538; 3,596; 3,705 (s.v.l.); 3,1061; 4,612 and 5,586.

found in M), I would therefore read *cunctis <in> partibus*, a suggestion preceded by certain Italic mss (and also ascribed to Marullus). Although I have not yet found evidence to the contrary, I find it impossible to believe that I am the first to suggest reading *in* here at 1,217. The apparent palaeographical advantage provided by *e*, viz. that it was lost by haplography after *mortale*, is of little force when it is observed that *in* is lost sixteen times elsewhere in the Lucretian tradition, thirteen without any obvious palaeographical reason.³

1,701–4: *praeterea quare quisquam magis omnia tollat*
 et uelit ardoris naturam relinquere solam,
 quam neget esse ignis, tamen esse relinquat?
 aequa uidetur enim dementia dicere utrumque.

703 summam ante tamen suppl. Itali : quiduis K. Lachmann : ignem O² : aliam Q² : aliud M. Ferguson Smith : om. OQG

The metrically defective 703 has received a large number of supplements, although it should be said at the outset that the marginal corrections in O and Q have no authority, added by readers of the eleventh(?) and fifteenth centuries respectively. Although a number of conjectures are almost certainly off the mark,⁴ most critics are in agreement about the required sense of the missing word (plural words hardly being a plausible option). Lucretius here seeks to attack Heraclitus' monism (treated in 1,635–704), in which fire was posited as the underlying substance of everything, by stating that this is philosophically as foolish as denying that fire exists and instead positing [lacuna]⁵ as the root element. Lucretius' point would here be strongest if the lost word in 703 is as wide as possible in application: the meaning 'anything else' would bear far more weight than a single element, such as earth or water.

³ 1,1078; 2,543; 2,882; 2,1102; 3,391; 3,438; 3,705; 4,636; 5,142; 5,1009 (if not *im*); 5,1243; 6,1171; the causes of its loss at 1,1078; 3,421 and 6,401 are obvious.

⁴ Among which are W. Everett's unlucretian *istam*, F. Nencini's awkward *eadem* and D. R. Shackleton Bailey's inappropriately narrow *terrae*. C. Bailey rightly observed (*Titi Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex*, Oxford 1947, comm. *ad loc.*) that attempts to introduce another form of *ignis* (*ignis* K. Winckelmann; *ignem* A. G. Roos, after O²) "are due to misunderstanding of the passage".

⁵ *relinquat*, answering to the simplex *linquere* in 702, guarantees that this missing word is the alternative physical element (or elements) posited as the sole fundamental substance of the universe.

Yet what is to be made of the transmitted *ignis* in 703? Some critics have sought to take it as an accusative plural but such a notion of plurality would be unnatural in context, where the singular is regularly employed to denote the substance as a whole (cf., in the immediately preceding verses, 690, 691, 695 and 696). It is therefore more naturally taken as a genitive singular, dependent upon *naturam* in the preceding line (like *ardoris*, with which it is equated). Since Lucretius does not allow metrical 'lengthening' at the caesura, the supplementary word in 703 must be either a spondee or anapaest opening with a consonant, if it is to be placed before *tamen*; if it follows *tamen*, there is scope for further variation. For *ignis* to be taken readily as genitive (with *naturam* supplied from the preceding verse), the missing word in 703 should be either dependent upon *naturam* or in agreement with it. The latter construction strikes me as being considerably neater.

It remains then to offer a feminine accusative singular adjective that can bear the force of 'any at all' (simply 'other' would be too weak). I believe that *quamuis* is this word,⁶ a form of *quiuus*, the indefinite adjective used by Lucretius in some 27 instances elsewhere (*quamuis* itself occurs at 3,516). Although it is accompanied by *alius* eleven times,⁷ it would here naturally bear the pregnant force 'any other at all'. Lachmann came closest to this suggestion with *quiduis* but, as I have argued above, to ensure that genitival *ignis* in the preceding clause is intelligible, agreement with *naturam* is desired.⁸ To turn at last to the *ductus litterarum*, W. A. Merrill objected almost a century ago that "[a]ll of the various stopgaps proposed for this line are palaeographically improbable except *aliam*, the correction of Q".⁹ This is not the case with *quamuis*, the final three letters of which would have borne a close similarity to the end of *ignis* (particularly in minuscule) and thereby easily inspired that most pervasive of scribal errors, the *saut du même au même*.

⁶ Although conjunctive *quamuis* is common in Lucretius, the Roman ear could have been left in no doubt that a part of *quiuus* was here employed. One could compare the more convoluted verse 3,397, where we find *ad uitam quam* (relative adverb) *uis* (noun) *animai*.

⁷ 1,1073; 2,734; 2,782; 2,794; 2,825; 3,516; 3,556; 3,994; 5,369; 5,372 and 6,657.

⁸ If editors are to print *quiduis*, *ignem* ought to be read for *ignis*.

⁹ W. A. Merrill, "Criticism of the Text of Lucretius with Suggestions for its Improvement. Part 1, Books I–III", *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 3 (1916) 1–46, at 7.

2,251–52: *denique si semper motus conectitur omnis
et uetere exoritur nouos ordine certo,*

251 motus FCAB : motu OQGL 252 motu *ante* nouos *suppl.* L. Havet (*ap. A. Ernout*) : motus
F. Bockemüller : semper LFC : porro J.S. Reid: *exacto ante* exoritur Lachmann

There can be no real doubt that the Renaissance restoration of the nominative *motus* for *motu* in 251 is correct. Most critics of the twentieth century have repaired the metrically defective 252 by supplying Havet's *motu* (often wrongly attributed to Bailey) in agreement with *uetere*. They could be right in doing so but, with *motu* so easily understood from the preceding line, we would here expect a more emphatic word. The Italic supplement *semper* is, I believe, semantically appropriate but, because of its presence also in 251, it introduces a weak, rather than a striking, repetition. Perhaps we should read *et uetere exoritur nouos usque ex ordine certo*,¹⁰ thereby bringing *uetere* and *nouos* into closer juxtaposition, and further emphasising the hypothetical unbroken chain of physical atomic collisions. For *ex ordine* in Lucretius, cf. 1,605; 4,370; 4,574; 4,973; 5,418; 5,679 (*ex ordine certo*, as also found at Man. 2,961), and for *usque* in the sense 'continually', cf. 2,530; 2,1046; 3,1080 and 4,374.

2,331–32: *et tamen est quidam locus altis montibus
stare uidentur et in campis consistere fulgor.*

331 unde *post* montibus *suppl.* Itali : om. OQG

There has been no disagreement voiced about the Quattrocento supplement to close 331. Indeed, if we turn to the most recent treatment of the passage, in one of the greatest partial commentaries upon a Classical poet,¹¹ we find that *<unde>* receives only three words of comment: "a certain supplement." The words of the author of the longest Lucretian commentary are equally unequivocal, terming *unde* "a necessary and obvious addition".¹² Although the suggestion could well be correct, I think to accept it as *certissimum* is perhaps a

¹⁰ *et uetere exoritur nouus atque ex ordine certo* is found in A, but any conjunctive particle is certainly unwanted.

¹¹ D. P. Fowler, *Lucretius on Atomic Motion: A Commentary on De Rerum Natura 2.1–332*, Oxford 2002, comm. *ad loc.*

¹² Bailey (above n. 4) comm. *ad loc.*

little rash. For comparison of the most similar passage in Lucretius offers forth an alternative: *quod genus Idaeis fama est e montibus altis / dispersos ignes orienti lumine cerni* (5,663–64). There seems to be no good reason why *ex quo* [sc. *loco*] could not have stood at the close of 331.¹³

2,422–29: *omnis enim, sensus quae mulcet quomque †uidentur†
 haud sine principali aliquo leuore creatast;
 at contra quaequomque molesta atque aspera constat,
 non aliquo sine materiae squalore repertast. 425
 sunt etiam quae iam nec leuia iure putantur
 esse neque omnino flexis mucronibus unca,
 sed magis angellis paulum prostantibus
 titillare magis sensus quam laedere possint.*

422 quomque uidentur (u. *e fin. u.* 421) OQG : q., figura *F.W. Schneidewin* : q. iuuatque *Avancius*¹⁴ : q. uidendo F : q. uidentum *G. Wakefield* : q., tibi res *J.P. Postgate* : q. et alit res *K. Büchner* : quaeque iuuat res *A. Brieger* 428 utqui *ad fin. u. suppl. N.P. Howard (H.A.I. Munrone, qui olim quique coni., idem secum iam cogitante)* : et quae *Itali FC* : quaeque *Lachmann* : unde *Bernays* : ut quae *J. Martin* : usque *E. Orth* : om. OQG 429 possint O : possunt QG

There are two supplements that I wish to discuss in this passage, the last words of 422 and 428. It is clear in the first instance that the final three (or four) syllables of the line have been ousted by the nonsensical repetition of *uidentur*, which closes the preceding verse (421). It is equally obvious that *omnis* must qualify a new noun: it cannot here function on its own (unlike *omne*) nor could *species* (cf. *specie* in 421) serve as a suitable subject in agreement with it, *quae... quomque* later in the line and *quaequomque* in 424. The earlier proposal of *Avancius* can therefore be disregarded, as can the *prima facie* neat suggestions of *F* and *Wakefield*; equally inappropriate is *Avancius'* later

¹³ *e(x)* is also used in connection with mountains of the falling of water (1,283; 1,1085 (1086) and 5,946); *de* is employed at 4,1020 and 6,735.

¹⁴ In his Aldine Lucretius (Venice 1500); two years later, however, amidst the Lucretian emendations offered at the close of the Aldine Catullus (Venice 1502, at F2^v–4^v), he suggested *causa iuuatque*, a suggestion typically attributed to Marullus (who perhaps read *mulctat* for *mulcet*). *uidentur* was impossibly retained by the first three printed editions of the poet (Brescia 1473, Verona 1486, Venice 1495).

introduction of *causa* (see below n. 14), which renders 423 unintelligible. Schneidewin's *figura* has been widely accepted by editors without any extended argument given in its support. Yet, in the present section of the work, *figura*, used specifically to describe the atomic structure of a given element, does not elsewhere stand alone as the cause of sensory perception (cf. 385, 409, 480, 484). Verses 408–9 demonstrate clearly this subordinate use of *figura*: *omnia postremo bona sensibus et mala tactu / dissimili inter se pugnant perfecta figura*. Further, the use of *principiali* ('pertaining to its *principia*') in 423 implies a contrast between the thing at the macroscopic (i.e. visible) level and at the microscopic (i.e. atomic) level. It is more natural therefore that our missing subject in 422 refers to 'every object' taken as a whole rather than their specific atomic structures. *res*, first suggested by Brieger, is therefore the most natural word to supply (*omnis res* equating to *omnia*).

As to what precedes this final monosyllable, Postgate's *tibi res*, though metrically unproblematic,¹⁵ will hardly do: the dative awkwardly narrows the sense data to the second person, itself out of place amidst the first person plural pronouns and pronominal adjectives in the vicinity (*nostris / sensibus* 406–7, *nobis... tactus* 433, *nobis* 444).¹⁶ I am much more taken by the suggestion of the prolific Emil Orth, which seems apparently forgotten: *hominis res*.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the singular *hominis* is puzzling and the suggestion can undoubtedly be improved by reading *hominum res*; explicit statement of the 'senses of men' is particularly appropriate in this context, since Lucretius was acutely aware of how different living creatures can have widely differing responses to the same sense data. We can aptly compare his writing *in nares*

¹⁵ The Lucretian hexameter often closes with an iambic word followed by a monosyllable, a practice that the Augustan poets strove to banish from their typical usage. With regard to textual lacunae, an instance of this rhythm is restored by providing a supplementary verb at 3,453 (*claudicat ingenium, delirat lingua, mens*), where Lachmann's *labat* is typically read before *mens*. Future editors, however, could consider introducing *furit*, 'raves', a stronger climax to the verbal tricolon.

¹⁶ It is therefore surprising that Postgate's conjecture has been accepted by Martin (who persisted in attributing it to himself), W. H. D. Rouse and E. Flores (the last, incidentally, conjectured *q. et iuuat res* at 422, *metro uementer repugnante*)

¹⁷ Conjectured in his "Lucretiana", *Helmantica* 11 (1960) 121–34, at 129. Orth there provides no argument beyond stating "omnis res quae sensus hominis mulcet... ita sententia construi debet".

hominum just above at 2,415. For the rhythm at line end, cf. *homini res* at 6,781; monosyllabic forms of *res* close the Lucretian hexameter in 46 other instances.¹⁸

We come now to the final word, or words, of 428. Unfortunately, there is discrepancy between O and QG as to whether *possint* or *possunt* respectively should be read in 429. Evidently ψ , the parent of QG, transcribed the reading of the archetype as *possunt*, O (almost certainly an immediate descendant of the archetype) as *possint*; a double lection existing in the exemplar is unlikely. On the principle of *utrum in alterum abiturum erat?*, and to provide a more natural development to the argument, the subjunctive in a subordinate clause seems more probable. We should therefore follow the most faithful of our extant mss in reading *possint*, as most previous editors have indeed done, and accordingly supply a subordinating conjunction at the close of 428.¹⁹ A moment's thought offers forth consecutive *ut* as the most natural option, which can conveniently occupy the first syllable of the final foot. Lucretius does use an intensified form of *ut*, namely *ut qui*,²⁰ at 1,755, 2,17 and 3,738 (s.v.l.), and it was conjectured in the present passage by the elusive N. P. Howard.²¹ He could be right, although as Bailey rightly objects (above n. 4, comm. *ad loc.*), the sense 'so that they can' would be "a little too teleological". Martin's *ut quae* is a slight improvement, although there is no parallel for the precise collocation in Lucretius. Perhaps Lucretius wrote *ut sic*, a pairing used in the desired sense ('so [=with the result that] thus') at 1,1011?

¹⁸ Punctuation need not be added after *hominum*, with *res* being an example of the introduction of the nominal subject of the sentence's primary verb within the subordinate clause.

¹⁹ It cannot be denied that the purely conjunctive suggestion *et quae* of certain Italic manuscripts, or Lachmann's *quaeque*, creates a rather plain expression. Worse still is Wakefield's solecistic *ac quae*, a conjecture made upon the misleading and nonsensical *aeque* found in the *ed. Veron.* and *ed. Ven.* (the *ed. Brix.* neglected to provide any supplement; for these three editions see above n. 14).

²⁰ It is probable that Lucretius regarded the collocation as two distinct words.

²¹ See N. P. Howard and H. A. J. Munro, "On Lucretius", *JPh* 1 (1868) 113–45, at 118–21; Munro records (*T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex*, Cambridge 1886⁴, comm. *ad loc.*) that he had "intended to give [*utqui*] in [2,428 and 3,738], before [he] received Mr Howard's letter".

2,1168–69: tristis item uetulae uitis sator atque †fatigat†
temporis incusat momen saeclumque fatigat.

1168 fatigat (*e* 1169) OQV : uietae *N. Heinsius* : caducae *Merrill* : putator *F. Olivier* :
uaciuae *Orth* : minutae *K. Müller* : putrentis *A. García Calvo* 1169 momen *Pius* : nomen
OQG saeclumque OQ : caelumque *Wakefield*

There has been almost no dissent from Heinsius' tentative replacement for *fatigat* of 1168, a manifestly accidental anticipation of the close of the following verse.²² Heinsius was right to discern that the structure of the verse most naturally requires a second adjective at the close of 1168 in agreement with *uitis*.²³ His *uietae*, typically taken as 'shrivelled' or 'wrinkled', has been widely accepted into the text, despite the inherent uncertainty of the passage. However, a lengthy objection to the suggestion was made by F. Olivier,²⁴ who went so far as to declare that *uietae* was a "conjecture de savant latiniste, parfaitement ignorant des choses de la terre". His primary objection was that *uietus* (a deverbial adjective < *uiere*) has the primary sense of 'pliant' or 'supple' (and by extension 'bent out of shape', 'wrinkled'), a term which can never be applied to a vine, which is rigid at any age. He therefore believed that a noun more suited to the context had been lost and offered *putator*, 'pruner', 'trimmer'.²⁵ Although I agree that the force of *uietus* is potentially problematic, and not supported by a clear parallel in Latin literature, I do not find Olivier's introduction of another noun suited to either the sense or the rhythm of the line: for the singular verbs of the passage we do not desire a second, yet more specific agent noun.

However, the adjectival conjectures in the wake of Heinsius that I have come across – *caducae*, *uaciuae*, *minutae*, *putrentis* – will appeal to few. From the two closing verses of the Book (*nec tenet omnia paulatim tabescere et ire / ad scopulum, spatio aetatis defessa uetusto* 1173–74) it is clear that Lucretius

²² Prior to Heinsius' suggestion, the verse was either retained with *fatigat* (sometimes reading *uiti* for *uitis*) or, in accordance with the widespread critical method, condemned as spurious.

²³ The suggestion can be found in his posthumous *Adversaria* (P. Burman [ed.], Leiden 1742, 455). Nonetheless, Munro, who owned Heinsius' copy of the second Gifanius edition (Leiden 1595; now in the Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, Adv.d.13.3) reports that Heinsius also suggested in his margin *uietae* (for *uetulae*)... *senectae*, on account of the scansion *uiētus* attested by Hor. *Ep.* 12,7 (cf. Munro [above n. 21] app. crit. *ad loc.*).

²⁴ F. Olivier, "En relisant Lucrèce", *MH* 10 (1953) 39–67, at 47.

²⁵ Cf. Lucretius' sole use of the adjective at 3,385 of a spider's web, a structure of remarkable strength and pliancy for its size.

seeks to outline the decay to the point of death of the world's organisms. Accordingly, I believe that the second adjective should compound this idea of natural decay. Nonetheless, a methodical search of metrically possible trisyllabic adjectives (or quatrasyllabic, with initial vowels or *h-*) yields no probable candidate.²⁶ It therefore seems very likely to me that *atque* is a metrical repair of *ac*: once a scribe had written *satorac*, it is possible that his eyes returned to *seclumat* in the line below, thereby copying *que fatigat* prematurely.²⁷ With this change made, we can insert a highly appropriate adjective, *moribundae*: the farmer rebukes his old and dying vine without knowing that its decrepit state is a necessary part of the natural course of the world's decay.²⁸ Like *uetulus*, *moribundus* is mostly used of humans (cf. Lucr. 3,129; 3,232; 3,542; 3,653; 3,1033) but Ps.-Quintilian provides a parallel of its use of a plant, i.e. corn (*decl.* 12,4). The two adjectives add an apt anthropomorphic element to the dying vines, starkly contrasted with *uineta... laeta* of 1157.²⁹

3,1060–62: *exit saepe foras magnis ex aedibus ille,* 1060
esse domi quem pertaesumst, subitoque
quippe foris nilo melius qui sentiat esse.

1061 per quem OQ : *corr.* Itali reuertit post subitoque P. Leto : reuentat FC : reuertens Pontanus : reuisit K.W.F. Proll : adamat rus F. Polle : rebetit Nencini : remigrat Merrill : recurrit uel resistit Orth : om. OQ

In this striking passage, Lucretius provides a satirical portrait of the wealthy man that can never be satisfied by his location and dashes back to the city as

²⁶ The least inappropriate would be *senentis* (< *senere*, attested in Pacuvius, Accius and Catullus); the semantically similar *senilis* and *uetustae* would lack close parallels for their use of plants.

²⁷ Alternatively, the scribe was more careless and instead simply wrote the last word of the following line without any palaeographical motivation: a later scribe or reader would therefore naturally have corrected *ac* before *fatigat* to its trochaic byform.

²⁸ *moribundae* is more probable than the comparatively weak *morientis* (or, e.g. *atque obientis*), which would also deprive the line of its leonine rhythm, so often employed by Lucretius.

²⁹ A monosyllable followed by a quadrisyllabic word is not an unlucretian rhythm: cf. 1,68; 1,182; 1,1033; 2,483; 3,949; 4,347 (322); 4,720; 4,759; 4,979; 4,1217; 4,1246; 5,479; 5,929; 5,1228; 6,1009, 6,1025. Nonetheless, owing to the proclitic semantics of *ac*, the pairing *ac moribundae* would be treated as a single unit and words of Adonean shape close the work's hexameters very frequently.

soon as he left it for the countryside. It is clear that the missing element at the close of 1061 is a verb to parallel *exit* of 1060, denoting his return back to the city, for which 1062 provides his misguided reasoning. Pomponio Leto's simple *reuertit*, long attributed to Politian, has found wide favour. But it would perhaps be more striking for Lucretius to say that he 'goes back' at once, rather than merely 'turns round/back'. Proll's case against the use of intransitive, active *reuertere* in Lucretius is worth considering,³⁰ notwithstanding the fact that 5,1153 seems to provide a sufficient parallel for the usage (though it is also bolstered by a prepositional clause with *ad*). Orth's *recurrat* is the most striking of the suggestions above and deserves a place in the apparatus. A more emphatic alternative perhaps worth consideration is *refert se*, the simple *refert* more closely answering *exit* of 1060.³¹ Reflexive *se* is no stranger at the close of the Lucretian hexameter.³²

4,98–101: *postremo speculis in aqua splendoreque in omni*
 quaequomque apparent nobis simulacra, necessest,
 quandoquidem simili specie sunt praedita rerum, 100
 †*ex† imaginibus missis consistere eorum.*

401 ex OQ : *exin* H. Purmann : *ex ea* H. Lotze : *excita* F (*ac Lachmann suo Marte*) : *extima* Munro

The text of 4,101 presents a tantalising problem: whether the transmitted *ex* is retained or not, how can metre be restored to the opening of the line without transgressing Lucretian style? Since Lachmann's suggestion introduces an unwanted participle and Munro's an inappropriate narrowing of the sense, only two suggestions have found favour, Purmann's *exin* and Lotze's *ex ea*. Neither seems to me attractive. The former gives odd sense, unless *exin* is taken as 'therefore', a sense not attested until Tacitus (*ann.* 14,48). Yet more importantly, in Classical (i.e. pre-Tacitean) Latin, *exim/exin*, the shortened byform of *exinde*, is not employed in a prevocalic position, as is also the case with *proin*, *dein* and

³⁰ K. W. F. Proll, *De formis antiquis Lucretianis*, Breslau 1859, at 44.

³¹ It is not impossible that Virgil's absolute use of *se referunt* at *georg.* 4,181 of the tired young bees' returning to the hive contains an echo to the present passage.

³² 1,33; 1,116; 1,508; 1,978; 3,209; 3,219; 3,885; 4,957; 6,87; 6,89; 6,383; 6,385; in prepositional phrases at 1,445; 1,729; 2,241; 2,586; 2,810; 2,968; 2,1050; 2,1156; 3,115; 3,137; 3,704; 3,718; 4,995; 5,319; 6,877; 6,898; 6,911; 6,985; 6,1029; 6,1054.

ac among others. Lucretius presents no exception, using pre-consonantal *exim* at 3,160 and prevocalic *exinde* at 5,786 (both in the sense of '(immediately) thereafter'). The latter conjecture, by contrast, breaks a stylistic law observed in Lucretius which, although I have not seen it recorded elsewhere, is manifest under close observation: any monosyllabic preposition must (i) immediately precede the noun (or adjective) it modifies or a genitive dependent upon that noun, or (ii) immediately follow the dependent noun (or adjective). Therefore, in the present instance, no extraneous matter can appear between *ex* and the dependent elements that follow.³³

In fact, the sense of the passage is complete with *imaginibus missis consistere eorum*: *consistere* often takes a bare ablative in Lucretius (cf. 1,1028; 2,906; 5,60; 5,65; 6,44) and need not therefore take a prepositional construction with *e(x)*, which cannot be retained without breaking the rule above. The words opening the line cannot therefore bear much semantic weight. Perhaps we could read *haec et imaginibus missis consistere eorum*, 'these too consist of their [=i.e. the objects'] emitted images'. *et* is sufficiently well attested for *etiam* in Lucretius (e.g. 1,830; 3,234; 3,290; 5,610; 6,7; 6,749; 6,818; 6,1234), notwithstanding Lachmann's perverse attempt to remove it.³⁴ *haec et* could have easily become *ec et*,³⁵ and the latter particle removed as an apparent repetition (the two being near-identical in early minuscule); the resultant *ec* would have thereafter been taken as *ex*.³⁶

There is no need to alter *eorum* at the close of the line to *earum* (Marullus) or the inelegant *rerum* (Lachmann), since the neuter pronoun in Lucretius can be used with *res* (here *rerum* in 100) as its antecedent.

4,987–90: *quippe uidebis equos fortes, quom membra iacebunt,*
in somnis sudare tamen spirareque semper
et quasi de palma summas contendere uires,
aut quasi carceribus patefactis f̄saepe quietef̄. 990

³³ It is therefore strangely inaccurate for H. Lotze, when making his suggestion, to state that it presents a "minime insolit[us] verborum ord[o]" (*Philologus* 7 [1852] 723). Of course *ex non sensibus* (2,930) and *ex non sensu* (2,932) are the result of Lucretius' attempt to convey 'non-sensation' and are therefore akin to *in tam tranquillo et tam clare luce* at 5,12, not an exception to the above canon.

³⁴ See his note *ad* 1,830, where he claims that such a usage offends against the "antiqui sermonis... castita[s]"; cf. also his notes on the other passages mentioned above.

³⁵ *haec ab* was conjectured by N. H. Romanes (*Further Notes on Lucretius*, Oxford 1935, 38) but *ab* is unwelcome and not used by Lucretius with *consistere*.

³⁶ To suggest *ex et* would, of course, contravene Lucretius' practice as outlined above.

The close of 990 is a much-discussed crux, perhaps on the podium with 5,1442 and 6,550 as one of the most contested passages in the work. About Lucretius' text there is sufficient uncertainty to keep even the best conjectures in the apparatus, obelising in the text *saepe quiete* as an indubitable anticipation of the end of the subsequent verse.³⁷ These four lines treat the dreams of horses, which the human observer can discern from the sweating and movement of their bodies. It is beyond doubt that the close of 990 must contain a second infinitive dependent upon *uidebis*. Of the many suggestions that have been made,³⁸ the least inappropriate in sense are R. Bouterwek's *membra mouere* and H. Diels' *tendere crura*. Yet, as E. J. Kenney rightly noted in his review of Richter's

³⁷ 991 occurs in the manuscripts after 998, with a repetition of 992–95. The explanation of Ernout (*Lucrece, De la Nature: Commentaire exégétique et critique*, Paris 1925, comm. *ad loc.*) is the most probable: during the writing of 990, the scribe's eyes accidentally moved into 991, of which he copied the verse end (*saepe quiete*). He then unwittingly continued to write 992 and following. The error was noted after the scribe had written 998 (or at a later stage in a ms in which 4,998 ended a page), whereupon 991 was added and followed by a repetition of the four lines that followed 991 in the archetype, both to make clear where the verse should be rectified and to provide sense and context for 991, the opening of a new paragraph. Any marginal annotations denoting the correction were presumably ignored or not understood by later scribes with the result that these four verses were transmitted in their incorrect position.

³⁸ In chronological order: *tempore puncto* D. Lambinus, *exequitet quis* S. Bosius, *colligere aestum* Lachmann, *uelle uolare* Munro, *membra mouere* R. Bouterwek, *corripere artus* L. Deubner, *surgere raptim* G. Bossart-Oerden (misreported as "Bessart" by Martin and, in turn, Richter), *saepe cieri* Bockemüller, *corripere aequor* Everett, *edere uocem* O. Probst, *arrigere aures* K. Hosius, *tendere cursum* C. Brakman, *semper auere* M.E. Deutsch, *edere uoces* Martin (after Probst), *tendere crura* H. Diels, *saepta pauire* J.B. Bury, *frendere dentes* E.L.B. Meurig-Davies, *se reciere* Orth, *corpus ciere* Büchner, *fundere sese* Richter, *rumpere sese* Ferguson Smith, *tundere terram* or *currere auere* K. Müller, *contremere armis* García Calvo, *quaerere cursum* Flores (his alternative, *tendere cursum*, being preceded by Brakman). S. Havercamp suggested greater changes, transposing 989–90: *haud, quasi carceribus patefactis, stare quiete / et quasi de palma summas contendere uires*. Merrill suggested, even less plausibly, that *saepe quiete* was correct and that a line had been lost after 990, in which the infinitive *mitti* occurred. The prevailing habit among the early editors was to regard 990 as an extraneous addition to the poem. Gilbert Wakefield's colourful comment on the many emendations is, as so often, worth quoting, notwithstanding my disagreement: "apprime inutile est, et puerile, conjecturis arbitrariis, ad acuminis tantummodo ostentationem facientibus, lascivire" (*T. Lucretii Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex*, London 1796–97, comm. *ad loc.*).

Textstudien zu Lukrez,³⁹ the closing words of the present passage were presumably more striking and expressive than mere bodily movement. Richter was right, however, to emphasise the literary topos of horses' bursting from their gates,⁴⁰ and it is a strong verb of rushing forth that is required: the presence of a second *quasi* in 990 gives leave for a vivid expression, of which the manifest sweating and panting of the dreaming horse provide some small indication. I believe that *proruere*, 'rush forth', is that verb.⁴¹ Perhaps we should therefore read *proruere acres*, the adjective being taken adverbially as 'swiftly' or 'keenly'. It is worth noting that Lucretius speaks earlier in the book of *an ecus (=equus) acer* at 4,420, a collocation taken up by Virgil (*Aen.* 1,444), Ovid (*met.* 3,704; 7,542; 14,344), Martial (6,38,7) and Silius (10,467–68), among others.

5,705–9: *luna potest solis radiis percussa nitere* 705
inque dies magis lumen conuertere nobis
ad speciem, quantum solis secedit ab orbi,
donique eum contra pleno bene lumine fulsit
atque oriens obitus eius super edita uidit.

706 magis OQ : m. id F¹ (*ac Lachmann suo Marte*) : m. hoc F : m. et AB : m. hinc Merrill : maius Marullus

No supplement to the metrically defective 706 is particularly arresting: either *hoc* or *id* would have little force, Merrill's *hinc* is exactly contrary to the desired meaning and the other early suggestions are impossible.⁴² Bearing in mind that

³⁹ CR 26 (1976) 180–81, at 180.

⁴⁰ W. Richter, *Textstudien zu Lukrez*, Munich 1974, at 86–89.

⁴¹ For the intransitive usage of *proruere* in this sense, we can compare Pacon. 4, Curt. 4,16,4, Gell. 1,11,4, Frontin. *strat.* 2,1,4 (s.v.1.); Lucretius uses *ruere* intransitively in the sense of 'rush' at 1,1105 and 5,313. There is therefore no need to offer a transitive conjecture, such as *se ruere acres (uel sim.)*.

⁴² I also regard as impossible the *ad hoc* neologisms created by Merrill (*allumen*) and García Calvo (*illummen*), nor can I believe in monosyllabic *eius*, tentatively suggested by Ferguson Smith, for which there is no close parallel. The least dissimilar instance of such synzesis is in fact illusory, for at 1,149 *cuius* and *principium* should be transposed (so Avancius), thereby removing the sole monosyllabic occurrence of *cuius* in the poem.

Lucretius often uses *hinc* earlier in the present book to mean 'from (planet) Earth' (572 (571), 584, 585), could we not here read *huc*, 'hither', i.e. 'to our Earth'? The pleonasm is not unlucretian: 'hither towards our sight'⁴³?⁴⁴

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⁴³ For the same usage of *ad speciem* with *nobis* as dative of possession, cf. 5,724.

⁴⁴ I take this opportunity to record my agreement with supplements to other Lucretian lacunae that are generally overlooked by editors: 2,279 *no<bis>* (Reid), 2,291 *<hoc>* (Munro), 2,512 *<at>* (Ernout), 2,1049 *<super>* (Orth), 3,853 *iam <nil>* (García Calvo, after Merrill's *<nil> iam*), 3,887 *<ipsum>* (Orth), 4,71 *sunt <in>* (*Itali*), 4,346–47 *ater / <aer>* (Winckelmann), 4,804 *nisi quae<rere> se ipse* (Romanes), 4,862 *<haec>* (Wakefield), 5,468 *<fudit>* (K. Müller), 5,970 (969) *par<il>es* (H.W. Garrod), 6,201 *<in>* (T. Creech). I offer conjectures in forthcoming articles upon the lacunae at 3,594; 3,596; 5,901; 5,1010; 5,1160; 6,15; 6,83; 6,112; 6,1156 and 6,1281.

STOPPING TO SMELL THE ROSES: GARDEN TOMBS IN ROMAN ITALY*

VIRGINIA L. CAMPBELL

The ancient Romans, much like many other civilisations, built their graves and funerary monuments for the living more so than for the dead. Within the cultural practices of the Roman world, funerary monuments served a variety of purposes. They were the location of annual religious rituals that honoured the dead, including the celebration of the deceased's birthday as well as honouring their memory in other festivals such as the *Parentalia* and *Lemuria*. Tombs were also used to establish visually an individual's or a family's place within the social and political hierarchy of the community to which they belonged. Many of the recent studies of monumental tombs have focused on how these structures were used by the rising classes, particularly wealthy freedmen, to promote themselves and guarantee a place for their heirs in the political landscape in the towns throughout Roman Italy.¹

The way in which the tombs of the Roman dead played a part in the world of the living was primarily a result of their location. Roman law, according to the Twelve Tables of 451 BC, forbade burial of the dead within the *pomerium*, or more specifically, within the walls of a city. From the very earliest time of Rome, therefore, tombs radiated out of the towns and cities, creating a visually stunning and distinct landscape marked by graves. Although enough of these structures have survived antiquity in places like Rome, Ostia, Isola Sacra and Pompeii to give an idea of the environment created, the visual impact that confronted the Romans on a daily basis as they passed by the tombs is difficult for us to conceive fully. Tombs were an individual construction, and

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¹ Cf. L. Hackworth-Petersen, *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*, Cambridge 2006.

because they were typically built by their intended inhabitant prior to death, reflect individual choices for commemoration. This most often involved a design, a location, or some outstanding feature of style, decoration or size that would draw the eye of anyone passing by. The desire, more than anything else, was to be seen and therefore, remembered. This is evident in many of the epitaphs of Roman tombs, calling for someone to stop and read the inscription and to remember the inhabitant, often going so far as to thank the passer-by for taking the time to do this.² I suggest that the construction of garden tombs was another means for creating a visual impact. These were a place for the living to use and enjoy on a regular basis as well as monuments for the deceased. There is both archaeological and literary evidence pertaining to such garden tombs throughout Italy and in other parts of the Roman world. The occurrence of them within the city cemeteries at places such as Pompeii, where they are often associated with *schola* or bench tombs, further suggests that these tombs were created as areas to be utilised regularly by the public, and not just by family members on specific days of ritual. Such monuments imply that a certain amount of interaction between the living and the dead was not only acceptable, but fully expected.

In and of themselves, gardens played a significant role in the daily lives of Romans. Gardens were often included in the design of buildings that served the community and structures of every size and variety contained them, including shops, inns, baths, schools, theatres and temples. It has been estimated that in Pompeii alone, seventeen percent of the town's land was devoted to gardens. To provide scale, this is nearly the same amount occupied by roads and public squares.³ The fact that gardens are to be found almost everywhere in the town signifies just how important the garden was to the Pompeian psyche, and could be therefore inferred, to the Roman one.⁴ Gardens were also fully integrated into the fabric of the Roman house. Nature was placed at centre stage: the peristyle garden, with its fountains, statues, and paintings, became the focal point within the house. Planted gardens were often expanded and enhanced, using wall paintings to mimic hedges, flowers and other garden scenes. Within the house this often included a small garden or potted plants

² *CIL* I² 1202 (*ILS* 8121).

³ M. Conan, "Nature into Art: Gardens and Landscapes in the Everyday Life of Ancient Rome," *Journal of Garden History* 6:4 (1986) 348–356, 349.

⁴ A. Giesecke, *The Epic City: Urbanism, Utopia, and the Garden in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Cambridge 2007, 102.

placed directly in front of a wall decorated with a floral scene in order to increase the illusion of the outside in. This was done throughout the house, bringing nature inside, whilst also domesticating, taming the outside, to create one single continuous impression of nature and civilisation in harmony. Giesecke has suggested that for the Romans, this conveys the idea of nature as another vanquished enemy.⁵ This notion is supported by Pliny, who wrote that "[i]t is a remarkable fact that ever since the time of Pompey the Great even trees have figured among the captives in our triumphal processions. The balsam-tree is now a subject of Rome, and pays tribute together with the race to which it belongs."⁶

In most houses, the incorporation of garden life was also accomplished through wall paintings. Although some of the depictions of flora and fauna contained on the walls of Roman buildings were fanciful imaginings, for the most part, the images were accurate portrayals of recognisable species, often duplicating the plants and animals found in one's garden or in the countryside. Many representations illustrated fruit trees, such as cherry, fig or lemon, all of which were grown in orchards throughout Roman Italy. Some clearly were more decorative than others, or were idealised visions of a garden that might include something as exotic as a peacock sitting on the edge of a bird bath.

The incorporation of nature into the daily life of the Romans proliferated under Augustus, with Rome itself transformed into a garden city, where there was a "blurring of distinctions between country and city," due not only to the growth of private garden villas but also the creation of public parks.⁷ The first public park built at Rome was established by Pompey the Great, and other men of the time followed suit; Marcus Agrippa left his estate, containing lavish gardens, to the Roman people.⁸ Pliny wrote of that "under the name of 'gardens' people possess the luxuries of farms and great estates within the city itself."⁹

There is also significant evidence from cities such as Ostia and Pompeii for dining in the garden. In addition to the spatial arrangement of the Roman atrium house, which typically placed the *triclinium* just off the peristyle garden so that it could be viewed by diners as they reclined on their couches,

⁵ Giesecke (above n. 4) xiv.

⁶ Plin. *nat.* 12,19,111–113. Trans. H. Rackham 1938, 1949.

⁷ Giesecke (above n. 4) xiii.

⁸ V. Jolivet, "Horti Pompeiani" in E.M. Steinby (ed.) *LTUR* III, Roma 1996, 78–79; F. Coarelli, "Horti Agrippae," in E.M. Steinby (ed.) *LTUR* III, Roma 1996, 51–52.

⁹ Plin. *nat.* 19,19,50–51. Trans. H. Rackham 1938, 1949.

archaeological remains have demonstrated the construction of both permanent and temporary structures used for dining *al fresco*.¹⁰ Outdoor dining also took place in urban vineyards and market gardens, some of which were associated with shops and bars rather than private houses.¹¹

It is not surprising therefore, that with daily life based within the concept of a garden, both real and imagined, the Romans would continue this practice when constructing their funerary monuments. Jashemski wrote that she thought "It was quite natural that the ancient Romans, for whom gardens were so important in life, should likewise surround their final resting places with plantings."¹² The association of plant life and graves or mourning is well attested in the Roman world. In *Metamorphoses*, Ovid relates the story of young Cyparissus, who upon the death of a beloved stag, chose to die himself, wishing to mourn forever. Apollo transformed him into the cypress tree, stating to the boy that "You shall be mourned by me, shall mourn for others, and your place shall always be where others grieve."¹³ Other plants had specific associations with the dead as it was customary for flowers and wreaths to be left at the grave during certain rituals and festivals, and some, such as the *Rosalia* and *Violatio*, required the offering of specific types of flowers.¹⁴

Investigating ancient plants is a rather difficult endeavour, and it is rare to find archaeological evidence for gardens in most of Italy. The only real exceptions to this exist in the areas of Campania buried by Vesuvius, but even then, evidence is reliant on undisturbed subsoil. It is, therefore, fortunate, that many texts and inscriptions¹⁵ survive that include some reference to their existence.

¹⁰ E. J. Graham, "Dining *al Fresco* with the Living and the Dead in Roman Italy," in M. Carroll et al. (eds.), *Consuming Passions: Dining from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, Stroud 2005, 49–65, 53–55.

¹¹ N. Purcell, "The Roman Garden as a Domestic Building", in I. Barton (ed.), *Roman Domestic Buildings*, Exeter 1996, 121–152, 123.

¹² W. J. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius I*, New Rochelle 1979, 141.

¹³ *Ov. Met.* 10,106–142. Trans. F. J. Miller 1958.

¹⁴ *CIL* V 2090 (*ILS* 8371); *CIL* V 7906; Jashemski (above n. 12) 142.

¹⁵ G. L. Gregori, "Horti sepulcrales e cepotaphia nelle iscrizioni urbane", *BCAR* 92 (1987–88) 175–188 has compiled a list of more than fifty inscriptions from a variety of structures in Rome that contain either the words '*hortus*' or '*cepotaphium*,' all of which date to the late Republican to early Imperial period.

Martial, in describing the tomb of Antulla, wrote that it was surrounded by a "grove and fair acres of tilled land."¹⁶ In two of Cicero's letters to Atticus, he discusses the difficulty he is having in securing the correct spot for the funerary monument for his daughter Tullia outside Rome, writing that "somehow or other I want a public place; so you must contrive to get me some gardens."¹⁷ The most famous of all freedmen, Petronius's Trimalchio, when outlining his plans for his tomb to his dinner guests, states "In front, I want my tomb to measure one hundred feet long, but two hundred feet deep. Around it I want an orchard with every known variety of fruit tree. You'd better throw in a vineyard too."¹⁸ Although this was meant as satire, inscriptions from tombs survive that provide evidence that this was not such a far-fetched idea. It is thought that rather than be strictly ornamental, tomb gardens were often used to provide, from the land around the monument, enough produce to sustain the shade of the departed. One inscription states that vineyards were planted specifically to provide wine for libations.¹⁹ Other evidence suggests there was profit to be made from the sale of produce grown in garden tombs, including fruits and vegetables.²⁰ Whilst some epitaphs, often composed in metrical verse, suggest only that there should be flowers or vines near the tomb, most inscriptions are very specific in detail.²¹ One asks that it should be his own plants "from whose yield my survivors may offer roses to me on my birthday forever."²² In the inscription on a tomb built outside Rome by the freedmen Gaius Hostius Pamphilus, the enclosure of the tomb is referred to as both a farm and as gardens.²³ Another tomb at Rome describes itself in the inscription as being planted with vines, fruits, flowers and greenery, as well as having a sundial.²⁴ This is an excellent example of what Jashemski expects to find, stating that "[i]t is not at all unusual to hear of large tomb gardens, beautifully landscaped with all the embellishments that decorated the gardens of the living: shaded triclinia, statues, sundials, pools, fountains, formal plantings, and homes

¹⁶ Mart. 1,116,1. Trans. Shackleton-Bailey 1993.

¹⁷ Cic. *Att.* 262; 276 (S-B).

¹⁸ Petr. *Sat.* 71. Trans. M. Heseltine 1961.

¹⁹ *CIL* XII 1657 (*ILS* 8367).

²⁰ Jashemski (above n. 12) 144.

²¹ *CIL* XI 6565; *CIL* VI 9118.

²² *CIL* V 7454 (*ILS* 8342).

²³ "*Haec est domus aeterna, hic est fundus, heis sunt horti, hoc est monumentum nostrum.*" *CIL* I² 1319 (*ILS* 8341).

²⁴ *CIL* VI 10237 (*ILS* 7870).

for caretakers."²⁵ A number of inscriptions from Rome and other sites in Italy include the phrase *hortus cinctus maceria*, that is, that the tomb garden is surrounded by some type of wall or enclosure.²⁶ This type of monument was not limited to Roman Italy. A detailed inscription found in Gaul on a monument built by Sextus Iulius Aquila provides instruction for the maintenance of a large garden tomb that included a chapel, the sepulchre itself, and grounds that encompassed lakes and an orchard. This was to be cared for by three landscapers and their assistants, with funds provided by annual donations to be made by the deceased's grandson, heirs and freedmen and women. This also included a provision for sacrifices and banquets to be held on the first day of six of the months of the year.²⁷

The most detailed description of a garden tomb, including a list of plants to be used for decorating the monument, comes from the *Culex*, in which a shepherd constructs a tomb for a gnat. Upon the death of the gnat, "hard by the running stream that lurked beneath green leafage, he busily begins to fashion a place, marking it in circular form, and oft turning to service his iron spade, to dig up grassy sods from the green turf. And now his mindful care, pursuing the toil begun, heaped up a towering work, and with broad rampart the earthy mound grew into the circle he had traced. Round about this, mindful of constant care, he sets stones, fashioned from polished marble."²⁸ This passage describes perfectly the construction of a *tumulus* tomb, an ancient Etruscan form found throughout Italy, North Africa and the east. The *tumulus* consists of a round stone wall surmounted by earth, usually planted with grass or flowers. It goes on to say, "Here are to grow acanthus and the blushing rose with crimson bloom, and violets of every kind. Here are Spartan myrtle and hyacinth, and here saffron, sprung from Cilician fields, and soaring laurel, the glory of Phoebus. Here are oleander, and lilies, and rosemary, tended in familiar haunts, and the Sabine plant, which for men of old feigned rich frankincense; and marigold, and glistening ivy, with pale clusters, and bocchus, mindful of Libya's king. Here are amaranth, blooming bumastus, and ever-flowering laurestine. Yonder fails not the Narcissus, whose noble beauty kindled with Love's flame for his own limbs; and what flowers soever the spring seasons renew, with these

²⁵ W. F. Jashemski, "Tomb Gardens at Pompeii", *CJ* 66 (1970–71) 97–115, 101.

²⁶ *CIL* VI 13823 (*ILS* 8352); *CIL* VI 10876; *CIL* VI 10237 (*ILS* 7870); X 2244.

²⁷ *CIL* XIII 5708 (*ILS* 8379).

²⁸ [Verg.] *Culex* 385–398. Trans. H. R. Fairclough 2000.

the mound is strewn above."²⁹ Jashemski has stated that the types of plants listed were those favoured by the Romans, and suggests further that the variety included were likely to have "been carefully chosen to provide a succession of bloom against an evergreen background throughout the changing seasons."³⁰ This description is also supported by epigraphic evidence: an inscription on a Roman tomb from Cirta in Africa states that "On my tumulus bees shall sip the thyme blossoms, the birds shall sing pleasantly to me in verdant grottoes; there buds the laurel, and golden bunches of grapes hang on the vines."³¹

There are also two surviving plans of garden tombs on marble plaques. One, found at the necropolis on the Via Labicana outside of Rome, shows a round monument in a formal garden, surrounded by a series of square and rectangular flower beds, and rows that indicate trees, shrubs or vines.³² The second, now located in the Perugia Museum, depicts an enclosure measuring sixty five by seventy six Roman feet, and outlines a range of buildings on a plot that may be a complex for ritual funerary banquets and possibly include accommodation for slaves and equipment for maintaining the garden.³³

The physical inclusion of gardens in tombs could be manifested in a number of ways, depending primarily on the type of tomb, the resources available to the individual constructing it, and the amount of land available for the build. Most plots would have been, due to the expense of the land, too small to include anything other than a cypress tree, or possibly some evergreens and a few flowers. However, the idea of the garden was not limited to actual plantings. As the interiors of many tombs were decorated in the same manner as houses, wall paintings of flora and fauna were the easiest and least expensive way to incorporate nature in one's final resting place.³⁴ The interior of the tomb of the young aedile Gaius Vestorius Priscus, buried by his mother outside the Porta Vesuvio at Pompeii, included depictions of animals such as a leopard and a peacock, and a garden scene. Another tomb, 19ES, outside Porta Nocera at

²⁹ [Verg.] *Culex* 398–414. Trans. H. R. Fairclough 2000.

³⁰ Jashemski (above n. 25) 102.

³¹ *CIL* VIII 7854. Though this inscription is in metrical verse and not typical of funerary inscriptions, I suggest that it is still a relevant piece of evidence for garden tombs, providing a more aesthetic description of a commonly known form.

³² *CIL* VI 9015= 29847a = (*ILS* 8120). Cf. *AE* 1991, 74; J. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, Baltimore 1971, 99.

³³ *CIL* VI 29847; Toynbee (above n. 32) 98.

³⁴ Gregori suggests that the plantings on the outside of the tomb were meant to evoke the garden paintings decorating the tomb interior. Gregori (above n. 15) 175.

Pompeii, contained garden paintings on the front of the tomb. Recessed arched panels on either side of the doorway contained depictions of crater-shaped fountains surrounded by flowering shrubs, with birds flying around it, all placed behind a low lattice fence.³⁵ The painting is, however, too severely damaged to identify the species of plant or bird with any certainty. I suggest that based on the evidence of similar occurrences within Roman houses, there were most likely plantings directly in front of this decoration specifically placed in order to enhance the illusion of a garden.

Other tombs included images of gardens or flowers in the actual structure of the monument. Floral and vegetal motifs were common on funerary monuments, ranging from simple rosettes to elaborate depictions of plants and flowers. Some tombs are decorated with vines or sprays growing out of a vase, and are thought to be a representation of the flowers left as offerings, or in the case of vines, "recall the god Bacchus and the hope of immortality."³⁶ There are a few tombs on which entire trees are shown in relief, interpretations of which range from the representation of funeral gardens, Apollonian imagery, or "signifying other world fertility."³⁷

An example of this from Pompeii is found on the Tomb of the Garlands, located outside Porta Herculaneum. It is thought to be one of the oldest tombs in the city, dating from the late Republican period.³⁸ The tomb is named for the decoration on the sides of the tomb, which consists of narrow floral garlands, wound with ribbons with fringed ends. These garlands are attached to the top corner of the tomb with large bows. Similar motifs are found on the wall paintings of Roman houses, further illustrating the similarities in domestic and funerary decoration.

Garden tombs are most likely manifested as a small plot of land adjacent to a tomb that was used for a garden. In Pompeii, a number of *scholae*, or bench tombs, a completely unique tomb type found only in this town, have small enclosures believed to have contained such gardens. Two *scholae* found adjacent to Porta Stabiae have small plots of land enclosed by low stone walls.

³⁵ W. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, II: Appendices*, New York 1993, 369; S. De Caro – A. D'Ambrosio, *Un Impegno per Pompei, Fotopiano e Documentazione della Necropoli di Porta Nocera*, Milan 1983, 19ES.

³⁶ A. Woods, *The Funerary Monuments of the Augustales in Italy*, PhD. Diss. UCLA 1991, 99.

³⁷ Woods (above n. 36) 99–100.

³⁸ V. Kockel, *Die Grabbauten vor dem Herculaner Tor in Pompeji*, Mainz 1983, 126–151.

The tomb directly adjacent to the city wall, built for Marcus Tullius, was, according to the inscription, given by order of the *decuriones*. It is believed that this man was responsible for constructing the Temple of Fortuna Augusta in AD 3/4, thus providing an approximate date for his tomb as well as a reason for the town's generosity.³⁹ The second tomb was dedicated to Marcus Alleius Minius, a *duovir*.⁴⁰ Twenty years after their excavation, Spano conducted further examination of the subsoil in the enclosed areas behind the two benches. Determining that these spaces were originally gardens, he planted roses, anemones and myrtle.⁴¹ Though there has been some subsequent debate as to the veracity of Spano's conclusions, modern plantings have destroyed any possibility of exploring ancient root systems further. The contrary argument claims these low walls were simply boundaries, but Jashemski disagrees, stating that "[t]he Pompeians would not leave plots of bare soil, especially in conspicuous places, near the city gates, attached to *scholae* intended for rest and enjoyment."⁴²

Two more *scholae* are located outside of Porta Nola, only one of which has an associated garden plot. The smaller of the two benches is dedicated to Aesquillia Polla, the young wife of a *duovir*. Like the *scholae* at Porta Stabiae, there is a small rectangular plot adjacent to this monument that some believe was another tomb garden, and was planted as such by Spano.⁴³ Again, any conclusive evidence has been destroyed by modern foliage.

There are a number of other tombs at Pompeii which could conceivably have been associated with gardens. In the necropolis at Porta Herculaneum there are a number of areas that warrant further investigation. The Tomb of Mamia, 4S, also a *schola* tomb, does not contain a walled enclosure like the other bench tombs already discussed, however there is a large open space directly behind it that is delineated by two low walls. Radiating out from the rear of the structure at approximately forty-five degree angles, I would surmise this area would have contained formal plantings.

³⁹ A. Sogliano, "Scoperte Epigrafiche", *NSA* 1890, 329–334, 329; *CIL* X 820 (*ILS* 5398); *CIL* X 821 (*ILS* 5398a).

⁴⁰ Sogliano (above n. 39) 330.

⁴¹ G. Spano, "Scavo nel giardino alla tomba di M. Tullio, Fuori Porta di Stabia", *NSA* 1910, 567–569; Jashemski (above n. 35) 255.

⁴² Jashemski (above n. 25) 110.

⁴³ G. Spano, "Scavi fuori Porta di Nola", *NSA* 1910, 385–393; Jashemski (above n. 35) 255.

Tomb 16S, identified as belonging to Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, a known garum manufacturer, was built sometime in the mid-first century AD.⁴⁴ As seen today, it is surrounded by trees and flowering shrubs. The sheer size of the plot of land, relative to the dimensions of the actual monument constructed is considerable, and is exactly the sort of place in which a formal garden would be expected. This garden would have been tended by the heirs who were also responsible for the tomb, and would have been used not just on festival days, but also presumably would have been accessible to the general public to admire and enjoy, thus adding to the memory of the tomb's inhabitant.

There are some funerary enclosures that contain no actual tomb whatsoever. These may, as is the case at 19S, contain a single *columella*, or gravestone, or in the instance of 39AN, is simply a large enclosed space with no visible construction. Because there are no traces of any built structures in these areas, the dead they were meant to honor must have been commemorated by a means that left no archaeological evidence, such as a garden.

Outside of the cities and towns, particularly on the large country estates of the Roman elite, it was standard practice to build funerary monuments and shrines within the gardens on one's own property. There is an example of this custom being adapted for an urban environment in Pompeii. The suburban villa known as the Villa of the Mosaic Columns outside of Porta Herculaneum contains two tombs that sit along the street front, but are also contained within a section of the villa's garden.⁴⁵ This small garden was only accessible through an entrance that required one to pass first through a larger garden that is associated with the villa. Examination of the subsoil revealed the presence of root cavities belonging to trees and shrubs. The remains of an enclosure wall and planting beds on the west and south sides support the presence of a garden.⁴⁶ This example is interesting because it is combining the urban practices of funerary construction with those of the elite countryside, but until now, has never been thoroughly studied or completely excavated.

The best example of a garden tomb at Rome is the Mausoleum of Augustus. Strabo described the monument as "[A] great mound near the river on a lofty foundation of white marble, thickly covered with ever-greens to the very summit. Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar; beneath the

⁴⁴ Kockel (above n. 38) 70–75.

⁴⁵ Kockel (above n. 38) 152–161; Jashemski (above n. 35) 256.

⁴⁶ A. Maiuri, "Area Sepolcrale della Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico", *NSA* 1943, 295–310; Jashemski (above n. 35) 256.

mound are the tombs of himself and his kinsmen and intimates; behind the mound is a large sacred precinct with wonderful promenades; and in the centre of the Campus is the wall (this too of white marble) round his crematorium; the wall is surrounded by a circular iron fence and the space within the wall is planted with black poplars."⁴⁷ Suetonius tells us that when Augustus built his tomb in 28 BC, he "at the same time opened to the public the groves and walks by which it was surrounded."⁴⁸ Not only was the mausoleum a *tumulus* tomb that incorporated plants and trees within the structure of the monument itself, but it was constructed within a large garden.

A similar, though much smaller *tumulus* tomb is located in the necropolis of Porta Nocera at Pompeii. Belonging to a woman named Veia Barchilla, it would have originally been covered with earth and planted with greenery and flowers. This tomb sits in a large walled enclosure that is shared with a second, unrelated tomb. The interior space of the enclosure between the tombs is actually large enough for a third construction, but there is no archaeological evidence for any building in the middle of this area. Both tombs date to the late Republican or early Augustan period, so it is unlikely that another tomb was planned but never realised.⁴⁹ Considering the amount of open space within this enclosure, it seems unlikely that this space was not also used as a garden.

Another tomb with a large enclosure at Porta Nocera is 3OS. Built in the late Republic, the tomb, belonging to Lucius Ceius Serapio, is located directly behind Tomb 1OS but at a higher elevation, in an enclosure that extends behind the other monuments along the road. In its current state, it contains an abundance of trees and flowering bushes. Because it is at a different level to the rest of the tombs, it also provides an excellent vantage point for viewing the city. If formally landscaped, it would have been a remarkable tribute to the deceased and would have provided a beautiful spot in which to pass the time.

Roman tombs were visited by the family and heirs of the deceased in order to carry out the rituals of the dead and on festival days. However, tombs and cemeteries also served other purposes. As discussed above, the *schola* tombs of Pompeii provided a public amenity by creating spaces in which to sit. It is no coincidence that the largest of these sit outside the busiest city gates. Part of the rituals associated with both the newly dead, and as part of the celebration of anniversaries and festivals included consuming a meal at the

⁴⁷ Strab. 5,3,8. Trans. H. L. Jones 1923.

⁴⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 100. Trans. J. C. Rolfe 1964.

⁴⁹ De Caro – D'Ambrosio (above n. 35) 1ES; 3ES.

grave site.⁵⁰ Evidence from Ostia, Isola Sacra and Pompeii includes *triclinia* and *biclinia* as part of a tomb complex, and can also contain provisions for cooking and fresh water supplies.⁵¹ Many funerary items actually contain depictions of drinking and dining. These images, often of the deceased reclining on a couch, are found in tomb paintings and in relief on altars, cinerary urns, and sarcophagi.⁵² As there is a tradition of garden dining in the Roman world and graveside dining, it is therefore likely that these two activities were combined. Graham has suggested that "poorer members of the community should be imagined conducting feasts in the form of picnics."⁵³ For those unable to afford the large peristyle house, garden tombs could have provided the sort of green space needed for a picnic.

In addition, it is important to remember the location of tombs outside city gates, and the use determined by such. Those travelling to the city, particularly merchants, would have stopped at the city gates to have goods inspected and pay taxes.⁵⁴ On busy days such as when the local market was held, this could mean long delays and queues. This is exactly the situation for which the *scholae* were constructed, and garden tombs would provide further space for refuge from the heat and dust. There is some evidence for city gates being closed at night, and as a result, travellers took provisions for spending a night out of doors.⁵⁵ In such instances, the tomb enclosures, especially those large enough to contain gardens, could provide the space needed for preparing food and sleeping.

Gardens were a fundamental component of daily life for the ancient Romans. As such, it is therefore not surprising that aspects of nature were incorporated into the monuments of the dead. The precedence for utilising the same techniques of decoration in the house and the tomb is well established for wall painting, and should therefore be held applicable for gardens. Gardens were not only used as locations in which to build tombs, but elements of the garden were also incorporated in tomb design. This in and of itself implicates

⁵⁰ *CIL* VI 14614 (*ILS* 7931).

⁵¹ Jashemski (above n. 25) 100; Jashemski (above n. 12) 142–143; K. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality*, Cambridge 2003, 127–128; Graham (above n. 10) 58–62.

⁵² Dunbabin (above n. 51) 103–140.

⁵³ Graham (above n. 10) 60.

⁵⁴ C. van Tilburg, *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*, London 2007, 85.

⁵⁵ *Cic. inv.* 2,123 (trans. H. M. Hubbell 1949); van Tilburg (above n. 54) 110.

how important nature was to the ancient Romans. Tomb design was visually competitive, and placing your monument within a large enclosure that included an elaborate flower garden, an orchard or even vineyards would most certainly have caught the eye of those passing. The mere idea of creating a garden around one's tomb suggests that these spaces were meant to be utilised and visited by the living. Unlike modern cemeteries that, more often than not, are removed from the living world and require a conscious decision to enter, the necropoleis of the Romans were part of the city, and were passed through by large portions of the population on a daily basis. The existence of the bench tombs at Pompeii, which are usually associated with an adjacent garden plot, show that these areas were heavily travelled and visited because they offer a place to stop, to rest. Gardens were also connected with dining, and garden tombs would have been used in the same way, both by members of the deceased's family and, I believe, the general populace as well.

The dead may have been gone, but were certainly not forgotten by the ancient Romans. In addition to festivals and anniversaries that celebrated the dead and required visits to, and sacrifices made at the grave site, the practice of burial along the roads ensured that the dead were a constant in the daily life of anyone entering or leaving a city. As the primary motivation in constructing a tomb was remembrance, the key was to attract the attention of those passing by. Including lavish gardens, sweet smelling flowers, or providing simply the shade of a single tree under which a weary traveller could rest would have assured one's continued place amongst the living.

**I SOPRANNOMI TRIONFALI DI COSTANTINO:
UNA REVISIONE CRITICA DELLA CRONOLOGIA
CORRENTE**

MAURIZIO COLOMBO

*Imp(eratores) Caess(ares) Fl(auius) Val(erius) Constantius G(alerius)
Valerius Ma|ximian(us) P(ii) F(elices) In(uicti) Aug(usti) p(ontifices) m(aximi)
Ger(manici) m(aximi) V Sar(matici) m(aximi) III Per(sici) m(aximi) II
Br(itannici) | m(aximi) II Car(pici) m(aximi) V Ar(meniaci) m(aximi) Med(ici)
m(aximi) Ad(iabeni) m(aximi) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) XVI co(n)s(ules) VI
p(atres) p(atriciae) p(roconsules)¹*

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Galerius Valerius Maximianus Pius Felix Augustos |
pont(ifex) m(aximus) Germ(anicus) m(aximus) VI Sarm(aticus) m(aximus) V
Pers(icus) m(aximus) II Br(it)annicus) m(aximus) Carp(icus) m(aximus) V
Arm(eniacus) m(aximus) Med(icus) m(aximus) | Adiab(enicus) m(aximus)
trib(unicia) p(otestate) XVII imp(erator) III p(ater) p(atriciae) proc(onsul) et
Galerius Valerius | Maximinus Sarmaticus nobilissimus Caesar²*

La cronologia delle vittorie costantiniane secondo Timothy D. Barnes è recepita anche da Géza Alföldy e Andrea Scheithauer nella nota di commento a *CIL* VI 40776; io invece credo che essa richieda una minuziosa e accurata revisione.³

¹ *AE* 1961, 240 = *RMD* I 78. Prima edizione in M. Bizzarri – G. Forni, "Diploma militare del 306 d.C. rilasciato ad un pretoriano di origine italiana", *Athenaeum* 38 (1960) 3–25. La parte omessa contiene la data precisa del documento, 7 Gennaio 306 d.C.

² *AE* 2002, 1293. Prima edizione in G. Mitrev, "Civitas Heracleotarum: Heracleia Sintica or the Ancient City at the Village of Rupite (Bulgaria)", *ZPE* 145 (2003) 263–272, soprattutto 263–267.

³ T. D. Barnes, "The Victories of Constantine", *ZPE* 20 (1976) 149–155; id., "Imperial Campaigns, A.D. 285–311", *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 191–193; id., *The New Empire of*

Partiamo dalla titolatura imperiale delle due iscrizioni parzialmente riprodotte in apertura del mio studio. La prima epigrafe rappresenta tanto un documento fondamentale sulle campagne militari dei Tetrarchi diocleziane tra 301 e 305 d.C., quanto il punto di partenza per ogni studio sulle vittorie imperiali, che furono conseguite ai danni di Germani e Sarmati dopo la morte di Costanzo I. La datazione comunemente accettata della seconda epigrafe, 10 Dicembre 307–30 Aprile 308 d.C.,⁴ apparentemente permette di stabilire una data approssimativa per la prima assunzione di *Germanicus maximus* da parte di Costantino, cioè tra la tarda estate/primo autunno 306 e la primavera 308; infatti Galerio era ancora detto *Germanicus maximus V* nella prima iscrizione, e qui risulta essere *Germanicus maximus VI*.

In primo luogo dobbiamo affrontare una questione nodale, le iterazioni della *tribunicia potestas* da parte di Galerio. Alcuni studiosi, che seguono il brillante (ma a mio parere erroneo) studio di Michel Festy, impongono un dogma: il 1 Maggio 305 d.C. Costanzo I e Galerio, per marcare la loro promozione ad *Augusti*, aumentarono di una unità le iterazioni regolari della *tribunicia potestas*, prendendo la XIV, e poi assunsero la XV il 10 Dicembre 305 d.C.⁵ Ciò è palesemente contraddetto da due iscrizioni relative a Costanzo I, le quali furono incise nel 306 d.C., più precisamente l'una tra il 1 Maggio e il 25 Luglio, l'altra tra il 1 Gennaio e il 25 Luglio; entrambe registrano la XIV *tribunicia potestas* e il VI consolato di Costanzo I, che nella prima iscrizione è detto anche *imperator II*.⁶ Una terza epigrafe dà una titolatura leggermente diversa per Galerio, *tribuniciae potestatis XV imp(eratori) II cons(uli) VI*, ed è comunemente datata al 306 d.C.;⁷ infatti Hans-Georg Pflaum riteneva sia che XV dovesse essere corretto in XIV sulla base di *imp II* e *cons VI*, sia che questa iscrizione fosse "jumelle" dell'epigrafe, che per Costanzo I registra *tribuniciae*

Diocletianus and Constantine, Cambridge, Mass. – London 1982, 69–72, 75, 77, 79, 84 e nt. 159, 258.

⁴ Cl. Lepelley, "Une inscription d'*Heraclea Sintica* (Macédoine) récemment découverte, révélant un rescrit de l'empereur Galère restituant ses droits à la cité", *ZPE* 146 (2004) 224–226.

⁵ M. Festy, "Puissances tribunicienes et salutations impériales dans la titulature des empereurs romains de Dioclétien à Gratien", *RIDA* III s. 29 (1982) 193–234, qui pertinenti soprattutto 202–205. Cfr. anche Barnes, "Campaigns" (sopra nt. 3) 190 e id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 26.

⁶ *CIL* VIII 18860 = *ILAlg* II 2, 4672 e *CIL* VIII 21983.

⁷ *ILAlg* II 2, 4671.

potestatis XIV imp II cons VI.⁸ Ma l'iscrizione relativa a Galerio può essere stata incisa d o p o la morte di Costanzo I, più precisamente tra il 10 Dicembre 306 e il 30 Aprile 307 d.C., quando Galerio era appunto *tribuniciae potestatis XV imp II cons VI*. Secondo la mia opinione le due epigrafi di Costanzo I e di Galerio in realtà appartengono a due coppie distinte di *tituli* onorifici, l'una dedicata a Costanzo I e Galerio prima del 25 Luglio 306 d.C., l'altra a Galerio e Severo, che diventò *Augustus* d'Occidente dopo la morte di Costanzo I.

Per quanto riguarda le due iscrizioni relative a Costanzo I, le iterazioni della *tribunicia potestas* nella prima sono parzialmente perdute, ma la ricognizione autoptica a opera di Johann Schmidt e di Hans-Georg Pflaum non lascia nessun margine di esitazione sulla lezione *XIV*,⁹ mentre il testo perfettamente conservato della seconda non ammette la minima incertezza;¹⁰ quindi il comportamento di Festy, che avanza dubbi ingiustificati sulla prima iscrizione e omette la seconda, appare molto singolare.¹¹ Le iterazioni della *tribunicia potestas* in *AE* 1961, 42 = *RMD* I 78 sono sicuramente errate, e devono essere scaturite da una banale inversione di cifre, *XVI* al posto del corretto *XIV*.¹²

Eusebio di Cesarea allega la traduzione greca dell'editto, con cui il 30 Aprile 311 d.C. Galerio concesse libertà di culto ai Cristiani; il suo testo propone un ulteriore problema: Galerio è detto *δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ εἰκοστόν, αὐτοκράτωρ ἑννεακαίδέκατον*, cioè *tribuniciae potestatis XX imperator XIX*.¹³ Il dogma del 1 Maggio 305 d.C. giustificherebbe *tribuniciae potestatis XX*, che però contrasta vistosamente sia con le due epigrafi relative a Costanzo I,¹⁴ sia con *AE* 1961, 240 = *RMD* I 78, sia con l'iscrizione di Galerio;¹⁵ inoltre *imperator XIX* discorda con l'epigrafe relativa a Galerio e *AE* 2002,

⁸ *CIL* VIII 18860 = *ILAlg* II 2, 4672.

⁹ *CIL* VIII 18860 = *ILAlg* II 2, 4672 *tribuniciae potestatis XIV*: le parti superiori delle ultime due cifre sono ancora visibili.

¹⁰ *CIL* VIII 21983 *t(ribunicia) p(otestate) XIII co(n)s(ul) VI*.

¹¹ Festy (sopra nt. 5) 202, 204 e n. 24: si noti che egli conosce la prima epigrafe soltanto attraverso *CIL* VIII 5526 = *ILS* 651.

¹² G. Forni in Bizzarri – Forni (sopra nt. 1) 14–15. Il medesimo errore in *CIL* II 1439 (Massimiano: *cons. VI* invece di *IV*) e *AE* 1990, 532 (Massimiano: *cos. VI* invece di *IV*). *Contra* Festy (sopra nt. 5) 204 nt. 25, che curiosamente passa sotto silenzio tombale le osservazioni di Forni: "Dans le diplôme de 306, il est par conséquent moins hasardeux de restituer TRP XV que TRP XIV".

¹³ Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 8,17: la data in Lact. *mort. pers.* 35,1.

¹⁴ *CIL* VIII 18860 = *ILAlg* II 2, 4672 e *CIL* VIII 21983.

¹⁵ *ILAlg* II 2, 4671.

1293: in esse leggiamo rispettivamente *imp(eratori) II* e *imp(erator) III*. Per quale ragione Galerio avrebbe dovuto variare il computo normale delle acclamazioni imperatorie?

Michel Festy propone una soluzione ingegnosa, che io giudico parzialmente esatta: nell'autunno 306 o al principio del 307 d.C. Galerio, allora soltanto *imperator II*, decise di computare le iterazioni di *imperator* a partire dal suo *natalis Caesaris*, per sottolineare la sua anzianità nell'ambito del collegio tetrarchico e il suo primato rispetto a Severo, nuovo *Augustus* d'Occidente.¹⁶ La nuova iscrizione confuta la datazione proposta per il cambiamento;¹⁷ inoltre Galerio aveva una ragione molto più cogente, per mutare il numero e la data delle proprie *salutationes imperatoriae*. Egli avrebbe potuto celebrare i propri *uicennalia* soltanto conducendo il calcolo dal suo *natalis Caesaris* (1 Marzo 293 d.C.), dal momento che secondo il *dies imperii* (1 Maggio 305 d.C.) essi sarebbero caduti addirittura il 1 Maggio 324 d.C.!¹⁸

Possiamo accettare tranquillamente *imperator XIX* di Eusebio, ma credo lecito sospettare che *tribuniciae potestatis XX* sia un mero errore, più precisamente una trascrizione errata, che forse era già presente nel testo latino;¹⁹ Eusebio adoperò una copia sicuramente difettosa dell'editto imperiale, ovvero ne trascrisse il testo con diligenza intermittente, poiché nella titolatura di Galerio sono assenti gli appellativi *Pius* e *Felix*, le iterazioni di *Germanicus maximus* e il soprannome trionfale *Britannicus maximus*, in quella di Costantino la cifra della *tribunicia potestas*. Se ammettiamo tale spiegazione, il 30 Aprile 311 d.C. Galerio era *tribuniciae potestatis XIX imperator XIX*; entrambe le cifre sono coerenti con le due iscrizioni di Costanzo I,²⁰ così come con *AE* 1961, 240 = *RMD* I 78 e con l'epigrafe di Galerio.²¹ Perciò la titolatura di *AE* 2002, 1293

¹⁶ Festy (sopra nt. 5) 203.

¹⁷ Lepelley (sopra nt. 4) 226 riprende fedelmente gli argomenti di Festy, e si limita a spostare il cambio del computo direttamente al 311 d.C.

¹⁸ *Lact. mort. pers.* 35,4 *cum futura essent uicennalia Kalendis Martiis impendentibus*. Cfr. anche 31,1: forse il mutamento del computo ebbe luogo nel 309/310 d.C.

¹⁹ V. ntt. 12 e 22. Cfr. inoltre i madornali errori di *CIL* VI 40723 (Massimiano: *trib. pot. XI* invece di *VI* ovvero *imp. V* invece di *X*) e di *AE* 2003, 1421b (Diocleziano: *tr. pot. II cos. III* invece di *tr. pot. III cos. II*).

²⁰ *CIL* VIII 18860 = *ILAlg* II 2, 4672 e *CIL* VIII 21983.

²¹ *ILAlg* II 2, 4671. Festy (sopra nt. 5) 216–217 cita a sostegno della propria teoria anche un'iscrizione di Costanzo II, *CIL* III 3705 = *ILS* 732 *tribuniciae potestatis XXXII imp XXX consul{i} VII*, ma la lezione genuina *tribuniciae potestatis XXXI* compare in *EE* II 746 e *CIL* III 10617 (cfr. *ILS* III 2, Add. et Corrig., CLXXII), che egli neppure menziona; questo dato e

contiene sicuramente un errore. Se esso riguarda la *tribunicia potestas* (*XVII* invece di *XVI*), la datazione attuale (10 Dicembre 307–30 Aprile 308 d.C.) coglie nel segno. Se invece il calcolo della *tribunicia potestas* è giusto, l'iscrizione contiene un'indicazione errata per *imperator* (*III* invece di *IIII*), e deve essere datata al periodo tra il 10 Dicembre 308 e il 30 Aprile 309 d.C.²² A questo punto possiamo affrontare la questione principale, cioè i *cognomina deuictarum gentium* di Costantino; infatti tramite la datazione qui suggerita di *AE* 2002, 1293 la cronologia delle vittorie costantiniane guadagna maggiore chiarezza.

La prima assunzione di *Germanicus maximus* e le successive iterazioni del soprannome trionfale da parte di Costantino rimangono un problema aperto; io ritengo molto discutibile la ricostruzione largamente diffusa di Timothy D. Barnes: *Germanicus maximus* autunno 306 o inizio 307, ovvero 307, *II* 308, *III* 314, *IIII* autunno 328 o inverno 328–329, ovvero 328/329.²³ Soprattutto la campagna germanica di Costantino nel 314 d.C. è un'ipotesi priva di adeguato supporto nelle fonti letterarie e documentarie.²⁴ Barnes cita soltanto un breve passo di Eusebio,²⁵ autore sempre degno della massima cautela, e le legende delle monete coniate nel 315 d.C. per i *decennalia* di Costantino.²⁶ Ma quel

le due iscrizioni di Costanzo I con la *XIV tribunicia potestas* (v. nt. precedente e ntt. 9–10) sono sufficienti a confutare la sua tesi.

²² Errori analoghi in altre epigrafi: *CIL* VI 1175 (Graziano: *imp. II* invece di *III*); VIII 8476 (Costantino: *imp. VI* invece di *VIII*); 18905 (Costantino: *imp. VII* invece di *VIII*); 23897 (Costantino: *imp. VII* invece di *VIII*). Inoltre *Britannicus maximus* di *AE* 2002, 1293 omette un'iterazione del soprannome trionfale: cfr. *Britannicus maximus II* di *AE* 1961, 240 = *RMD* I 78 e *Anon. Val. p. pr.* 4.

²³ Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 150–151 e 153; id., "Campaigns" (sopra nt. 3) 191–193; id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 69–72, 77, 256–258.

²⁴ Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 151 e 153; id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 72.

²⁵ Eus. *Vita Const.* 1,46 = PG XX, 961 Θεὸς δ' αὐτὸν ἀμειβόμενος πάντα γένη βαρβάρων τοῖς αὐτοῦ καθυπέτατε ποσίν, ὡς καὶ πάντη πανταχοῦ τρόπαια καθ' ἐχθρῶν ἐγείρειν· νικητὴν τ' αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνεκέρυττεν, ἐπίφοβν τε ἐχθροῖς καὶ πολεμίοις καθίστη, οὐκ ὄντα τὴν φύσιν τοιοῦτον, ἡμερώτατον δὲ καὶ πραότατον καὶ φιλανθρωπότατον, εἴ τις πώποτε ἄλλος.

²⁶ *RIC* VII, 124 nrr. 28–29 *VICTORIA AVGG NN* e *VIRT CONSTANTINI AVGG*; 163–164 nrr. 3–5 *VBIQVE VICTORES*, 6–10 *VICTORIBVS AVGG NN VOT X ET XX*, 11 *VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM NN*; 166–167 nrr. 27–31 *VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM*, 32–33 *VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVGG*, 34–37 *VIRTVS AVGG N*, 38 *VICTORIBVS AVGG NN VOTIS X*; 362–365 nrr. 25 *VICTORIAE LAETAE AVGG NN VOT X MVL XX*, 28 *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM FRAN ET ALAM*, 33 *VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM*, 34 *VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVGG*, 35 *VIRTVS AVGVSTI N*, 37 *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM FRAN ET ALAM*, 40 *VICTORE AVGG N VOTIS X MVL XX*.

brano è tanto generico e tendenzioso, da non avere nessun valore a livello storico; le legende sono ugualmente vaghe, e per giunta Barnes le ha erroneamente estrapolate dal contesto globale della propaganda costantiniana per via monetaria. Il mero numero dei tipi monetali non costituisce una prova, poiché esso è direttamente funzionale alla solenne celebrazione dei *decennalia*.

L'esame puntuale delle legende dà un risultato molto eloquente. Le monete dei *decennalia* ripropongono in modo sistematico formule già usate negli anni precedenti (soprattutto nel 310/313 d.C.),²⁷ e questa ripresa mira a commemorare complessivamente i successi militari di Costantino e di Licinio fino al 315 d.C.:²⁸ più precisamente, almeno otto legende provengono dalla propaganda anteriore di Costantino.²⁹ Si noti che le legende miste *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM FRAN ET ALAM* e *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM FRANC ET ALAM* figurano unicamente in occasione dei *decennalia* costantiniani. Altrimenti le due personificazioni compaiono sempre separate non soltanto nel 310/313 d.C., ma anche nelle successive emissioni: da un lato *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM ALAMANNIA*,³⁰ dall'altro *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM FRANCIA*.³¹

Costantino era *Germanicus maximus III* nel 318 d.C.,³² mentre risulta essere *Germanicus maximus IIII* nel tardo inverno/primavera 337 d.C.³³ Altrove

²⁷ RIC VI, 220–223 nrr. 798–800 *VBIQVE VICTORES* (309 d.C.), 808 *VBIQVE VICTORES* (309/313 d.C.), 816 *VBIQVE VICTOR*, 817 a–c *VBIQVE VICTORES*, 818 *VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM*, 819 *VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG* (310/313 d.C.), 821 *VOTIS V MVLTVS X VICTORIA AVG* (310 d.C.), 823 *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM ALAMANNIA* e 824 *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM FRANCIA* (310/313 d.C.); 263 nr. 285 e 265 nrr. 302–303 *VIRT PERP CONSTANTINI AVG* (308/309 d.C.).

²⁸ Il valore cumulativo della celebrazione è dimostrato dalle legende *VICTORIA AVGG NN*, *VBIQVE VICTORES*, *VICTORIBVS AVGG NN VOTIS X ET XX* oppure *VOTIS X*, *VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM NN*, *VICTORIAE LAETAE AVGG NN VOT X MVL XX*, *VICTORE AVG N VOTIS X MVL XX* (v. nt. 26).

²⁹ *VIRT CONSTANTINI AVG*, *VBIQVE VICTORES*, *VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM*, *VICTORIA CONSTANTINI AVG*, *VIRTVS AVG N*, *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM FRAN ET ALAM*, *VIRTVS AVGVSTI N*, *GAVDIVM ROMANORVM FRANC ET ALAM* (v. ntt. 26–27). Mi sembra palmare che *VIRT CONSTANTINI AVG*, *VIRTVS AVG N* e *VIRTVS AVGVSTI N* siano semplici variazioni dell'originario *VIRT PERP CONSTANTINI AVG*.

³⁰ RIC VII, 185 nrr. 237–239 e 243 (319/320 d.C.); 196 nr. 362 (322/323 d.C.); 213 nr. 516 (328/329 d.C.); 216 nr. 535 (332/333 d.C.).

³¹ Ibid., 185 nrr. 240–241 (319/320 d.C.); 196 nrr. 363 e 365 (322/323 d.C.); 426 nr. 23 (317 d.C.).

³² CIL VIII 8412.

³³ AE 1934, 158 = CIL VI 40776.

credo di avere validamente dimostrato sia che Costantino condusse *q u a t t r o* spedizioni contro i Germani tra il 306 e il 313 d.C., sia che la campagna militare di Nazario, *Pan. Lat.* 4,18,1–6 Mynors è un episodio distinto rispetto a *Pan. Lat.* 6,12,1–4 Mynors e 12,21,5–22,6 Mynors; nel tardo autunno 310 d.C. Costantino riportò una grande vittoria sulla triplice alleanza di Franchi renani (chiamati con l'etnonimo dotto ed anacronistico *Bructeri*), Lanciones e Alamanni Bucinobantes.³⁴

Mi pare evidente che non tutte le guerre contro i Germani furono celebrate con l'assunzione del soprannome trionfale da parte dell'imperatore; la soluzione più logica è che una spedizione vittoriosa dello stesso Costantino (306, 308 o 313 d.C.) e la campagna militare di Crispo *Caesar* contro i Franchi (319/320 d.C.)³⁵ non siano state registrate nella titolatura imperiale. Qualora la mia datazione di *AE* 2002, 1293 fosse esatta (10 Dicembre 308–30 Aprile 309 d.C.), la nuova epigrafe permetterebbe di circoscrivere il margine di dubbio agli anni 306 e 308 d.C., visto che Galerio è detto *Germanicus maximus VI*, ed era ancora *Germanicus maximus V* in *AE* 1961, 240 = *RMD* I 78. Quindi la cronologia delle vittorie costantiniane sui Germani può essere la seguente: *Germanicus maximus* 306 o 308 d.C., *II* 308 o 310 d.C., *III* 310 o 313 d.C., *III* 328/329 d.C.³⁶ In altra sede ho respinto l'ipotesi di Camille Jullian e di Adelina Arnaldi,³⁷ che proponevano di datare anche la prima spedizione oltre il Reno al 306 d.C.,³⁸ chi comunque preferisse questa soluzione, ne ricaverebbe

³⁴ M. Colombo, "Annotazioni storiche e letterarie su Nazario, *Pan. Lat.* IV, 18, 1–6", *Hermes* 132 (2004) 352–372; cfr. inoltre id., "Tre note sui *Panegyrici Latini*", *Hermes* 135 (2007) 499–503. Un sorprendente punto di vista in J. F. Drinkwater, *The Alamanni and Rome 213–496. Caracalla to Clovis*, Oxford 2007, 193–194: "non sappiamo di nessun conflitto tra Costantino e gli Alamanni nel periodo 306–312", il brano di Nazario è "a rhetorical flourish" e "an imaginative hotchpotch", "nessuno [degli etnonimi là elencati] merita credito, soprattutto quello di Alamanni", "è estremamente inverosimile che [gli Alamanni] siano stati coinvolti nei combattimenti". Ritengo di avere preventivamente confutato queste asserzioni nei miei articoli, di cui anche il primo sembra sconosciuto a Drinkwater (*Italicum est, non legitur*); qui basta dire che egli inspiegabilmente ignora l'esplicita menzione degli Alamanni in *Eutr.* 10,3,2 e i *ludi Lancionici* di *CIL* I², p. 278.

³⁵ Nazario, *Pan. Lat.* 4,3,5. 17,2. 36,3. 37,1–2 Mynors; *Opt. Porf. carm.* 5,30–32 e 10,24–29.

³⁶ Altrove ho proposto *Germanicus maximus* 308, *II* 310, *III* 313 d.C.: Colombo, "Annotazioni" (sopra nt. 34) 368–369. Per la datazione di *Germanicus maximus III* v. più avanti nel testo.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 352–353 e nt. 4.

³⁸ C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, VII, Paris 1926, 110; A. Arnaldi, "La successione dei cognomina devictarum gentium e le loro iterazioni nella titolatura di Costantino il Grande",

certamente il vantaggio di una ricostruzione molto più semplice: *Germanicus maximus* 306 d.C., *II* 310 d.C., *III* 313 d.C., *IIII* 328/329 d.C. Resta l'onere di individuare le norme, che guidarono l'assunzione e le iterazioni dei soprannomi trionfali da parte di Costantino; questo compito richiede un esame complessivo delle vittorie costantiniane negli anni 322–334 d.C.

La titolatura ufficiale di Costantino comprendeva *Germanicus maximus IIII Sarmaticus maximus III Gothicus maximus II Dacicus maximus* in un'epigrafe romana del tardo inverno/primavera 337 d.C.³⁹ L'ordine di successione è il medesimo in un'iscrizione di Hispellum approssimativamente datata al 25 Dicembre 333–18 Settembre 335 d.C., *Germanicus Sarmaticus Gothicus*, ma il superlativo *maximus* e le iterazioni sono omessi per tutti e tre i soprannomi.⁴⁰ Un'epigrafe di Orcistus, incisa nel 331 d.C., registra *Gothicus*, ma omette *Germanicus* e *Sarmaticus*.⁴¹ Perciò l'assenza di *Dacicus maximus* nell'iscrizione di Hispellum non ci autorizza a datarne l'assunzione dopo il 335 d.C.

Esaminiamo metodicamente le iterazioni dei *cognomina devictarum gentium* secondo l'epigrafe romana. La quarta iterazione di *Germanicus maximus* deve essere collegata al soprannome trionfale *Alamannicus* di Costantino II *Caesar*; esso figura anche nell'epigrafe romana, ma era già attestato dall'iscrizione di Orcistus, e celebra una vittoria conseguita sugli Alamanni nel 328/329 d.C. Il dodicenne Costantino II *Caesar* allora dové affiancare nominalmente il padre, che lo onorò in modo speciale coniando *Alamannicus*, una novità assoluta e la prima attestazione dell'agg. etnico nel latino tardo.⁴²

in *Contributi di Storia antica in onore di Albino Garzetti* (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Storia antica dell'Università di Genova 14), Genova 1977, 191–192.

³⁹ CIL VI 40776: *Sarmaticus maximus III* corregge il tradizionale *Sarmaticus maximus II* di *AE* 1934, 158 (v. anche nt. 43). In questo articolo, fatta eccezione per *Carpicus maximus* (v. nt. 48), accantonerò il problema dei soprannomi attestati soltanto in due o tre epigrafi, ovvero in una sola, fino al 318 d.C.: *Britannicus maximus* (CIL VIII 8412 e 23116; *ILAlg* II 3, 7868), *Arabicus maximus* e *Armeniacus maximus* (CIL VIII 8412), *Medicus maximus* (CIL VIII 8412 e 23116), *Persicus maximus* (CIL VIII 23116 e *ILAlg* I 3956), *Adiabenicus maximus* (CIL VIII 23116).

⁴⁰ CIL XI 5265.

⁴¹ CIL III 7000.

⁴² *Contra* Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 151 e 153; id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 77, 84 e nt. 159, 258: Costantino *Germanicus maximus IIII* autunno 328 o inverno 328–329, ovvero 328/329 d.C., Costantino II *Alamannicus* 330 d.C. Arnaldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 196–197 e ead., "I cognomina devictarum gentium dei successori di Costantino il Grande",

Tutti gli studiosi precedenti hanno letto e commentato *Sarmaticus maximus II* nell'epigrafe romana del tardo inverno/primavera 337 d.C.; ma la ricognizione autoptica di Géza Alföldy stabilisce la lezione *Sarmaticus maximus III*.⁴³ La prima iterazione di *Sarmaticus maximus* tra i soprannomi trionfali di Costantino deve essere ricondotta alle *uictoriae Sarmaticae* di Galerio tra 306 e 309 d.C.⁴⁴ La nuova iscrizione attesta appunto il conseguimento di due *uictoriae Sarmaticae* tra il 7 Gennaio 306 e il 30 Aprile 308 ovvero 309 d.C.; infatti Costanzo I e Galerio in *AE* 1961, 240 = *RMD* I 78 sono detti *Sarmatici maximi III*, ma il solo Galerio in *AE* 2002, 1293 già risulta essere *Sarmaticus maximus V* e Massimino è *Sarmaticus*.⁴⁵ In modo analogo la prima assunzione di *Gothicus maximus* da parte di Costantino proviene molto probabilmente da una vittoria di Licinio sui Tervingi/Goti danubiani nel 314/315 d.C.⁴⁶

Questo punto ispira soluzioni molto differenti ad Adelina Araldi e Timothy D. Barnes. Dopo l'eliminazione di Licinio nel 324 d.C., Costantino avrebbe conservato soltanto i soprannomi trionfali e le loro iterazioni conquistati personalmente, abbandonando *cognomina* e iterazioni, che risalivano alle imprese belliche degli ex-colleghi: "Costantino dovette allora lasciar cadere alcune iterazioni del soprannome Sarmatico massimo".⁴⁷ La prima assunzione di *Gothicus maximus* da parte di Costantino risalirebbe ad una vittoria di Galerio sui Carpi;⁴⁸ invece l'ulteriore presenza di *Gothicus maximus*

Epigraphica 39 (1977) 92: 328 d.C. senza la partecipazione personale di Costantino alle operazioni militari.

⁴³ *CIL* VI 40776 e nota di commento.

⁴⁴ *CIL* VIII 8412. 8477. 22017. 22119. 22176. 22246. 23116; *ILAlg* I 3956 e II 3, 7868; *AE* 1987, 1010. *Contra* Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 152–153; id., *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge, Mass. – London 1981, 76; id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 75 e 258: 323 d.C. Araldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 197–198: 322 d.C.

⁴⁵ Sia l'opinione corrente (10 Dicembre 307–30 Aprile 308 d.C.) sia la mia ipotesi (10 Dicembre 308–30 Aprile 309 d.C.) confutano la datazione di *Sarmaticus maximus V* al 27 Giugno 310 d.C.: Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 154–155; id., "Campaigns" (sopra nt. 3) 192–193; id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 81.

⁴⁶ *CIL* VIII 8412. 8477. 23116: v. nt. 49. *Contra* Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 152–153 e id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 258: 328 o 329 d.C. Araldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 183–184 e 200: 323 d.C.

⁴⁷ Araldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 188 e nt. 3. Ciò sembra tacitamente presupposto in Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 149–150 e 154; id., "Campaigns" (sopra nt. 3) 191–193.

⁴⁸ *CIL* VIII 8477: Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 150 e id., "Campaigns" (sopra nt. 3) 191–192. La presunta assunzione di *Gothicus maximus* per una vittoria sui Carpi appare ancora più strana, se si considera che l'uso di *Carpicus maximus* era normale e frequente in quel

nelle iscrizioni costantiniane deriverebbe da una campagna militare di Licinio contro i Goti all'inizio del 315 d.C., ovvero nel 314 o 315 d.C.⁴⁹ Ancora meglio: tutte le occorrenze di *Gothicus maximus* nelle epigrafi più antiche di Costantino proverrebbero erroneamente dalla titolatura della prima Tetrarchia.⁵⁰

La seconda iterazione di *Sarmaticus maximus* era toccata a Costantino per una vittoria personale nella guerra sarmatica del 322 d.C., quando aveva trionfalmente respinto una massiccia incursione dei Sarmati Argaragantes/Arcaragantes.⁵¹ Egli doveva la seconda assunzione di *Gothicus maximus* alla sua campagna contro i Tervingi/Goti danubiani nel 323 d.C., durante la quale aveva battuto e disperso l'orda saccheggiatrice di Rausimodus, uccidendone il condottiero.⁵²

Timothy D. Barnes cancella arbitrariamente la guerra gotica del 323 d.C., e posticipa a quell'anno la campagna sarmatica del 322 d.C.⁵³ Ma in primo luogo le nostre fonti nominano due nemici ben distinti e due diversi teatri di guerra: da un lato i Sarmati in *Valeria*, *Pannonia II* e *Moesia I*,⁵⁴ dall'altro i Tervingi in *Moesia II* e *Thracia*.⁵⁵ Poi nel 323 d.C. un attacco sarmatico non poteva raggiungere la *dioecesis Thraciarum*, poiché allora non c'erano Sarmati a nord del basso Danubio. La migrazione massiva dei Sarmati Rhoxolani in

periodo; infatti questo *cognomen* raggiunse la quinta iterazione sicuramente prima del 304 d.C. (*CIL XVI 157 = AE 1958, 190 e 1959, 29*), e la sesta tra il 308 (*AE 2002, 1293*) e il 311 d.C. (*Eus. Hist. Eccl. 8,17*). La sesta iterazione di *Carpicus maximus* da parte di Galerio forse corrisponde all'isolata e tardiva attestazione di *Carpicus maximus* nella titolatura ufficiale di Costantino (*CIL VIII 8412*).

⁴⁹ *CIL VIII 8412 e 23116*: Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 154 e id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 82.

⁵⁰ Arnaldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 183–184.

⁵¹ *Opt. Porf. carm. 6,14–28* (cfr. 7,31–32); *Zos. 2,21,1–2*. *Contra* Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 151 e 153; id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 79 e 258: 334 d.C. Arnaldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 198–199: 332 d.C.

⁵² *Anon. Val. p. pr. 21*; *Zos. 2,21,1 e 3*. Cfr. anche Colombo, "Annotazioni" (sopra nt. 34) 364–365. *Contra* Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 151 e 153; id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 79 e 258; Arnaldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 200–201: 332 d.C.

⁵³ V. nt. 44.

⁵⁴ *Opt. Porf. carm. 6,14–28*, dove Campona = *Valeria*, Bononia = *Pannonia II* e Margus = *Moesia I*.

⁵⁵ *Anon. Val. p. pr. 21*: in questo passo *Thracia* può designare soltanto l'omonima provincia, ovvero indicare in senso lato anche *Haemimontus* e *Rhodope* (v. nt. 101).

Alföld, Bačka e Banat ebbe luogo verso la metà del III secolo d.C.,⁵⁶ le successive menzioni dei Sarmati in relazione al basso Danubio figurano nei soli poemi di Claudiano, dove hanno valore fittizio e funzione esornativa a fini di *amplificatio*.⁵⁷ Infine il nome composto Rausimodus è sicuramente germanico, come dimostrano da un lato Batemodus e Batimodus,⁵⁸ vissuti verso la fine del IV o il principio del V secolo d.C., dall'altro Raus, capo dei Vandali Asdingi sotto il regno di Marco Aurelio.⁵⁹

Nel 332 d.C. il sedicenne Costantino II *Caesar* riportò una grande vittoria sui Tervingi/Goti danubiani *in terris Sarmatarum*;⁶⁰ l'imperatore Costantino solennizzò questo successo, così come l'insieme delle vittorie su Taifali e Tervingi, assumendo il soprannome trionfale *Dacicus maximus*.⁶¹ Timothy D. Barnes attribuisce la *uictoria Gothica* del 332 d.C. allo stesso Costantino, cui si riferirebbe l'espressione *per Constantinum Caesarem* di una fonte,⁶² ma il titolo

⁵⁶ J. Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, Szeged 1970, 49–55; *contra* T. Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, London 1970, 168 e 182, che adopera argomenti poco persuasivi.

⁵⁷ M. Colombo, "Gli etnonimi barbarici nei poemi di Claudiano. La tecnica poetica della propaganda politica", *Athenaeum* 96 (2008) 312–314. Per la corretta interpretazione di Auson. *Prec. cons. des. 31* ed *Epigr.* 1,8–9 Schenkl e di Olimpodoro *fig. 27* Blockley cfr. id., "Annotazioni al libro XXXI di Ammiano Marcellino", *Paideia* 62 (2007) 255–259 e n. 73.

⁵⁸ Batemodus: *AE* 1890, 148 = D. Hoffmann, "Die spätrömischen Soldatengrabschriften von Concordia", *MH* 20 (1963) 42 nr. 22; id., *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum*, I, Düsseldorf 1969, 82 e nt. 279. Batimodus: H. Borger, "Die Ausgrabungen unter der Stiftskirche des hl. Viktor zu Xanten in den Jahren 1945–1960 (Vorbericht II)", *BJ* 161 (1961) 416.

⁵⁹ Cass. Dio 71,12,1.

⁶⁰ *Anon. Val. p. pr.* 31; *Opt. Porf. carm.* 18,5 e 11–12 (ma potrebbe riferirsi anche alla campagna gotica del 323 d.C.: v. nt. 52); *Aur. Vict.* 41,13; *Eutr.* 10,7,1; *Hier. chron.* CCLXXVII Olymp., Constantini XXVI *Romani Gothos in Sarmatarum regione uicerunt*, 233 Helm; *Cons. Const. ad a. 332*, 1 = *Chron. min.* I, 234 Mommsen; *Iul. Or.* 1,9 D. Sulla guerra gotica ed il *foedus* romano-gotico del 332 d.C. cfr. B. Brockmeier, "Der große Friede 332 n. Chr. Zur Aussenpolitik Konstantins des Großen", *BJ* 187 (1987) 79–100.

⁶¹ *AE* 1934, 158 = *CIL* VI 40776. Il ricordo dell'oscura guerra tra Costantino e i Taifali sopravvive soltanto attraverso un accenno molto vago e pesantemente denigratorio di Zos. 2,31,3: in questo caso avanzare ipotesi significa applicare la *diuinatio* agli studi storici. Sull'interpretazione politico-militare dell'epigrafe cfr. L. Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen*, München 1934², 546; Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 151–153, che data l'assunzione di *Dacicus maximus* soltanto al 336 d.C.; P. J. Heather, *Goths and Romans. 332–489*, Oxford 1991, 108.

⁶² *Anon. Val. p. pr.* 31. Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 151 nt. 5 e id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 79 nt. 134: *Caesar* avrebbe "a non-technical sense".

di *Caesar* là indica molto probabilmente Costantino II, poiché nella medesima fonte esso ha valore sicuramente tecnico in nove occorrenze su quattordici (escluso il passo qui discusso).⁶³ L'iperbole propagandistica amplificava fedelmente la localizzazione geografica delle vittorie danubiane, poiché verso il 370 d.C. Taifali e Tervingi occupavano effettivamente una parte cospicua della *Dacia* traiana.⁶⁴

Riesumando l'arcaico e anacronistico soprannome *Dacicus maximus*, caduto in disuso dopo Aureliano,⁶⁵ l'ambizioso Costantino molto probabilmente voleva evocare un confronto diretto tra se stesso e Traiano in campo militare; tale paragone risulta implicito nel contemporaneo Aurelio Vittore.⁶⁶ Suo nipote Giuliano sembra conservare memoria precisa di questa aspirazione nei *Caesares*, dove Costantino pone la sua "riconquista" dei territori transdanubiani in esplicita competizione appunto con le conquiste daciche di Traiano.⁶⁷ La progressiva identificazione dei Goti con i Γέται/*Getae* sembra nascere proprio dall'ibridazione recente tra la tradizione letteraria e la propaganda costantiniana: la fittizia identificazione dei *Gothi* con i Daci allora fu innestata sulla perdurante definizione dei Daci quali Γέται/*Getae*.⁶⁸

Per datare l'assunzione di *Sarmaticus maximus III* da parte di Costantino, è opportuno citare un'epigrafe ufficiale del *dux limitis Scythiae*, rinvenuta a

⁶³ *Anon. Val. p. pr.* 2; 5; 9 bis; 14; 19; 23; 35 bis. Occorrenze sicure di *Caesar* = *imperator*: *Anon. Val. p. pr.* 4; 8; 17; 25.

⁶⁴ Eutr. 8,2,2 *Daciam Decibalo uicto subegit, prouincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Taifali, Victohali et Teruingi habent*. Tre passi di Ammiano Marcellino e uno dell'*Epitome de Caesaribus* confermano le approssimative indicazioni di Eutropio circa il territorio tribale dei Taifali: Amm. 17,13,19–20; 31,3,7 e 9,3; *Epit. de Caes.* 47,3.

⁶⁵ *CIL* XIII 8973.

⁶⁶ Aur. Vict. 13,4 *Castra suspectioribus atque opportunis locis exstructa, ponsque Danubio impositus, ac deductae coloniarum pleraeque* (Traiano) e 41,18 *Pons per Danubium ductus; castra castellaque pluribus locis commode posita* (Costantino). Cfr. anche *Chron. Pasch.* I, 527 Dindorf.

⁶⁷ Iul. *Caes.* 329 C τῷ δὲ ἦν οὗτος προσεκτήσατο χώραν ἀναλαβεῖν ἴσος ἂν οὐκ ἀπικτότως νομιζοίμην, εἰ μὴ καὶ μεῖζόν ἐστι τὸ ἀνακτήσασθαι τοῦ κτήσασθαι. Una diversa opinione in Arnaldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 201–202: "si dovette trattare di operazioni militari di scarso rilievo [...] Probabilmente l'imperatore sconfisse i D a c i nel 335" (la spaziatura è mia). Nei poemi di Claudiano, quando il poeta egizio elogia le imprese belliche di Stilicone e di Teodosio I, i Daci vengono nominati due volte, ma sono meri anacronismi a scopo di *amplificatio*: Colombo, "Etnonimi" (sopra nt. 57) 310–311.

⁶⁸ Ancora nel 362 d.C. Giuliano adoperava l'etnonimo Γέται e l'agg. etnico Γετικός per le vittorie daciche di Traiano: *Caes.* 311 C e 327 C–D. Per l'identificazione dei Goti con i Γέται/*Getae* v. nt. 78.

Troesmis e approssimativamente datata al 337/340 d.C., la quale attribuisce il soprannome trionfale *Sarmaticus* a Costanzo II e Costante; più precisamente, Costantino II è detto *Al[aman(nicus) ma]x(imus)* e *G[erm(anicus) max(imus)]*, Costanzo II *Sarm(aticus)* e *[Per]si[cu]s [max(imus)]*, Costante soltanto *Sarm(aticus)*.⁶⁹ Per quanto riguarda il soprannome trionfale *Sarmaticus*, comune a Costanzo II e Costante, la dottrina vigente offre una triplice alternativa: o Costanzo e Costante guidarono una campagna congiunta contro i Sarmati nel 337,⁷⁰ o prima l'uno (estate 337) e poi l'altro (338) vinsero i medesimi barbari,⁷¹ ovvero Costanzo II li batté nel 352 d.C., ipotesi molto inverosimile.⁷²

L'uso delle fonti antiche su questo punto da parte di Timothy D. Barnes mi suscita forti perplessità; a mio parere qui giova una parentesi polemica. Egli cita congiuntamente Iul. *Caes.* 329 C–D e l'epigrafe di Troesmis, per datare la prima vittoria di Costanzo II sui Sarmati al 337 d.C.⁷³ Come abbiamo già visto, nella prima parte di quel brano Costantino vanta la sua "riconquista" delle terre transdanubiane, e la proclama superiore alle conquiste daciche di Traiano; poi Sileno lo schernisce pesantemente, paragonandola agli Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι per il carattere effimero, e Costantino arrossisce, poiché riconosce subito la simile natura della sua opera. Anche se Costanzo II e di Costante avessero affrontato i Sarmati nel biennio 337–338 d.C., le loro campagne non potrebbero avere nessun nesso a livello geopolitico con i territori "riconquistati" oltre il Danubio da Costantino e subito persi; infatti la "riconquista" costantiniana non investì la *Sarmatia*, che confinava con *Valeria* (a sud di Aquincum), *Pannonia II* e *Moesia I*,⁷⁴ ma le terre dei Taifali e dei Tervingi, che risiedevano davanti a *Dacia ripensis*, *Moesia II* e *Scythia*.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ *CIL* III 12483 = *ILS* 724 + *ILS* III 2, Add. et Corrig., CLXXII.

⁷⁰ Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 154: ma cfr. id., "Imperial Chronology, A.D. 337–350", *Phoenix* 34 (1980) 164 nt. 18.

⁷¹ Barnes, "Chronology" (sopra nt. 70) 162 e 164; id., *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 86 e nt. 170; id., "Two Victory Titles of Constantius", *ZPE* 52 (1983) 230; id., *Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge, Mass. – London 1993, 35, 219, 224. Così anche Arnaldi, "Cognomina" (sopra nt. 42) 92–94: Costanzo II estate o autunno 337, Costante 338.

⁷² Barnes, "Titles" (sopra nt. 71) 234–235 e id., *Athanasius* (sopra nt. 71) 221 e nt. 30.

⁷³ Barnes, *Athanasius* (sopra nt. 71) 35 e nt. 7; id., "Titles" (sopra nt. 71) 231.

⁷⁴ Opt. Porf. *carm.* 6,14–28 (v. anche nt. 54); Amm. 16,10,20; 17,12,1 e 6; Zos. 4,16,3–6; Claud. *Epithal. Pall.* 88.

⁷⁵ V. ntt. 64 e 67.

Un abbaglio più serio concerne Iul. *Or.* 1,9 D ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Γέτας ἡμῖν εἰρήνην τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσας ἀσφαλῆ παρεσκεύασεν, dove Barnes fraintende il significato effettivo della frase, e sostituisce Costanzo II a Costantino II, così come i Sarmati ai Γέται/Goti danubiani.⁷⁶ Giuliano sta alludendo alle imprese belliche dei tre fratelli di Costanzo II, compreso il fratellastro Crispo; il contesto e la sintassi obbligano a identificare il vincitore dei Γέται con Costantino II. L'inserimento abusivo di Crispo tra i figli di Fausta si inquadra tanto nella struttura tradizionale del panegirico quanto nella strategia oratoria di Giuliano, che nomina ed elogia tutti i membri defunti della famiglia imperiale (γένος), per sottolineare il potere legittimo e il diritto ereditario di Costanzo II quale unico *Augustus*. In questa ottica la presenza di Crispo risulta giustificata e necessaria, poiché anche egli era un ἀυτοκράτωρ consanguineo di Costanzo II; il punto più adatto all'inclusione di Crispo, benché egli non fosse figlio di Fausta, era proprio la menzione dei suoi fratellastri Costantino II e Costante, anche loro ἀυτοκράτορες.⁷⁷ Si rammenti che Giuliano si rivolge sempre a Costanzo II con il pronome personale σύ e l'aggettivo possessivo σός; perciò il destinatario del panegirico non può essere identificato con nessuno dei tre personaggi, che vengono introdotti tramite il pronome dimostrativo e la terza persona singolare. Poi le testimonianze molto chiare degli autori contemporanei impediscono di identificare i Γέται con i Sarmati; l'uso erudito e anacronistico dell'etnonimo Γέται/*Getae* quale sinonimo del letterario Σκύθαι e del comune Γότθοι è attestato già sotto lo stesso Costantino, e riemerge sotto la dinastia valentiniana.⁷⁸ Il passo di Giuliano costituisce, per così dire, l'anello di congiunzione tra la prima attestazione della sinonimia e le occorrenze più tarde.

Torniamo alla datazione di *Sarmaticus maximus III* per Costantino e di *Sarmaticus* per Costanzo II e Costante. Costantino in realtà aveva delegato al secondogenito Costanzo la responsabilità almeno nominale delle operazioni militari contro i Sarmati Argaragantes/Arçaragantes nel 334 d.C.:⁷⁹ tale ipotesi è

⁷⁶ T. D. Barnes and J. Vanderspoel, "Julian on the Sons of Fausta", *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 175–176; Barnes, *Athanasius* (sopra nt. 71) 106, 221 e nt. 30.

⁷⁷ L'allusione encomiastica di Iul. *Or.* 1,9 D alla collaborazione di Crispo con il padre Costantino in una guerra civile trova pieno riscontro in *Anon. Val. p. pr.* 23 e 26.

⁷⁸ Opt. Porf. *carm.* 18,5 e 12; Them. *Or.* 11,146 A–B; 13,166 C e 179 C; 15,190 D; Auson. *Prec. cons. des.* 32 ed *Epigr.* 1,7 Schenkl; Hier. *Hebr. quaest. in Gen.* 10,21 = PL XXIII, 950 *Et certe Gothos omnes retro eruditi magis Getas quam Gog et Magog appellare consueuerunt*. Cfr. anche Colombo, "Etonimi" (sopra nt. 57) 297–298, 305–310, 323–326.

⁷⁹ Aur. Vict. 41,13; Hier. *chron.* CCLXXVII Olymp., Constantini XXVIII 1, 233 Helm; *Anon. Val. p. pr.* 32.

perfettamente compatibile con tutti i dati a nostra disposizione.⁸⁰ Nella titolatura ufficiale di Costantino la quarta iterazione di *Germanicus maximus* e la terza di *Sarmaticus maximus* derivano da situazioni uguali, e sono legate ai *cognomina deuictarum gentium* di Costantino II e di Costanzo II. Il dodicenne Costantino II *Caesar* affiancò il padre contro gli Alamanni nel 328/329 d.C., e il diciassettenne Costanzo II *Caesar* fece lo stesso nell'*expeditio Sarmatica* del 334 d.C.; ma lo stesso imperatore in realtà esercitò il comando effettivo delle truppe romane in entrambe le guerre, celebrando poi la vittoria sugli Alamanni con *Germanicus maximus IIII*, e la sottomissione dei Sarmati con *Sarmaticus maximus III*. Per quanto concerne Costante, abbiamo due opzioni; egli o condivise con Costanzo II il comando nominale della spedizione sarmatica nel 334 d.C., ricavandone pari onori, o vinse i Sarmati per proprio conto nel 338 d.C., come afferma la dottrina vulgata: mi sembra prudente concludere *non liquet*.

Ho già detto sopra che Costantino II fu onorato dal padre in modo speciale, ricevendo il soprannome trionfale *Alamannicus*, un'originale innovazione per la lingua latina e la titolatura imperiale; Costanzo II invece condivise con il padre il comune *Sarmaticus*, che poi egli stesso avrebbe iterato nel 358 d.C.⁸¹ Dopo che la ribellione dei Sarmati Limigantes aveva stroncato la resistenza e il potere dei Sarmati Argaragantes/Arcaragantes, i profughi sarmatici, addirittura trecentomila secondo la migliore delle pochissime e scarse fonti sull'episodio, vennero accolti e disseminati da Costantino attraverso varie province, dove essi furono insediati in qualità di coloni militari.⁸² La lunga lista dei *gentiles Sarmatae* in Italia (quindici insediamenti), l'unica conservata, non soltanto conferma pienamente questa notizia, ma dà anche un'idea approssimativa delle proporzioni numeriche.⁸³ Ciò giustifica pienamente

⁸⁰ Così anche J. Arce, "The Inscription of Troesmis (ILS 724) and the first Victories of Constantius II as a Caesar", *ZPE* 48 (1982) 245–249 (cui rinvio per la bibliografia precedente sull'argomento) e id., "Constantius II Sarmaticus and Persicus: A Reply", *ZPE* 57 (1984) 225–229. Io non rilevo "dubious assumptions" nel secondo articolo, come pretenderebbe Barnes, *Athanasius* (sopra nt. 71) 311.

⁸¹ Amm. 17,13,33.

⁸² Anon. *Val. p. pr.* 32 *quos pulsos Constantinus libenter accepit et amplius trecenta milia hominum mixtae aetatis et sexus per Thraciam, Scythiam, Macedoniam Italiamque diuisit.*

⁸³ *Not. Dign. Occ.* 42,46–47 e 49–63; i *Sarmatae gentiles* della Gallia (ibid., 65–70) sono i sopravvissuti dei Sarmati Limigantes alla terribile strage del 359 d.C., e furono stanziati là da Costanzo II, come attesta indirettamente Auson. *Mos.* 9 *aruaque Sauromatum n u p e r metata colonis*: cfr. Ph. J. Heep, "Wo lagen die Tabernae und Arva Sauromatum des Ausonius?", *BJ* 18 (1852) 1–25.

l'assunzione di *Sarmaticus maximus III* da parte di Costantino, così come la concessione di *Sarmaticus* a Costanzo II.

Prima di tirare le somme, dobbiamo ancora trattare un paio di questioni: il valore cronologico della successione che viene applicata ai soprannomi trionfali nelle epigrafi più antiche di Costantino, e il secondo soprannome di Costantino II nell'epigrafe di Troesmis. È opinione corrente che l'ordine dei *cognomina devictarum gentium* rifletta puntualmente la sequenza cronologica delle campagne militari, soprattutto nel periodo 284–337 d.C.;⁸⁴ ma questa regola conosce parecchie eccezioni già nel corso del III secolo d.C., e per giunta sembra valida soltanto fino al principio del IV secolo d.C. La titolatura di Massimino il Trace molto spesso esibisce *Sarmaticus maximus* in seconda posizione al posto di *Dacicus maximus*,⁸⁵ e in cinque casi *Dacicus maximus* precede anche *Germanicus maximus*;⁸⁶ i soprannomi trionfali di Aureliano mostrano analoghe alterazioni,⁸⁷ che compaiono saltuariamente anche nella titolatura della prima Tetrarchia.⁸⁸

In due epigrafi di Costantino *Sarmaticus maximus* è il primo soprannome,⁸⁹ ma in altre otto *Germanicus* o *Germanicus maximus* lo precede sempre.⁹⁰ Si noti che due coppie di iscrizioni sono state incise nel medesimo periodo; la prima coppia è datata *tribunicia potestate VIII* (= 10 Dicembre 313–9 Dicembre 314 d.C.),⁹¹ la seconda *tribunicia potestate X consul III*

⁸⁴ A. Arnaldi, "La successione dei cognomina devictarum gentium e le loro iterazioni nella titolatura dei primi Tetrarchi", *RIL* 106 (1972) 28–50 (soprattutto 29–34); Barnes, *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 27.

⁸⁵ P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser. Untersuchungen zu den Siegerbeinamen des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 1969, 232–233.

⁸⁶ *CIL* III 3732. 3736. 10649; XI 1176; *AE* 1998, 1060.

⁸⁷ *CIL* II 4506; III 7586; V 4319; VI 1112; XII 5549 e 5561. Un evidente errore in Arnaldi, "Tetrarchi" (sopra nt. 84) 33 e nt. 24, cui sfugge la reale successione dei soprannomi trionfali nelle tre iscrizioni citate come presunti esempi di ordine ufficiale (*Germanicus maximus Gothicus maximus Parthicus maximus Carpicus maximus*): *CIL* III 7586 *Parti[us max]imus Gutticu[s maximu]s Germanicus [maxim]us Carpicus [maximus]*; VI 1112 *Gothico max(imo) Germanico max(imo) [P]arthico max(imo) Carpico max(imo)*; XII 5561 *Ger(manico) max(imo) Goth(ico) max(imo) Carp(ico) max(imo) Pers(ico) max(imo)*.

⁸⁸ *CIL* VI 1137; VIII 7003 e 21447–21450; *AE* 1936, 10 e 1995, 1345 = 1997, 1318b.

⁸⁹ *CIL* VIII 8477 e *ILAlg* II 3, 7868.

⁹⁰ *CIL* VIII 8412. 22017. 22119. 22176. 22246. 23116; *ILAlg* I 3956; *AE* 1987, 1010.

⁹¹ *CIL* VIII 22017 e *ILAlg* II 3, 7868. Il testo della prima iscrizione contiene anche un'indicazione palesemente errata, *consul VIII*, che forse è una svista del lapicida per *imperator VIII*; perciò la sua datazione potrebbe essere ristretta al 10 Dicembre 313–24 Luglio 314 d.C.

imperator VIII (= 1 Gennaio–24 Luglio 315 d.C.),⁹² ma in entrambe l'ordine dei due soprannomi trionfali varia.⁹³ Riscontriamo un'analogia oscillazione anche nelle iscrizioni di Licinio: ora *Sarmaticus maximus Germanicus maximus*,⁹⁴ ora *Germanicus Sarmaticus*.⁹⁵ La titolatura di Massimino Daia presenta il medesimo fenomeno: ora *Sarmaticus Germanicus Persicus*,⁹⁶ ora Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός.⁹⁷

Ovviamente dissento dalle deduzioni cronologiche, che Timothy D. Barnes trae dalla presenza molto sporadica di *Sarmaticus maximus* al primo posto nelle iscrizioni costantiniane:⁹⁸ io ritengo che si tratti di un'anomalia casuale e irrilevante, come provano gli esempi citati sopra.⁹⁹ Egli inoltre ricostruisce una campagna sarmatica di Licinio nel 318 d.C. applicando lo stesso criterio ai soprannomi trionfali dei *Caesares* Crispo e Costantino II nel frammento di un editto imperiale, Σαρματικοὶ μέγιστοι Γερμαν[ικοὶ μέγιστοι].¹⁰⁰ Questa teoria ha un punto debole. Dopo la guerra civile del 316 d.C. il territorio europeo di Licinio fu ridotto alla sola *dioecesis Thraciarum*;¹⁰¹ credo utile ricordare un'altra volta che negli anni Dieci del IV secolo d.C. non esistevano Sarmati confinanti con *Moesia II* e *Scythia*.¹⁰²

⁹² *CIL* VIII 8477 e 23116.

⁹³ 10 Dicembre 313–9 Dicembre 314 d.C.: *CIL* VIII 22017 *Germanico maximo Sarmatico maximo* e *ILAlg* II 3, 7868 *Sarm(atico) max(imo) Germ(anico) max(imo)*. 1 Gennaio–24 Luglio 315 d.C.: *CIL* VIII 8477 *Sarmatico max(imo) Germ(anico) maximo* e 23116 *Ger(manico) max(imo) Sar(matico) max(imo)*.

⁹⁴ *CIL* VIII 1357.

⁹⁵ *CIL* VIII 22259 e IX 6061 = X 6966.

⁹⁶ *ILAlg* I 3956.

⁹⁷ *Eus. Hist. Eccl.* 9,10.

⁹⁸ Barnes, "Victories" (sopra nt. 3) 149–150 e id., "Campaigns" (sopra nt. 3) 191–192.

⁹⁹ *V. ntt.* 85–88 e 93. Cfr. anche Arnaldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 176–177 e 177 nt. 1.

¹⁰⁰ *P. Oxy.* VI 889 = *SB* XVI 12306, editto emanato il 13 Dicembre 324 d.C.: Barnes, *New Empire* (sopra nt. 3) 82 e 236; T. D. Barnes – K. A. Worp, "P. Oxy. 889 Again", *ZPE* 53 (1983) 276–277.

¹⁰¹ *Anon. Val. p. pr.* 18 *quo facto pax ab ambobus firmata est, ut Licinius Orientem, Asiam, Thraciam, Moesiam, minorem Scythiam possideret*. Qui il nome geografico *Thracia* abbraccia le quattro province propriamente traciche della *dioecesis*: *Thracia, Haemimontus, Rhodope* e *Europa*.

¹⁰² *V. ntt.* 56–57.

Ritorniamo all'epigrafe di Troesmis, per concentrare l'attenzione sul secondo soprannome di Costantino II.¹⁰³ L'integrazione *G[erm(anicus) max(imus)]* è la lettura comunemente accettata, ma non è l'unica soluzione a portata di mano;¹⁰⁴ infatti *G[oth(icus) max(imus)]* si adatta ugualmente bene allo spazio disponibile, segue fedelmente l'ordine cronologico e rispecchia il ruolo ufficialmente autonomo di Costantino II *Caesar* nella guerra gotica del 332 d.C.¹⁰⁵

Ora è tempo di condurre la mia esposizione in porto. Le tre iscrizioni già citate di Orcistus, Hispellum e Roma (datate rispettivamente 30 Giugno 331, 25 Dicembre 333–18 Settembre 335, tardo inverno/primavera 337 d.C.), sono le copie epigrafiche di tre documenti ufficiali, opera della cancelleria palatina, e riportano i soprannomi trionfali in tre forme differenti per Costantino e in due maniere diverse per Costantino II.¹⁰⁶ Prendiamo l'epigrafe romana come termine di paragone (Costantino *Germanicus maximus IIII Sarmaticus maximus IIII Gothicus maximus II Dacicus maximus*, Costantino II *Alamannicus*), e teniamo conto delle datazioni suggerite sopra per *Sarmaticus maximus II* (322 d.C.), *Gothicus maximus II* (323 d.C.) e *Dacicus maximus* (332 d.C.). Nell'iscrizione di Orcistus *Germanicus* e *Sarmaticus* sono assenti; Costantino è definito soltanto *Gothicus* senza il superlativo e le iterazioni, ma Costantino II viene detto *Alamannicus*. L'epigrafe di Hispellum registra i tre *cognomina deuictarum gentium* di Costantino nel medesimo ordine, *Germanicus Sarmaticus Gothicus*, ma tralascia sia il superlativo e le loro iterazioni sia *Dacicus maximus*, e omette il soprannome trionfale *Alamannicus* di Costantino II. Anche chi non accetti la mia ricostruzione, deve comunque ammettere che ci sono manifeste difformità in entrambi i casi.

Queste discrepanze possono essere errori incidentali, e venire attribuite ai lapicidi locali o agli impiegati palatini; però il confronto ulteriore con il già citato frammento di un editto imperiale, che fu emanato il 13 Dicembre 324

¹⁰³ *CIL* III 12483.

¹⁰⁴ *Contra* Barnes, "Chronology" (sopra nt. 70) 162 e nt. 8; id., *Athanasius* (sopra nt. 71) 218 e nt. 4: *Germanicus maximus* 338 d.C. Arnaldi, "Cognomina" (sopra nt. 42) 92: *Germanicus maximus* dopo la morte di Costantino (22 Maggio 337 d.C.).

¹⁰⁵ *Contra* Arnaldi, "Successione" (sopra nt. 38) 200 e nt. 4; ead., "Cognomina" (sopra nt. 42) 99–100.

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* III 7000 e XI 5265; *AE* 1934, 158 = *CIL* VI 40776 (già citate nelle ntt. 39–41).

d.C.,¹⁰⁷ offre una spiegazione alternativa. Qui i soprannomi trionfali di Costantino seguono un ordine diverso, [Γε]ρμανικὸς μέγιστος Γουνθικ[ὸς μέγιστος Σαρματικὸς μέγιστος], le loro iterazioni sono omesse e Costantino II è detto Σαρματικὸς μέγιστος Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος; rispetto alle tre epigrafi riscontriamo tre evidentissime anomalie, che autorizzano a nutrire fortissimi sospetti sulla piena e costante attendibilità dei documenti ufficiali.

Constatando che quattro documenti ufficiali presentano i *cognomina deuictarum gentium* in quattro forme differenti per Costantino (in ordine cronologico: 1) Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος Γουνθικὸς μέγιστος Σαρματικὸς μέγιστος, 2) *Gothicus*, 3) *Germanicus Sarmaticus Gothicus*, 4) *Germanicus maximus III Sarmaticus maximus III Gothicus maximus II Dacicus maximus*) e in tre maniere diverse per Costantino II (in ordine cronologico: 1) Σαρματικὸς μέγιστος Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος, 2) *Alamannicus*, 3) nessun soprannome, 4) *Alamannicus*), io sono giunto alla seguente conclusione: i *cognomina deuictarum gentium* nei documenti della cancelleria imperiale esprimevano unicamente l'ottica soggettiva e i mutevoli orientamenti dello stesso Costantino, anche per quanto riguarda i *Caesares*.

Perciò la mancanza di *Gothicus* o *Gothicus maximus* per Costantino II nell'epigrafe romana del tardo inverno/primavera 337 d.C. non costituisce un ostacolo alla restituzione del medesimo *cognomen* nell'iscrizione di Troesmis, datata agli anni 337/340 d.C.;¹⁰⁸ questa omissione è certamente una scelta consapevole, e corrisponde perfettamente all'assenza di *Sarmaticus* e di *Persicus maximus* nella titolatura di Costanzo II.¹⁰⁹ Costantino volle occupare il centro della scena politica fino agli ultimi tempi della sua vita, e anche Costantino II *Caesar*, l'erede principale, doveva restare in secondo piano rispetto al padre; in tale contesto il soprannome trionfale *Alamannicus* bastava a segnalare la posizione superiore e privilegiata di Costantino II in confronto ai suoi fratelli, quando Costantino lo riteneva utile o necessario.

¹⁰⁷ V. nt. 100.

¹⁰⁸ *CIL* III 12483.

¹⁰⁹ Per quanto riguarda il conferimento di *Persicus maximus* a Costanzo II, rinvio direttamente ad Arce, "Inscription" (sopra nt. 80) 245–249 e id., "Constantius II" (sopra nt. 80) 225–229, che lo data con buoni argomenti al 335 d.C.

È utile riassumere le mie argomentazioni attraverso un riepilogo schematico, che elenchi in ordine cronologico le datazioni qui proposte per i soprannomi trionfali di Costantino e dei suoi figli:

Germanicus maximus 306 o 308 d.C.

Sarmaticus maximus 306/309 d.C.

Germanicus maximus II 308 o 310 d.C.

Germanicus maximus III 310 o 313 d.C.

Gothicus maximus 314/315 d.C.

Sarmaticus maximus II 322 d.C.

Gothicus maximus II 323 d.C.

Germanicus maximus IIII 328/329 d.C. (Costantino II *Alamannicus*)

Dacicus maximus 332 d.C. (Costantino II *Gothicus*)

Sarmaticus maximus III 334 d.C. (Costanzo II *Sarmaticus*, Costante *Sarmaticus*?).

Roma

A NOTE ON JUVENAL 11,156: *PVPILLARES TESTICVLI*

RAMÓN GUTIÉRREZ GONZÁLEZ

In the eleventh satire Juvenal describes to his friend Persicus what the young and unfashionable slave, who is a serving-boy at the dinner that the poet is going to offer to his friend, does *not* do:

*nec pupillares defert in balnea raucus
testiculos, nec vellendas iam praebuit alas,
crassa nec opposito pavidus tegit inguina guto* (11,156–8).

The main exegetical problem of this three verses is the meaning of the adjective *pupillaris* as it is applied to the *testiculi* (or, more correctly, what is implied by this *iunctura*). *Pupillaris*, as derived from *pupillus*, should mean 'related to a ward'. Readers in late Antiquity (as presupposed by the explanation of the Scholiast, see below) understood *pupillaris* as a synonym of *puerilis*, 'childish'. But it is not easy to see how these 'childish testicles' can be present in a *raucus* boy¹ whose *alae* are in need of depilation and who, ashamed in the baths, tries to cover, with the help of a flask, his *crassa inguina*.

Juvenal's Scholiast tried to find a solution for this contradiction, looking for a characteristic of the *pupilli*, which could distinguish them from the common *pueri* in the field of the sexual behavior. He writes:

NE<C> PVPILLARES: id est, quales habent hi, qui patres non habent, scilicet tumentes in licentia pueritiae (Schol. Juv. 11,156, p. 191 Wessner).

¹ That is, a boy whose voice has broken. Here *raucus* has nothing to do with castration, *pace* G. Viansino (Decimo Giunio Giovenale, *Satire*, Milano, 1990, p. 438), nor in the passages which he quotes as parallels: Apul. *met.* 8,26,2 *fracta e<t> rauca et effeminata voce clamores absonos intollunt* (sc. cinaedi) and Iuv. 6,515 *cui rauca cohors, cui tympana cedunt*, where *raucus* means 'rough, noisy'.

This interpretation is endorsed by E. Courtney, who quotes the following passage of Seneca's *De ira* in order to support the explanation of the Scholiast: *pupillisque quo plus licet, corruptior animus est* (*Dial.* 4,21,6).²

Nor was the expression *pupillares testiculi* clear to the scribes of the Middle Ages. Some of them tried to emend the passage by writing *pugillaris*, a reading introduced by the second hand of the manuscripts *P* (Montepessulanus Pithoeanus Bibl. Med. H 125, ninth or tenth Century) and *U* (Vaticanus Urbinas 661, eleventh Century), and which later penetrated in the vulgate of the text of Juvenal, tempting also some scholars (e.g., Labriolle and Villeneuve).³ This reading, nevertheless, can be rejected for stemmatical and metrical reasons: if *pūgillaris* (the required scansion for Juv. 11,156) is a derivation from *pūgillus*, the first syllable should be short.⁴ In any case, it is clear that the scribe who conjectured this reading took his cue from *crassa inguina* of v. 157, and intended to convey that the testicles of the slave-boy were as big as a fist, or that they could fill a fist.⁵

Bücheler gave a very different explanation to *pupillaris*, asserting that it implies that the master of the slave-boy took care of the testicles as a jealous tutor does his ward, that is, he did not allow them to grow, in order to maintain the youth's boyishness.⁶ More radical still was Weidner, who quoted Juv.

² E. Courtney, *A commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*, London, 1980, p. 509. A similar interpretation was held by former editors and commentators of Juvenal, for instance J. E. B. Mayor (*Thirteen Satires of Juvenal* [London, 1900], II, p. 209), who quotes too the following words of Salvian (*Gub.* 6,52): *cumque etiam pupillis prodigis soleat subvenire paupertas, simulque ut destiterint esse divites, desinant quoque esse vitiosi, nos tantum novum genus pupillorum ac perditorum sumus, in quibus opulentia esse desiit, sed nequitia perdurat.*

³ P. de Labriolle – F. Villeneuve, *Juvenal. Satires*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1931², p. 146.

⁴ Cf. L. Friedländer, *D. Junii Juvenalis saturarum libri V, mit erklärenden Anmerkungen*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 505.

⁵ That was the traditional explanation of the old lexicographers, who only knew the reading of the vulgate for Juv. 6.156: cf., e.g., E. Forcellini, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*, Padova, 1771, III, p. 611 s.v. 'pugillares' *in fine*: "Juvenal. Sat. 11 v. 156: *Nec pugillares defert in balnea raucus testiculos*, h. e., grandiores et pugnum implentes". A similar explanation is to be found in Facciolati, *Septem linguarum Calepinus*, Padova, 1731, II, p. 235 s.v. 'pugillaris'.

⁶ Bücheler *apud* L. Friedländer, *ibid.*: "*pupillares*: wie Mündel behandelte, vom Herrn unter Tutel gehaltene' (d. h. *circumscripti*), die man klein gehalten und nicht hat wachsen lassen (in Gegensatz zu 6, 372), um die Mannbarkeit hinzuhalten, welche durch die *pili* 157 u. s. w. der *formosus puer* verdibt, ein anderes Raffinement, als *crassa inguina* 158 andeuten, jenes eine für eine Dame, dies für einen Herrn wie in S. 9 passendere Badebegleitung", and then he quotes Galenus (XII p. 206 K.), who asserts that the *cos Nauxia* is able to stop the growth of the testicles.

6,371–3 in order to argue for castration.⁷ But what does this sort of mutilation have to do with wards?

The clue to understanding this passage is to take *pupillaris* as *iocose dictum*, as a funny pun of the satirist; that is, to maintain the oxymoron, not to destroy it with explanations more or less *ad hoc*. Such a solution also offers a more satisfying exegesis from the literary point of view, enriching the text with an amusing legal reference. Who were the *pupilli*? This question is answered by the *Institutions* of Gaius, dealing with a well known controversy between two schools of lawyers, the Sabiniani and the Proculiani, who held different opinions about determining the end of tuition. Gaius writes:

masculi autem cum puberes esse coeperint tutela liberantur. Puberem autem Sabinus quidem et Cassius ceterique nostri praeceptores eum esse putant, qui habitu corporis pubertatem ostendit, id est eum qui generare potest; sed in his qui pubescere non possunt, quales sunt spadones, eam aetatem esse spectandam, cuius aetatis puberes fiunt; sed diversae scholae auctores annis putant pubertatem aestimandam, id est eum puberem esse aestimant, qui XIV annos explevit. (Inst. 1,196).⁸

(The first school mentioned by Gaius was the one of the Sabiniani; the latter, the one of the Proculiani.) For the Romans, as we can see, the chief means of the liberation from tuition was not the age, but the physical development of the ward, the *habitus corporis* (that is, the reproductive maturity), which, of course, implied the presence of the pubic hair. Consequently, *pupillaris testiculi* in the neighborhood of *raucus*, *vellendae alae*, and *crassa inguina* can only refer to the fact that the testicles have been d e p i l a t e d . I therefore translate:

"already with a broken voice, he does not bring to the baths the testicles of a ward, nor does he offer armpits that need to be plucked, nor does he fearfully cover his thick groin with a flask".

This explanation is quite simple, and the joke would have been clear enough to ancient, if not to modern, readers.

⁷ A. Weidner, *D. Junii Juvenalis Saturae*, erklärt von A. W., Leipzig 1873, p. 249: "vielmehr ist an die Aufsicht und Pflege zu denken, welche 6,371 angedeutet ist" (Juv. 6,371–3 *ergo expectatos ac iussos crescere primum / testiculos, postquam coeperunt esse bilibres, / tonsoris tantum damno rapit Heliodorus*).

⁸ Cf. Ulp. *Reg.* 11,28. *Fest.* p. 296 L. s. v. 'pubes'.

Appendix: an emendation to Löfstedt's *Commentum Bernense*.

A medieval commentary present in two swiss manuscripts (Bern, Burger-Bibliothek A 61 and 666), published by B. Löfstedt (*Vier Juvenal-Kommentare aus dem 12. Jh.*, Amsterdam, 1995, p. 369–489) contains the following scholion to our passage (p. 447):

NEC PVGILLARES: Raucitatem tantum removet hic, id est quibus pugnus potest impleri, quasi diceret: non sunt mulierum stupratores.

There is something odd in this text. I think that we might have here two glosses, one for the whole v. 156 (*raucitatem tantum removet hic*), in which the scholiast points out that the negation *nec* affects only the adjective *raucus*; and a second one (*id est – stupratores*), in which he explains the meaning of *pugillares*. The Scholiast seems to state, in contrast to the former interpretation of this adjective, that the testicles are so little that *both* can fill a fist; that is, that the slave-boy has not reached sexual maturity (cf. *non sunt mulierum stupratores*). Therefore print:

*NEC PVGILLARES <— RAVCVS>: Raucitatem tantum removet hic.
<PVGILLARES> id est quibus pugnus potest impleri, quasi diceret: non sunt mulierum stupratores.*

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae – Munich

JULIA KALLITEKNOS AND GAIUS CAESAR AT EUROMUS

MIKA KAJAVA

In the early 1970s, a number of inscriptions were discovered during restoration works of the temple of Zeus Lepsynos at Euromus in Caria. Two further inscriptions had been reused in a building east of the temple, but when Malcolm Errington published them together with the other findings in 1993, they were already lost, and so he had to use copies made by R. P. Harper.¹ No photographs seem to exist. During a visit to Euromus in April 2006, I was not able to find any trace of the monuments in question. — For the possibility that both texts had been inscribed on two different sides of one and the same monument, see the end of this article.

The first text, inscribed on a high statue base (225 x 92 x 25 cm; letters 1.8 cm), was published by Errington from Harper's copy as follows (no. 9):

ὁ δῆμος καθιέρωσεν
τῆς τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καλλιτεκνί-
ας ἥς ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιάδης Λέον-
τος ἱερεὺς Διοσκόρων·
μετὰ Ἀσκληπιάδην ἱερεὺς Πρωτόμαχος
Διονυσίου πανκράτης.

In this version, something is clearly missing in the beginning, and this is why the reading was soon emended by Christian Habicht, who proposed to read

* I wish to thank Angelos Chaniotis, Malcolm Errington and Giulio Vallarino for useful information.

¹ R. M. Errington, "Inschriften von Euromos", *EA* 21 (1993) 30–1 nos. 9–10 (= *SEG* XLIII 711–12 = *AE* 1993, 1521–22).

[ὕπερ Ἰουλίας] at the end of the first line.² This may well be correct; the dedication would then mean that Augustus' daughter was considered to be a personification of *kalliteknia* for the sake of the children she bore to Marcus Agrippa.³ To support his proposal, Habicht referred to two other dedications to Julia in which she bears the title of *kalliteknos*: the people of Priene honoured Augustus' daughter as Ἰουλία Θεὰ Καλλίτεκνος,⁴ and she received a dedication as Λατὼ Καλλίτεκνος in the deme of Halasarna on Cos.⁵ The adjective *kalliteknos* could be used of especially prolific women, divine or mortal, and Julia herself could well have earned the title as a mother of five (living) children (by Agrippa), but as Habicht observes, there should be no doubt that the reference was primarily to two of them, the young princes Gaius and Lucius Caesar, who had been adopted by Augustus in 17 BC. It is surely significant, furthermore, that one of the two priests of Julia Kalliteknia was also priest of the Dioscuri; a connection with the young Caesars seems obvious.⁶ Another detail also deserves to be recorded: the priesthood of Kalliteknia at Euromus seems to have a parallel in the neighbouring city of Mylasa, and though the latter is documented without a date in a very fragmentary context, it may not be excluded that there is a connection between the two cases.⁷ In any case, one may assume that the monument, probably supporting the statue of Julia

² C. Habicht, "Iulia Kalliteknos", *MH* 53 (1996) 156–59. – Another emendation was made by C. Brixhe, *BE* 1995, 529, pointing out that πανκράτης at the end of the text is to be understood as a second name of the priest Protomachos.

³ For personifications in ancient Greek sources, see now E. Stafford – J. Herrin (eds.), *Personification in the Greek World: from Antiquity to Byzantium*, London 2005 (*kalliteknia* is not discussed).

⁴ *I.Priene* 225.

⁵ Discovered as early as 1902, the monument is now, finally, published by L. Hallof – K. Hallof, in Γ. Κοκκορού-Αλευρά, *Αρχαία Αλάσαρνα Ι. Οι Επιγραφές*, Αθήνα 2004, 126–7 no. W45 (*SEG* LIV 753): ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἄλασαρνιτᾶν / καθιέρωσεν Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστ[ᾶν] / Λατοῖν καλλίτεκνον, cfr. U. Hahn, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina*, Saarbrücken 1994, 116 n. 72 (for the title itself, see p. 109).

⁶ For the evidence, Greek and Latin (literary, epigraphic, numismatic), showing that the brothers were indeed regarded as Dioscuri, see especially M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums*, Heidelberg 1999, 28–34.

⁷ *I.Mylasa* 347 (from Le Bas – Wadd. 375: ΛΙΤΕΚΝΙΑΣΙΕΡΑ, explained as .. πο]λ[υ]τεκνίας? ἱερα[τεύοντος in vol. II p. 110), line 3: καλ]λιτεκνίας ἱερα[τεύοντος (the aorist could also be considered in spite of νεωκοροῦντος in line 5).

Kalliteknos, dates before 2 BC, the year of her banishment to the island of Pandateria.

However, even if the restoration of [ὕπὲρ Ἰουλίας] were correct, a problem would still remain: to whom was the dedication made? Dedications to gods on behalf of emperors, rulers, or other people (ὕπὲρ, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, ὑπὲρ νίκης, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ αἰωνίας διαμονῆς, etc.) are very well attested, the practice as well as the dedicatory formula being commonly found in many Hellenistic ruler cults, but it appears to have been especially popular in Ptolemaic Egypt. Roman emperors and members of their families were also frequently honoured in this manner. In such dedications, the ruler normally appears as a man since a dedication to one deity on behalf of another would be strange. Therefore, a dedication to Julia Kalliteknia on behalf of Julia Kalliteknia cannot be what is meant here. A dedication to the Dioscuri by a priest of the Dioscuri would sound better, and one may recall that the Dioscuri were often regarded as saviours of men and of human affairs in general. Other deities might be considered as well. Whatever the addressee's identity, there seem to be two alternatives to decide between: either the name of the deity, originally recorded in the dedication, is no longer extant, or the monument was set up in a context that did not require the god's name to be inscribed. A sanctuary (with *temenos*), or any clearly defined sacred environment, would have been such a place. In any case, what was dedicated to a god on behalf of Julia was probably her image, representing a conceptual amalgamation of Julia and Kalliteknia, though the possibility of some other gift or offering to the deity should not be excluded.⁸

Otherwise, the context of the dedication is rather unproblematic, and for the (not very frequent) evidence, epigraphic and literary, on *kalliteknos* and *kalliteknia*, one may consult the article of Habicht (n. 2).

The other text, inscribed on a plaque (no. 10; 32 x 11.5 cm; letters 1.5 cm), requires more attention. The following version, given by Errington, is again based on Harper's copy (Σωτήρι *sic*):

⁸ For the dedications of statues, altars, etc., to emperors in the Greek world, cfr. now M. Kajava, "Dedications and Honors to Emperors in the Greek East", in P. Iossif – A. Chankowski (eds.), *Royal Cult and Emperor Worship in Classical and Late Antiquity. Proceedings of the Conference organized by the Belgian School at Athens (1–2 November, 2007)*, forthcoming in *Studia Hellenistica* (Leuven).

ὁ δῆμος Θεῶι Σωτήρι
Γαίου Καίσαρος

Übersetzung: Der Demos macht die Weihung an den Rettergott des C. Caesar.

Not only the missing full stop at the end but also the general structure of the text suggests it to be lacunate. In particular, the idea of a public dedication to "someone's saviour god" is odd. It is true, rulers, emperors, or any people, could show personal associations and contacts with gods, and many surely had their favourite gods to whom they sacrificed and gave other offerings, but dedications were not made "to a (saviour) god of someone", whether he was emperor or not (σωτήρι + gen.); they were very frequently made "to a (saviour) god (or gods) for, and on behalf of, someone" (ὑπέρ / ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, etc. + gen.).⁹ Therefore, one evidently has to restore ὑπέρ before the name of Gaius Caesar at the end of the first line, just as in the previous dedication on behalf of Julia Kalliteknia. But this may not be enough since, to be sound, the text seems to need yet more elements. Two issues in particular have to be adjusted: *soter* is a common epithet of many Greek deities (especially of Asclepius and Zeus), but it is very rarely found alone, without a god's name. It is likely, therefore, that *Theos Soter* was followed by the name of the divine saviour. The other problem concerns the name of Gaius Caesar: considering that at least two words probably have to be restored in line 1, and to make the two lines not only roughly equal in length but also well centred, it seems evident that the text continued after Γαίου Καίσαρος in line 2. One would tend to opt for a reference to Augustus, the adoptive father of the Caesars. The simple style "Gaius Caesar" is very rarely documented.¹⁰

⁹ Cfr. J. Serrati, "A Syracusan Private Altar and the Development of Ruler Cult in Hellenistic Sicily", *Historia* 57 (2008) 83, rightly dismissing the translation "Altar of Zeus Soter of Hieron" for the inscription Διὸς Σωτήρος Ἱέρωνος from Syracuse (*BE* 1953, 282 = 1966, 516). What the text implies is a cult of King Hieron associated with Zeus Soter.

¹⁰ In *I.Thesp.* 423 (between 17 and 12 BC, and thus perhaps not very long after the adoption by Augustus), the local *demos* honours "Gaius Caesar" and "Lucius Caesar" together with their mother (Julia) and grandmother (Livia), and even more relatives are recorded in *I.Thesp.* 422, belonging to the same monument (Agrippa and the Elder Agrippina). In a sense, the presence of these people served to identify the position of the Caesars within the imperial house. *I.Délos* 1594 seems to me too fragmentary to allow any definitive conclusions (Homolle's restoration: [Ο] δῆμο[ι]ς ὁ Ἀθηναίων Γαίον Καί[σ]αρος τὸ[ν] ἑαυτοῦ εὐ[ρ]γέτη[ν] καὶ --- / [σω]τήρα [Ἀπόλλωνι?], etc.). – In the altars *IG* XII 2, 164 and 167 from Mytilene, the brothers are recorded without patronymic, being styled as ἀγίμονες τῶς

Emperors, and indeed any people, would often need the help of a saviour. We know that Gaius Caesar died, to Augustus' great sorrow, on the 21st or 22nd of February in AD 4, at the age of 24 (Lucius, the brother, had died two years before). This date constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for this and the other known dedications to Gaius (or those to gods on his behalf; but note that Gaius also enjoyed posthumous worship¹¹). A *terminus post quem* is more difficult to define, but it seems to me that the arrival at Euromus of the message concerning Gaius' injury on 9 September AD 3 is a very good candidate.¹² The ultimately fatal episode took place during the military campaign in Artagira in Armenia, and thus it would have been known in Caria in good time before Gaius' death in February of the next year. It appears as if (vain) hopes of his recovery had been circulating here and there,¹³ and in fact Gaius was already sailing back to Rome when medical complications or other reasons forced him to disembark at Limyra in Lycia where he died. Gaius' recovery may have been only temporary, but whether it was real or apparent, a dedication for his health would have been perfectly understandable. He was probably a well-known figure in Euromus not only because of his eastern campaigns (Errington even assumes the possibility of a visit on his part), but also because of the local cult of his mother Julia (Kalliteknos). Being weak and wounded, Gaius surely needed the help of doctors, but a divine doctor might have helped even more. Who would be a better *soter*, and indeed a doctor, for Gaius than Asclepius? This god was frequently given dedications for the health of emperors or of any mortal person.¹⁴ If this is correct, the following restoration might work (note that the number of letters in lines 1–2 would be precisely 29 in each, and that in line 2, *Sebastou Kaisaros* could also be in inverse order¹⁵):

νεότατος. But the texts belong to a series of multiple altars (cfr. below n. 15), showing a number of features different from those of inscriptions on the bases of honorific statues.

¹¹ Cfr. the evidence cited by A. Balland, *F.Xanthos* VII no. 25 (pp. 49–50).

¹² As is also suggested in *AE* 1993, 1522.

¹³ For the episode and the literary sources, cfr. F. E. Romer, "Gaius Caesar's Military Diplomacy in the East", *TAPhA* 109 (1979) 211–13.

¹⁴ For the style Θεῶ Σωτήρι Ἀσκληπιῶ in dedications, cfr. e.g. *SEG* XLIV 520 (Macedonia); *I.Stratonikeia* 36; *IG* XIV 1125 (Tibur; Ἀσκληπιῶ Θεῶ / Σωτήρι). Asclepius the Saviour (without "God") is known from numerous inscriptions.

¹⁵ Compare the following two cases from Rhodes: *Tit.Cam.* 99: Γάϊον Καίσαρα Καίσαρος / Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν εὐεργέταν / Καμειρεῖς ἐτείμασαν, and *I.Lindos* II 388a: [ὑπὲρ] / [Λευκίου Καίσαρος] υἱοῦ / [Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ] / [Λίνδιοι]; b: ὑπὲρ / Γαίου Καίσαρος υἱοῦ / [Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ] / [Λίνδιοι] (note, however, that *Kaisaros Sebastou* is restored in both cases; the name of the deity was not needed, as it was self-evident that the dedication went to

Ὁ δῆμος Θεῶι Σωτήρι [Ἀσκληπιῶι ὑπὲρ]
 Γαίου Καίσαρος [Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος]
 [υἱοῦ ---].

Another way to dedicate to Asclepius (or to any god) on behalf of someone's health and safety would have been by using the common ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας (or ὑγείας) construction (cfr. *IG* II² 3181 from the Asclepieion of Athens, referring to Tiberius: [Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑγίαι ὑπὲρ τῆς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Θεοῦ Σεβα[στοῦ υἱοῦ σωτηρίας *vel* ὑγείας]). In the present case, however, this style would have been somewhat superfluous, though not impossible, because the god is already indicated as *Soter*. Either way, whether a dedication goes to a "saviour god" on behalf of an emperor, or to a god (or gods) on behalf of an emperor's safety, the same message might have been expressed by using a double dative (or a multiple one in case of more recipients). When dedications (of altars in particular) are shared by gods and emperors (with their names in the dative or, occasionally, in the genitive), it might be that both were worshipped with sacrifices, and indeed there is clear evidence that such sacrifices took place (civic decrees, letters, regulations, etc.). On the other hand, the possibility frequently exists that the role of the emperor was not only secondary but of a

Athana Lindia), and for the order *Sebastos Kaisar*, cfr. e.g. Segre, *I.Cos* EV 373: [ἀ γερουσί]α Γαίον / [Καίσαρ]α Σεβαστοῦ / [Καίσαρ]ος υἱόν. — For further variation (in the display of names, the use of articles, etc.), cfr. *IG* II² 3250: ὁ δῆμος / Γαίον Καίσαρα Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν νέον Ἄρη; *I.Assos* 13: Ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματε[υόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι] / Γαίον Καίσαρα τὸν τοῦ Σεβα[στοῦ υἱόν, ἡγεμό]να τῆς νεότητος, ὑπατο[ν ---]; *I.Ilion* 87: Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος / Γαίον Καίσαρα, τὸν υἱόν τοῦ Σεβασ[τοῦ], τὸν συγγενῆ καὶ πάτρωνα καὶ εὐ/εργέτην τῆς πόλεως; *IG* XII 6, 395 (Samos): [ὁ δῆμος Γαίον καὶ Λούκιον Αὐτ]οκρά[τορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ] / [Σεβαστ]οῦ υἱ[οῦ]ς Καίσαρα[ς, etc.; Robert, *La Carie* II no. 47 (Herakleia Salbake): [ἡ] βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος / Λεύκιον Καίσαρα τὸν / Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβασ[τοῦ υἱόν]; *F.Xanthos* VII 25: [Γ]αίον Καίσαρα νέον θεόν / υἱόν Σεβαστοῦ Θεοῦ Καίσαρος / Ξανθίων ὁ δῆμος. Still further variation may be observed in the way the names and other items were recorded on altar inscriptions, e.g., *IGR* IV 1094 (Halasarna, Cos), showing also the gentile name: Ὁ δῆμος / ὁ Ἀλασαρνιτᾶν / Γαίωι Ἰουλίωι Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ / υἱῶι Καίσαρι νέωι Θεῶι / τὸν [βω]μόν. In the series of altars *IG* XII 2, 164–69 (Mytilene), Gaius and Lucius appear together with a number of relatives or other prominent Romans (Pompey, Caesar, Augustus, Agrippa), being called "sons of Augustus" and/or "first among the youth" (τοῖς παιδέσσι τῷ Σεβάστῳ; ἀγιμόνι / ἀγιμόνεσσι τᾶς νεότατος). Note, finally, *I.Mylasa* 135, showing, among other things, a priesthood of Augustus and of the Victory of Gaius and Lucius, "Caesar's children", lines 4–8: ... ἱερεὺς Αὐτοκράτορος] / Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῆς Γα[ίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος,] / τῆς νεότητος ἡγεμόνος, νέου[ν Ἄρεος ---] / καὶ τῆς Λευκίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρο[ς, τῶν Καίσαρος τέ]λ/κνων, Νείκης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλέο[υς ---], etc.

purely honorific nature. Similarly, the emperor's name in the dative could mean that he was somehow under the protection of the god, the "honorific dative" thus being interchangeable with the ὑπέρ construction. In the present case, assuming that the saviour god is Asclepius, the people of Euromus did dedicate to him on behalf of Gaius Caesar, but they might well have dedicated Θεῶι Σωτήρι Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος υἱῶι, etc. Much evidence for this style exists, and though in the present context, the ὑπέρ construction was preferable, being more articulated, as if underlining Gaius' weak condition, on many other occasions it might have been substituted with the dative.¹⁶

What follows in line 3 is unclear. Some options appear in footnote 15, but since this is a sacred dedication to a god (Asclepius?) on behalf of Gaius Caesar, and not an honorific one (of a statue) to him, it may well be that the text was rather brief. There is a general tendency for dedications of altars to gods or emperors, or of other monuments to gods on behalf of emperors, to be relatively concise. In particular, if the health of a ruler is at stake, one does not need to list all his honorific epithets and titles; the important thing is to communicate his name to the saviour god. The text might have concluded with a verb, καθιέρωσεν or something similar.

What, then, was dedicated to the saviour god? If the inscribed object really is a small plaque (but cfr. below), it does not follow that a statue could not be involved. The tablet could well have been affixed to a statue base, or to some other monument, to a wall or to any structure supporting a statue (or a bust). In any case, if an image was dedicated to the saviour, it was most likely one of Gaius Caesar. One cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the text indicates an altar, which would then imply sacrifices for Gaius' recovery. The rituals would have been accompanied and completed by prayers uttered ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας.¹⁷

However, the finding conditions of these inscriptions are not quite clear. Malcolm Errington kindly informs me that, depending completely on Harper's descriptions, he understood from Harper's notes that nos. 9 and 10 were on the same block, but that no. 10 is on the north side of the stone, which was still in the ground and not completely excavated. In the meantime, the hole which the

¹⁶ Cfr., in more detail, Kajava (above n. 8).

¹⁷ One should note, however, that the presence of an altar was not a necessary requirement for sacrifices to be performed. Libations and small-scale sacrifices of incense could be offered before statues as well.

excavators dug around the stone had been filled in again so that the stone was not to be found when Errington began the revision work on the documents.¹⁸ If this is so, it probably follows that the right-hand part of no. 10 was not visible to Harper, which, in turn, would explain the respective lacuna in his copy. A further, and more important, consequence would be that the dedication (to Asclepius?) on behalf of Gaius' recovery was incorporated in a monument which already had been dedicated on behalf of his mother's *kalliteknia*. This might have happened because, considering Gaius' severe physical condition, no time was to be wasted in preparing a completely new monument: immediate action was the only option. There would be nothing strange about this. Joint dedications to two or more deities are quite common, gods did live and work together, and they were frequently worshipped along with new arrivals. In the present case, the mother-son relationship would have made the combination even more understandable. If both texts were engraved on the same block, only one statue, that of Julia Kalliteknos, can have stood on it, and so the dedication to the saviour god would not mean that another image (of Gaius Caesar) was offered to him. What it probably does mean is that sacrifices were performed and prayers were uttered for Gaius' health and safety, and that it all took place at his mother's statue.¹⁹

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¹⁸ Errington (cit. n. 1) 31: "Auf der nach Norden liegenden Seite, auf einer eingearbeiteten Tafel". Note that in *AE* both texts are indeed treated as if belonging to one and the same monument (*AE* 1993, 1522: "sur le même bloc, à l'extrémité, sur une table travaillée"). However, from the original publication, one might also gather that no. 10 was found on the northern side of the building, in which the inscriptions had been reused. This seems to be how things were understood in *SEG* XLIII 712 ("small plaque; inscription in a tabula") as well as in *BE* 1995, 530 ("sur une plaque de petites dimensions").

¹⁹ Though very unlikely, in theory, of course, the statue of Julia could have been removed in the aftermath of her banishment in 2 BC. Could this be why Julia's name is not preserved at the end of line 1, as if it had been erased, with the consequence that the dedication now was to *Kalliteknia* alone, with special reference to Gaius and Lucius Caesar? It is true that the role of the brothers was and continued to be prominent in the dedication, but Julia is not known to have suffered general *damnatio*. Her name is well preserved in the epigraphic record, and nothing is reported on erasure in this case either.

CIL VIII 19 REVISITED*

PETER KRUSCHWITZ

The Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology at the University of Reading owns a stone inscription from Roman North Africa,¹ which has been incorporated in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* as *CIL VIII 19*.² The stone originally was found in Leptis (or Lepcis) Magna, modern-day Al Khums, Libya, perhaps best known for being the birthplace of Rome's emperor Septimius Severus. Following a rather intriguing journey through Britain,³ the monument was presented to the University of Reading in 1961.⁴ I examined this inscription several times in 2007 and 2008, and it turned out that previous editions and studies were rather unsatisfactory; a re-assessment therefore seems to be in order.

The monument is an average-sized, rather unspectacular grey limestone pedestal (86 x 62 x 62 cm), lacking ornaments except for the double-framed, countersunk (by ca. 1.5 cm) panels on all four sides.⁵ The upper rear corners of the porous stone are worn off entirely, and in addition to that the stone, due to extended exposure to British weather badly worn anyway, shows several minor

* I wish to thank my colleague Amy C. Smith, Curator of the Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology, for giving access to the material and permission to re-publish this inscription. Also I wish to thank Virginia L. Campbell for kindly correcting the language of this paper.

¹ Inv. no. 2005.8.14.

² *CIL VIII 19* (cf. p. 1144. 2289) = *IRT* 693 = *AE* 1962, 97.

³ J. M. Reynolds – J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, London 1952 (= *IRT*), 173 ad no. 693, for example, thought that the inscription was lost.

⁴ For a more extensive discussion of this inscription's rather illustrious story and early history of publication cf. J. M. R. Cormack, "Habent sua fata sepulcra", *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 58 (1960) 49–51 (with Plate I), esp. 49–50 and the postscript (dated March 1961) on 51. Cormack's article has been reported in *AE* 1962, 97.

⁵ The existence of such an area on the backside cannot be verified due to the way the inscription is displayed in the museum (with its backside towards a wall): I owe this information to Cormack (above n. 4) 50.

damages and fractures on all sides. Originally the whole stone was polished. The top may have supported some kind of sculpture or some other adornment, as there are three faint triangular impressions (side length about 1.5–2 cm), but their original date and purpose cannot be ascertained. Only the front panel is inscribed, however, there is a 3 cm descending diagonal line in the top right corner of the panel on the right-hand side, most likely an accidental slip of the stonecutter's chisel. No traces of colour can be seen. The inscribed panel at the front is 60 x 35.5 cm, the other panels' measurements vary slightly. The lettering is leaning towards the acturia, though close to a rather careless quadrata at times,⁶ and the letters' height is consistently reduced from line to line (1: 7–8 cm; 2: 6–7 cm; 3: 6 cm; 4: 5.5–6 cm; 5: 4.5–5.5 cm; 6: 3.5 cm; 7: 2.5–3 cm). The letters of lines 1–5 are cut into the stone much more profoundly than the smaller ones of lines 6–7. The letter T usually sticks out to the top, there are *I longae* in lines 3 and 6, and words are regularly divided by triangular interpuncts. The name of the deceased is followed by a *uacat* of some 6 cm in line 2. The stonecutter aimed at a centered disposition of the text, but clearly in parts struggled with the execution of the inscription, as, e.g., the condensed letter spacing towards the end of line 1 proves.

The text of the inscription reads thus:

Domitiae Rogatae. (uac.) *Vixit annis XXIII.*
M(arcus) Iulius
 5 *Cethegus*
Phelyssam uxori carissimae fecit.

"To Domitia Rogata. She lived twenty-three years. Marcus Iulius Cethegus Phelyssam had this made for his most beloved wife."

Due to the rather poor state of preservation of the inscription, there are (closely related) problems in two areas, namely its reading and the onomastic material. Both aspects require brief discussion. The above presentation of the text, however, is beyond doubt.

⁶ See e.g. to what degree the shape of the letter M varies within the inscription (e.g. lines 1 and 4).

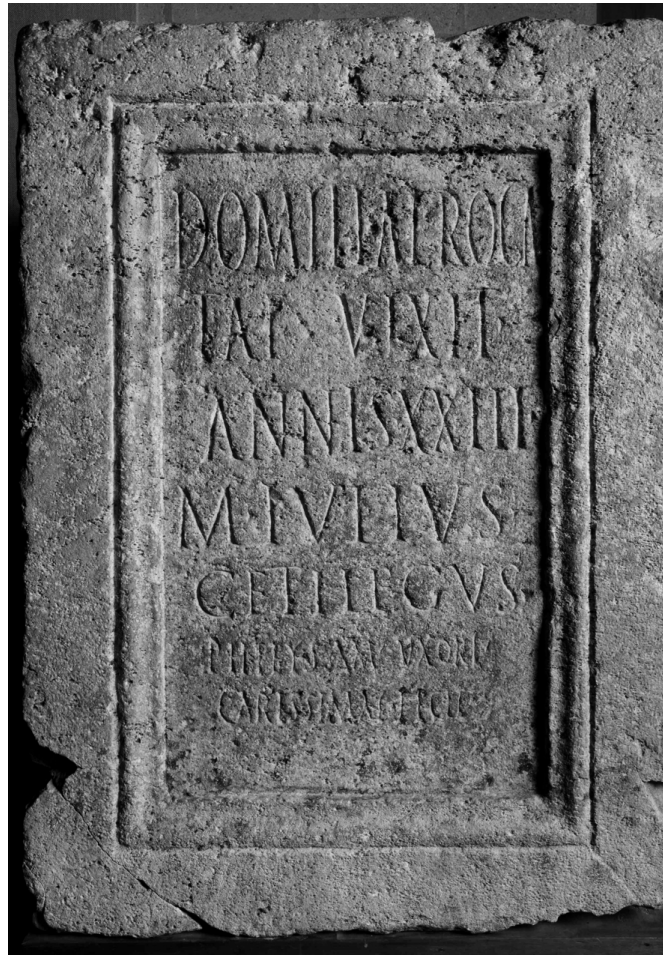


Fig.1. CIL VIII 19: front view (published by permission of the Ure Museum).

1–2 *Domitiae Rogat|tae*: *Rogatus* -a is among the commonest African cognomina,⁷ and it has been argued that this is due to an implicit reference to the deity of Baal.⁸

⁷ The cognomen itself seems to be of imperial age, cf. H. Solin, "Die innere Chronologie des römischen Cognomens", in *Actes du Colloque International sur l'onomastique latine organisé à Paris du 13 au 15 octobre 1975 par H.-G. Pflaum*, Paris 1977, 103–146, esp. 131, see also H.-G. Pflaum, "Spécificité de l'onomastique romaine en Afrique du Nord", in *Actes du Colloque International sur l'onomastique latine organisé à Paris du 13 au 15 octobre 1975 par H.-G. Pflaum*, Paris 1977, 315–324, esp. 318.

⁸ Cormack (above n. 4) 51 refers to W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church. A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa*, Oxford 19702, 79 for this; Frend's source is S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, IV: *La Civilisation Carthaginoise*, Paris 1920, 497. But see, even earlier, J. Toutain, *Les cités romaines de la Tunisie. Essai sur l'histoire de la colonisation romaine dans l'Afrique du nord*, Paris 1894, 184–186 (whence, e.g., L. R. Dean, *A Study of the cognomina of soldiers in the Roman legions*, Diss. Princeton 1916, 112–113): "Les cognomina *Rogatus* et *Rogatianus*, qui étaient eux aussi très populaires en cette région,

4–6 *M(arcus) Iulius* |⁵ *Cethegus* | *Phelyssam*: After an endless debate over this particular part of the inscription (including *uariae lectiones* for line 6, such as *Thiysaae* [Ali Bey], *Phicissiam* [Durand, hesitantly approved in *CIL* VIII p. 2289] and *Chrysalu* [Osann]), J. M. R. Cormack, in an important article in *The Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, pointed out, that the inscription seems to have *Philyssam*,⁹ a conclusion that had already been reached by H. A. Hamaker about 120 years earlier.¹⁰ Careful re-examination, however, suggests it is *Phelyssam* (with an *-e-* rather than an *-i-*): both the upper and the lower part of the third letter show what may have been interpreted as extended serifs, and there is a very short middle horizontal stroke, that can be noticed when actually touching the stone or looking at a squeeze (in fact very similar to the *-e-* in *fecit*, line 7).

The most unusual aspect of the name of the dedicant, without a doubt, is the last part, *Phelyssam*. This male name apparently is Punic in origin.¹¹ Evidence for the name is thin, to say the least, but there are two further, unrelated instances in Latin inscriptions from Leptis Magna:¹²

dérivent sans aucun doute d'une idée religieuse et morale, l'idée de prière." This has been taken into account by J. S. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 1913, 315 (whence, e.g., M. L. Gordon, "The Nationality of Slaves under the Early Roman Empire", *JRS* 14 [1924] 93–111, esp. 108). Furthermore, cf. H. Herzog, "Namensübersetzungen und Verwandtes", *Philologus* 56 (1897) 33–70 and I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, esp. 81–82 (and more often).

⁹ Cormack (above n. 4).

¹⁰ H. A. Hamaker, *Diatribes philologico-critica aliquot monumentorum Punicorum nuper in Africa repertorum*, Leiden 1822, 48.

¹¹ See G. Di Vita-Evrard, "Prosopographie et population. L'exemple d'une ville africaine, Leptis Magna", in W. Eck (ed.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte. Studien zur Methodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeit der kaiserzeitlichen Prosopographie. Kolloquium Köln 24.–26. November 1991*, Köln – Wien – Weimar 1994, 293–314, 299 with n. 28 (where the author of that paper – accidentally? – got the name *M. Iulius Cethegus Phelyssam* right, without any indication where her reading stems from): "La chose va de soi: *mutatis mutandis*, on pense aux premiers grands notables du Ier s. qui ajoutaient un nom latin à leur onomastique punique, pour la rapprocher, autant que faire se pouvait, de celle des citoyens romains, alors que le commun de leurs semblables se contentait de leur onomastique punique." Unevidenced claims by A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus. The African Emperor*, London – Batsford 1988², 213: "'Phelyssam' certainly seems Libyan rather than Punic (cf. *IRT* 698 for the form 'Felyssam' at Leptis)." For the copious problems posed by finding evidence for language contact between Latin and Berber / Libyan see J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2003, 245–247.

¹² Useful, though not without major problems, is K. Jongeling, *North-African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994. As for *CIL* VIII 19, Jongeling had not checked the best sources for his work and therefore created a nonsensical entry *Thiysaae* (p. 142), noting that the

IRT 615 *Senatus p(opulus)q(ue) Lepcitanor(um) | C(aio) Macri f(ilio) C(ai) Annonis | n(epoti) Phelyssam ob colum|nas et superfic(m) et fo|rum stratum honoris | caussa decreuerunt | Balitho [M]acri f(ilius) [C]o[m]modus - -*.¹³

IRT 698 *[- - - o]rnator simul mortalitat[i - - - | - - -gin]ae Felyssam uxori obsequentissim[ae - - -]*.¹⁴

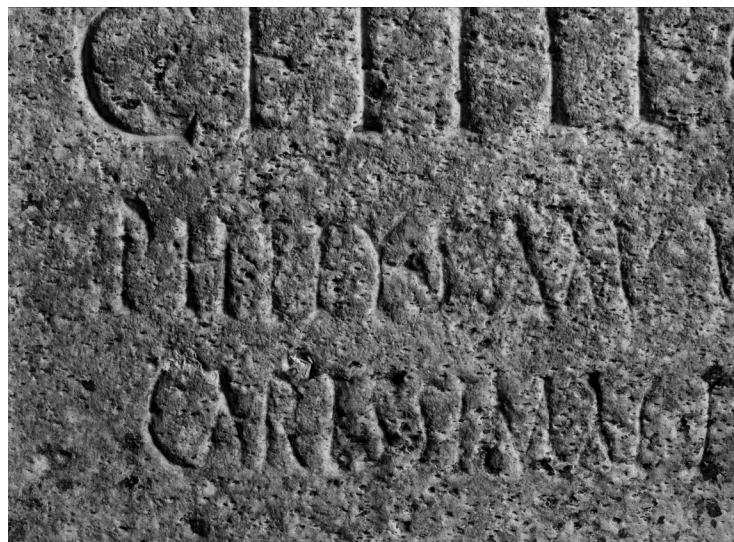


Fig. 2. Detail: beginning of line 6.

Phelyssam, however, is not the only part of the male name in *CIL VIII 19* that deserves brief mention: *Cethegus* is another interesting aspect. It first appears as a cognomen of the patrician Corneliis during the Republic and also (perhaps unrelated?) during the early Empire,¹⁵ at least at the level of the Roman nobility,

reading is "highly uncertain". S. Aurigemma, *Africa Italiana* 8, 1940, 40 n. 3 reports that L. Della Vida thought the name was "di origine probabilmente numidica, non punica" (accepted by Cormack [above n. 4] 51, as it were); cf. also R. Bartoccini, "Una chiesa cristiana nel vecchio foro di Lepcis (Leptis Magna)", *RAC* 8 (1931) 23–52, esp. 39: "Non conosco altri esempi del nome *Felyssam*, che potrebbe ritenersi d'origine numidica piuttosto che punica." Jongeling (see above) 118 tentatively suggests to relate it to the Berber name *pelaz* (evidence for this name itself, however, is not without problems, see Jongeling [see above] 117).

¹³ Same person attested in *IRT* 338, without *Phelyssam*; see Jongeling (above n. 12) 118 (for the name) and Birley (above n. 11) 213 (for the person).

¹⁴ See Jongeling (above n. 12) 46.

¹⁵ Cf., in addition to the obvious entries in the *RE*, e. g. R. Syme, "Personal Names in Annales I–VI", *JRS* 39 (1949) 6–18, esp. 11.

then, the name appears to be well-attested especially in the second and third centuries AD. and in the eastern part of the Roman empire.¹⁶

These observations match what has been said with regards to the date of this inscription: the online database of the Ure Museum roughly dates the monument "2 c. AC" (sic!). J. M. R. Cormack (naming Joyce Reynolds as his authority for this) claims that "[t]he lettering would probably date the inscription in the middle of the second century".¹⁷ Whereas Cormack's approach is rather haphazard, given the very limited precision and reliability of dating exclusively based on letter-shapes, one could indeed justify a mid-second century AD date of origin based on both letter-shapes and the evidence of the onomastic material.

Finally some brief remarks regarding another peculiarity of this inscription that has previously been ignored: the continuous reduction of letter sizes. When looking at the inscription from a reasonable distance, the inscribed text seems to be divided into two major sections. Within lines 1–5, letter sizes vary by 3.5 cm altogether, the name of the deceased written largest, the name of the dedicant written smallest, still the lettering looks fairly consistent. Lines 6–7, then, as a second section of text, appear to be much smaller, and this for a good reason: within the first section, usually in any line at least some letters are just as high as letters of the line that precedes. No such connection exists between lines 5 and 6 – there is a clear 1 cm difference in height, and this causes the optical impression, assisted by the aforementioned fact that the letters of lines 6–7 were cut into the stone less profoundly. This is remarkable with regards to the fact the name of the dedicant, Marcus Iulius Cethegus Phelyssam, is written over this line break and, interestingly enough, it is just the native African element of that name that happens to appear in the part that is written in smaller script.¹⁸ It seems very unlikely, then, that this has happened by chance (never mind the minor inaccuracies in the inscription's execution otherwise): it all seems to imply that the person who drafted the text and prepared it for cutting intentionally presented the official (so to speak) and 'Roman' part of the inscription in larger script and the more private section (that

¹⁶ Cf. M. Kajava, "Roman Senatorial Women and the Greek East. Epigraphic Evidence from the Republican and Augustan Period", in H. Solin – M. Kajava (edd.), *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History. Proceedings of a Colloquium at Tvärminne 2–3 October 1987*, Helsinki 1990, 59–124, esp. 79–80.

¹⁷ Cormack (above n. 4) 50.

¹⁸ On further cases of 'mixed' names see Adams (above n. 11) 213 ff.

could be interpreted as a sentence of its own right) *Phelyssam uxori carissiae fecit*, containing the indigenous name, in smaller lettering.¹⁹

So what makes this inscription so interesting, then, is the presence of different strategies of people to combine their indigenous heritage with their display of what might be considered 'Roman identity', as to be seen from their personal names. Whereas the female, at first glance, appears to have two perfectly Roman names (Domitia Rogata), well in keeping with the onomastic practice of that time, her cognomen Rogata in fact is a typical African one, relating to indigenous religious concepts. Her husband, then, bears an indigenous name (Phelyssam) in addition to three not exactly unusual Roman names (Marcus Iulius Cethegus), however he only 'advertises' the Roman *tria nomina* in large letters, while that part that identifies him as a local is written much smaller (yet by no means suppressed), inspiring the idea that this part of him could almost be more 'private' than his 'official' Roman identity.

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¹⁹ This lends support to the general observation made by Di Vita-Evrard (above n. 11).

LEARNING FROM SILENCE: DISABLED CHILDREN IN ROMAN ANTIQUITY

CHRISTIAN LAES

1. Introduction

Teaching ancient Greek to undergraduates, I used to lecture on Herodotus, one of my favourites being the through and through Greek story on the whereabouts and the harsh destiny of the Lydian king Croesus. During the years, I got puzzled by the faith of Croesus' second son, whose name is never mentioned. Herodotus' readers get to know that Croesus actually had two sons "one of whom was wholly undone, for he was deaf and dumb (κωφός)". The other was named Atys. He would ultimately die by a spear in a hunting accident, though his father had done everything in his power to avoid this cruel and since long predicted fate. When Croesus initially tries to dissuade Atys to take part in the hunting, he argues that Atys is in fact his only son: "for that other, since his hearing is lost to him (διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν), I count no son of mine." While nowadays students get indignant at such statements, they are somewhat consoled by the following part of the story. Indeed, when the capital Sardes is finally taken, it is the very same lad who cries out to a Persian soldier approaching to kill the Lydian king: "Man, do not kill Croesus!" It was the first word he uttered and for the rest of his life, he had power of speech. By his unexpected utterance, the boy fulfilled an oracle which has stated that the first day he would hear his son speaking, would be a luckless day to Croesus. Attending the oracle was just one out of many things Croesus had done in earlier days to help his disabled son: "a likely youth enough save that he was dumb (ἄφωνος). Now in the past days of prosperity Croesus had done all that he could for his son."¹ The unfortunate son then disappears from Herodotus'

(*) This publication is part of the University of Tampere research project "Religion and Children. Socialisation in Pre-Modern Europe from the Roman Empire to the Christian

narrative, only to turn up later in Greek and Latin literature, sometimes as a proverbial paradigm.² Only the historian Nicolaus of Damascus (first century BC) dramatically elaborates upon the theme. When the boy approaches his father awaiting his death standing before the pyre, Croesus for the first time bursts out in tears. The lad emphatically begs his father to let him die together with him: "From the time I was born, I have always brought sorrow to you as well as to my self. I just couldn't be happy by the shame which was caused by my dumbness (ἄφρωνία) and by the disgrace. Only when misfortune began to fall on us, was I able to utter my first words. The gods have only rendered me articulate as to be able to mourn our fate." Eventually, only Croesus ascends the pyre. His son beseeches the gods to come to help and not make perish all human piety together with Croesus.³

I remember a vivid class room discussion which followed after the reading of the Croesus saga, where one student claimed not to be surprised at all at the – in our eyes somewhat ambiguous – attitude of Croesus towards his unnamed son. Travelling through Albania, he had come across villagers hiding their disabled child in the anonymity of their homes and thus covering their very existence with silence, while at the same time they took care of them, doing their outmost best to somehow secure their existence.

As a historian of ancient childhood, I retained the story of Croesus' son and the subsequent classroom discussion as a possible subject for further inquiry. The subject returned to my mind, when I was discussing my interest in history of disabilities with some colleagues at Hamilton, Canada. I was informed about a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae*. During his Persian campaign, in May of the year 363, the Emperor Julian sacked the town of Maozamalcha. "Then when the booty was divided (...) the emperor, being content with little, took only a dumb boy who was offered to him, who was

World.", directed by Katariina Mustakallio. I would like to thank the Latin section of the Catholic University of Leuven for research facilities during my stay as a replacement professor. I am also particularly grateful towards my Ph.D. student, Bert Gevaert, whose inspiring enthusiasm initiated me into the history of disabilities, as well as to my friend and colleague Christophe De Block (Faculty of Medicine, University of Antwerp) for information on congenital birth defects.

¹ Hdt. 1,34 (Croesus having two sons); 1,38 (Croesus dissuading Atys); 1,85 (the mute boy speaking for the first time). I have quoted from the Loeb-translation by A. D. Godley.

² Greek literature: X. *Cyr.* 7,2,20; *Paroemiographi Graeci* 2, 686; Luc. *Pr. Im.* 20. Latin literature: Gell. 5,9,1–4; Val. Max. 5,4,ext. 6; Cic. *div.* 1,53,121.

³ Nic. Dam. in *HGM* (ed. Dindorf) I, fr. 67 (p. 64–66).

acquainted with sign-language and explained many things in which he was skilled by most graceful gestures."⁴ Commentators have pointed to the fact that the dumb boy was in fact a highly skilled pantomime.⁵

For the third time, the subject was drawn to my attention, when I came across a story about the Alexandrian theologian Didymus the Blind (313–398). Though not congenitally blind, he had lost his sight when, as a child (according to the *Historia Lausiaca* at age four), he had just begun to learn reading and writing. As a youth, he wanted to become a member of the cultivated elite, imbued with culture and fine arts. He arrived at a high degree of knowledge, even mastering complicated mathematical theorems. It was said that this highly learned man had managed to acquire reading skill by fumbling letters, and afterwards syllables, engraved in wooden tablets. His remarkable memory combined with assiduous listening to his teachers were the factors which contributed to his unusual success. Quite some people came to Alexandria just to watch the prodigy.⁶

These three examples clearly demonstrate both the difficulties and the challenges of researching disabled children in Antiquity. Much of the material still has to be collected: there is simply no such thing as a collection of stock references to lean on as to draw an overall sketch. Though the focus of this article will be on Roman Antiquity, it is not advisable to dismiss ancient Greek sources⁷ (the story on Croesus' son obviously was generally known to the educated elite of the Roman Empire): because of the nature of the evidence, I am obliged to paint with extremely broad strokes. Furthermore, we are confronted with a subject in which cross-cultural comparison is almost inevitable. I must at least take into account what anthropologists have to say about the subject, whereas the well-studied subject of child abandonment in Europe since the late Middle Ages will be invoked from time to time. Moreover, one faces the difficulty that discussions on the matter tend to become either emotional or at least anachronistical, as we are entering debates on values and standards in which ancient society was quite different from ours. The issue

⁴ Amm. 24,4,26. I thank Noel Lenski (University of Colorado) for this reference.

⁵ den Boeft, Drijvers, den Hengst, Teitler (2002) 139–140, referring to an article by Mary (1993). The observation already occurs with Ferreri (1906) 378.

⁶ Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.* 3,15,1–3. However, according to Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 4,1 he never learned to write, and never resorted to any teachers. All he had was his own conscience: he was so greatly endowed with the grace of spiritual knowledge that in him was literally fulfilled what was spoken by the prophet, "The Lord gives light to the blind" (Ps. 146, 8).

⁷ For studies on disabilities in Greek Antiquity, see Edwards (1995) and Lammens (1999).

of disabled persons' rights is after all a modern one, largely unknown to the ancients. Finally, the subject is an example of how ancient history catches up with other branches of history. Due to the lack of source material, a whole range of subjects is simply beyond our understanding. For example, we do not dispose of personal correspondence or other documents to study resistance and agency of the disabled in Antiquity. Neither do we know what compelled Didymus to embark on a career of schooling, or what drove his parents to do the effort of teaching their blind little child, whether they were frowned upon by their neighbours or following the example others had set for them. For both Croesus' son and the Maozamalcha boy, the education and the rest of their lives are shrouded in silence. It is perhaps this paucity of sources that has caused ancient history to be somewhat excluded from the prolific new branch of disability history studies.⁸

The aim of this article may thus be described as follows. It is an essay in social history, rather than an exposition on the history of ideas. As such, I will be concerned more with concrete stories about parents attending oracles to obtain healing for their disabled child, than with mythological digressions on the faith of the crippled god Hephaestus, or on Oidipous with the swollen ankels. Much has yet to be done: as Antiquity is concerned, disability history has hardly left its childhood behind. Therefore, I want to (1) gather the information on disabled children, from a wide range and variety of sources, much more than has been done before, both on actual facts and on people's attitudes towards such children (2) offer a status quaestionis of what we can possibly know about the surviving of disabled babies (a subject which has been shrouded in the almost cluttered literature on child exposure and child abandonment) (3) fully integrate the data as they are offered by osteology, archaeology and medicine (4) question the value of the concept 'disability' as a research tool for the issue of socialisation of children in the ancient world.

⁸ See Anderson – Carden-Coyne (2007) for an up-to-date introduction. Promising approaches for ancient history might e.g. be the study of the disabled body as a repository for social anxieties around issues of control, identity and vulnerability Anderson – Carden-Coyne (2007) 454.

2. The ancients had some words for it

Transferring the terms 'disability' or 'handicap' to Antiquity is problematic, though it has to be said that even nowadays the terms are not unambiguous. Indeed, we do dispose of legal or medical definitions⁹, not to mention our strive for politically correct usage, preferring the term 'disabled' to the somewhat denigrating word 'handicapped'. But at the same time, our definitions are so broad that, on the basis of these descriptions, one could include inconveniences as elephant ears, early baldness, blushing or fear of public speaking in the series of handicaps, while at the other hand the blind United Kingdom former Minister of Interior Relations, David Blunkett, preferred to refer to his disability as 'an inconvenience'.¹⁰ The World Health Organisation acknowledges that the concept of disabilities is partly culturally determined: "an umbrella term (...) a complex phenomenon, reflecting an interaction between features of a person's body and features of the society in which he or she lives".¹¹ In addition, the line between deformity and disability is not a sharp one: a deformity as blemish of the skin may become a social or a psychological handicap. Robert Garland has pointed to the fact that, according to statistics, one in six of the population in the USA is considered suffering from disability. Greeks and Romans would in all probability have estimated this incidence in their own communities to be appreciably lower, because they are likely to have excluded many of the minor impairments which statistics include nowadays: Caesar trying to hide his early baldness by combing his hair forward and wearing the laurel crown, or the Emperor Hadrian hiding a blemish of the skin by his beard would in all probability not be considered as disabled in the ancient world.¹² Less handicaps thus in our modern world, if we approach the matter from the ancient standpoint. Paradoxically enough, the modern view towards the ancient world would lead to a quite different result. Due to injuries, infections and widespread disease, a time traveller projected to Antiquity would be likely to recognise a

⁹ See for example definitions of the term disability offered in online medical dictionaries: "any physical or mental defect, congenital or acquired, preventing or restricting a person from participating in normal life or limiting their capacity to work." or "A physical, mental, or emotional condition that interferes with one's normal functioning." [<http://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/handicapped>].

¹⁰ de Libero (2002) 75.

¹¹ <http://www.who.int/topics/disabilities/en>.

¹² Garland (1995) 6–7. Suet. *Caes.* 45; *Hist. Aug. Hadr.* 26,1.

large amount of people in ancient streets which he would consider more or less severely disabled.¹³

In certain contexts, ancient writers seem to have come close to a concept of disability, though they mainly do so in the context of malformation or teratology. Roman legal sources tried to distinguish between illness and disability, but they never came to an established and accepted definition.¹⁴ During the reign of Augustus, the jurist Labeo discerned two sorts of prodigies (*ostenta*) or births *contra naturam*: minor handicaps as being born with three feet or three hands, and serious malformations which were called *phantasmata* in Greek.¹⁵ According to Ulpian, a disabled child (*portentosus, monstruosus* or *debilis*) should be taken into account when granting favours to parents who had at least three children.¹⁶ In connection with the same *ius trium liberorum* granted by the Augustan *lex Iulia* and *lex Papia*, the jurist Paul noticed that those children who did not have a human appearance should not be taken into account, though an exception might be made in cases of polydactyly.¹⁷

While there was no ancient term matching our words 'disability' or 'handicap', there are many Greek and Latin words denoting weakness, being maimed, ugliness, incompleteness or imperfection, being unable to perform. In medical treatises, terms as 'infirm', 'defective', 'malformed' or 'weak' are used to design babies which we would probably, though certainly not in all cases, consider disabled. Considering the vagueness in ancient concepts, organisation of the material into modern and easy recognisable categories seems to impose itself. Hence, I will consider as disabled those children who suffered from bodily handicaps, deafness and hearing impairments (sometimes connected with speech disorders), blindness and sight impairment, as well as those suffering from mental disorders.¹⁸ Ancient authors theorised about heredity and other factors causing congenital impairment,¹⁹ but in most of the cases it is impossible

¹³ Scheidel (2001) and (2003) are the best surveys on disease in the Roman world; Sallares (1991) deals with the Greek world.

¹⁴ See the extended discussions in *Dig.* 21,1 concerning the sale of slaves and possible restitution when the slave turns out to be ill or in some way disabled.

¹⁵ *Dig.* 50,16,38.

¹⁶ *Dig.* 50,16,135.

¹⁷ Paul. *sent.* 4,9,3. See also *Dig.* 1,5,14. See Gourevitch (1998) and Allély (2004) 90–95 on Roman law and disabled children.

¹⁸ A similar option was taken by Edwards (1995) 4–5, excluding however mental disorders.

¹⁹ E.g. Arist. *HA* 585 b – 586 a (handicaps being transferred by parents); *GA* 772 b – 773 a; *HA* 582 b (circumstances of gestation causing impairments); *GA* 775 a; ps.-Arist. *Probl.* 895

to discern whether the sources are talking about congenital handicaps or acquired trauma.²⁰ Out of practical reasons, I excluded well studied phenomena as epilepsy and dwarfism.²¹ Of course, all this is a practical, rather crude and somewhat anachronistical organisation of the available source material. One also needs to bear in mind that other cultures *might* have had other concepts on abnormal, ominous, monstrous or unwanted births: some have systematically exposed twins, and there are traces of the archaic principle of exposing twins in Roman literature, though not in historically attested times.²²

Greek and Latin obviously disposed of a rich vocabulary for specific physical disabilities as blindness, deafness, muteness, paralysis and all sorts of bodily deformities.²³ A thorny problem of vocabulary arises in the case of the mentally disabled. "Discriminant subtlety in mental diseases has been achieved only in recent decades and we cannot sift the confusion of ancient accounts".²⁴ Though the second-century lexicographer Pollux has provided us with a full list of Greek terms denoting folly and lack of senses, and though several studies have focussed on the concepts of madness, insanity, being of unsound mind, possessedness, or mental disability, the ancient vagueness in terms and the lack of distinctions remains a thorny problem for those scholars wishing to highlight the mentally disabled in Antiquity.²⁵

a (duration of gestation causing disabilities, pointing to the imperfection of seven-month children).

²⁰ In the case of children, we do not have to deal with war wounds, and only very exceptionally with mutilation or scars. See Salazar (2000) on war wounds, and Dasen (2007) on scars.

²¹ On dwarfism, see Dasen (1993) and (2006). There are no references to dwarf children, though dwarfs were often compared to children. On epilepsy, see the classic book by Temkin (1945). In the case of epilepsy, it is stated by Suet. *Cal.* 50 that Caligula's disorders may have been caused by his suffering from this illness from childhood on. See Benediktson (1991). Hp. *Morb. Sacr.* 8 (6, 376–377 Littré) mentions more attacks when epilepsy is present from childhood.

²² Sen. *contr.* 9,3; Plin. *nat.* 7,47 (on the name *Vopiscus*). See Harris (1994) 5 n. 35 for further anthropological references.

²³ See the useful glossary in Garland (1995) 183–185.

²⁴ Wells (1964) 129.

²⁵ See Poll. *onom.* 120–122. Studies include Audibert (1892), Lebigre (1967) on legal matters; Michel (1981), Godderis (1987), Pigeaud (1987), Stok (1996) on medical matters. Dully overlooked are two excellent older studies by Semelaigne (1869 – by far the best, to my knowledge) and Heiberg (1927).

3. Exposure and infanticide of disabled babies

Taking the life course approach, this inquiry begins with the problem of birth and possible getting rid off disabled children. A widespread *communis opinio* has it that disabled children did simply not have a chance of surviving in ancient Antiquity: they were either killed immediately after birth, either exposed to face an almost certain death soon after.²⁶ Scholarly literature on child exposure and infanticide in general is indeed extensive²⁷, and it has taken more than one extended study just to map the different scholarly positions on the subject.²⁸ As to the exposure of the disabled, two problems arise. Firstly, our evidence is mostly based on a small selection of 'classic' texts, which need to be interpreted in their specific utopian or ideological tradition, making extrapolation a hazardous undertaking. Secondly, much of ancient historians' work on the matter seems to have been concerned with apologetics, defending Greeks and Romans from the accusation of practicing eugenetics, an aspect of ancient thought which was particularly stressed by racist and Nazi ideologists.²⁹

From Antiquity till present days, Sparta has been associated with eugenetics and the killing of malformed babies. However, it has gained this reputation on the basis of one mere text by Plutarch (ca. 46 – ca. 120), who in his *Life of Lycurgus* mentions that the babies of full Spartan citizens were brought to a place called Lesche and inspected by the elders of the tribes. When the child turned out to be of low descent or malformed (ἄγεννες or ἄμορφον) it was sent to the Apothetai, a pit-like place in Mount Taygetus. Still according to Plutarch, Spartans had like a double check to prove babies' good health: women washed their little ones with wine, in order to sort out the epileptic or the sickly

²⁶ The statement that parents nowhere raise monsters, occurs in a fragment of the lost tragedy *Cretans* by Euripides in connection with the birth of the Minotaurus. However, the fragment is strongly restored: see *P. Oxy.* XXVII 2461, fr. 1 (and R. Cantarella, *Euripide: I Cretesi*, Milan 1963, pp. 19–20 (text)).

²⁷ Eyben (1980–81), Boswell (1988), Harris (1994), Corbier (2001) are the best surveys. However, the subject of disabled children only turns up aside in these studies, most explicitly in Harris (1994) 12. Only Schmidt (1983–84) and Edwards (1996) explicitly deal with exposure or killing of disabled children.

²⁸ Oldenziel (1987) and Vuolanto (forthcoming) are examples of such studies.

²⁹ Schmidt (1983–84) 133–134 on Hitler's referring to Spartan eugenetics and the appeal made to classics by the German doctor Werner Catel (1894–1981), who was in charge of the paediatric clinic Rothenburgsort in Hamburg and who practiced euthanasia on children which were considered 'unheilbar'. Catel was a well respected pediatrician after the Second World War. See Petersen – Zankel (2003) and (2007).

ones.³⁰ However, Plutarch wrote at least sixhundred years after the facts and the Taygetus exposure was certainly not the custom anymore when he lived. Athenian writers as Xenophon or Plato who wrote in the fourth century BC during the high days of Sparta do not mention the practice, there is no archaeological evidence of displaying bones of disabled babies at Mount Taygetus, and one king of Sparta, Agesilaos (ca. 443– 360), is known to have been crippled by birth.³¹ Moreover, Plutarch's text fits in a somewhat fantastic-utopian tradition, stating that the ideal state had the power to select its citizens.³² Undoubtedly, there must be some historical core in the Lycurgus story, going back to a tribal warrior society in which the elder, not yet the fathers, decided upon survival of babies – to Plutarch who certainly was not a modern anthropologist, it was the moral of the story which counted, not so much the historical truth. In his description of the ideal state, Plato favoured selection of the weaker: if babies of the good citizens (i.e. the guards) appeared to be disabled (ἀνόπηρον), they should be put away in an obscure and inaccessible place. Whether this really implied killing them, is most uncertain, since in his *Timaeus*, Plato leaves the possibility of letting them return if they proved to be worthy while growing up. However, we need to bear in mind that Plato was writing on the ideal state, not on actual social practice.³³ Aristotle unambiguously opposes the upbringing of infirm children (πεπηρωμένον), stating that a law should forbid such practice. Once again, we are dealing with considerations about an ideal state.³⁴ There is a tradition in Greek literature condemning child-exposure: Isocrates lists it among the horrendous crimes practised in other cities but not in Athens, Aristotle seems to imply that some Greek states forbade the practice when it was done on demographic or

³⁰ Plut. *Lyc.* 16.

³¹ Schmidt (1983–84) 134–135; Huys (1996) 52–57. On Agesilaos being partly lame from birth and very small of stature, see Plut. *Ages.* 2. See Garland (1995) 40 and Luther (2000).

³² Huys (1996) 63–74. Eugenic infanticide is ascribed to an Indian tribe led by king Sopeithes by the historian Onescritus in his description of Alexander's campaigns. See Diod. Sic. 17,91,4–6; Strab. 15,1,30; Curt. 9, 1, 24–25. Another fantastic-utopian account by Iambulus includes a character-test by having newborns fly on the wings of a giant bird: Diod. Sic. 2,58,5.

³³ Pl. *Pol.* 460 c (selection); *Ti.* 19 a (possible return). In *Pol.* 415 c Plato states that those guards who have unworthy offspring should bring them to the workmen or the farmers. Scholarship on these Plato-passages is vast, but Schmidt (1983–84) 142–144 provides an excellent overview of the different positions.

³⁴ Arist. *Pol.* 7, 1335 b. For scholarship on this passage, see Oldenziel (1987) 88–90; Schmidt (1983–84) 144–145.

economic grounds, and Aelian (second century AD) mentions an otherwise unknown Theban law punishing child-exposers with death sentence. However, these texts only reveal that the practice was somehow disapproved of, and there is no indication whatsoever on tough decisions concerning malformed children.³⁵

As for the Roman tradition, the first century BC Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions a law issued by Romulus prohibiting the killing of infants under the age of three, except in the case of a disabled child or a prodigy (παιδίον ἀνάπηρον ἢ τέρας), in which case the killing should take place right after birth (εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γονῆς).³⁶ Cicero refers to the killing or removing of deformed children (*insignis ad deformitatem puer*) as stipulated in the law of the Twelve Tables (449 BC).³⁷ A most explicit statement is found with Seneca Rhetor, though rhetorical exaggeration cannot be ruled out: "Many fathers are in the habit of exposing offspring who are no good. Some right from birth are damaged in some part of their bodies, weak and hopeless. Their parents throw them out, rather than expose them".³⁸ The philosopher Seneca clearly regarded the killing of malformed children as perfectly normal: "Unnatural prodigy we destroy; we drown even children who at birth are weakly and abnormal. Yet it is not anger, but reason that separates the harmful from the sound."³⁹ Scholars have somewhat artificially tried to 'rescue' Seneca's reputation, stressing the fact that he is merely thinking of Republican customs of killing prodigies in times of crises, and referring to other passages where Seneca clearly points to parental love and dilection for sick children, claiming that character and the inner self are far more important than outward appearance. Indeed, such passages can be found with Seneca, but they evidently deal with elder children, with whom affectional bounds were already formed,

³⁵ Isoc. *Panath.* 122; Arist. *Pol.* 1335 b 19–26; Ael. *VH.* 2,7. See Schmidt (1983–84) 141; Harris (1994) 4; Huys (1995–96) on Athens. The Hesiodus scholia mention a not datable law from Ephesus only allowing exposure when the infant showed clear signs of hunger-oedema at his feet: *Schol. Hes., Op.* 497. The Scholion may go back to Plutarch (*Mor.* fr. 69 Sandbach) or to Proclus. See Schmidt (1983–84) 155 n. 59.

³⁶ D.H., *Ant. Rom.* 2,15,2. The remark that infants could only be exposed after the agreement of five neighbours most probably does not refer to the disabled. The Romulian law is generally considered as a late Republic fiction. See Eyben (1980–81) 26 n. 77; Harris (1994) 5.

³⁷ Cic. *leg.* 3,8,19. The reading of the MSS *legatus* has been emended to *necatus* or *delatus*. See Eyben (1980–81) 27; Harris (1994) 5.

³⁸ Sen. *contr.* 10,4,16 (Loeb - trans. M. Winterbottom).

³⁹ Sen. *dial.* 3,15,2 (Loeb - trans. J. W. Basore).

suffering from bad health, and not necessarily with disabled or malformed offspring. To state that Seneca was not a defender of eugenetics, is indeed a truism, more revealing of a scholar's preoccupation than of ancient thought which was evidently not involved with racist or biological thinking.⁴⁰

As to Roman Antiquity, we dispose of lists of attested monstrous births, as they are reported in the historical sources, mainly Livy and Julius Obsequens. The examples may be classified as androgyns, malformed babies, precocious babies, monsters half human-half beast, and multiple births. Reports have it that most of these ominous infants were killed (hermaphrodites being drowned in Republican times but cherished as extravagant objects of luxury in imperial times), while those with supernumerary or deficient limbs may have survived.⁴¹

There seems to have existed a tradition of ancient thought pointing to the necessity of raising *all* children, often resorting to arguments on nature and animal life.⁴² Foreign people as Egyptians, Germans and Jews, have been said to rear all their children, a practice which was sometimes explicitly contrasted with Roman practice.⁴³ However, none of these texts mention disabled children, perhaps deliberately in the case of the nature-argument, since animals had been known to expose their offspring which was not worth the rearing.⁴⁴

Throughout Antiquity, the ancient medical tradition crystal-clearly mentions the selection of newborns, with a very reduced chance of surviving for infirm or malformed babies as a logical consequence. Hippocrates considered gynaecology as the art of finding out which newborns were worth the rearing, and so did Mustio, a late-antique Soranus' translator. Soranus himself describes how the midwife should examine the newborn's ability to cry and to move all its

⁴⁰ Schmidt (1983–84) 149–150 tries to 'rescue' Seneca. See Sen. *epist.* 6,3 and 66,4 (inner self and outward appearance); 66,25 (virtue also possible with the infirm or the disabled); 66,26 (love for both a sick and a healthy son).

⁴¹ Allély (2003) 132–134 (list); (2004) 75–76 (list); (2003) 149–155 and (2004) 79–90 (fate of these children).

⁴² Muson. *Frag.* 15 A & B (ed. Hense) on why should one raise *all* his children; Hierocles, in Stob. 4,24,14 (ed. Hense) mentioning the upbringing of *most* children; Epict. *Ench.* 1,23; Plut. *Mor.* 496 b–e; 497 e, the latter authors referring to animal life and/or nature.

⁴³ E.g. Strab. 17,824 (Egyptians); Tac. *hist.* 5,5 (Jews); *Germ.* 19 (Germans). See Harris (1994) 7. See Schwartz (2004) for a survey on the reality of child exposure with Jews.

⁴⁴ In Ambrosius *Hex.* 18,60 (PL 14, 231) we read about the eagle rejecting a particular eaglet which was in some way defective: "she rejects him therefore not because of a hard heart but a sound judgement; she does not abandon her own, but refuses her alien." (trans. J. Boswell) – note the similarity with Seneca's argument! It is further said that the rejected eaglet is then taken up by the mercy of another bird, the *fulica*. See Boswell (1988) 168.

limbs, as well as to inspect its bodily openings and the proportions of the parts of the bodies. Only after this inspection, the child is appropriate to be raised. The baby who failed to meet these requirements was not worth the rearing (ἀνατροφήν) though Soranus does not explicitly state which action should be taken (he passes the nasty subject pudiquement, as the Budé editors have aptly put it).⁴⁵ Unmentioned measures may have included drowning (see the Seneca passage), suffocating the infant, simply putting aside the newborn and/or denying nourishment, in which case death follows after some hours, or exposing in a public places. Medieval reports from fifteenth-century Tuscany mention parents simply momentarily leaving the house to let the baby die on its own – one may think of similar practices in Antiquity, though they are never explicitly mentioned.⁴⁶ It should be noted that this medical selection also struck the weak babies, obviously a very large category, ranging much further than obvious deformities. Only rarely, ancient authors point to the difficult choices which had to be made, and to issues which were most probably solved in silence. Thus Socrates warns not to act irrationally like the mother who became angry with the midwife who found a baby unable to survive and removed the infant secretly.⁴⁷

Concerning the issue of exposure or infanticide of malformed newborns, ancient historians are ultimately left with not too many sources and a lot of unanswered questions. It goes beyond saying that a considerable number of disabled escaped the first parents' or midwives' tests: in the case of blind or hear-impaired children, the disability is only detected after a certain period of time, and the same counts for certain forms of mental retardation.⁴⁸ The assertion that the ancients were crueller towards the mentally disabled, who would then have been exposed at a later age, does not come up in any ancient

⁴⁵ Hp. *Oct.* 10 (7, 452–455 Littré); Must. *Gyn.* 1, 76; Sor. *Gyn.* 2,10. The reference to the proportion of the parts of the body, may have caused children with hydrocephaly to be removed (2, 10). See Burguière, Gourevitch, Malinas vol. II (1990) 85.

⁴⁶ These possibilities, except form the one of leaving the house, are enumerated in Paulus' *Sententiae*, see *Dig.* 25,3,4. For medieval Tuscany, see Boswell (1988) 403.

⁴⁷ Pl. *Tht.* 151 a–e; 157 c–d.

⁴⁸ In pagan literature, we only have two unambiguous references to persons being blind from birth: Arist. *Ph.* 193 a; Paus. *Per.* 4,10,6 on the Messenian seer Ophioneus. See Just (1997) 124. Obviously, babies missing one eye may have been destroyed as monsters, but no text exists to confirm or deny this. Plut. *Mor.* 520 c; 1108 d mentions a monster market where people went to see the three-eyed. See Edwards (1995) 154.

source.⁴⁹ Exposure after some months is attested in the case of an unwanted child. Although the later Emperor Claudius had initially accepted the girl his wife Urgulanilla had with the freedman Boter, he later exposed the little infant Claudia naked before her mother's door, the mention of her nakedness clearly referring to his intention to have the child killed.⁵⁰ So the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out in the case of later discovery of a disability. However, from a cross-cultural point of view, the dismissing of children who have already been accepted in the family (designed with the German word *Pädizid*) is much more exceptional than the killing immediately after birth (*Infantizid*).⁵¹ Neither are we informed about different reactions in different social classes. While the destitute might perhaps get rid of their disabled children since they were simply not in the possibility of raising them, the well-to-do could have resorted to other solutions. We hear of at least some aristocrats who lived, although their defects were clear from birth,⁵² but as will become clear in the following paragraphs of this study, also malformed children of the less well-to-do are known to have lived. Medical writers explicitly acknowledge the surviving of children whose disability was clear from birth on: babies with a clubfoot or dispaired limbs.⁵³ Aristotle describes the birth of babies who appear bloodless and dead, but who are revived by skilled midwives: cases of brain damage at birth or cerebral palsy?⁵⁴ One can only guess at parents' motivations in these cases: perhaps they had been longing for a child for a long time, perhaps they did not want to lose their sole heir, perhaps they just could not bring themselves to getting rid of the baby. The investment may have been considered more worth making in the case

⁴⁹ Hence, the assertion by Harris (1994) 12 ("it is difficult to imagine that victims of congenital blindness were often allowed to survive") is uncalled-for and supposes that parents would kill their babies after some months. Eyben (1980–81) 15 supposes that parents would dispose of a mentally disturbed child when his disability was discovered (that is, even later than in the case of blind or deaf-mute children).

⁵⁰ Suet. *Claud.* 27,5.

⁵¹ Krausse (1998) 328.

⁵² Plin. *nat.* 7,69 (Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, born with the genital organs closed); *nat.* 7,50 (in the *Lepidi* family, several generations of children were born with their eyes covered by their skin). De Libero (2001) lists a whole series of disabled aristocrats performing duties, but there is no single instance in which congenital disability can be demonstrated.

⁵³ Hp. *Art.* 62 (4, 262–269 Littré) on clubfoot; *Art.* 55 (4, 238–243 Littré) on dispaired limbs.

⁵⁴ Arist. *HA* 587 a.

of a boy.⁵⁵ The very different ecological regime of the ancient world may have instilled attitudes with parents that were quite different from nowadays expectations. Firstly, conditions of all newborn were anyhow fragile in Antiquity. Secondly, due to sophisticated medical testing, everybody in the modern world expects to deliver a baby that conforms to somatic ideals. Thirdly, ancient people may have hoped that children would still grow out of their handicap, in cases in which modern medicine teaches us that this will not be the case.⁵⁶ Moreover, new research into child abandonment has revealed that babies were often disposed in the near environment. They were as it were 'hidden in plain sight', hoping to recognise them afterwards and seeing them cared for by people who lived in close proximity. The sources do not mention disabled children in this case, but the possibility cannot entirely be ruled out.⁵⁷ Finally, quite some emotional factors are simply beyond our apprehension. How would parents in Antiquity have reacted when a little girl was born with a cleft lip, with the almost certain prospect of never being able to marry her off? Though we would like to know, the ancient sources unfortunately never tell us, though they sometimes mention the problem of how to marry off ugly girls.⁵⁸

No ancient historian has denied the frequency of child-exposure and in Antiquity, though all have acknowledged that the phenomenon can never be translated into numerical form. Its possible impact on slave supply of the Roman Empire has been tentatively and somewhat speculatively calculated: according to an estimation one in thirty children from poor families would have to be exposed to be raised as possible slaves, while another assessment states

⁵⁵ Patterson (1985) 114. Compare Arist. *GA* 775 a, stating that more males than females are born deformed, with the shrewd remark by Edwards (1995) 25: "one wonders, though, if Aristotle came to this conclusion by observing *surviving* babies."

⁵⁶ Edwards (1995) 23–24. See e.g. the testimony Edelstein – Edelstein (1945) n. 423 (stele IX): a man with one eye socket empty came to the sanctuary... and was healed! (= *IG* IV² 1, 121 lines 71–78). On this case and possible remedies for blindness, though not for congenital blindness, see Edwards (1995) 137.

⁵⁷ Evans-Grubbs (forthcoming).

⁵⁸ Garland (1995) 42–43. The Greek historian Herodotus mentions the problem in a fictitious account of a girls' auctioning by the Babylonians (1,196,2–3), and the Ugly Duckling fairytale about a Spartan baby girl (6,61,3–5). In late Antiquity, ugly and disabled children were sent to monasteries, see *Ap. Patrum* J 749 and *Hier. epist.* 130,6,5. Boswell (1988) 298–299 offers a vivid picture of all sorts of disabled people gathering in eleventh and twelfth century monasteries.

that this is underestimating the number of exposed freeborn children.⁵⁹ Moreover, the Christian concept of right to life of the newborn was unknown to the Greeks and the Romans.⁶⁰ This implied that children were not considered full human beings before the moment of name-giving (*dies lustricus* on the eight or the ninth day for girls or boys). Children were thus born twice: once biologically, and once socially – a way of thinking which persisted even in the Salic law,⁶¹ as in other German practice and with Jews.⁶² Anthropologists have pointed to the existence of some societies where levels of infanticide as high as fifty percent of live births have been reported, though other anthropological research showed that infanticidal practices are often connected with parental care and concern as well as surviving strategies for kin or family.⁶³ In such context, one should not be amazed at the frequency of the phenomena of child exposure and/or possible infanticide in the case of disabled newborns. Critics on the exposure of newborns in ancient texts, and the reticence of the authors on getting rid of disabled infants obviously do not point to a widespread communis opinio against the practice. From a human point of view, decision making was hard and difficult, and we do not need to wonder at the fact that such decisions were covered in silence and scarcely ever mentioned. At the same time, this does not detract from the fact that there was, in Garland's words, a "survival of the weakest", that at least some disabled, be it congenitally or not (with injuries or impairments occurring in childhood), survived into adulthood.

⁵⁹ Scheidel (1997) versus Harris (1999). The discussion is aptly summarised by McKeown (2007) 124–140. Harris (1999) 74 states that if 20 % of the newborn would have been exposed, a third of whom became slaves, this would supply the Roman Empire with 157,933 new slaves per year.

⁶⁰ Amundsen – Ferngren (1988) 49–50; Bakke (2005) 110–139 for a survey on the Christian concept of right to life for every single child.

⁶¹ Corbier (2001) 58–60.

⁶² Phil. *Moses* 11 refers to the "general" belief that "a child who has not survived long enough to partake of a day's nourishment is not a person". See also Numbers 4: 15, 34 and 40 (counting male children only after one month). These general beliefs ran against the Jewish prescript of raising all children (see note 43): Boswell (1988) 149. For the Germanic habit of killing an infant before they had given it food, see Boswell (1988) 211.

⁶³ Dickeman (1975) 130 (fifty percent); Krausse (1998) 320–322; 331 on combination of parental love and infanticide.

4. Medical science, archaeology and demography

On-line research instruments as the World Atlas of Birth Defects, Eurocat or the omim (Online Mendelian Inheritance of Men) have enabled access to knowledge on birth defects even to the non-specialists, providing them with detailed lists of all possible defects, their symptoms, frequency in various parts of the world, as well as chances of survival. It is not difficult to draw a list of those defects which would have been noticed by ancient physicians or midwives, excluding instances as heart disorders, in which cases the weak infant would probably be eliminated if he did not look healthy or die after some weeks, while the doctors were not able to explain the cause of death.⁶⁴

Due to the *permanence biologique*, which connects people from Antiquity to us, the same symptoms and defects existed already in the ancient world, though their frequency may have been different due to obvious reasons as difference in climate, diet, air, habitation, etc.⁶⁵ In the case of blindness, it has been demonstrated that less than 1 % of the blind adults belong to the category of the congenitally blind. According to the World Health Organisation, the percentage is only slightly higher in the developing world. So we may safely assume that the rate of congenitally blind children was not much higher in Antiquity. In contrast, the number of adventitious blindness, even in the case of children, must have been more elevated, since there has been significant medical advances in treating diseases as infectious trachoma (commonly spread by flies) or river-blindness, not to mention better nutritional habits nowadays preventing for example xerophthalmia, resulting from a lack of vitamin A in the

⁶⁴ Eurocat [www.eurocat.ulster.ac.uk]; OMIM [www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/sites/entrez?db=omim]; World Atlas of Birth Defects [www.fgg.eur.nl/medbib/WHO_world_atlas_of_birth_defects.html]. The World Atlas of Birth Defects list includes anencephaly, anophthalmos, cleft lip with or without cleft palate, cleft palate without cleft lip, cystic kidney, diaphragmatic hernia, Down syndrome, gastroschisis, holoprosencephaly, hydrocephaly, hypospadias, indeterminate sex, limb reduction defects, microphthalmos, omphalocele, polydactyly, spina bifida, stenosis, trisomy 13 (Patau syndrome), trisomy 18 (Edwards syndrome). This list must be supplied with defects as congenital blindness, congenital deafness, dwarfism. A search through the index of medical terms in Gourevitch – Grmek (1998) 503–508 reveals the following congenital defects represented in ancient art: blindness, cleft lip/ cleft palate, deafness, diaphragmatic hernia, Down syndrome, dwarfism, hydrocephaly, indeterminate sex, limb reduction effects, microcephaly, polydactyly.

⁶⁵ Grmek (1983) 22–23. There is of course the possibility that ancient doctors did not recognise the existence of a congenital disease, as the Greek and Roman physicians never mention hemophilia: see Grmek (1983) 26, whereas Jewish sources recognised it due to fatalities when practicing circumcision.

diet.⁶⁶ As for deafness, one in thousand people in the world today are congenitally deaf.⁶⁷

Researchers have embarked on tracing disabilities, defects and injuries in ancient art.⁶⁸ There is no need to repeat the results of this detailed research here, but I will highlight some particularly interesting instances which may be revealing of childhood experiences. The Klippel-Feil syndrome, a congenital defect of the cervical vertebra column, causing some vertebrae to be absent or to grow together, is poignantly realistically depicted on a statuette from Smyrna. The face of the poor little man without neck is depicted in pain and agony. His chest is atrophic and he has a conspicuous fold of the skin in his neck, the pterygium colli. Patients suffering from this syndrome have often been known to be deaf, due to artesia of the auditory organs, as well as suffering from mental retardation.⁶⁹ Another clay figurine shows a man suffering from hydrocephalus, a defect which has been described by Galen.⁷⁰ On a clay head from Corinth (fourth century bc) a unilateral cleft lip with cleft palate are almost scientifically depicted, as well as the congenital facial malformation which was caused by this. One can imagine the difficulties the parents must have had to breastfeed him as a little baby, yet he survived into adulthood.⁷¹

As for palaeopathology, the assertion by Ian Morris that it "quickly degenerates into lists of club-footed pharaohs and giant gallstones, at best illustrating points which are self-evident ... at worst burying significant patterns in details" remains sadly accurate.⁷² Yet, osteological finds may reveal interesting results: a man and a woman (brother and sister?) in Roman Corinth suffered from severely deformed vertebra which must have caused chronic pains during all their life, spina bifida was found on the skeleton of a young woman from Tiryns, and several instances of clubfeet were excavated, a

⁶⁶ Just (1997) 25.

⁶⁷ Edwards (1995) 94.

⁶⁸ The French classicist and ancient historian Danielle Gourevitch and the Croatian physician and historian of medicine Mirko Grmek largely disposed of the required skills to start such a study. Their over five-hundred-page volume (1998) is a landmark study on all sorts of disabilities (including congenital disorders) and diseases one can find in ancient iconography.

⁶⁹ Grmek (1983) 110–111; Gourevitch – Grmek (1998) 209–210.

⁷⁰ Gourevitch – Grmek (1998) 228. See Galen, *Introductio seu medicus* (14, 782 K.); *Definitiones medicae* (19, 442 K.)

⁷¹ Grmek (1983) 111; Gourevitch – Grmek (1998) 234–235.

⁷² Morris (1992) 91.

disorder which is often described and commented upon by Hippocratic doctors.⁷³ Combined with a demographic approach, scientific research on congenital diseases can lead to intriguing questions. In actual Europe, with mothers being pregnant at a relatively later age, the occurrence of the Down's syndrome is about one in six-hundred, while the risk is just one in two-thousand for mothers below age thirty. The syndrome turns out to be statistically strongly underrepresented in osteological finds. Report has it that a nine-year old child found in the sixth-century burial place of Bredon-on-the-Hill would be the only attested instance for Britain. The excavators have linked their found with the nearby monastery, since Christianity would for the first time have secured the surviving of such children.⁷⁴ Excavations from Roman Germany have revealed a ten-year-old from Stettfeld suffering from microcephaly.⁷⁵ Recent results can add to our knowledge on ancient mentality, as the constatation that quite some mentally disabled seem to have been buried on children's places in cemeteries.⁷⁶ However, one needs to be extremely careful in drawing conclusions from the paucity of finds. Historical osteological research has nearly left its childhood behind, and new finds can easily change the statistics. Moreover, the absence of children with Down's syndrome does not need to point to infanticidal modes, but may be connected with increased mortality in childhood, due to the risk of for instance heart failure.⁷⁷ What may be inferred from archaeological finds, is that there were disabled persons who survived, who were being cared for and looked after by people in their social environment. In other words: paleopathology does sometimes provide evidence for compassion.⁷⁸

⁷³ Grmek (1983) 110–112. On clubfeet in ancient art, see Gourevitch – Grmek (1998) 151–152; 282–287. For Antiquity, Roberts – Manchester (1995) cite rare instances of achondroplasia (dwarfism), osteogenesis imperfecta, anencephaly, spina bifida, congenital dislocation of the hip, clubfoot, cleft palate, Down's syndrome, and hydrocephalus. See also note 53 on dispaired limbs.

⁷⁴ Krausse (1998) 338 dates to the sixth century, Roberts – Manchester (1995) to the ninth century.

⁷⁵ Krausse (1998) 338.

⁷⁶ Baker – Francis (2007).

⁷⁷ Roberts – Manchester (1995) 32.

⁷⁸ Dettwyler (1991), Scott (2000).

5. Literary evidence on daily life

It is at this point, that literary evidence may be called in, and I hope to demonstrate that it can reveal more about every day life than ancient historians so far have believed it could.

Descriptions of the gloomy faith of everyday life of the disabled are extremely rare in Antiquity. Scattered details may be found in very diverse sources. In these matters, early Christian lives of the saints and apocryphs do focus on such details. One needs of course understand this Christian emphasis in its proper context, referring to Jesus' healing miracles and elaborating upon the new rhetoric of poverty. This however does not detract from the fact that these Christian authors pointed to reality of life around them, so that their information may be used to sketch a picture of daily life.⁷⁹ As an example, one may cite the sailor's son who had been thrown out of the parental house because of his being severely and incurably disabled. Though the description of the poor man lying near the coast for fifty years, covered with ulcers and worms, may be rhetorically exaggerated, it gives a clue of the cruel fate such persons awaited.⁸⁰

It is obviously possible that a child was born healthy, but became disabled afterwards due to the educator's neglect. This is at least implied by a Soranus' remark, stating that in the cases of nurses who abuse of alcohol, babies may become languid or drowsy, in some cases even paralysed, shaking or spasmodic.⁸¹ Modern estimates have it that the daily, mainly vegetarian regime of the poor was marked by a chronic deficiency of proteins and calories. The consequences of undernourishment in early childhood for mental health are irreversible, and might lead to a diminished sense of sociability and increasing passivity.⁸²

How did people react when they discovered their little child being blind? They possibly found their way to oracles, sanctuaries, temples. The blind lad (παῖς ἀϊδής) Lyson from Hermione dreamt in Epidaurus about a dog licking his eyes and returned home healed, but it is not said in the inscription whether the

⁷⁹ On the use of Christian sources, see Finn (2006).

⁸⁰ Greg. Tur. *Andr.* 33.

⁸¹ Sor. *Gyn.* 2,19. Soranus uses the words νοθρά, καρώδη, ἔντρομα, ἀπόπληκτα, σπασμώδη.

⁸² Sippel (1987) on dietary deficiency; Garnsey (1999) 106–107 on the consequences of dietary deficiency with infants.

boy was actually congenitally blind.⁸³ Or parents just tried to make the best out of it. We cannot be sure whether it were actually Didymus' parents who decided for their young son to acquire reading skill (cf. *supra*). When they had learnt to walk, such children would have to be accompanied, as some adults have been known to have their own companion.⁸⁴ And like blind adults, they would have walked around with a stick.⁸⁵ They probably had difficulties in dressing and undressing.⁸⁶ Would blind people in one way or another connect to each other? Already Aristotle had observed that blind parents sometimes generate blind offspring.⁸⁷ There is one other suggestion in this direction, in the healing miracle by which Andreas cured a family of blinds. The fact that both the father and the mother as their son were blind, is considered a devil's work, and I strongly suppose that the reference to their being both mentally and physically blind, says more about their trailing behind as social outsiders than just about the fact they did not believe.⁸⁸ It seems likely that, surely in the lower classes, blindness would have been a much severer impairment than deafness. Yet, cross-cultural evidence shows how blind children manage to live in smaller communities. They benefit from small and easily recognisable space: the complicated and static topography of a Greek village makes excellent landmarks for a blind person. Further, the allure of independently traveling and personal independence is very much a modern one. In Antiquity, most people lived in interdependence in their communities, and most would stay in one area

⁸³ *IG* IV 951, lines 125–126 = *IG* IV² 1, 121, lines 125–126 = Herzog (1931) n. XX. For a Christian example, see the apocryphal Legend of Simon and Theonoe (Coptic, fourth century) R 103–104 on the philosopher Stephanus who brought his little blind child to the martyrion of the apostle: *Ecrits apocryphes chrétiens* I, p. 1550 (F. Morard).

⁸⁴ *Vict. Vit.* 2,17 (PL 58, 217): *excitat puerum qui ei solitus erat manum porrigere* (on the blind Felix who was cured by Eugenius).

⁸⁵ *Anth.Pal.* 298; *Sen. contr.* 10,4,2. According to *Ov. trist.* 5,6,31 people made place when they crossed a blind man on the streets. The assumption that blind people in the ancient world used dogs, is based on a faulty interpretation of *Mart.* 14,81. See Esser (1959) and De Libero (2001) 86 on the absence of such dogs.

⁸⁶ *Martyrium Philippi* V b (Armenian), about the governor's wife Niconora.

⁸⁷ *Arist. HA* 585 b (also stating that such features are few and in most cases the children of defective parents are completely sound).

⁸⁸ *Greg. Tur. Andr.* 32: *Vidit hominem caecum cum uxore et filio et ait: "vere diaboli hoc est opus. Ecce enim quos et mente caecavit et corpore."*

all of their lives.⁸⁹ Papyrological records mention blind people involved in agriculture, as cultivating the land.⁹⁰

We can only guess how popular-philosophical motifs on the impossibility for blind people to acquire real knowledge, might have impacted on daily life perceptions of blind children.⁹¹ Ancient people were obviously not involved with the question as to what happens when a person who has been blind from childhood suddenly sees, mostly a very long and difficult process to develop the mental and psychological abilities to process the new visual information. Though the person healed by Jesus in the Gospel of John is explicitly referred to as "a person blind since birth" (John 9:1; 9: 19–20), surely an adult (John 9: 23), no attention is paid to this part of his healing.⁹² Neither do inscriptions attesting the healing of a blind child bother about the fact whether the child was congenitally blind or not (see note 83).

Plato refers to the dumb or the speechless (ἔνεοί) making use of sign language with their hands, head and the rest of their bodies.⁹³ Education and schooling in Antiquity were largely an oral matter, based on drill, imitation and reading aloud. It is thus easy to imagine how such children lapsed into a situation which made them appear similar to the mentally retarded. Deaf-muteness was never recognised as such, and there was no Greek or Latin word to describe the phenomenon. Ancient doctors obviously did acknowledge the correlation between being deaf and not being able to acquire language skills⁹⁴, but they rather believed a physical obstruction in the tongue to cause the

⁸⁹ Edwards (1995) 144–145.

⁹⁰ E.g. *P. Oxy.* XII 1446, 1. Recently Rathbone (2006) 106 has pointed to the fact that many people who identified themselves as blind in, for instance, petitions were actually more concerned with escaping liturgies! Hdt. 4,2 and Plut. *Mor.* 440 a – b tell the story of the blinded Scyth slave milkers. Though the story is obviously a fantasy, the audience had to believe that it was possible for blind persons to perform this task.

⁹¹ Gassino (2002) deals with this theme in Lucian.

⁹² The blind man from the Gospel of Marc obviously was not blind since birth, since, after Jesus' first laying on hands, he declares to see "walking men, looking like trees" (Mark 8: 24). See Just (1997) 216 on Mark; 258–270 on John. The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus mentions the man blind from birth from the gospels: *Ev. Nicodemi* 6, 2 in *Ecrits apocryphes chrétiens* II, p. 270 (R. Gounelle).

⁹³ Pl. *Crat.* 422 e.

⁹⁴ Arist. *HA* 536 b and Plin. *nat.* 10,192 explicitly acknowledge the relationship between congenital deafness and being dumb. Galen, *Hippocratis de medici officina liber et Galeni in eum commentarius* 9, 47 (18, 2, 750 K.) mentions that those people are called ἔνεοί by the Greeks who are deaf from birth and not able to utter articulate speech.

impossibility to speak.⁹⁵ Deaf-mute people have been considered as 'idiots' till far in the nineteenth century. The same counts for Roman legislation: emphasis was put on a person's muteness, rather than on his hearing impairment, the former implying being dumb in a society in which orality always was at stake. Contrary to the blind, deaf people were not supposed to take legal action according to Roman law.⁹⁶ It has been suggested that deaf-muteness was more a problem of the elite: lower class children would fairly easily have been able to perform manual tasks and agricultural labour in country villages, where they would at least have managed to establish some basic communication of gesture with their family members. Cross-cultural evidence proves that this is actually the case in many cultures, but at the same time, such children were equalled with the mentally retarded in the very same small communities.⁹⁷ Still, such people somehow made their way into society. Augustine at least theoretically takes into consideration that two deaf-mute people would marry each other. Even if their children would not be deaf, they still would learn to express themselves with gesture, particularly if the couple would live isolated.⁹⁸ An apocryphal story mentions the marriage of a mute girl. Magicians were said to have rendered the girl mute, though it is not said whether this happened in her childhood or just before her marriage.⁹⁹

Greek and Roman literature provides us with some case histories of congenitally deaf-mute children. In the case of Croesus' son, scholars have explained the boy's inability to speak as of a hysterical nature, albeit also congenital. However, the Herodotus text clearly points to the boy's hearing

⁹⁵ Hp. *Carn.* 18 (8, 608–609 Littré). Cels 7,12,4 describes the painful and risky surgery of making an incision below the tip of the with a forceps, risking to cut veins and causing excessive bleeding. Celsus adds that the operation is not always successful, as some did not gain the skill of speaking afterwards. See Ferreri (1906) 375–376; Gourevitch (1983) on Hippocratic theories on inability to speak.

⁹⁶ Küster (1991). See e.g. *Cod. Iust.* 6,22,10 pr. A same attitude in Jewish law puts deaf-mutes, imbeciles and minors in the same category. See Mishnah: Menahoth 9,8 (concerning sacrifice); Mishnah: Hullin 1,1 (on slaughter); Mishnah: Rosh Hashanah 3,8 (on representing the community). On these texts, see Cotter (1999).

⁹⁷ Edwards (1995) 94–98. Particularly instructive is the reference to communication with deaf-mutes in villages in nowadays Burundi: see Lane (1992) 151. On confusion between congenital deafness and stupidity even nowadays, see Lane (1992) 147.

⁹⁸ Aug. *quant. anim.* 18,32 (PL 32, 1052–1053) in a discussion on how children acquire language, and whether human beings grow up by nature or by instruction.

⁹⁹ *Vita Iesu Arabica*, 15 in *Ecrits apocryphes chrétiens* I, p. 217 (ed. Genequand). A deaf person by birth is presumably alluded to in apocryphal *Acta Pauli* VII, in *Ecrits apocryphes chrétiens* I, p. 1148 (Rordorf).

impairment. Later authors indeed focus on the boy's muteness, but we need to understand their emphasis in the context of the theory of the physical obstruction in the tongue.¹⁰⁰ In the first century AD, the senatorial boy Quintus Pedius was of distinguished rank and family tradition. His grandfather Quintus Pedius was a grandchild, though not by blood, of Julia, Julius Caesar's beloved sister. The man had reached the consular rank, celebrated a triumph and was made a coheir by Julius Caesar. When the boy Quintus Pedius was born deaf-mute (*natura mutus*), the orator Messala Corvinus persuaded to teach him the art of painting. Augustus agreed, the lad made a fine career and died at a young age as a celebrated painter.¹⁰¹ Throughout history up to nowadays, other deaf-mute persons have found their way as painters, as Hendrick Avercamp (1585–1634), one of the first Dutch landscape painters of the seventeenth century, who was deaf and mute and known as "de Stomme van Kampen" ("the Mute of Kampen") or the Castiglian Giovanni Ferdinando Navarrete (1526–1579), a disciple of Titian, who had become deaf by the age of three and who was surnamed El Mudo ("the Mute").¹⁰² Saint Augustine mentions the – in his words very famous – case of a handsome and elegant young man in Milan, who was deaf and mute (*mutum atque ita surdum*) who could only express himself through body language and gesture. He also remembers the case of a country man and his wife, both being able to speak, who had about four children (Augustine does not remember that well), girls and boys, who all turned out to be deaf-mute.¹⁰³ Both Gellius and Valerius Maximus mention the story of the Samian athlete Echeclus who had been mute, but found his voice, fired with indignation about an unfair casting of lots, or, in another version, being robbed of a title and prize he had won.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Poetscher (1974) explains the boy's inability to speak as of a hysterical nature, albeit also congenital. A case of hysterical blindness is mentioned in Hdt. 6,117 (the Athenian Epizelos being blinded after battle without having suffered any wound). Hdt. 1,38 clearly mentions the hearing impairment of Croesus' son. Gellius 5,9,2 does not mention deafness, but only obstruction of breath and the tongue (*spiritus vitium nodumque linguae rupit*). Val. Max. 5,4,ext.6 only mentions the boy's inability to speak.

¹⁰¹ Plin. *nat.* 35,21 (*puer magni profectus in ea arte obiit*). See Gourevitch (1991).

¹⁰² See the website DEAFinitely Famous People [<http://www.deafinx.com/DeafCommunity/fame.html>] for famous deaf people, in various branches of society.

¹⁰³ Aug. *quant. anim.* 18,31 (PL 32, 1052).

¹⁰⁴ Gell. 5,9,5–6 (*cum antea loquens non fuisset*; unfair lottery); Val. Max. 1,8, ext. 4 (*athleta mutus*; robbed of a title and prize).

Miracles attesting the curing of deaf or mutes confront us with real-life counterparts of Croesus' legendary son. A voiceless boy (ἄφωνος) came to the Epidaurus sanctuary. When the servant of Asclepius asked the mute boy's father to promise a thank-offering, the boy himself said "I promise", and repeated these words when his startled father asked him to do so.¹⁰⁵ A dumb girl (κόρα ἄφωνος) saw a snake coming from a tree: she screamed and ran to her parents, and consequently left the Epidaurus sanctuary in good health.¹⁰⁶ A Christian counterpart of suchlike stories is provided by Gregory of Tours. A girl from Tours was mute since birth (*ab utero matris suae muta processit*). When her mother took her to Saint Martin's grave, she asked the girl whether the incense smells nice and whether the water from the holy spring tasted well. When the girl answered twice "bonum", the lucky mother returned with her healed child.¹⁰⁷

There are references to children with deformed limbs, as the cases of the dried feet, causing them not to be able to walk.¹⁰⁸ Apart from crutches or staffs, there was not much aid for people with severe mobility impairments.¹⁰⁹ There is no evidence for wheelchairs in the ancient world, though we can suppose that the more well-off had themselves carried by slaves or other personnel in a litter or a cart.¹¹⁰ Donkeys may have proved their services. A Hippocratic writer describes young children with dislocated limbs, who crawl about on the sound leg, supporting themselves with the hand on the sound side on the ground.¹¹¹ Lame children would have to be constantly looked after and served.¹¹² There are some explicit references to lame persons having lame offspring. As with blind people, this may hint at the possibility of disabled people connecting with each other

¹⁰⁵ *IG IV* 951, lines 41–47 = *IG IV*², 1, 121, lines 41–48. See also Herzog (1931) n. V and Cotter (1999) 19.

¹⁰⁶ *IG IV*² 1, 123, lines 1–3. See also Herzog (1931) n. XLV.

¹⁰⁷ Greg. Tur. *Mart.* 2, 38 (MGH SS RR MM. I, p. 622).

¹⁰⁸ *Praed. Jacobi filli Zebedaei* 41 in *Ecrits apocryphes chrétiens* II, p. 948 (Pères – Piovanelli).

¹⁰⁹ See Edwards (1995) 62–67 on mobility impairment.

¹¹⁰ As Thersandrus, who suffered from consumption and was attending the Asclepiadic sanctuary at Epidaurus. He was carried around in a wagon: *IG IV*² 1, n. 121–122, stele II n. 33.

¹¹¹ Hp. *Art.* 52 (4, 228–233 Littré). See Edwards (1995) 62–67 on mobility impairment.

¹¹² Probably implied in Plut. *Mor.* 4 a: "if you live with a lame man, you will learn to limp" (ὑποσκάζέων). Acta Ioannis IV e 8 + 10 (Armenian): a lame man invites John to his house to have him serve him.

and founding families.¹¹³ Petronilla, the daughter of the apostle Peter was said to have been paralysed in one side of her body at age ten. Her disease is being explained as a protection against the crowds of men courting her near the women's baths. Though Peter could have miraculously healed her, he refuses to do so, since her disability would serve Petronilla's virginity the best. This needs to be understood of course in its theological context, but the story somehow reminds of the social reality of the paternal power of the father over his daughter before she married.¹¹⁴

Harsh treatment, not to say shock therapy, is attested in the case of mentally retarded, being treated with whips or with clubs.¹¹⁵ Surely in the case where possessedness by devils or evil spirits is mentioned, many problems of diagnostics turn up. The late antique lives of the saints and apostles are full of stories about such forms of insanity. Were such children epileptics, manic depressed bipolars, mentally disturbed? Of course, one can never know. A boy was possessed by a *spiritus immundus* and hung himself.¹¹⁶ The victims of evil spirits are sometimes graphically described as rattling their teeth, attacking people and frantically laughing.¹¹⁷ One boy lie spitting on the atrium floor, the sight was so pitiful that his master wished to be dead rather than having to watch the scene.¹¹⁸ Biting, beating and attacking people is mentioned in connection with such children, as well as wandering around at barren places or throwing stones at passers-by.¹¹⁹ Several instances testify to such children being chained at home.¹²⁰ When knocking at the door of a poor widow's house,

¹¹³ Arist. *HA* 585 b – 586 a (physically impaired children are born of physically impaired parents, for example lame parents produce lame offspring: *χολῶν χολοί*); Plin. *nat.* 7,50 (*trunco truncis*). See also Hp. *Morb. Sacr.* 2 (6, 364–365 Littré) on lameness as hereditary.

¹¹⁴ Acta Petri, in *Ecrits apocryphes* I, p. 1049–1052 (Poupon). Augustine refers to the scene in *c. Adim.* 17, 5 (PL 42, 161).

¹¹⁵ Aug. *c. Iulian. op. imperf.* 3, 161 (PL 45, 1314–1315).

¹¹⁶ Greg. Tur. *Andr.* 14.

¹¹⁷ A standard description in Greg. Tur. *Andr.* 29 on a house in which everybody had been possessed: *vidi alios pueros stridentes dentibus et in me impetum facientes et adridentes risos insanos*.

¹¹⁸ Greg. Tur. *Andr.* 34.

¹¹⁹ *Vita Iesu Arabica* 14, in *Ecrits apocryphes* I, p. 216–217 (Genequand): woman wandering around in cemeteries and naked in the desert, throwing stones and bringing shame to her family; *Passio Bartolomaei* 7, in *Ecrits apocryphes* II, p. 798 (Alibert, Besson, Brossard-Dondré, Mimouni): possessed young girl daughter of an Indian king, biting and attacking people.

¹²⁰ *Vita Iesu Arabica* 14, 2; *Passio Bartolomaei* 7 (see note 117).

almsgivers in Egypt found the girl daughter of a poor laundress strolling around naked in her mother's impoverished little house. This is a story from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. In another Egyptian collection, the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, we read about a child suffering from rabies, being tied up inside the house.¹²¹ The Acts of John, a second century apocryph written in Greek in Egyptian Alexandria, reveal a fascinating story about twins, who were possessed by evil spirits from their birth. They grew up as beautiful young men, apparently involved in public life, as going to the baths¹²², walking around, going out eating and even participating in the city council. However, their awful disease almost struck them daily in these public places, and when they had reached the age of thirty-four, their father, after having consulted a family council, decided to have them killed by poison, since they were being insulted and laughed upon almost daily.¹²³

Most difficult are borderline cases as Titus Manlius, son of the dictator Lucius Manlius, who had been expelled by his father from public life. Raised at the countryside, he lived in slave-labour and daily misery, as in a dungeon or a workhouse, just because he was not good at speaking and considered slow of mind. Livy rebukes the father for aggravating his son's situation by exposing him to uncultivated life amidst cattle. Once again, it is very difficult to discern what the real trouble with young Manlius actually was. In any case, one should hardly consider him a mentally retarded: in later life, he was three times a consul, three times a dictator, symbol of Roman pietas (defending his father against the charges of the tribune Pomponius), of virtus (killing and decapitating a giant Gaul and putting on his necklace, which gave him the cognomen Torquatus), of iustitia (having his own son killed, since he was disobedient to him in the military). Most likely, young Manlius' initial speech impediment caused his parents to somehow neglect him and put him aside, thinking he also was mentally disturbed. Somehow the young kid managed to improve himself and grew out one of the best known Romans of the fourth

¹²¹ *Ap. Patrum* N 263; *Hist. Mon. in Aeg.* 22,3.

¹²² *Greg. Tur. Andr.* 5 mentions the young son of Gratinus (the boy still attended the women's public baths) who was caught by a demon when he was in the baths.

¹²³ *Acta Joannis* 56.

century bc.¹²⁴ For the second century ce, there is the case of Herodes Atticus' and Regilla's son Bradua, born ca. 145. The child son did not prove to be pleasing to his father. As a child, Bradua could not learn to read: his father bought twenty-four slave boys to whom he gave names beginning with the letters of the alphabet to help his son. Despite his initial reading problem (was he what we would call a dyslectic?), Bradua became a consul ordinarius in 185 and was awarded a proconsularship.¹²⁵ The emperor Claudius is the most famous instance of a somehow congenitally disabled who made his way in Roman society. Nowadays physicians suppose him to have suffered from Little's disease, caused by cerebral lesion at birth, which would have made him appear normal when he was born, afterwards causing motorical defects, clinical spasticity and muscle weakness, slowness in speech, and the appearance of retardation. The reaction of his family is revealing: as soon as he did not turn out to be normal, his family entrusted him to a pedagogue, a former muleteer who acted as a brute. Antonia Minor and Drusus had many babies, only three of which survived (Germanicus, Livilla and Claudius). So they nevertheless decided to keep the young Claudius, though they held him in despise.¹²⁶ Antonia Minor considered her child "a monster of a man, not finished by Mother Nature but only half-done" and if she would accuse somebody of dullness, she used to say that he was even more stupid than her son Claudius. His grandmother Livia treated him with the utmost contempt and only admonished him through brief and hard notes or messengers. His sister Livilla is said to have prayed openly and loudly that the Roman people might be spared of the undeserved fortune of having him as an emperor. Only his great-uncle, the Emperor Augustus, recommended in a letter to work out a consistent strategy as to take into account his physical condition and mental capacity. At that time, young Claudius had turned twenty-two, and the imperial family had

¹²⁴ Liv. 7,4,4–7 (maltreatment by the father); 7,5,2–8 (defending his father); 7,10,1–14 (killing the giant Gaul); 8,7,13–22 (killing his own son). The Manlius Torquatus case is also mentioned by Val. Max. 5,4,3; 6,9,1; Sen. *benef.* 3,37,4; App. *Sam.* 3.

¹²⁵ On the twenty-four boys, see Philostr. *VS* 551. See Pomeroy (2007) 48–50 on Bradua. Problems in learning to read are also mentioned by Aug. *epist.* 166, 6, 17 (PL 33, 728) (= *De origine animae hominis liber*): *De ingeniorum vero diversitate, imo absurditate, quid dicam? quae quidem in parvulis latet, sed ab ipsis exordiis naturalibus ducta, apparet in grandibus, quorum nonnulli tam tardi et obliviosi sunt, ut ne prima quidem discere litterarum elementa potuerint.*

¹²⁶ Suet. *Claud.* 1,6 (many children), 2,2 (pedagogue). See Garland (1995) 40–42; Gourevitch (1998) 468–470 on the Claudius case and the Little disease.

to consider his possible public appearance and office holding. Before that, he had used to be covered by a cloak when he attended the gladiatorial games he and his brother had given in honour of their father, and his taking of the gown of manhood had been secretly celebrated about midnight without the usual ceremony.¹²⁷

Due to the lack of sources, a gendered approach of disabilities in Antiquity, focussing on the specific conditions of impaired girls and women, will for always remain a desideratum. I have referred to the problem of marrying such girls off. A few references suggest that they were sometimes married: the Herodotus passage on the Babylonian auctioning (see note 58), or the story by the same author on the lame Corinthian daughter Labda, none of the Bacchiadae would marry, who married into a rival clan instead. A passage in Plato suggests that at least some men married women with mental or physical defects.¹²⁸

6. Pity and Mockery, Dread and Fascination: literary evidence on attitudes

Attitudes and reactions towards the disabled and by extension to disabled children seem to have belonged very much to what one would call the *longue durée*, various attitudes moving up and down on the axis of pity, mockery, dread or fascination. Obviously, it is not always possible neither desirable to discern between the various reactions; again, one is forced to paint broad strokes combining aside remarks stemming from various periods, genres and social classes.

The birth of a deformed child was sometimes connected with evil omens: "some even throw out home-bred infant slaves, when they are born with an evil omen or are physically weak."¹²⁹ Certainly, the Greeks believed that physical handicaps might result from curses or the Evil Eye. They used defixiones formulae as "may he be deaf, speechless, mindless", and on Greek sepulchral monuments from Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial period, potential tomb-robbers are deterred with phrases that their wives would give birth "not in

¹²⁷ Suet. *Claud.* 3,2 (mother and Livilla mocking him); 4 (Augustus' letter); 2,2 (cloak and ceremony at night). See also Dupont (1998) on the nightly donning of the toga.

¹²⁸ Hdt. 5,92 (Labda); Pl. *Lg.* 925 e – 926 b.

¹²⁹ Sen. *contr.* 10,4,16.

accordance to nature".¹³⁰ The belief that the birth of a deformed child is somehow a consequence of the parents' moral fault, for example cheating the gods or breaking an oath, already occurs as early as with Hesiod.¹³¹ This view was still held to when Christianity had become an established religion. Bishop Fulgentius mentions how blind people, together with other disabled persons, were commonly held to be punished for their own or their parents' sins¹³² – though Augustine was eager to point out that a blind person is just a sinner as every human person. In the particular case of the blind one in the Gospel of John, his blindness was caused by God to make God's good works apparent in him.¹³³ Folkish belief, however, strongly lasted: the mother of the unfortunate deformed child who became a freak tearfully confessed that he had been conceived on a Sunday night (see note 146). Sermons also inveigh against making love on Sundays and the possible consequences of it.¹³⁴

With Aristotle, we hear the aristocratic voice, claiming that "we do not think a man happy of very ugly appearance or low birth."¹³⁵ For the lower classes, there is the testimony by John Chrysostom that, during labour, a woman suffers from fears that she might give birth to a malformed or crippled baby (or even that she would produce a girl rather than a boy).¹³⁶

The ancients' fascination with bizarre disabilities and deformities is well known: in monster markets, attested for Rome, and freak shows, most popular with the emperors, deformity was put on display. In the case of cretin slaves, the so-called *moriones* who were particularly popular, we are nowhere informed that they actually were children, but they may have been connected with them

¹³⁰ *SEG* XXVII 1115 (curse); *SEG* XVIII 561, 7 (grave-robbers). A whole series of curses appears in *SEG* XXXV 213–227 (curse tablets from the Athenian agora of about 250 AD). See Garland (1995) 60; Gager (1992) 21 on curses in the ancient world: blindness, dumbness, lameness and broken limbs being among the 'favourite' curses; Hardie (1981) 107 on the Evil Eye in nowadays Greece.

¹³¹ Implied by Hes. *Op.* 235. See Garland (1995) 59–61.

¹³² See the elaborate sermon by Fulg. Rusp. *serm.* 17 (PL 65, 880–882): *Tenebantur igitur universa sub peccato, sub duro supplicio? Caeci, claudi, surdi, lipposi, mortui tenebantur, inquam, sub custodia primi supplicii.*

¹³³ Aug. *in euang. Joh.* 44,9 (PL 35, 1713–1719), esp. 1713–1714 on the question of sin. Also Johannes Chrysostomus, *Hom. in Joh.* 56, 1 (PG 59, 306) is eager to point out that the congenital blindness of the young man was neither his nor his parents' fault.

¹³⁴ Caes. Arel. *serm.* 44,7. Other sermons linked deformities with having sex during menstruation. See Boswell (1988) 260.

¹³⁵ Arist. *EN.* 1099 a–b. See Edwards (1995) 71.

¹³⁶ Johannes Chrysostomus, *De virg.* 57,4 (PG 48, 579).

due to their garrulity and freedom of speech.¹³⁷ Augustine remembers that a dicephalic Siamese twin was born in the East: with two heads, two chest, four arms, one belly and two feet, the child was put on display and lived long enough that his fame attracted many spectators. Pliny the Elder himself had seen a remarkable child prodigy, though we are not sure whether this particular child had been put on display: Cornelius Tacitus, son of the procurator of Gallia Belgica, had grown three ells at just three years of age. The boy was slow in walking and retarded of mind. Another child prodigy was said to have showed off signs of puberty, including a masculine voice, at the same age of three.¹³⁸

Artemidorus mentions grief and pity, as well as disgust and fear at seeing someone with a deforming disease in dreams.¹³⁹ As to the darker side of pity, the sinister picture of Seneca Rhetor concerning children being maimed in order to evoke compassion, cannot simply be discarded as a rhetorical exaggeration. Three centuries later John Chrysostom mentions children being blinded by their parents in order to become beggars: maiming of children still occurs among the beggars of modern Taipei.¹⁴⁰ More appealing to modern ears, is the Church Father's statement that parents may feel desperate when faced with a sick child. In the case of disabled children, his comment on the Canaanite woman and her possessed child is relevant: "her very entrails, one might say, were renched apart and aching with concern for her daughter"¹⁴¹

Mockery and disdain were almost certainly part of the lives of the disabled. Jestng and joking at physical deformity or disability, even to the point of mocking or insulting, is a well known feature of ancient political invective and satire. Likewise, Cicero declared that laughter had its foundation in some kind of deformity, and stated that in deformity and bodily disfigurement there

¹³⁷ Plut. *Mor.* 520 c. On *moriones*, see Gevaert (2001). Garland (1995) 45–58 on the Roman Emperor and his monstrous world.

¹³⁸ Aug. *civ.* 16, 8; Plin. *nat.* 7,76.

¹³⁹ Artem. *On.* 3,47. He mentions scabies and elephantiasis.

¹⁴⁰ Sen. *contr.* 10,4; Johannes Chrysostomus, *Hom. in Ep. I ad Cor.* 21, 5 (PG 61, 176–179). On comparative evidence from other regions, see Parkin (2006) 71–72. In Sen. *contr.* 10,4,19 it is explicitly stated that these children receive alms because they are disabled.

¹⁴¹ Johannes Chrysostomus, *Hom. in Joh.* 35,2 (PG 59,201) on sick children; *Hom. in Genes.* 38,2 (PG 53,354) on the Canaanite woman. On these passages, see Leyerle (1999) 247–248. On pain and sorrow for a mentally retarded son, see also Aug. *pecc. mer.* 1,35,66 (PL 44, 148): *et si suum parvulum filium, a quo garriente talia pater laetus exspectat et provocat, talem praesciret futurum esse cum creverit, nullo modo dubitaret miserabilius lugendum esse quam mortuum.*

was good material for jokes, just as long as one knew the limits.¹⁴² At least in two instances, disabled children seem to have been involved. When the respectable consular M. Servilius Pulex Geminus was invited by the artist L. Mallius and saw his host's ugly or deformed sons (*filios deformes*), he remarked that Mallius' art of creating was not matched by his art of painting. At which Mallius jocularly replied: "I procreate in darkness, I paint in the light."¹⁴³ Also the Roman epigrammatist Martial was notorious for ridiculing his contemporaries, both the rich and the poor. His collection includes a wide range of harsh satirical invective, ranging from effeminate aristocrats, to those breathing foul smells or suffering from skin disease, the crippled and the lame, dwarfs or the extraordinarily proportioned, yes even a slave whose description closely matches with what doctors nowadays call the fragile-X-syndrome: a disability characterised by a long and narrow face, big ears, unusually developed testicles, fear of making eye contact and mental retardation.¹⁴⁴ The mocking attitude towards physical deformity also occurs in an every day life example in the apocryphal Acts of Philipppus. Nicoclidēs' daughter was being scoffed at because of a stroke or a scar on her eye: her compeer friends laughed at it, she felt ashamed and could not stand the insults anymore.¹⁴⁵ Deriding a child with severe birth defects is also attested with Gregory of Tours, mentioning a baby "viewed by most people with derision". The child was raised by his mother and then exhibited as a freak by traveling merchants.¹⁴⁶

Some passages point to the habit of throwing stones at people showing off signs of mental disability. Though scholars have pointed to the possible therapeutic meaning of this gesture, as well as its ritual signification, one needs to bear in mind the degrading effect this should have had on every victim of this treatment, children included. Moreover, it points to a crude way of dealing with such people in society,¹⁴⁷ an attitude which seems to have lasted well into Christian times. Indeed, a remarkable passage in Augustine mentions a mentally

¹⁴² Cic. *orat.* 2,236; 239. See Garland (1995) 73–86 for an excellent chapter on 'deriding the disabled'.

¹⁴³ Macr. *Sat.* 2,2,10.

¹⁴⁴ The boy is said to be the son of the cretin slave (*morio*) Cyrta. See Mart. 6,39,15–17. See Gevaert (2002) 103–104 on the boy suffering from fragile-X-syndrome. Gevaert (forthcoming) deals with the evidence on disabled people in Martial's epigrams.

¹⁴⁵ *Acta Philippi* 4, 4–6.

¹⁴⁶ Greg. Tur. *Mart.* 2,24 (MGH SS RR MM 1, p. 617).

¹⁴⁷ Throwing stones at mentally disabled: Ar. *Av.* 521–525; Plaut. *Poen.* 295. See Grassl (1988 b) 112 on therapeutics and ritual.

disabled Christian, who patiently stood up to the degrading and mocking treatment of his fellow citizens, but did not hesitate to throw stones, even at worthy gentlemen who dared to blaspheme against the name of Christ. I suggest we should consider the throwing of the stones as a reversal of the treatment the poor man himself had often endured.¹⁴⁸ In the same context, we read about ancient people spitting at the lame or at epileptics they came across on the streets, in order to avert contamination or bewitching.¹⁴⁹ Greek texts have also pointed to the custom of using the lame or the crippled as scapegoats, a symbolic act performed in times of crisis, which implied chasing these people out of the town, in extreme cases even killing them. In this context, no deformed children are mentioned.¹⁵⁰

7. Conclusion

In this study, I have tried to gather as much information as possible on the life and faith of disabled children in the Roman Empire. The use of various source evidence has pointed to a society in which a considerable amount of babies born with a disability would not have lived for many days, not only because of the widespread practice of child abandonment or infanticide, but also because the survival rate among persons suffering from serious impairments in childhood was considerably less than it is today (as for instance most of the infants with cleft palate would have died in their first week because of their inability to suck at the breast).¹⁵¹ At the same time, literary as well as epigraphical and papyrological evidence has showed how impaired children survived, and how different social classes tried to cope with the situation. In fact, this collection of sources has revealed a much wider collection concerning daily life situations than has been offered before.

Concluding this article but at the same time looking ahead to further research, I want to stress three particular points.

¹⁴⁸ Aug. *pecc. mer.* 1,22,32 (PL 44,127–128).

¹⁴⁹ Plin. *nat.* 28,3. See De Libero (2001) 90.

¹⁵⁰ See den Boer (1977) 129; Garland (1995) 23–26. Killing only in Philostr. *VA* 4,10.

¹⁵¹ Garland (1995) 6–7. An obvious example would be Edwards syndrome (trisomy 18), medium life span is nowadays between five and fifteen days, with 95 % of the babies dying in utero.

Firstly, the terms handicapped or disabled appear as inadequate but at the same time indispensable research terms for ancient Antiquity. Inadequate, because they essentially reflect modern concepts which are largely inapplicable to ancient thought (the same counts for a term as homosexuality). At the same time, handling other definitions as 'not able to meet basic social expectations' would result in defining infertile women in Antiquity as more 'disabled' than for instance deaf people who managed to till the soil and performed other agricultural activities. At the same time such broad and open definitions risk to include that many categories as to become unrecognisable as disabilities to modern readers and unmanageable to researchers.

Secondly, the cited examples throughout this article strongly suggest that a vast and yet unexploited goldmine for ancient disability history lies in Christian sources from late Antiquity up to the early Middle Ages.¹⁵² Those include fascinating statements which seem to be drawn directly from daily life, as the statement by Gregory of Tours who indicated, in the case of a Frankish mother having a severely deformed child, that it was inconceivable that mothers should kill even deformed children.¹⁵³ Obviously, the conclusion that Christianity was a significant factor of change for the fate of disabled children would require extensive further research. That would consist of reading through a significant corpus of hagiographic stories where healing miracles play a part (research which should take into account geographical as well as chronological factors and tendencies), through various edicts of canonical law in various regions, not to mention confessionaries or other regulations. Promising studies on the birth of the hospital and the institution of child welfare should be approached from the angle of disability history.¹⁵⁴

Finally, the issue of disabled children is a subject *par excellence* in which anthropological and cross-cultural comparison is badly needed, to the point of being indispensable. In the light of extending Antiquity till about the year 800 CE, information on concepts and treatment of disabled children in Judaism, Islam and Persian religion should at least be taken into account. Research should also be attentive to those things which are not said, but tacitly implied. If Claudius had not made it to emperor, we would perhaps never have heard about his disability. He would have showed up only by his name in honorary

¹⁵² Note that some demarcations of Antiquity tend to draw the line at circa 800 AD. See for instance Brown (1971).

¹⁵³ Greg. Tur. *Mart.* 2,23 (MGH SS RR MM. 1, p. 617). See Boswell (1988) 212.

¹⁵⁴ Miller (2003).

inscriptions or in an occasional literary reference, and would have found his way into aristocratic society. Or, on the lower scale of society, we should take into account the disabled who lived in the villages, but whose presence was somewhat hidden by their relatives who nevertheless looked after them. Certainly in the case of difficult decision making as getting rid of such children, researchers should take into account silence, as those were decisions which were preferably not discussed upon openly. So, in the case of ancient disability history, the *argumentum e silentio* by and then turns out to be a valid one.

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PROCLUS' ART OF REFERRING WITH A SCALE OF EPITHETS

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The purpose of the present contribution is to take a look at the way in which, in his references to his predecessors, Proclus used a peculiar practice which I would like to call "a system of scaled values of epithets". The thesis is that we are not dealing with a mere rhetorical device but rather systematic usage which served a definite purpose: its meaning was to express an appraisal of the grade of "orthodoxy" or concentration of authentic Platonism in the opinions of the philosophers referred to.

J. M. Dillon has touched on the current issue by detecting a shift from Proclus' exuberant use of references by name in the *Timaeus* Commentary to his very sparse use of the same in the *Parmenides* Commentary. "Proclus seems to have come to the conclusion that referring by name to previous commentators was something inartistic, and he reduces them to anonymity", Dillon says.¹ We can only guess why Proclus came to these stylistic decisions. Did it have something to do with the lofty subject of the theological dialogue as such, as Neoplatonists interpreted *Parmenides*? Or could it have been that the imperial legislation of 448 condemning Porphyry's works to be burned advised the Athenian school to lower its voice, at least temporarily? However, Proclus' procedure in the *Commentary on Parmenides* seems to be even more of a puzzle when we take into account his *magnum opus*, the *Platonic Theology*. In this work Proclus returns to the use of explicit references, although not so profusely as in his youthful years (with *In Tim.* we are talking about hundreds of cases, with the *Platonic Theology* dozens).

¹*Proclus' commentary on Plato's Parmenides*, tr. Glenn R. Morrow and John M. Dillon, Princeton 1987, xxxvi.

A. Ph. Segonds has argued that Proclus' way of designating Aristotle as "demonic" in contrast to the "divine" Plato contains implicit criticism.² Saffrey and Westerink note that Proclus almost always called Porphyry "philosopher" and Amelius "valorous" (γενναῖος). The later Neoplatonists' manner of honoring Iamblichus with the epithet "divine" has often been noted.³ As far as I know, however, there has been no scholarly effort to go systematically through all the relevant cases in the whole Proclean corpus and to establish a connection between his use of an ordered series of referential epithets and his theological and psychological theories.

Before turning to statistics, some other points should be made clear. Firstly, I am interested in Proclus' assessment of the relative merits of his Neoplatonic predecessors. However, in order to clarify what the system of scaled values of epithets is, it is necessary to clear up to whom it is not applied, because this non-application is a means for Proclus to define his own spiritual family. He recognizes its members in a concise statement on the history of the Platonic movement in the introductory chapters of the Platonic Theology: "These interpreters of the Platonic vision, who have given us the explanations of things divine and who gained for themselves a similar godly nature as their master (i.e., Plato) had, are, as I do believe, Plotinus the Egyptian and those who have inherited the theory from him, Amelius, Porphyry, and in third place behind them, as I suppose, like statues in their perfection, Iamblichus and Theodorus and some others, who have followed them in this divine chorus as bacchants of their own intellect around Plato. Among them, he (i.e., Syrianus), who was for me after the gods the guide for all beauty and good and who had an incorruptible manner and in the depths of his soul the most authentic and pure

² Segonds' comment to *In Alc.* 237,2, Proclus, *Sur le premier Alcibiade de Platon*. Tome II, Texte établi et traduit par A. Ph. Segonds, Paris 1986 416 n. 1. Segonds translates δαυμόνιος with "génial". See also E. R. Dodds' introduction in Proclus, *The Elements of Theology*, Oxford 1963 xxii.

³ L. G. Westerink mentions the usage of these kinds of "traditional phrases" "as belonging to the common fund of all the Neoplatonists from Iamblichus (and in some cases Proclus) onward", L. G. Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy*, Amsterdam 1962, xliii. In notes on their edition of Proclus' Platonic Theology H. D. Saffrey and L. E. Westerink also thought that Proclus' aim is to mark out a hierarchical difference between the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. They draw attention to Olympiodorus' explanation of "demonic" in this context and to Damascius' opinion that in spite of his ingenuity Aristotle never reached summit of the divine wisdom. Proclus, *Théologie platonicienne*. Livre 1. Texte établi et traduit par H. D. Saffrey et L. G. Westerink, Paris 1968, 141, n. 5. D. J. O'Meara deals with the same distinction between "divine" philosophers and the "demonic" Aristotle in Syrianus, D. J. O'Meara, *Pythagoras Revived*, Oxford 1989, 123.

light of the truth, both made me a participant in the rest of all of Plato's philosophy and shared with me the secret doctrine which he had received from the elder masters and added me to the choir which sings the hymn of mysterious truth regarding the gods." ⁴

The second question to be resolved is what to include and what to exclude as a relevant reference to these people. Proclus has at least four different types of references: an explicit plain reference by name; a reference by name connected to an epithet; an anonymous reference, and circumlocutory expressions such as, for example, "philosopher of Rhodes", "master", "father", "grandfather" or even some Homeric phrase. I have excluded all cases of the third type, even if we know with absolute certainty who this or that τίς is.⁵ For the periphrastic expressions I have taken into consideration only those cases where there is "master" meaning Syrianus.⁶

Now, that we have a workable idea of whom we are talking about and how, let us turn to the question of the amount of references. The overwhelming winner in Proclus' citation index is Iamblichus with 114 mentions. Porphyry gets a result of 95, Theodorus of Asine 65, Amelius 53 and Plotinus 52. Longinus receives 23 and Origen only 13 mentions.

The epithets, when they are used, are: "philosopher" (φιλόσοφος), "great" (μέγας), "valorous" or "excellent" (γενναῖος), "demonic" (δαιμόνιος) and "divine" (θεῖος).⁷

Plotinus appears without an epithet 46 times. Twice he is attributed as "divine" and once "most divine" (θειότατος), "great", "philosopher" and "the Egyptian". Porphyry is without any epithet 76 times, whereas he is "philosopher" 17 times and the "greatest philosopher" (φιλοσοφώτατος) twice. Iamblichus is "divine" almost throughout the index. He appears without an epithet 33 times, is "divine" 71 times, "most divine" once, "great" four times and "philosopher" 5 times. Theodorus is "admirable" (θαυμαστός) 4 times, "philosopher" twice, "valorous" once, great 11 times. Amelius is "valorous" ten

⁴ *Plat. Theol.* 1,6,16–7,8. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

⁵ For example *In Parm.* 1047,22 and 1080,11 refer to Plotinus' words on "intellect drunk on nectar", but Plotinus is explicitly mentioned in this context only in *Plat. Theol.* 1,67,2.

⁶ As Saffrey and Westerink (above n. 3) xiv, n. 2 show, Syrianus is "father" *In Tim.* 2,253,31, 3,35,26, *In Parm.* 1142,11, *In Remp.* 2,318,4, and Syrianus' and Proclus' teacher Plutarch "grandfather" *In Parm.* 1058,22. The Philosopher of Rhodes means Theodorus and the expression is due to a copying error as Saffrey has argued, H. D. Saffrey, *Le Néoplatonisme après Plotin*, Paris 2000, 121.

⁷ I am not absolutely sure that γενναῖος is superior to μέγας, but its dimension of "spirited" seems to connect it to "demonic" and so it is a more "inspired" term than μέγας.

times, "demonic" twice. Origen is always without an epithet. Longinus is called a "critic" and Proclus also reminds us of Plotinus' words that he was a philologist, not a philosopher.⁸

The cases in which a one philosopher is given an attribute and another not, or where several names are mentioned at the same time but with different epithets, are interesting.⁹ Theodorus of Asine is twice "great", also once when he appears with Plotinus who is left without an attribute.¹⁰ Porphyry is denied an epithet in two cases when he has the "divine" Iamblichus at his side. In these cases omitting an epithet certainly implies a doctrinal reproach.¹¹

The number of references surely indicates the "impact factor" of each predecessor for Proclus. However, references serve as much for praise as for criticism. It would be mistake to assume that Porphyry is so much more important to Proclus than Plotinus, which the figures alone would imply. Proclus' preferences are highlighted with more precision when the epithets are brought into the picture. So let us do some evaluation on the basis of them. First, we will turn the references into scores. We will use a scale from 1 to 6, giving one point to every mention without an epithet, two to "philosopher", three to "great" and so on, in the order mentioned above. For the sake of simplicity we will not take into account the superlatives, but count "most divine" as "divine" and so on. As local origin is irrelevant for doctrinal purity we will count Plotinus' case of "Egyptian" as a case without attribute (similarly for Theodorus' epithet of Asinaeus).¹²

Thus we get 70 points for Plotinus, 114 for Porphyry and 487 for Iamblichus. Porphyry's gain in comparison to Plotinus is now more modest, but Iamblichus' superiority to the others is demonstrated even more clearly. I equate "admirable" with "valorous", which gives Theodorus 104 points and Amelius 81. Thus, the ascending order of "orthodoxy" is Plotinus, Amelius, Theodorus Porphyry and Iamblichus.

⁸ *In Tim.* 1,86,24: οὗτος μὲν οὖν φιλόλογος, ὡσπερ Πλωτῖνος εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται, καὶ οὐ φιλόσοφος.

⁹ For example, *In Tim.* 1,336,19: "θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος" vs. "γενναῖος Ἀμέλιος".

¹⁰ *In Tim.* 3,333,29.

¹¹ The second of these is particularly interesting, "divine" Iamblichus criticizes Porphyry who (erroneously) thinks that his concept is "Plotinian", *In Tim.* 1,307,15.

¹² I cannot explain why Proclus emphasizes Plotinus' ethnicity in the famous passages on the history of the Platonic movement. It surely conveys a solemn tone appropriate to the context (as is well known, Egyptians were seen as one of the sacred races). It is meaningful to clarify Theodorus' origin in order to separate him from his namesake, the mathematician of Cyzicus also mentioned by Proclus.

Plotinus and Porphyry are ambivalent characters in the history of Platonism as Proclus understands it. On the one hand, Proclus explicitly recognizes Plotinus as a founder of the newer "family" of authentic Platonists;¹³ on the other hand, authentic Platonism is often defined through a sharp critique of Plotinus' positions.¹⁴ This ambivalence is reflected in the epithets associated with the names of Plotinus and Porphyry. Plotinus sometimes attains the highest scores, but Porphyry, while never getting beyond "the greatest philosopher", beats the master in general "orthodoxy". As for Iamblichus, Proclus is sometimes irritated by his defective rigor in Platonic exegesis and his visionary style, but rarely finds fault with him regarding doctrinal issues.¹⁵

Proclus' procedure allows the borders of genuine fellowship to be defined. It is used only for the assessment of insiders. The Middle Platonists are, for Proclus, at best brave exegetes and "topmost Platonists" (τῶν Πλατωνικῶν οἱ κορυφαῖοι).¹⁶ As far as I know, they are never granted the higher terms of the Proclean scale.

¹³ The term "Neoplatonism" is sometimes criticized as being anachronistic (see for example, M. Baltes, *EPINOHMATA. Kleine Schriften zur antiken Philosophie und homerischen Dichtung*, München – Leipzig 2005, 179, M. Edwards, *Culture and Philosophy in the Age of Plotinus*, Oxford 2006, 2). This criticism is well founded as it points out that what the Neoplatonists thought they were doing, was to recuperate the "authentic" thought of Plato. It should also be remembered that being truthful in any traditions – be it philosophical, mythical, religious, or literary – was for them always a part of Platonism, because truth was indivisible and always the same. Thus Orpheus, Homer, Aglaophemus, Pythagoras, Parmenides and the mysterious Ammikartos were also predecessors. What was specifically Platonic was to express this common truth in the apodictic language of scientific, dialectical philosophy. This genuine task of philosophy was regained after the dark ages by thinkers who Proclus regarded as his immediate predecessors. The first of them was Plotinus as Proclus recognizes. This feeling of belonging to a defined spiritual current was divided by the successors of Proclus who were also conscious of the fundamental reorientation inside the family caused by Iamblichus. Thus Neoplatonism is more than a label coined by posterity. Thomas Whittaker has aptly remarked that Proclus even came very close to modern denomination in his expression "τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων οἱ ἀπὸ Πλωτίνου πάντες Πλατωνικοί", *In Tim.* 2,88,12. For Whittaker's views see T. Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, Cambridge 1961 (orig. 1918), 232.

¹⁴ For example, *In Tim.* 3,231, 333, 334; *In Parm.* 948; *ET* 211.

¹⁵ For example, *In Tim.* 1,209,1–12. Iamblichus' and Proclus' different attitude to Plato's word is very well pointed out by P. Athanassiadi, *JRS* 83 (1993) 115–130. The same point is expressed more strongly against Plotinus *In Alc.* 227,24–228,1: "... we are the exegetes of Plato and do not cope with what he says according to our own opinions".

¹⁶ *In Remp.* 2,96,11. In this same passage Proclus praises Porphyry above all others for being the perfect exegete of the truths hidden in the myth of Er (Πορφύριος, ὃν ἐγὼ πάντων μάλιστα τῶν ἐν τῷ μύθῳ κεκρυμμένων γενέσθαι φημι τέλεον ἐξηγητήν).

There is, however, a unique character who is at the same time within the "family" and outside of it. Defining Aristotle's proper place in the philosophical tradition was a problem for later Neoplatonism. When Aristotle appears with an epithet in Proclus he is almost always "demonic", although he is once "divine", and also "wonderful" ("admirable").¹⁷ Considering the huge impact of Aristotle on Proclus the fact that he is systematically denied the highest credit and located on the same level as, say, Amelius, is very significant. Proclus and Syrianus saw in Aristotle's logic a necessary tool for all philosophical study. His contributions to psychology, political theory, and physics were valued as useful preparation for Plato's respective theories. However, Aristotle deviated from the true tradition in his critique of the theory of forms, in his rejection of the Platonic theory of the first principles and in his theology, which did not ascend higher than to the demiurgic level – according to the Neoplatonist hierarchy of the divine orders.¹⁸ Thus Aristotle was accepted as a guide to the "lesser mysteries" of the authentic – Platonist – philosophy, but he was rejected inasmuch as he was seen as a founder of the rival metaphysical – Peripatetic – school.

If we try to seek a wider context for the Proclean manner of hierarchical evaluation, we can find it from two quarters. One is Christianity going through dogmatic development under the circumstances of the Trinitarian and Christological strife. The church leaders had the same need as Proclus to administer doctrinal praise and reproach. However, they exercised their ingeniousness on rather a lower scale. This is well shown, for example, by such an intelligent and cultivated leader as Severus of Antioch, who made life easier for his readers by systematically providing labels for the authors cited, but against the monotonous "saints" (Cyril, Theophile, Gregory and Athanasius etc.) he has Nestorius "the heretic", "miserable" Theodoretus, "impious" Andreas, and so on.¹⁹ In the Neoplatonic debate, disagreements are never expressed in this way. For example, Proclus introduces intense criticism with words: "... from these things we are urged to speak openly against Plotinus and

¹⁷ *Plat. Theol.* 3,55,20, *In Tim.* 2,9,8. We find at least twenty cases of "demonic" Aristotle.

¹⁸ Proclus generally follows his teacher's evaluation of Aristotle, even though his attitude is a little more critical; see for example *In Tim.* 1,6,21–4. An excellent account of Syrianus' view of Aristotle is H. D. Saffrey, "How did Syrianus regard Aristotle?", in R. Sorabji (ed.), *Aristotle Transformed*, London 1990, 173–180; see also D. J. O'Meara (above n. 3) 123.

¹⁹ R. Hespel (ed.), Sévère d'Antioche, *Le Philalèthe*. (CSCO 133+134), Louvain 1952.

the great Theodorus ...".²⁰ Merely these tones should advise us against effacing the difference between Christian orthodoxy and Neoplatonic "orthodoxy".²¹

Another context is provided by the sophisticated grades of the early Byzantine bureaucratic and social nomenclature with all its *viri clarissimi, spectabiles* etc. As the heads of one of the most prestigious higher education institutions of the age, Syrianus and Proclus were well acquainted with that world too.

However, there are more intriguing aspects to this than the general cultural background. The system of scaled values of epithets emerges from the deepest assumptions of Neoplatonic thought. Theology, the theory of the soul, and the Neoplatonic concept of philosophy are all relevant here. The attributes

²⁰ *In Tim.* 3,333,29: ἀπὸ δὴ τούτων ὀρμώμενοι παρρησιασόμεθα πρὸς Πλωτῖνον καὶ τὸν μέγαν Θεόδωρον . . . , Proclus was not ignorant of the current debates in the Christian camp as is shown, for example, by his remark that "a malicious person could not be in accord with himself" in one of the rare passages which contains mentions of contemporary conditions, *In Alc.* 264,7–265,3 (τὸν μοχθηρὸν ὁμολογεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀδύνατον ... πᾶς οὖν ὁ κακὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐστὶν ἀσύμφωνος· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, πολλῶ μᾶλλον πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος. καὶ πῶς γὰρ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ τις ὁμολογήσειεν αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν στασιαστικῶς διακείμενος; καὶ οἱ ἄθεοι δὴ οὖν πάντες καὶ οἱ ἀκόλαστοι καὶ οἱ ἄδικοι διαφέρονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐναρμονίως ἔχοιεν ἀνεπιστήμονες ὄντες.), Saffrey's treatment of this passages, H. D. Saffrey, *Recherches sur le Néoplatonisme après Plotin*, Paris 1990, 206. It is interesting to note that there is some common technical terminology in Christian and Neoplatonic controversies, Proclus criticizes Plotinus and others supposing consubstantiality (ὁμοούσιον) between human and divine souls, *In Parm.* 948,23; *In Tim.* 3,245,19–246,24.

²¹ Proclus has the term "orthodoxy" (*In Tim.* 2,309,10–13) and speaks about "life according to the most orthodox way" (βίον ... ὀρθοδοξαστικόν) (*In Alc.* 76,9). The usage of these terms is associated with traditional epistemological and cosmological questions, which have nothing to do with doctrinal purity. If we are not afraid of hair-splitting we could say that the Neoplatonists were not even interested in forming a body of "right opinions" as they tried to go further, beyond opinion, towards scientific knowledge and mystical union. The goal of Neoplatonist philosophy was to attain the philosophical truth and uncorrupted devotion towards the gods through the "correct" Platonist reading of the traditional myths and rites (Καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄρα τὸν τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἔνθεον νοῦν τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα μεθαρμόζοντες εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν ὄλων ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρυπτομένην θεωρίαν ἀναπτύσσοντες τευξόμεθα τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον εἰλικρινοῦς θεραπείας, *Plat. Theol.* 4,132,4–8), but the Neoplatonic community was never an ideological organization of power like the Church. As Dillon rightly says: "Towards the end of antiquity, then, Platonism takes on some of the trappings of a religion, and a greater degree of organization ..., but the fact remains that the Platonic tradition attained self-definition without the aid of any regulating structure or hierarchy of accredited teachers, such as Christianity so quickly built up for itself.", J. M. Dillon "Self-definition in Later Platonism", in E. P. Sanders (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition. Vol. III: Self-Definition in the Greco-Roman World*, Philadelphia 1983, 60–75.

used by Proclus correlate, no doubt intentionally, with his hierarchy of the higher beings. A philosopher is one who has realized to its full extent the faculty of the soul most appropriate to human beings, that of rational thinking. The higher scale of the attributes corresponds to the levels of the superhuman beings: heroes, demons, and gods. We need not be confused by the fact that elsewhere Proclus makes different subdivisions among these classes; the important thing is that he assumes that these divisions always keep a precise proportion.

In Platonic Theology Proclus says that certain human souls are called divine because of their similarity to the gods (contrasted to the three other divine modes of existence; the proper gods exist as gods as such, divine intellects are divine by unity, and demons are divine by participation).²² Now this similarity is to be understood in a stronger than metaphorical sense. To clarify this, it is necessary to deal with the Neoplatonic theory of the pre-existence and transmigration of souls. According to Proclus, human souls come to the temporal world from eternity, where they live in blessed contemplation of real being. This idea is, of course, part of classical Platonism. For Proclus all human souls are divine in the sense that their form of life depends, however dimly, on the god they have followed in their celestial condition. That is, they belong to a certain divine series.²³ But the most perfect souls do not only choose for their incarnated life a mode of living corresponding to the qualities of the series, but actually live according to the godlike demon in their soul, which connects them on an even higher level, to the actual leader god. Thus, those souls who lead a life that brings them back to their starting point, have, up there – in celestial place – as here – in the world of becoming –, the same demon, while for the imperfect souls, the demon in essence, is another than the one according to which they live. This is Proclus' explanation for the story in the biography of Plotinus in which Porphyry states how surprised an Egyptian magician was when he conjured up an appearance of the protective deity of Plotinus, and it was seen to be not an ordinary guardian demon, as usual in these kind of sessions, but a demon-god.²⁴ Plotinus' soul belonged to the very

²² Proclus' treatise on how to define the meaning of the word "divine", *Plat. Theol.* 1,114,5–116,3.

²³ Marinus states that Proclus himself belonged to the series of Hermes and he has the same soul as the mathematician and Pythagorean Nicomachus of Gerasa, *Vita Procli* 28.

²⁴ *In Alc.* 73,4–8: διὸ καὶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος τὸν Πλωτῖνον ἐθαύμασεν ὡς θεῖον ἔχοντα τὸν δαίμονα. ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἀποκαταστατικῶς ζώσαις ψυχαῖς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἄνω κἀνταῦθα

special class of souls which have not come to the world of generation by the fall. On the contrary, these souls have been sent here in order to help their companions to liberate themselves from the chains of body and matter.²⁵

Foremost among these blessed souls is Proclus' master Syrianus. In the Parmenides Commentary he praises the beloved teacher in the same vein as in the passage of Platonic Theology cited above. Syrianus "came to men as the exact image of philosophy for the benefit of the souls here below, in recompense for the statues, the temples and the whole ritual of worship, and as the chief author of salvation for men who now live and for those to come hereafter".²⁶

With these eulogies we have come to the last aspect of Proclus' system of references which needs to be explained. Proclus usually refers to Syrianus with the word *καθηγεμών* (teacher, mentor, guide, leader or master). The term most often – 48 times – signifies Syrianus, and the rest of the cases refer to other teacher-pupil relationships. Syrianus is often referred to, but his name is mentioned only once – in the epigram which Proclus composed for their shared tomb.²⁷ How does this agree with the scalar reference theory and its supposed fundamentals in Neoplatonic metaphysics and psychology? It stands to reason that the "divine" Iamblichus in comparison with the humbler Porphyry, represents a higher philosophical truth, but when at the side of the "most divine" Iamblichus Syrianus appears in periphrastic mode and without an attribute²⁸, how can we explain that the case is just the opposite?

Actually, the lack of an epithet does not always imply a reproach and "divine" is not necessarily the highest credit. For Proclus the highest gods are secret and ineffable. Proclus recalls this theological truth by his gracious manner in dealing with his master. Here we can see a parallel with metaphysics,

δαίμων, ταῖς δὲ ἀτελεστέραις ἄλλος μὲν ὁ κατ' οὐσίαν δαίμων, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὸν προβεβλημένον βίον. Proclus refers to Porph. *Vita Plotini* 10.

²⁵ For Syrianus' and Proclus' theory of the superior souls, see O'Meara (above n. 3) 150–151.

²⁶ *In Parm.* 618,9–13 (translation G. R. Morrow and J. M. Dillon). Incidentally, a lot of the praises which Proclus dedicates to Syrianus is used by Syrianus for the ancient representatives of wisdom; compare, for example, Proclus on Syrianus: τὸ γνησιώτατον καὶ καθαρώτατον τῆς ἀληθείας φῶς τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς κόλποις ἀχράντως ὑποδεξάμενος (*Plat. Theol.* 1,7,1–4) and Syrianus on the successors of the "divine" Pythagoras: πάντες οἱ γνησίως τὰ κείνου δόγματα τοῖς καθαρωτάτοις κόλποις τῆς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας ὑποδεξάμενοι (*In Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* 81,31).

²⁷ *AG* 7,341. H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca* (AG), Munich, 1965–1968.

²⁸ *In Tim.* 1,77,23–25.

where the highest hypostasis – the One – and its counterpart – matter – are both without determinations, the first by excellence and the second by privation.

Like so much in Proclus, the system of referring was probably a part of Syrianus' heritage. In his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Syrianus refers to the seventh book of "divine" Iamblichus' treatise on the doctrines of the Pythagoreans. In the same work he also mentions "divine" Plotinus (immediately after Iamblichus without an epithet).²⁹ His inheritance from Syrianus is also confirmed by Proclus' fellow student Hermias' use of the system. In his commentary on Phaedrus Hermias presents "divine" Iamblichus at the side of the "philosopher" Porphyry.³⁰ Damascius, Ammonius, Simplicius and the unknown writer of the *Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* used the same system, usually referring to "divine" Iamblichus. Damascius also speaks about "great" Plotinus. For him Syrianus is a "philosopher", once at the side of "great" Iamblichus. He placed his friend Isidore, Proclus' second successor and his own predecessor as the head of the Athenian school, on the level of "great". Proclus' ranking in Damascius is "philosopher", but for the scholiast of his *Cratylus* commentary, the author of the *Prolegomena* and for Olympiodorus Proclus is "divine".³¹

"Let it be known that the philosopher Proclus, commenting on the *Enneads* of great Plotinus, says that he who wrote the answer to the letter of Porphyry was divine (θεσπέσιος)³² Iamblichus ...". With these words a scholiast presents two hundred years of Neoplatonist debate at the beginning of a treatise to which Renaissance scholars gave its current name, *De Mysteriis*. This comment has been a crucial evidence for establishing the authorship of the work; it also shows how the peculiar Neoplatonic system of referring survived.

²⁹ Syr. *In Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria*. 202,4; 114,8.

³⁰ Hermias *In Phaed.* 113,25.

³¹ Damasc. *In Parm.* 256,24: θεῖος Ἰάμβλιχος; Ammonius, *In Aristotelis librum de interpretatione commentarius*. 202,4; Simplicius, *In Aristotelis de caelo commentaria*, 7,1,24, Anon. *Prolegomena philosophiae Platonicae* 26,13; Damasc. *In Parm.* 112,16: ὁ φιλόσοφος Συριανός, ... ὁ μέγας Ἰάμβλιχος, Damasc. *Vita Isidori* (ap. Photium, *Bibl. codd.* 181, 242) Fragment 12,1: ὁ μέγας Ἰσίδωρος; θεῖος Πρόκλος, Procl. *In Crat.* 154,4, *Prolegomena* 26,5, Olympiodorus, *In Aristotelis meteora commentaria* 266,37.

³² Iambl. *De Myst.*, (preliminary scholion) 1,1–5: Ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ φιλόσοφος Πρόκλος, ὑπομνηματίζων τὰς τοῦ μεγάλου Πλωτίνου Ἐννεάδας, λέγει ὅτι ὁ ἀντιγράφων πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην τοῦ Πορφυρίου ἐπιστολὴν ὁ θεσπέσιός ἐστιν Ἰάμβλιχος.

To conclude, we have seen that the Neoplatonic mode of philosophizing in the form of a highly sophisticated commentary also produced an art of referring, of which an essential part is the system of epithets conveying an impression of a well-defined order of ranks. This procedure was probably launched by Syrianus and we see it in full bloom in Proclus. The method is far more precise than could be expected at first sight, as it turns out to be conducted within terms rooted in specific metaphysical and psychological theories. Later Neoplatonists continued the usage of it down to the time of Simplicius and Olympiodorus. It has an afterlife among the scholiasts of whom some at least were conscious of its significance.

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**THE INVENTION OF A DECEPTIVE DIALOGUE:
RECONSIDERING THE FALSE-MERCHANT SCENE IN
SOPHOCLES' *PHILOCTETES***

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Past and present events in the island of Lemnos

In the prologue of *Philoctetes*, events of the past are reenacted in the light of the present situation in which Odysseus and Neoptolemus disembark on the island of Lemnos and start looking for Philoctetes. Odysseus, once responsible for Philoctetes' abandonment in Lemnos,¹ now is the person who takes on the duty of fetching him back, complying with the orders of the Greek chiefs. Philoctetes and his unerring bow and arrows were considered to be indispensable to the Greek army in order to defeat the Trojans and conquer the city of Troy (196–200).² Odysseus transfers to Neoptolemus the difficult task of deceiving Philoctetes and leading him treacherously to the ship for Troy.³ The two men arrive at Lemnos in different ships and are followed by their own sailors. In the opening scene one of these sailors stands closer to Odysseus and at the end of the discussion Odysseus points to him as the scout (σκοπός, 125) who will return to assist Neoptolemus in carrying out the deception plan.

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¹ The story of *Philoctetes* is told in Hom. *Il.* 2,721ff. See also n. 8 below.

² Cf. lines 598–600.

³ However, Neoptolemus is not at all convinced that *deception* is the best means to use in order to induce Philoctetes to follow him to Troy. He is not ready to accept into his mind the plan of deceit fashioned by Odysseus, even with the prospect of sharing the benefits of victory in the conquest of Troy together with Philoctetes (cf. 110//120). For Neoptolemus' 'Odyssean' tactics against his 'Achillean' choice of life see O. Taplin, "The Mapping of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*", *BICS* (1987) 69–77.

Odysseus hastens to leave in order to avoid a dangerous encounter with Philoctetes. Beforehand, he warns Neoptolemus that he will send the sailor in the guise of a merchant, if Neoptolemus seems to be delaying. Later on, after the first encounter between Neoptolemus and Philoctetes (219–538), the Chorus announce the arrival of an unknown man, who enters escorted by a sailor from Neoptolemus' ship (539–41). The stranger is Odysseus' σκοπός feigning to be the sailor-Merchant.

However, in the prologue of the play the sailor is a mute person with the minimal dramatic importance that auxiliary mutes usually carry in the cast of playing roles. His comeback in line 542 is of a different nature since he has been replaced by the third actor, that is, a speaking person who pretends to be a merchant, and his role in this scene has much more importance in the dramatic action than it had in the prologue.

The False-Merchant scene in *Philoctetes* has caused a lot of discussion in relation to its dramatic necessity in the play.⁴ Critics have speculated about the coherence and the integration of the scene in the play, since it is evident that Neoptolemus has managed to gain Philoctetes' trust and they are both ready to leave Lemnos when the sailor arrives. One reason might be that Odysseus has grown impatient waiting at the ship because he has no knowledge at all of the happenings seen by the spectators, and could be suspecting that Neoptolemus may be suffering agonies of conscience and in danger of blowing up his plans. Therefore, the False-Merchant arrives at the opportune moment when Neoptolemus and Philoctetes on stage have established a point of friendship and trust between them. Moreover, the audience envisage an act shaped by Odysseus who – unaware of Neoptolemus' doings on stage – sends the sailor to tell a story and thus to help Neoptolemus in deceiving Philoctetes and leading him to the ship for Troy.

At the moment of his arrival, we attend carefully to see what sort of words the False-Merchant will invent to make the deceit of Philoctetes appear more persuasive. It seems that invention of deceitful words is somehow intermingling with persuasiveness. How is Neoptolemus, who has already

⁴ Later Greek adaptations of the play have not included the scene in their scripts. In the beginning of the 19th century Nicolas Piccolos produced a translated adaptation of the play without the Merchant scene, probably following its French adaptation by Jean François de la Harpe (1739–1803). See D. Spathis, *Ο Διαφωτισμός και το Νεοελληνικό Θέατρο. Επτά Μελέτες*, Thessaloniki 1986, 145–198, esp. 165. In the most recent adaptation of the play by the Greek playwright V. Zioghas, *Φιλοκτήτης*, Athens 1990, the scene does not feature either.

gained Philoctetes' trust, going to take advantage of the sailor's deceitful words?⁵ It seems that the question why Sophocles has introduced the whole scene into his play can be raised once again.

In the following analysis the deceptive dialogue between Neoptolemus and the False-Merchant is thoroughly examined in order to show how a 'chain of words' is intermingled with true and untrue events for the invention of a speech that will have a powerful effect on Philoctetes causing him to follow Neoptolemus to the ship. At the same time, this mixture of truth and lies also sharpens the audience's awareness of the onstage action. All through the scene they must be wondering how to understand what they hear: What is true and what is false in all these exchanges of words? To what extent is the False-Merchant functioning the inventor of a deceptive dialogue that brings forth Neoptolemus' cautious replies and also affects Philoctetes' silent hearing?

The False-Merchant arrives in Lemnos with the alleged task of bringing news to Neoptolemus from Troy. His announcement is divided into three stages: two dialogical parts in which he transmits to Neoptolemus the 'facts' in Troy (542–72, 573–82), then he pretends secrecy over Philoctetes' name in order to attract his attention (582–602), and, finally, the Merchant concludes with a narrative speech in which he exposes the prophecy of Helenus for everybody to hear (603–21). Next, I will try to show how the three stages of the deceptive dialogue produce a 'chain of words' that links different off-stage locations in the past with what is heard on stage in the present.

Real and unreal 'facts' in Troy⁶

In the prologue Neoptolemus was warned by Odysseus that a story would follow together with the arrival of his False-Merchant. Now Neoptolemus

⁵ In the prologue of *Philoctetes*, Odysseus mentions that Neoptolemus must take advantage of the sailor's words, but he does not explain further what these words will be like; cf. ποικίλως αὐδωμένου 130–31.

⁶ O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus. The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford 1977, 83 n. 2 says that when the False-Merchant enters, he reports events which will prove to be 'half-truths'. This paper attempts to distinguish true from untrue events in the Merchant's report. In a drama there is always awareness on the part of the audience that they are witnessing a fiction, and therefore the definition 'true' and 'untrue' is limited by the terms set up for a particular play. In *Philoctetes*, these characters are not 'really' Philoctetes and Neoptolemus but actors impersonating them, and the events dramatized are shaped by the dramatist, not independently verifiable.

conducts a question-by-question enquiry, asking the sailor what he knows about the 'facts' in Troy.⁷ The Merchant warns Neoptolemus that a delegation of the Greek army is pursuing him and another one, with Odysseus and Diomedes, is coming to fetch Philoctetes to Troy (561–2//571–2).⁸

The first announcement is false, and the theatre audience are able to recognize that the Merchant is referring to an unreal fact. However, the news makes a different impact on Philoctetes, because he had already heard from Neoptolemus (cf. 360ff.) that the latter left Troy furious against the Atridae, who awarded his father's weapons to Odysseus and not to himself (cf. 360 ff.).⁹ So Philoctetes perceives as a real fact what exists as an unreal fact for Neoptolemus.

The second announcement is true: Odysseus would have substantial reasons to pursue Neoptolemus, if Neoptolemus had actually abandoned Troy, but, instead, he is sent by the Greeks to fetch 'somebody else' to Troy (ἐπ' ἄλλον ἄνδρα 570).¹⁰ While the Merchant mixes up false with true news, it is Neoptolemus who names Odysseus twice (568, 572), but he avoids openly mentioning Philoctetes' name. The text does not help us to see how Philoctetes reacted on hearing Odysseus' name, though the stress on the name of Odysseus

⁷ Cf. lines 559–60, 563, 565–66, 568–69, 572.

⁸ We expect that the audience should be aware of the epic legend according to which Diomedes went to Lemnos to fetch Philoctetes and Odysseus went to Skyros to fetch Neoptolemus to Troy as in the Proclus' *Little Iliad* 20–30 (see T. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera*, vol. v, Oxford 1969 repr. 106). In 431 Euripides offered a new version of the story in which Diomedes is sent along with Odysseus to Lemnos to find Philoctetes, thus combining the epic tradition and the Aeschylean version of the play. Cf. R. C. Jebb, *Philoctetes*, Cambridge 1898² xv–xvi. The new version by Sophocles would aim not only at contributing to the inventiveness of the deception speech, but also at arousing the curiosity of the audience in relation to Sophocles' theatrical innovation.

⁹ F. Budelmann, *The Language of Sophocles. Communal, Communication and Involvement*, Cambridge 2000, 101–3 speaks about 'mythical innovations' according to which Neoptolemus "changes the tradition that many spectators know", while speaking about himself, and follows the same version of his past at the end of the play, when Philoctetes reminds him of the deprivation of his father's arms by the Atridae. Cf. Neoptolemus' story in lines 343–90 with lines 1363–5//1362. However, it is Odysseus in the prologue who suggested this version of Neoptolemus' story, and now it is the False-Merchant who continues to alert Neoptolemus in a deceptive way about the consequences of his alleged flight from the Greek camp in Troy.

¹⁰ Neoptolemus speaks about Odysseus but makes no mention to Diomedes. Cf. 591–95 where the False-Merchant first speaks about the two men but ends his speech by omitting Diomedes. For Diomedes' omission in the report of prophecy see n. 24 below.

must be significant for him.¹¹ But Philoctetes remains silent.¹² However, the audience must have recognized that the Merchant's last words ἐπ' ἄλλον ἄνδρα (570) and Neoptolemus' subsequent question 'πρὸς ποῖον αὖ τόνδε;' (572) are allusions to Philoctetes that he himself is unable to understand at the present circumstances.

Low voice and secrecy

At line 573 the temper of dialogue changes into a lower tone. The Merchant starts speaking in a low voice, altering the normal utterance of his words.¹³ He speaks aside, pretending that he wants to be heard only by Neoptolemus. It is at this time only that the Merchant acknowledges Philoctetes' presence, otherwise feigning ignorance of the man who has been following the conversation silently throughout.¹⁴ From this point on the dialogue is conducted with pretending secrecy, aiming to stir Philoctetes' curiosity further as well as to prepare the ground for the narrative of the prophecy.¹⁵

The Merchant asks Philoctetes' identity in a 'low' voice and also appeals to Neoptolemus for a reply in a 'low' voice so that Philoctetes cannot hear them.

¹¹ For the importance of *hearing* both deceitful and sincere words see further.

¹² This paper extends the ideas about the function of silence in lines 542–627 of the play presented in A.-A. Maggel, *Silence in Sophocles' Tragedies*, Ph.D. diss., London 1997, 297–304. Here the stress is on the overall design of the dialogue, which produces the effect of deception by contrasting different *degrees of speech and hearing* between the three acting persons.

¹³ Cf. also the 'low voice' at 22: προσελθὼν σίγα σήμαινε. Σίγα might either refer to προσελθὼν (J. C. Kamerbeek, *Philoctetes*, Leiden 1980) or to σήμαινε (S. Montiglio, *Silence in the Land of Logos*, Princeton University Press 2000, 227 n. 96. and later 279 for line 574 where the Merchant, like Odysseus, recommends a 'low voice'). If Odysseus' treacherous plan starts as soon as he speaks in the prologue, then σίγα may refer to σήμαινε and signifies that the 'low voice' is part of his stratagem to deceive Philoctetes in the Merchant scene. Cf. H. Lloyd-Jones H. – N. G. Wilson, *Sophocles Fabulae*, Oxford 1990, repr. 1992, on 22 that σίγα "may mean no more than 'quietly' as in *Antigone* 700 (τοιᾶδ' ἐρεμνὴ σίγ' ὑπέρχεται φάτις)".

¹⁴ Kamerbeek (above n. 13) on 573–4: "He simulates ignorance of Philoctetes in order to avoid any suspicion of deceit".

¹⁵ Cf. D. Mastronarde, "Contact and Discontinuity: Some Conventions of Speech and Action on the Greek Tragic Stage", *University of California Publications in Classical Studies* 21 (1979) 83 n. 21: "Secrecy is maintained in order to accomplish some stratagem or conceal guilty knowledge."

However, Neoptolemus pronounces Philoctetes' name in such a 'loud' voice (575), that the Merchant pretends to be filled with anxiety and, feigning the same 'low' tones of secrecy as he did in the previous lines,¹⁶ he carries on pretending to warn Neoptolemus about the forthcoming danger: He should leave the island immediately, that is before the arrival of his alleged pursuers (576–7).

The impact of lines 573–7, which combine the low tones of the Merchant with one loudly spoken utterance of Neoptolemus (575), reinforces the curiosity of Philoctetes, who enters the dialogue so as to question Neoptolemus about the meaning of the dark words that the sailor tries to hide from him (578–9). The point is of interest, because we realize that so far Philoctetes has been a silent witness throughout the preceding conversation, and now he plunges into the dialogue, picking up the words citing his name, and the following words presumably concerning him. Philoctetes might have noticed the behavioral expression of the Merchant's whispered words but he does not seem to understand this mood of secrecy.¹⁷ So he seeks explanations from Neoptolemus, who pretends ignorance and insists that the sailor must reveal all the evidence of his knowledge before the two men (578–9//580–1).

After his brief interference in lines 578–9, Philoctetes falls back into silence, and Neoptolemus, by turning his attention from him to the Merchant, launches into a new sequence of dialogue with him (582–602). Now the secrecy is dispelled by another deceptive device: at 582–4 the Merchant pretends that he

¹⁶ D. Bain, *Actors and Audience. A Study of Asides and Related Conventions in Greek*, Oxford 1977, 84–85 thinks that the merchant is the deceiver, and Sophocles did not mean to present Neoptolemus as a deceiver too. Otherwise Neoptolemus would have taken μή φώνει μέγα (574) "as an attempt to transmit some secret instructions from Odysseus" For line 575 stated in a loud voice Bain (as before) 84 n. 1 says: "ὄδ'...ὁ κλεινός indicates a kind of public utterance." Montiglio (above n. 13) 278 argues that "Sophocles puts face to face two opposite registers of speech: the openness and completeness advocated by Neoptolemus and the half-words uttered by the merchant in a half-voice."

¹⁷ Jebb (above n. 8) on 578 f. thinks that "Seyffert's change of τί με into τί δε is no improvement. It is natural that Ph., the ἀνὴρ ὑπόπτως (136), should suspect some design against himself" Lloyd-Jones & Wilson believe that "Seyffert's δε is necessary" because "Philoctetes can hardly say that the 'merchant', who has only just learned who he is, is selling him". Jebb's interpretation makes sense, since Philoctetes heard Neoptolemus uttering his name at 575 and might have noticed the secretive manner of the Merchant at 576–7, which made him suspect the 'trafficking' of the words. So the verb διεμπόλωι might allude to Philoctetes' suspicion that the words between the Merchant and Neoptolemus are said in order to deceive him.

is afraid of the Atreidae, if he reveals what he knows. Only after he has received the reassurance from Neoptolemus that he and Philoctetes are allies in their hatred of the Atreidae, does the Merchant agree to speak out about the plans of the Greeks. Again the references to Philoctetes as an active listener to the discussion (585, 588, 591) suggest that while Philoctetes keeps silence the Merchant's words do not fall in a vacuum. On the other hand, Neoptolemus follows the stratagem of deception by commanding the Merchant, once again, to reveal what he heard during his stay in the Greek camp (587–8).¹⁸

Presumably, this part of the dialogue is devised so as to deceive Philoctetes by integrating into its texture two conventions of the Greek theatre: the alleged 'low voice' when a character is speaking aside, and the exclusion of a speaking person from the dialogue while the other two speakers are conversing. First, lines 573–4 and 576–7 are spoken aside because Philoctetes should not hear what the sailor says to Neoptolemus.¹⁹ However, we have to accept that the audience can still hear despite the stress on the 'low voice'.²⁰ Then, the Merchant tries to avoid Philoctetes' involvement in the dialogue while he continues conversing with Neoptolemus.²¹

¹⁸ In lines 587–8 Neoptolemus repeats the order he gave to the Merchant in 580–1 to reveal openly what he knows. Could Neoptolemus' words at 580–1 and, insistently, at 587–8 imply that he orders the Merchant to stop pretending and abandon secrecy for the sake of complete words? In this sense Neoptolemus complies with Odysseus' instruction in the prologue (131), that when the Merchant speaks in a deceitful way, Neoptolemus has to pick up whatever hints are most useful in what he says. Accordingly cf. Montiglio (above n. 13) 281–2 who notices the paradox in the Athenian democracy where deception and strategic secrecy were legitimate at times of war while open and sincere speech defined the behavior of the Athenian citizens in their political deliberation in the assembly. On the other side, Neoptolemus seems to strive with his Achillean nature which rejects *ψευδῆ λέγειν* (108), when he replies to the Merchant's *ὄρα τὶ ποιεῖς, παῖ*, with the words *σκοπῶ καὶ γὰρ πάλαι* (589). Cf. P. E. Easterling *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge 1997, 170 who says that "the audience may take [Neoptolemus' reply] as a hint that [he] has been feeling qualms about the propriety of deceiving the trusting Philoctetes."

¹⁹ Taplin (above n. 6) 131 n. 1: "As to who hears, it must be assumed that everyone on stage hears, unless there is some clear indication to the contrary."

²⁰ Cf. Bain (above n. 16) 83: "It is only by convention that a third actor can be excluded from a conversation which the audience hears."

²¹ This arrangement of dialogue in which Philoctetes is confined into a silent position for the most part of the conversation between the two men seems to provide an instance of "uneven contact between three persons on stage". See Mastrorarde (above n. 15) 83 n. 35.

The prophecy of Helenus

The secrecy in the preceding dialogues prepares the atmosphere for the display of the prophecy of Helenus. It is the first time that the prophecy is spoken out by the Merchant and heard by Neoptolemus, Philoctetes and the audience. Helenus has foretold that Troy will be captured with Philoctetes' assistance. Moreover, the Merchant confirms that Odysseus was bidden in public to perform the mission to bring Philoctetes to Troy. In a sense Neoptolemus hears for the first time what the False-Merchant has to say in this prophecy, because in the prologue Odysseus warned him that he has to use the sailor's words in the best way for the deceit (130–1). But the audience might still be wondering whether, in this part of the dialogue, the prophecy is a deceptive invention or a real fact.

The prophecy is a new element which takes further the statements of Odysseus in the prologue. There Odysseus claimed that Philoctetes must be brought to Troy by means of guile (101). Persuasion would be a feeble weapon to bend Philoctetes' stubbornness, and violence is impossible. In the Merchant's report (603–21), the audience hear a new story for the first time, that it is predicted by divine authority that Troy will be taken with the help of Philoctetes. The prophecy alters the knowledge of the audience with regard to Odysseus' previous statements, to the extent that it brings forward the element of persuasion, and not of deceit, as a means of luring Philoctetes to Troy.²²

Critics are in dispute when they have to answer whether the report of the prophecy is true or false, a part of Odysseus' stratagem of deception.²³ On the other hand, the prophecy can be seen as a part of the progressive revelation of the truth that Philoctetes must learn gradually in order to be aware that Odysseus is on his track.²⁴ So the requirements of the prophecy are expanded

²² Cf. Odysseus' οὐ μὴ πίθηται (103) with the False-Merchant's πείσαντες λόγῳ (612). See also lines 617–8 by the Merchant, which allow for persuasion or some other means, by contrast with 623–4, where Philoctetes shows that he understands that Odysseus intends to persuade him. Cf. I. Linforth, "Philoctetes: The Play and the Man", *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 15.3 (1956) 95–156, esp. 115 and A. F. Garvie, "Deceit, Violence and Persuasion in the *Philoctetes*", in *Studi Classici in Onore di Quintino Cataudella* I, Catania 1972, 213–226.

²³ Cf. D. B. Robinson, "Topics in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*", *CQ* 19 (1969) 34–56, esp. 49.

²⁴ Budelmann (above n. 9) 118 notices that in the report of the prophecy "Diomedes has disappeared altogether" and he continues that "the force of prophecy may be felt [...] also in the elimination of a certain piece of fiction that the False-Merchant had introduced only a few lines earlier."

throughout the play, supplying different aspects of ambiguous statements up to the point of explicit indication of its terms, as confirmed by Heracles at the end.²⁵ The audience follow this process, firstly in the Merchant's tale, where they are expected to see his report as a false one, but to be uncertain to what extent this is another trick on the part of Odysseus or a true revelation among the falsehood.²⁶

The Merchant's speech being over, Philoctetes bursts out in indignation and declares himself determined to disregard any endeavour by his enemy to persuade him (622–5). In his self-pity Philoctetes seeks from the Merchant further confirmation of Odysseus' intentions. Finally, he repeats his firm commitment to resisting the Greeks. As in the first instance Neoptolemus avoided the entanglement of Philoctetes in the conversation with the Merchant, so at the end of this encounter the Merchant shuns further words with Philoctetes, pretending ignorance of any relevant detail (οὐκ οἶδά πω τί φησι 580 // οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγὼ ταῦτ' 626). Then he returns to his ship, leaving Philoctetes brooding in his discontent. With his departure the Merchant has no other dramatic function in the play, although we are not in a position to know whether his part is over after he has executed the plan of deception.²⁷

The function of hearing in the False-Merchant scene

The False-Merchant has to be considered as the person who performs Odysseus' treacherous plan. He makes his entrance with the ostensible purpose of warning Neoptolemus about the doings of the Greeks. However, his real aim is to delude Philoctetes and to make him eager to leave Lemnos the moment he hears the news of Odysseus' pursuit. The text emphasizes the function of hearing, which

²⁵ A. E. Hinds, "The Prophecy of Helenus in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*", *CQ* 17 (1967) 169–80, esp. 170.

²⁶ On the element of 'surprise' see D. Seale, "The Element of Surprise in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*", *BICS* 19 (1972) 94–102 and P. E. Easterling, "Philoctetes and Modern Criticism", in: E. Segal (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford 1983, 217–28, esp. 219.

²⁷ The device of the False-Merchant seems to be a version of a form exploited by Sophocles in *Electra*. There the Paedagogus takes over the role of a false Messenger who reports the death of Orestes in a horse-race in Phocis. His aim is to deceive Clytaemnestra and Electra, so preparing the way for the arrival of Orestes, unsuspected by his enemies, and the recognition by Electra. In *Electra*, the Paedagogus reappears to precipitate the action when Orestes and Electra delay the recognition scene (1326).

passes knowledge seemingly acquired by the ears of the Merchant to the ears of Neoptolemus, but which really aims at impressing the hearing of Philoctetes.²⁸ Philoctetes is isolated from the verbal interaction between the Merchant and Neoptolemus because he must hear (though not fully understand) what the other speakers devised for him.²⁹

In the imaginative space of the offstage events we can go on hearing another chain of words leading back to the happenings at Troy: All the Greeks have heard Odysseus' proposition to pursue Philoctetes (595) and they have consented to his enterprise when he promised to fetch Philoctetes to Troy whether he wanted it or not (ἐκούσιον 617 // ἄκοντα 618). Before that, all heard the prophecy of Helenus and it was after this hearing that Odysseus committed himself to bringing Philoctetes to Troy.³⁰ The False-Merchant is supposed to transfer this information from ear to ear, by reaching the last hearer (620) of a knowledge which has traveled from the camp of Troy to the desert island of Lemnos.³¹ True and untrue facts seem to be linked now in a framework of openly heard sayings.

While the Merchant tells his crafty story and Neoptolemus feeds him appropriate questions (cf. 130–1//542ff.) we tend to think that there is Odysseus lurking behind the words of the False-Merchant. The two characters, Odysseus

²⁸ Note the repercussion in the repetitions of the words ἤκουσα 549, ἀκούσας 564, ἀκήκοας 588, κλύεις 591. Cf. S. Østerud, "The Intermezzo with the False-Merchant in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 542–627", *C&M* 9 (1973) 10–26, esp. 26, who takes the story of Helenus "to be meant for Neoptolemus rather than for Philoctetes". However, S. L. Schein "Divine and Human in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*", in V. Pedrick – S. M. Oberhelman (eds.) *The Soul of Tragedy. Essays on Athenian Drama*, Chicago 2005, 27–47, esp. 32 and 35 suggests that in the prologue and the Merchant scene "Neoptolemus may be concealing his knowledge of the prophecy"; In fact, we are never told how much Neoptolemus knows; he could well be making inferences as he goes along, rather than concealing information. Cf. lines 199–200//1340–1.

²⁹ Cf. Philoctetes' repeated calls to the strangers with the Greek clothes to speak so he can hear their voice: φωνῆς δ' ἀκούσαι βούλομαι (225) // φωνήσατ' εἴπερ ὡς φίλοι προσήκετε (229), and the outburst of joy at hearing Greek speech: ὦ φίλτατον φώνημα (234). See Montiglio (above n. 13) 224, who thinks that "[Philoctetes'] thirst for contact is translated into a thirst for words, spoken and heard."

³⁰ It is remarkable that Odysseus is referred to as the man ὁ πάντ' ἀκούων ἀισχρὰ καὶ λωβήτ' ἔπη (607); cf. A. J. Podlecki, "The Power of the Word in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*" *GRBS* 7 (1966) 233–250, esp. 238.

³¹ Cf. also B. Goward, *Telling Tragedy. Narrative in Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides*, London. 1999, 101 who says that "the multiplicity of deceitful journeys creates a kind of narrative *mise en abîme* in which the world seems full of dupers and the duped".

and the Merchant, are played by the third actor,³² and their appearances in the different stages of the play mark the change of action from deceit to violence as the means for hustling Philoctetes to the ship for Troy.³³

In the avalanche of exchanges the Merchant defines persuasion as the means that the prophecy specifies over any other alternative for bringing Philoctetes to Troy. Moreover, later in the play, Neoptolemus will try to use persuasion when his tormented conscience will not allow him to continue using deceit in order to achieve his aim. But even when he discloses the truth to Philoctetes, he will not succeed in convincing him of the need for his presence in Troy (cf. 915ff.).³⁴ At 974, Odysseus' abrupt intervention in the play, when both deceit and the persuasion are proven to have failed, signals that he will attempt to use violence against Philoctetes to force him into the ship.³⁵ Yet violence too fails, when it is attempted once again in the mirror-scene of Odysseus' second sudden appearance at 1293. Hence, the False-Merchant's scene in Philoctetes is dramatically important because it comes at a half-way point in the journey between deceit and violence, by highlighting the divine order that advocates the means of persuasion. It is an irony of the drama that, in this ambivalent context of facts filled with half-truths and purposeful lies, Philoctetes is unwilling to surrender and to obey the oracle under the present circumstances.

The play ends with two contrasting scenes that are mutually subverted: Neoptolemus and Philoctetes are heading for their return to Greece (1402–8). Heracles intervenes in his epiphany, and their decision is also altered by Philoctetes' change of mind when he yields to Heracles' admonition to come to Troy (1409–71). Philoctetes will be finally persuaded after he listens to what

³² Cf. Z. Pavlovskis, "The Voice of the Actor in Greek Tragedy", *CW* 71 (1977) 113–23, esp. 119 who argues "that the merchant's accents should remind us of Odysseus is strikingly appropriate, since both are deceivers, and since the merchant is a tool of Odysseus." See also M. W. Blundell, "The Moral Character of Odysseus in *Philoctetes*", *GRBS* 28 (1987) 307–29, esp. 324: "The 'merchant' is a reflection of his creator and as such reflects poorly on him."

³³ Cf. Odysseus' return at 974 ff.

³⁴ Cf. Taplin (above n. 3) 71: "Once he [Neoptolemus] comes to the point when he cannot continue the deceit, his words and his deeds both dry up together."

³⁵ Blundell (above n. 32) 327 says: "Odysseus, [...], rules out the idea of honest persuasion (103) and uses his tongue initially for insidious persuasion in the cause of deceit. Once his stratagem has been uncovered he makes no further attempt to persuade, but turns to threats of *βία*, and even to its use."

Heracles has to say about the gods' prediction for him.³⁶ These two scenes, closely linked together at the end of the play, sustain the impression of ambiguity and irony in relation to what has happened in Lemnos and also for the events that are expected to follow over at Troy.³⁷

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³⁶ Cf. lines 1410, 1412, 1427 by Heracles and line 1445 by Philoctetes.

³⁷ Cf. Easterling (above n. 26) 227–8 and also Schein (above n. 28) 43–5 for Heracles' intervention and the ambiguities of the play's ending.

ON THE ATTRIBUTION OF A LATIN SCHOOLGRAMMAR TRANSMITTED IN MS CLM 6281*

ANNA REINIKKA

In this article I will examine the attribution of an unpublished Late Antique grammar, known today as *Ars Scauri*. The text was first identified as an independent *ars grammatica* in 1987 by Vivien Law, who argued for the attribution of this grammar to a 2nd century AD grammarian, Q. Terentius Scaurus.¹ Her argument has, surprisingly enough, not received a lot of attention, and the attribution to Scaurus has not been questioned. As the text contains some doctrinal aspects which speak against this attribution and as Law failed to consider these in her article, I feel that the matter of the attribution of this text deserves another look. Also, when writing her 1987 article, Vivien Law regarded Dionysius Thrax's *Tekhne Grammatike* as authentic.² The *Tekhne*, which was long regarded as the first treatise on grammar in the Western tradition, is increasingly considered as inauthentic, a fact which obviously has an impact on the attribution of this unpublished grammar, since the beginnings of Latin schoolgrammar, too, have to be reconsidered. The untimely death of

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¹ V. Law, "An Unnoticed Late Latin Grammar: The *Ars Minor* of Scaurus?", *RhM* 131 (1987) 67–89.

² This obviously had implications on her attribution of the text. Later she came to regard the *Tekhne* as inauthentic (except for the beginning of the text); see e.g. V. Law, "Roman Evidence on the Authenticity of the Grammar Attributed to Dionysius Thrax", in H. J. Niederehe – K. Koerner (eds.), *History and Historiography of Linguistics* I, Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1990, 89–96 and V. Law, "The *Technè* and Grammar in the Roman World", in V. Law & I. Sluiter (eds.), *Dionysius Thrax and the *Technè Grammatikè**, Münster 1995, 111–119.

Vivien Law prevented her from finishing the edition of this grammar she had in preparation.³

In her 1987 article Law identified a previously unknown grammar in a 9th century manuscript from Freising (Clm 6281) and attributed it to a 2nd century AD grammarian Q. Terentius Scaurus.⁴ This text had escaped the notice of scholars, as it contains no title or *explicit*, and was taken to be a continuation of the preceding work, *Explanationes in artem Donati* by Sergius. Heinrich Keil's inaccurate description of the manuscript⁵ seems to have contributed to this view, which was repeated in many later descriptions of the manuscript.⁶ Due to this misunderstanding,⁷ the nature of the text was also misinterpreted (see n. 5). Rather than a series of excerpts, it is a complete, independent *ars grammatica* approximately one-and-a-half times the length of Donatus' *Ars minor*. Following Law's practice, the unedited text will be referred to as M throughout this article.⁸ In this article I will argue that the author of this unpublished grammar is not the 2nd century AD grammarian, Q. Terentius Scaurus, as Law suggested.

I shall now consider the main arguments Law presents in favour of her attribution. Firstly, there are four passages attributed to a Scaurus in Sergius' *Explanationes in artem Donati*,⁹ which recur verbatim in M.¹⁰ Several other

³ See Law (above n. 1) 70 n. 9.

⁴ Later we find a somewhat different view; compare, for example Law 1990 (above n. 2) 92: "Varro's solution reemerges (whether consciously or coincidentally) in a grammar of the second or third century AD ascribed to a grammarian called Scaurus (though whether he was identical with the renowned Q. Terentius Scaurus is open to question [Law 1987])".

⁵ "f. 27 *Incipit expositum sergii de octo partibus orationis. Oratio dicitur - f. 52 proferuntur: Sergii explanationes in Donatum 487,22–518,29. f. 52 De littera. Littera dicta est - f. 62* de interiectione et siqua sunt similia: excerpta ex Donati arte maiore et Sergii in eam explanationibus."*

H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (henceforth *GL*) 4, xlv. However, the sequence of the abovementioned *explicit* and *incipit* does not occur on f. 52r but on f. 49v. The folios 49v–52r contain a copy of one further chapter of the *Explanationes* (*GL* 4, 518,31–522,12). This chapter concludes on f. 52r with the words *sed ubicumque adspiratio est uocalis est*. The unpublished grammar begins immediately after these words with the chapter heading *DE ARTE*. See Law (above n. 1) 69.

⁶ E.g. G. Thomas, *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis I 3*, Monachii 1873.

⁷ For a detailed description, see Law (above n. 1) 68–71.

⁸ I am preparing a scholarly edition of M as a part of my doctoral thesis under the supervision of docent Anneli Luhtala of the University of Helsinki.

⁹ *GL* 4, 486, 9–10; 535, 5–6; 560, 19–28; 562, 1–16.

¹⁰ For a detailed comparison, see Law (above n. 1) 71–73.

passages in the *Explanationes*, for which the source is not named, also agree almost word for word with M.¹¹ Thus it appears that at the time *Explanationes in artem Donati* was compiled, i.e. at some stage in the late 5th or the 6th century, this text was in circulation and was known (at least to the author of the *Explanationes*) as the work of (one) Scaurus. Secondly, in the text itself there is a tantalizing example that could, according to Law,¹² hint at the author of the work. The section on the pronoun begins with the standard definition: *Pronomen est pars orationis, quae pro ipso posita nomine minus quidem plene idem tamen significat*, but what follows is not recorded in any other grammar: *Nam cum debeam dicere 'artem Scaurus scripsit' dico 'artem ille scripsit' et pro 'artem Scaurus scripsisti' dico 'artem tu scripsisti'*.¹³ This example could reveal the author's identity, Law suggests. She also considers the possibility that this example could be the reason Sergius attributed the text to Scaurus. So according to Law, "Sergius' attribution cannot be accepted *ohne weiteres*".¹⁴

Law then considers some of the other passages attributed to Scaurus in the corpus of Latin grammatical texts. She disregards passages which obviously derive from commentaries on literary texts and concentrates on those which seem to contain some of Scaurus' grammatical doctrine.¹⁵ Such passages quoted in the grammar of Charisius primarily concern particular words or wordforms and have no counterparts in M,¹⁶ while those quoted in the *ars grammatica* of Diomedes are more valuable to us, as they contain, for example, definitions of grammatical terms. Three of the passages attributed by Diomedes to Scaurus concern the *vitia et virtutes orationis*,¹⁷ which are not discussed in M at all,¹⁸ and are thus of no use in trying to establish links between Scaurus' doctrine and M.

¹¹ See Law (above n. 1) 73 n. 13.

¹² Law (above n. 1) 73.

¹³ Law (above n. 1) 73 n. 15.

¹⁴ Law (above n. 1) 74 n. 15.

¹⁵ See Law (above n. 1) 74. The one passage attributed to Scaurus in Priscian's *Institutiones* (GL 2, 547,10) was not considered by Law in her discussion because of its anecdotal nature, and although Audax's work is titled *Audacis excerpta de Scauro et Palladio*, he never mentions sources for particular passages in the text, thus preventing us from identifying the grammatical doctrine attributable to Scaurus.

¹⁶ Law (above n. 1) 75.

¹⁷ See GL 1, 444,29f.; 449,26f.; 456,27–29, which contain Scaurus' definitions of *hypozeuxis*, *macrologia* and *tropus*, respectively.

¹⁸ See Law (above n. 1) 75–76 for a discussion whether or not M originally contained a book on *vitia et virtutes orationis*.

The definitions of *adverbium* and *oratio* which Diomedes attributes to Scaurus offer us the possibility to compare Scaurus' doctrine with M. The definition of *oratio* presents problems for Law's thesis, a fact which she acknowledges,¹⁹ it being highly unlikely, even allowing for textual corruption, that the following two definitions would have the same source. The definition found in M reads: *oratio est significantibus uocibus secundum rationem ordinata sententia*,²⁰ while Diomedes quotes Scaurus' definition as: *Scaurus sic, oratio est ore missa et per dictiones ordinata pronuntiatio*.²¹ The comparison between the definitions of the adverb produces similar results. The definition found in M closely resembles the definitions contained in many Late Antique grammars: *adverbium est pars orationis, quae adiecta uerbo significationem eius explanat aut mutat*.²² The definition reported by Diomedes has nothing in common with the one found in M: *Scaurus ita definit, aduerbium est modus rei dictionis ipsa pronuntiatione definitus, ut recte diligenter optime*.²³

This, in my view, would strongly suggest that Scaurus *apud* Diomedes, generally assumed to be the 2nd century AD grammarian, Q. Terentius Scaurus, and the author of M are not identical. It is only in the 3rd century AD that definitions of parts of speech in Latin grammatical texts can definitely be seen to take the form of "*x est pars orationis*" (x is a part of speech), that is, the form of the philosopher's substantial definition.²⁴ The definitions that have been preserved from the preceding centuries, including those attributed to Scaurus by Diomedes, do not conform to this type, which became the standard method in Late Antique grammars. I will quote examples of the leisurely defining practices of the 1st century AD grammarian, Remmius Palaemon, to whom the following definitions have been attributed by Charisius: *interiectiones sunt quae*

¹⁹ Law (above n. 1) 76–7.

²⁰ Law (above n. 1) 77.

²¹ *GL* 1, 300,19f.

²² See for example the definition used by Donatus, 640, 2–3: *Aduerbium est pars orationis, quae adiecta uerbo significationem eius explanat atque inplet, ut iam faciam uel non faciam*. (Donatus = L. Holtz (ed.), *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical, étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion [IVe – IXe siècle] et édition critique*, Paris 1981.)

²³ *GL* 1, 403,20–21.

²⁴ A. Luhtala, "On Definitions in Ancient Grammar", in P. Swiggers – A. Wouters (eds.), *Grammatical Theory and Philosophy of Language in Antiquity*, Leuven 2002, 257–285, esp. 273.

*nihil docibile habent, significant tamen adfectum animi,*²⁵ and *praepositiones sunt dictae ex eo quod praeponantur tam casibus quam verbis,*²⁶ and *coniunctionum quaedam sunt principales, aliae subsequentes, aliae mediae;*²⁷ the last one amounts to a division rather than a definition. Etymological definitions seem to have played a prominent part in grammatical exegesis from the beginning, and they continued to be used alongside the substantial definitions in Late Antiquity.²⁸

After examining the abovementioned passages, which cannot be reconciled with the content of M,²⁹ Law turns to the passages in Diomedes' *ars* in which she finds similarities to M. Law compares, for example, the definition of the noun and its subdivisions; the usual division in Late Antique grammars was into proper and common nouns (*nomina propria, nomina appellativa*, here *proprie communiterve*):³⁰

*nomen quid est? nomen est pars orationis cum casu sine tempore rem corporalem aut incorporalem proprie communiterve significans, proprie, ut Roma Tiberis, communiter, ut urbs flumen.*³¹

Immediately after this standard definition Diomedes presents an alternative definition with a different division, which he attributes to Scaurus:

*sed ex hac definitione Scaurus dissentit. separat enim a nomine appellationem et uocabulum. et est horum trina definitio talis: nomen est quo deus aut homo propria dumtaxat discriminatione enuntiatur, cum dicitur ille Iuppiter, hic Apollo, item Cato iste, hic Brutus. appellatio quoque est communis similium rerum enuntiatio specie nominis, ut homo uir femina mancipium leo taurus. ... item uocabulum est quo res inanimales uocis significatione specie nominis enuntiamus, ut arbor lapis herba toga et his similia.*³²

²⁵ Charisius = C. Barwick (ed.), *Charisii artis grammaticae libri V*, Lipsiae 1964², 311, 10–11.

²⁶ Char. 299, 14–16.

²⁷ Char. 290, 12–13.

²⁸ For a discussion on the defining practices of Latin grammarians, see Luhtala (above n. 24) 271f.

²⁹ These include also a passage attributed by Diomedes to Scaurus on the *septimus casus* (*GL* 1, 318, 14f.). The *septimus casus* is not touched on at all in M.

³⁰ Instead of this division, the early writers use terminology similar to Scaurus *apud* Diomedes; compare for example Varro *ling.* 8,40; 8,41 and Quint. *inst.* 1, 4, 19f.

³¹ *GL* 1, 320, 11–13.

³² *GL* 1, 320, 13–24.

This division appears also in a truncated form in Donatus,³³ but not in M, which contains only the usual division into *nomina propria* and *nomina appellativa*:

Qualitas nominum bipertita est, aut enim propria sunt nomina aut appellatiua. propria sunt quae proprietates nominum tam deorum quam hominum quam montium quam urbium quam fluminum continent; deorum, ut Iuppiter, Sol, hominum, ut Cato uel Cicero, montium, ut Cynthus, Olymplus, urbium, ut Roma, Cartago, fluminum, ut Nilus, Eridanus et huiuscemodi alia similia. (ff.53v–54r).

Law finds this account of *nomina propria* "much more detailed than is usually the case",³⁴ and seeks to establish a link between the two because some of the examples are found both in M and in Diomedes (*Iuppiter, Apollo*,³⁵ *Cato*). However, this link seems rather tenuous, and the differences between the two passages are more striking than the similarities. Most importantly, there is no trace in M of the threefold division of nouns attributed to Scaurus by Diomedes. Indeed, the terms *appellatio* and *vocabulum* never appear in M at all; only the standard term *nomen* is used. The two discussions have also very different aims: while Scaurus *apud* Diomedes argues for a distinction between three nominal parts of speech (*nomen* = proper names of gods and men, *appellatio* = common nouns signifying animate things, *vocabulum* = common nouns signifying inanimate things), the author of M merely lists diverse types of proper names as examples of this subtype of noun. That some of the words used as examples happen to be identical is not, in my opinion, sufficient evidence of a dependence between these two passages.

The distinction between *appellatio* and *vocabulum*, as presented by Scaurus in Diomedes' *ars*, that is, the distinction between animate and inanimate things, seems to have been an important one in the earlier Latin grammatical tradition, and it does not appear in M, in which the distinction

³³ *Nomen unius hominis, appellatio multorum, uocabulum rerum est. Sed modo nomina generaliter dicimus (Don. 614, 4–5).*

³⁴ Law (above n. 1) 78. There are, however, similar passages in other grammarians' works, some of which even contain some of the same examples (*Iuppiter, Cicero*); see e.g. Dositheus (J. Tolckehn (ed.), *Dosithei Ars Grammatica*, Lipsiae 1913) 27,8–12; Anonymus Bobiensis (M. De Nonno (ed.), *La Grammatica dell'Anonymus Bobiensis*, Roma 1982) 1,14–2,4; Diomedes (*GL* 1) 320,30–321,2; Probus (*GL* 4) 51,26–29.

³⁵ I agree with Law (above n. 1) 78 n. 33, who suggests that "*sol* conceals the original *Apollo*, which was replaced at some stage in the transmission by a gloss misinterpreted as a correction."

between corporeality and incorporeality is stressed instead.³⁶ This, in my view, would also suggest that the doctrine reported by Diomedes and that contained in M come not only from different grammarians, but also from different eras.

In addition to the definition of the noun, Law takes a look at Diomedes' treatment of *littera* in M. The definition of *littera* is different in the two passages,³⁷ but the following definition of *elementum* coincides partially. Law herself admits that "this definition of *elementum* was so widespread that little can be built upon its appearance here".³⁸ Even if the origin for the definition of *elementum* were Scaurus' *ars grammatica*, M is not exceptional in repeating it; at least Dositheus, Charisius, Probus and Audax repeat it without attributing it to any grammarian.³⁹ Further passages in Diomedes' work, for which he does not name a source, such as the definition of *ars*,⁴⁰ correspond partially with M. But the passages are not unique to Diomedes and M, and as the source for these passages is not named, it is difficult to prove that it was Scaurus' grammar (without the circular device of comparison with M).

We are thus left with material attributed to Scaurus that is reconcilable with M (mostly in the *Explanationes* of Sergius) and material that is not (in e.g. Diomedes' and Charisius' works). Regarding these passages, Law comes to the conclusion that: "the grammar known under the name of Scaurus to Diomedes may have been similar to that known under the same name to the author of the *Explanationes*, but was certainly not identical to it."⁴¹ We also have a mention

³⁶ See e.g. Luhtala (above n. 24) 261: "Indeed, evidence suggests that the semantic distinction important in the early *ars grammatica* was that between animate and inanimate things rather than (in)corporeality. It is along these lines that Scaurus maintained a distinction between the three nominal parts of speech, *nomen*, *appellatio* and *vocabulum* in the early 2nd century. ... Additional evidence indicating that the early Latin grammarians distinguished between *nomen* and *vocabulum* on the basis of (in)animateness is provided by Cledonius: *apud veteres haec erat discretio inter nomina et vocabula: nominibus res animales appellabantur, vocabulis res inanimales* (G.L. V, 35. 1–3)."

³⁷ Diomedes attributes the following definition to Scaurus: *Scaurus sic eam definit, littera est uocis eius quae scribi potest forma. Elementum est minima uis et indivisibilis materia uocis articulatae uel uniuscuiusque rei initium a quo sumitur incrementum et in quod resolvitur* (GL 1, 421,15f.). The chapter titled *de litteris* in M begins with the definition: *Littera est elementum uocis articulatae. Elementum est uniuscuiusque rei initium a quo sumitur incrementum et in quod resolvitur* (Law [above n. 1] 77).

³⁸ Law (above n. 1) 77.

³⁹ See e.g. Charisius (4,10–12); Probus (GL 4, 48,33–34); Audax (GL 7, 321,14–16; Dositheus (11,7–9).

⁴⁰ For a comparison, see Law (above n. 1) 79–80.

⁴¹ Law (above n. 1) 80.

in Charisius' grammar of Scaurus' *books* on grammar,⁴² which speaks against M being the *ars grammatica* of Scaurus referred to here, which, judging by the contents of the quotations in Charisius, was much more detailed. Law offers two solutions to this problem: either M was a later epitome of Q. Terentius Scaurus' second century AD *ars grammatica*, which spanned several books, or Q. Terentius Scaurus wrote two grammars: a detailed one, containing more innovative doctrine, for scholarly use, and M, a shorter, more conventional treatise for use in the schoolroom.⁴³ Law herself prefers the latter solution. Thus M would reflect Q. Terentius Scaurus' grammatical doctrine, and any discrepancies with the passages attributed to Scaurus in Diomedes and Charisius would be due to the different nature of these two works.⁴⁴ Law argues that Scaurus could have easily produced two works different in scope and content, as Donatus and Priscian, for example, did later on.⁴⁵

A comparison of Donatus' two grammars shows that *Ars maior* contains a great amount of material which does not appear in the shorter work, but it is equally clear that Donatus consistently uses similar terminology and definitions in both texts.⁴⁶ Scaurus, if he indeed was the author of M as well as the grammar known to Diomedes and Charisius, as Law suggested, does not use grammatical terminology consistently; the definitions of *adverbium*, *nomen* and

⁴² ... *inquit Scaurus artis grammaticae libris...* (Char. 173, 4–5).

⁴³ Law (above n. 1) 86–88.

⁴⁴ "Of the two, the work known to Diomedes ... was more advanced. Probably quite lengthy ... it offered a detailed exposition of doctrine which, if the passage on *nomen*, *appellatio* and *uocabulum* quoted by Diomedes is typical, may have departed radically from the standard lore of the fourth- and fifth-century classroom. While the definitions in the shorter work of, for example, the parts of speech conform in general to those found throughout the Late Latin tradition, those in the larger grammar displayed an originality not to be encountered again until the thirteenth century. The shorter version, M, was probably intended for the schoolroom. ... The shorter grammar retains a certain amount of material from the more detailed work, as the comparison with Diomedes has shown, but, like others of its type, it tends to favour the conventional at the expense of the controversial" (Law [above n. 1] 87–88).

⁴⁵ Varro is also mentioned by Law (above n. 1) 87–88 in this context with reference to *De lingua Latina* and the first book of the lost *Disciplinarum libri*.

⁴⁶ Only the definition of the interjection is different in the two works. The status of the interjection as a part of speech was not as strong as that of the other parts of speech, and consequently there was more variation in its definition: "Most variety is shown in the definition of the interjection, as every author seems to have preferred to formulate his own version of a somewhat standard content. The Greek tradition provided no model for this definition, as the interjection was not regarded as a part of speech in Greek grammar" (Luhtala [above n. 24] 279).

oratio, for instance, reported in M and Diomedes' grammar differ vastly from each other. The division of the nominal parts of speech attributed to Scaurus by Diomedes into *nomen*, *appellatio* and *vocabulum* is especially interesting. The terms *appellatio* and *vocabulum* (or the threefold distinction) do not appear in M, as mentioned above, but another text attributed to Q. Terentius Scaurus, *De orthographia*, contains passages in which the terms *vocabulum* and *appellatio* are used.⁴⁷

In addition to the discrepancy of terminology used in M and Scaurus *apud* Diomedes, there exists the further problem of dating the material. Scaurus' grammatical doctrine seems to belong to an earlier tradition of Latin grammar; his defining practices are idiosyncratic, and he puts emphasis on the concept of (in)animateness rather than (in)corporeality in connection with the noun.⁴⁸ No trace of this can be found in M, where the definitions of parts of speech resemble closely the so-called standard definitions used by grammarians from the 3rd – 4th century AD onwards, all of them taking the form of "x is a part of speech". The definition of the noun found in M⁴⁹ differs greatly from the one reported by Diomedes (see above p. 151) and contains a distinction between concrete objects and abstract things which, according to Luhtala,⁵⁰ "was introduced into the definition of the noun quite late, in the late 3rd or early 4th century".

In the face of these discrepancies, the few similarities (the definition of *elementum*, for example) seem insufficient evidence to convince us that these two texts would share the same origin. Are we thus faced with two different grammarians writing in two different centuries? The 2nd century grammarian Q. Terentius Scaurus is the one quoted by Charisius, Diomedes and Priscian. Sergius, on the other hand, quotes another, later grammarian, known to him also as 'Scaurus', whose work is identifiable with M. This seems to me the most plausible hypothesis.

When did the later 'Scaurus' write his grammar? Based on the types of definitions he uses, the earliest possible dating for M is the 3rd century AD,

⁴⁷ See for example *GL* 7, 30,10–14 and *GL* 7, 32,21–33, 2.

⁴⁸ Luhtala (above n. 24) 261.

⁴⁹ *Nomen est pars orationis significans rem corporalem aut incorporalem proprie communiterue, proprie, ut Roma Tiberis, communiter, ut urbs flumen.* f. 53v.

⁵⁰ Luhtala (above n. 24) 260.

when standard definitions first appear in Latin grammatical texts.⁵¹ Law gives us a *terminus ante quem* of 5th to 6th century (the date of the *Explanationes*). While discussing the date of M, before coming to the conclusion that M is the work of Q. Terentius Scaurus, Law examines various internal features of the text. In her discussion, Law brings up the order in which the parts of speech are treated: after Donatus "popularised the order *nomen pronomen uerbum aduerbium participium coniunctio praepositio interiectio* ... this sequence held sway almost unchallenged."⁵² A different sequence which kept the four inflecting parts of speech together is found in e.g. Charisius, Diomedes, Dositheus and M. Thus Law argues that M cannot be significantly later than Donatus.⁵³ She then turns to examine the literary quotations appearing in M, which mostly consist of passages from Vergil. Catullus is quoted once, as is Sallust, and Plautus and Laberius are mentioned in passing. These are all authors active before the end of the 1st century BC. Authors, such as Lucan, Statius and Juvenal, who were often quoted by grammarians after the 380s, but rarely earlier, are missing from M.⁵⁴

M appears thus to have been written in the period ranging more or less from the 3rd century to the middle of the fourth century. But do we have enough evidence to call its author 'Scaurus'? There is no title to M nor any mention of its author in either of the manuscripts in which it is preserved.⁵⁵ The example in which the name 'Scaurus' comes up twice (see above p.149) is intriguing, all the more so as it coincides with the late 5th to 6th century attribution of Sergius. On this matter Law states that "it was a relatively common practice in Late Antiquity for grammarians to use their own names as examples" and refers to Karl Barwick using this method to trace passages from the grammarian Pansa in later grammarians' works.⁵⁶ However, it seems that this practice has not been studied in detail. The grammarian Priscian, who does use his own name as an

⁵¹ Apollonius Dyscolus definitely used substantial definitions in his grammar in the 2nd century AD. According to Luhtala (above n. 24) 280–283, the standard definition of the noun in the Latin tradition, as signifying concrete bodies and abstract things, represents a simplification of the Apollonian definition. See also V. Di Benedetto, "Dionisio il Trace e la *Technè* a lui attribuita, II", *ASNP* 28 (1959) 96–114.

⁵² Law (above n. 1) 82.

⁵³ Law (above n. 1) 82–83.

⁵⁴ Law (above n. 1) 83.

⁵⁵ The only other manuscript containing M is Clm 18181, which as a direct copy of Clm 6281 contains no new information, see Law (above n. 1) 68 n. 4.

⁵⁶ Law (above n. 1) 73 n. 15.

example in his texts, usually uses it in connection with first person pronouns or verbs etc, for example: ... *exceptis illis uerbis, quae sunt substantiae uel uocandi, ut Priscianus sum, Priscianus uocor, Priscianus nominor, Priscianus nuncupor*.⁵⁷ In M, however, only second and third person pronouns are used in connection with the name Scaurus. One might think that also one's teacher's name or a famous grammarian's name could also be used as an example. I am therefore not confident in basing any attribution solely on this evidence.

The attribution by Sergius, the author of the *Explanationes in artem Donati*, is, in my view, inconclusive. As also suggested by Law (see above p. 149), Sergius might have based his attribution on the abovementioned example, and thus might not have had any more information than we do. In addition, no trace of Sergius' attribution can be found in either of the extant manuscripts (see n. 55). Based on the evidence examined in this article, M does not seem to be the *Ars minor* of the 2nd century AD grammarian, Q. Terentius Scaurus. Instead, we seem to be dealing with a work written sometime between the 3rd century AD and the mid 4th century AD. The nature of the evidence pointing towards a grammarian called 'Scaurus' as a possible author is, in my opinion, far from conclusive. So it might be wise, at this stage, to refrain from attributing the text to a later, otherwise unknown 'Scaurus'. A famous name could easily enough be attached to an anonymous grammar at some stage of the transmission, all the more so when a suitable candidate could be found within the text itself. Even if we are left with 'merely' another anonymous *ars grammatica*, its relatively early date alone makes it an interesting addition to the corpus of Latin grammatical writings.

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⁵⁷ *GL* 2, 448,22–24.

**GAETANO DE SANCTIS AND
THE MISSING *STORIA DEI ROMANI***

RONALD T. RIDLEY

For Leandro Polverini

One of the greatest historians of Rome¹ was Gaetano de Sanctis (born at Rome 15 October 1870; died there, 9 April 1957). The first two volumes of his *Storia dei Romani* were published in 1907. The next two volumes were the third, published in 1916, and the first part of the fourth, in 1923, which took the story to 167 BC. The narrative eventually reached 134 in volume four, part three, published posthumously in 1964.

It is well known that de Sanctis had plans for the continuation of the work. From the early 1920s in Torino (where he had been appointed in 1900) he was lecturing to students on the later Republic, and had reached the 70s BC by 1926/7. It was in March 1934, in fact, that he proposed to his publisher to write another two volumes (5 and 6), but by 1937 he was content with a fifth volume

¹ Emilio Gabba, in fact, considered de Sanctis the greatest Italian historian of antiquity since Carlo Sigonio: "Riconsiderando l'opera storica di Gaetano de Sanctis", *RFIC* 99 (1971) 5–25, at 5. On Sigonio (1524–1584), see William McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio*, Princeton 1989. On de Sanctis, we now at last have a monograph: Antonella Amico, *Gaetano de Sanctis. Profilo biografico e attività parlamentare*, Tivoli 2007.

My own relationship to de Sanctis may be defined as follows: I was only sixteen years of age when he died. As a young postgraduate I learned Italian primarily to read his *Storia dei Romani*, and it has remained a formative influence on me ever since. Then in Florence in 1975 I discovered his *Ricordi* and was overwhelmed. I henceforth told every class of my students in Roman history of the events of 1931. And in 1982 I met one of his most famous students, Piero Treves, and we instantly became fast friends; he visited Australia in 1984 and lectured on de Sanctis. I wrote the entry on de Sanctis in the *Encyclopedia of historians and historical writing*, 2 vols, London 1999: 2,1049–50.

in three parts. This last plan was reaffirmed in April 1950. The *Storia* was to reach to the foundations of the Principate.²

In this anniversary year and the fiftieth since his death, therefore, two questions are proposed:

1. why were de Sanctis' plans not carried out?
2. how would that history have portrayed the later Republic?

To demonstrate that these questions are of vital importance, de Sanctis himself defined his *Storia dei Romani* as his "Lebenswerk".³

It is Leandro Polverini who has devoted most attention to both problems. He is able to list a number of things which diverted de Sanctis from the *Storia*: his editorship of the famous Italian classical journal *Rivista di filologia classica* (founded in 1873) 1923–9; his editorship of the classical section of the *Enciclopedia italiana* 1929–39; his turn to his *Storia dei Greci*, published in 1939; worries about the need to revise the first two volumes: mentioned in 1937, but renounced in 1950; and difficulties with publishers: Laterza withdrew in 1932, Giuseppe Principato (Milan) was involved in 1934, then Fratelli Bocca (now also in Milan) in 1937. The continuation, when it finally began appearing in 1953, was by Nuova Italia (Florence).⁴

Such things are listed, but what they meant in his scholarly life is not explained. An obvious example is the editorship of the classical section of the *Enciclopedia*. The evidence is before us, but unexploited. We can only imagine what it meant to commission and edit all the thousands of classical entries over thirty-five volumes. What we know is that de Sanctis himself was author of no fewer than 124 articles 1929–1948.⁵ Some are a page or so in the folio-sized, densely printed pages of the encyclopedia, but he wrote the five to six pages on each of the great historians (Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybios and Livy), as well as the five pages on Carthage and the more than twenty pages on Greece.

Everyone knows of two other personal matters which had the gravest effect on de Sanctis' life, both personal and public. The first was the stripping from him of his university chair at Rome in November 1931, when, along with

² See Leandro Polverini, introduction to de Sanctis, *La guerra sociale*, Florence 1976, xivf.

³ Letter of de Sanctis to Giovanni Mercati, 23 November 1939, quoted by Paolo Vian, "Un provvedimento segreto", *Strenna dei Romanisti* 2006, 669–685, at 677.

⁴ Polverini (above n. 2) xivf.

⁵ The list can be found in de Sanctis, *Scritti minori* (henceforth *SM*), 6 vols, Rome 1966–83, vol. V, appendix.

only ten others out of a total university professoriate of about 1,200, he refused to take the oath to teach nothing in conflict with the ideology of the Fascist regime. How any work in the 1930s was possible is amazing, but in fact his Greek history was produced in this decade.⁶

As horrendous as this political victimisation was, de Sanctis at the same time suffered an even worse disaster: he went blind.⁷ He had henceforth to rely on readers and amanuenses.⁸ He alludes to this affliction in his diary. In February 1932 he apparently hoped that his sight would recover. He complained of the enforced idleness. He could still read slowly, but could not skim texts. By May he could not read: all around him was a white fog in which objects were indistinct. By the next year he could barely see what he was writing.⁹

Distractions in the 1920s

The above matters go a long way to explaining the fact that *thirty* years elapsed between the appearance of IV,1 (1923) and IV,2 (1953), although the ground was being prepared in the 1920s. There is to hand, however, much more

⁶ How he survived financially is now known. As editor for the *Enciclopedia italiana* until 1939 he received 1,300 lire per month. When this came to an end, his friend in the Vatican library, cardinal Giovanni Mercati, induced Pius XII to continue the same sum in payment for his presidency of the Pontifical Academy and for lectures, which he in fact never gave, at the Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana. Vian (n. 3).

⁷ Arnaldo Momigliano states that his blindness threatened in 1929 and was 'definitivo' in 1931: "In memoria di Gaetano de Sanctis", *RSI* 69 (1957) 177–195 = *Secondo contributo*, Rome 1960, 299–317, at 315. Momigliano (1908–1987) was a student of de Sanctis in the mid 1920s at Torino. He was, in fact, to be appointed his successor in 1932 when de Sanctis was dismissed, only to be dismissed himself in 1938 under the racial laws. Piero Treves also states that de Sanctis' blindness began in 1929 but that it led to total sightlessness in the following decade: "Gaetano de Sanctis", *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 39 (1991) 297–309, at 305. Treves (1911–92) was one of de Sanctis' last students in Torino, 1928/9. Albino Garzetti stated that de Sanctis spent the last twenty-seven years of his life in complete blindness: "Gaetano de Sanctis", *Vita e pensiero* 41 (1958) 389–402, at 390, so from 1930. Garzetti (1914–98) was a student at Pavia but came under de Sanctis' influence as a postgraduate. Luigi Moretti, de Sanctis' last assistant, and author of the article on him in *Enc. ital.* (Supplement 3, 477) states that he was completely blind from 1938.

For a list of de Sanctis' students in Torino, see *Commemorazione di Gaetano de Sanctis*, Torino 1970, 47.

⁸ Polverini (above n. 2) xxiii.

⁹ S. Accame (a cura di), *Il diario segreto di Gaetano de Sanctis*, in *Nuova antologia*, 1994–5, republished in Florence (ND), quoted by numbered sections: 475, 477, 504, 511, 516.

evidence about de Sanctis' activities in the 1920s. Thanks to the tireless efforts of Silvio Accame, his literary executor, we know of at least *three* very time-consuming and distracting matters.¹⁰ The first was his membership of, and candidature for, the Partito Popolare. The papal ban on Catholic political activity from 1870 was finally lifted in 1919, when the party was formed. From that date de Sanctis was "firmly convinced that the only route to salvation for Italy and humanity" (note the rather characteristic overstatement) "is that indicated by the Partito Popolare."¹¹ The party stood, amongst other things, for the defence of the small farmers and votes for women. De Sanctis stood as a candidate three times: in November 1919, in 1920, and in May 1921. He lost on the first and third occasions, and in 1920, in provincial elections, although he won, he was disqualified on a technicality. This political activity was extremely time-consuming and draining of energies, but in fact, it was being conducted while the first part of volume four was being completed.¹²

The second major activity at this time was the Catholic Association of Culture, established in Torino in 1920 to disseminate and defend Christian thought and art. It made very rigorist calls for the constant and total subordination of life and profession to religion. De Sanctis was the first President. The association was supposedly apolitical (!): one wonders what these people thought was happening all around them. We know that de Sanctis was himself quite aware. In October 1922 he declared that "Catiline is marching on Rome."¹³ On the other hand in 1921 he suggested a lecture on Ireland – without any reference to contemporary events! The constant preoccupations of

¹⁰ S. Accame, *Gaetano de Sanctis fra cultura e politica*, Florence 1975. Accame (1910–1997) was de Sanctis' student in his last year at Rome 1931. He was his literary executor. This volume is most useful for the light it throws on de Sanctis' life in the 1920s, but also frustrating. One hardly needed a volume of this size for what could have been elucidated in two articles. Accame could not bear to throw away a single line, but at the same time acts as a censor in blotting out names in interesting contexts. One is reminded of the criticism of Lothar Wickert for his massive biography of Theodor Mommsen.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 227

¹² *Ibid.* 120. Two further political matters are revealed. In the early 1920s de Sanctis was very favourable to Prince Umberto, hoping that he might head an anti-Fascist movement: he was bitterly disappointed (313f). And he was very pleased with the Lateran Pact (331, 343) – not realising that it cut the ground from under Catholic opposition to the Fascists and led to the oath of 1931!

¹³ *Ibid.* 120. One might compare de Sanctis agonising in 1922 over the relations between the Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana and the Unione Femminile Cattolica Italiana (127).

the President were, in fact, the finances and the arranging of the programme of lectures: so many speakers approached either declined – or accepted and then failed to appear.

The third activity was de Sanctis' appointment in 1922 as President of the Piedmontese chapter of the Ordine Militare Gerusalemitano del Santo Sepolcro.¹⁴ This organisation was especially devoted to the Torino Shroud and to the promotion of a Catholic presence in Palestine. Accame intriguingly reveals that on the first matter de Sanctis was not convinced of the authenticity of the Shroud! As for Palestine, in 1922 the League of Nations approved the British mandate. It is astounding to find that the Patriarch was deeply concerned about the possibility of Protestants gaining any advantage in the Holy Land. De Sanctis was, however, mainly occupied with squabbles over the order of precedence with the other military orders and endless shameless demands from would-be new members, while those who were members showed appalling apathy in regard to their duties. In all this, the mention of the Order's main focus, namely churches and missions, let alone schools, orphanages and hospitals, is very rare.

In sum, de Sanctis' activity for the Partito Popolare until it was dissolved in 1926 was very demanding, but may well have been instructive for the historian: he saw parallels between its programme and that of the Gracchi, on whom he was lecturing in the early 1920s. The other two matters, however – the Catholic Cultural Association and the Order of the Holy Sepulchre – were simply endless leeches of his energies in the most frustrating and fruitless bickering and sectarianism. They lasted until he left Torino in 1929.

Alongside these occupations, another of far greater importance is only briefly alluded to: the Unione Accademica Internazionale. This was formed immediately after the war, and de Sanctis was the delegate of the Torino Academy both at the national and the international level. He saw it as his main mission to restore international academic collegiality, notably by the inclusion of the scholars from the defeated countries. He travelled to Paris in 1919, and his advice on archaeological cooperation was crucial at the League of Nations in 1923. His enormous contribution was recognised by his election as President of the International Union 1926–9.¹⁵ Anyone with the patience to read his indefatigable reports in the proceedings of the Torino Academy over a dozen

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 271f.

¹⁵ *Commemorazione* (above n. 7), 18f, 48f.

years, however, will soon see how exhausting his duties were here. He was the delegate of the Torino Academy from the inception of the Union in 1920. Congresses were held each year in Brussels, usually in May, and he almost always attended. In the first years, indeed, he was the sole Italian representative: even the Lincei could not bother sending a delegate! The Union instantly began a number of grand projects: a new edition of du Cange's *Glossarium*, the Corpus of Greek vases, supplements to the *CIL* and the *Forma Orbis Romani*, not to mention a catalogue of the Greek alchemists. From the beginning de Sanctis was negotiating with the government for adequate funds for Italy to play her full role. He characteristically threatened to resign if they were not granted, and by 1923 100,000 lire had been assigned. He had a finger in every pie; for example proposing amendments to British proposals for the administration of the antiquities of the late Ottoman Empire – which were accepted. In 1924 he drew up the statute for the national union. Then in 1925, the President, Theophile Homolle, died, and although de Sanctis could not for once attend the next meeting because of his broken thigh, such was his reputation that he was elected. Then all his anxieties about Italy's part in the many projects were transformed into international ones. Moves were finally made in 1926 for the establishment of an international committee for historical sciences; de Sanctis was delighted that the divisions of the war would finally be healed. The first meeting was in Paris in November 1926, and de Sanctis was present. In 1930 he was succeeded as President by the English papyrologist Frederick Kenyon, and although he had moved to Rome in 1929, he continued as Torino delegate until 1932.

The *Storia dei Greci*

The above activities explain in good part the fate of the *Storia dei Romani* in the 1920s. We turn next to the 1930s. Everyone mentions that he wrote and published then his *Storia dei Greci*, but its place in his life is analysed only very superficially. Why did he turn to a history of the Greeks while his history of the Romans was only half finished and when his personal life in the most fundamental ways was undergoing upheaval? Perhaps the most obvious answer was that in 1929 he gave up a chair in ancient history to become Beloch's successor in Greek history at Rome. It may be assumed that a *magnum opus* in that field was expected. The real answers are, in fact, much more profound.

De Sanctis' first great work was his *Atthis* (1898), his 'habilitation' thesis. His first travel outside Italy had been to Greece and Crete in 1895 and 1899. His reviewing for the *Rivista di filologia* had been equally divided between Greek and Roman works. And of the 124 articles in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* 1929–1948, sixty-three are on Greek matters, twenty-two on Carthage, related African subjects, and the Punic Wars, and only thirty-seven on other Roman topics; indeed, only two relate to the late Republic: Jugurtha (XVII,313–5) and Saturninus (XXX,911).

The 1930s were devoted to the *Storia dei Greci*, not the *Storia dei Romani*. Why this is so de Sanctis himself strangely gave little indication where one would expect it, in the preface. He revealed only that the Greek history was not a history "in the strict sense of the word, because it was not a true and organic development. In fact, among those political formations (i.e. the *poleis*) in their totality, there was never an effective unity or a wish for, or even vague notion of, political unity." In the all-important judgement on the nature of the radical Athenian democracy, he declared it "an amazing spectacle", but it shattered the "moral unity" of Athens which existed before the Persian wars, by alienating the aristocratic "malcontents" and turning them into traitors.¹⁶

The most memorable and revealing chapter of the whole work is the last: Sokrates. He is depicted by de Sanctis as the founder of a "true ethicalness" in western history, based on a knowledge of goodness and justice. He was a member, astonishing to relate, of the "City of God", and represented "the conscious affirmation of sacred and intangible rights of the human personality contrasted with those of the city (state)." Had he sought to escape the penalty meted out to him he would have annihilated everything for which he stood. He was the "protomartyr in the history of Western thought." Athens' reaction was an attempt to obstruct human progress: the introduction of a new element in human history, the ethical personality. That conflict between the individual and the state would henceforth dominate European history.¹⁷

The history which appeared in 1939 was not the end of the story. That central figure Perikles required further definition, and the biography appeared in 1944. This was a characteristic frontal attack on orthodoxy. The indictment of the man so often the subject of adulation could not be clearer: Perikles' policies

¹⁶ *Storia dei Greci*, 2 vols, Florence 1939, 1,3, II,119.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* II, chap. 16.

were a disaster on all fronts. His war strategy could not have led to Athens' victory, and the mistakes which ultimately led to Athens' defeat cannot be blamed on others. The Sicilian expedition was consistent with Perikles' expansion north and west. Parallel with that, he wrecked the ideals of the Delian League and turned it from mutual defence into exploitation. On the other hand, Athens was a real democracy, and no city of the ancient world was so well governed (compare the *Storia* above). Athenian society was vitiated, however, by the existence of slavery and the contradictions of empire: the freedom of Athens and the enslavement of her subjects. Athens represented a "triumph of civic selfishness"; even the great works of art were paid for by others.

There are two contemporary references: long periods of personal power mean that supporters and opponents of the great man are usually mediocre [!] and when de Sanctis emotionally relates Perikles' call to resistance when "the dear and glorious country is in danger," a footnote reveals that this was written during the second Allied bombardment of Rome.¹⁸

Some modern commentators have drawn attention to the themes which so attracted de Sanctis here. Greek history, noted Pietro de Francisci, raised fundamental questions. Within the *polis* there was the tension between individualism and the state; outside there was the conflict between the autonomy of the *polis* and the drive towards larger units, even Greek unity, not to mention the problem of power, illustrated by the "fatal law" of the Melian dialogue.¹⁹ Only two of the most acute commentators, however, have cut to the heart of the problem. The Greeks were the people whom de Sanctis loved best, asserted Piero Treves. That history illustrated one of his favourite maxims: "where there is no freedom, there is no history".²⁰ Or as Emilio Gabba put it, "there is no doubt that de Sanctis was controlled by a concept of Greece seen as the eternal paradigm of the love of freedom, of art, of thought and of politics."²¹ We have de Sanctis' own words:

¹⁸ *Pericle*, Milan 1944, 272, 265.

¹⁹ Pietro de Francisci, "Commemorazione del socio Gaetano de Sanctis", *RPAA* 30/31 (1957–9) 23–33. De Francisci (1883–1971) was a student at Pavia.

²⁰ Treves (above n. 7) 306, 308.

²¹ The negative side of this was pointed out by Gabba in a review of *Storia dei Romani* 4,3, in *RSI* 76 (1964) 1056: an inability to understand and evaluate fairly cultures other than Greek; for example, praise for the Athenian expedition to Egypt as the first attempt to bring European civilisation to the barbarians (*Pericle*, 102), referring to fifth century Egypt! It is notable – and expected – that a major source of criticism of de Sanctis' historiography came from Pavia.

"There is in the ancient period no higher, more conscious, more effective force of freedom than that demonstrated in the most noble pages of the history of the Greeks."²²

De Sanctis' secret diary

There is still one source of supreme value to be investigated if we wish to understand de Sanctis in the 1920s and 1930s: his diary. It sheds an entirely sharper and harsher light on him. He declared that it was a mirror of his spiritual life, written entirely for himself. It would not be published, he thought, but might be read – or if it were published it would be too late to help his reputation.²³

It is, in fact, very disturbing to read. It recalls Augustine's *Confessions* in so many ways, and reveals a tortured man. They were his own words: "Who would have said, with his calm appearance, that he was torturing himself so?" And the suffering was not only his own, but what he forced on those closest to him. He wrote in 1920 of his craving for a kind word and of his future as a "grey, flat sea". The excitements of scientists, artists and mystics [sic] were denied him, as he "stumbled about in the gloom of little scientific investigations and inadequate artistic expression." By 1921 he wrote of his need for constant "conversion" from sin, his agonising over the motives for suffering and joy, as he called for more Christian heroism, and the dangers of truth to the thing dearest to him, his moral life. By the early 1930s he was analysing martyrdom and the way it might increase one's influence: think of Sokrates and Christ; it certainly separated the trivial from the immortal in one's work. Not that non-resistance appealed to him: in this way the force for good was rendered infertile. He realised that he was the great dissenter from his fellow-citizens and contemporaries. He was desperate about not being understood, even by those he most loved; the soul thirsting for love was a daily cross. He became increasingly convinced of the "incurable wickedness of human nature" – because he was unmoved by others' misfortunes. He returned to the theme of martyrdom: his life had been one long battle under the banner of God. He

²² Alberto Ghisalberti, "Gaetano de Sanctis", *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 44 (1957) iii–xi, at v.

²³ *Il diario segreto* (n. 9) 466, 465, 472.

feared most that some "wicked contingency" would strangle his creativity in "the sweatbath of Necessity", but although he might fall at his post, others would take up the struggle for human progress. Although almost all his friends had betrayed him, he "brandished his unconquered will like a steel blade." In 1932, condemned to immobility and darkness, and with his helpers "trampled on", he preferred to be alone. His most beloved student had betrayed him. Even the people dearest to him made him suffer, because he could not understand their lack of feeling for him.²⁴

There are naturally many contemporary allusions of great value. In November 1922 he recorded the abuse of freedom, usurped in the name of violence by armed gangs. Now only those regarded as mad or criminal seriously desired freedom – meaning that they found it intolerable to be either slaves or masters: recalling the dedication of the *Storia* 4,1. In January 1924 he described the behaviour of mobs and how most intellectuals made a show of agreeing with them; those who disagreed or even remained silent were persecuted. In November 1931 he expressed his desperation in the face of pain, hatred, calumny and treachery. In the aftermath of his refusal to take the oath, he was proud in forty years "never to have buckled," but now he was tired and wounded; the struggle had, nevertheless, to continue. In January 1932 he wrote of the "brutalising and treacherous embrace" of the lie and how anyone who escaped its contagion was regarded as less than human. As his pain increased and his energies flagged he still, however, looked forward to the battle for the triumph of "Good and Truth on earth." One of the most memorable entries (February 1932) described Nero's hypocritical adulators. Once again he drew comfort from the ultimate triumph of Sokrates and Christ, and recalled that as a child he had read the lives of the martyrs and wished to imitate their example! He had been tested and given witness, but instead of overwhelming joy, he felt only the agony of the wound. And he continued to dwell on the repellent vice of

²⁴ *Ibid.* 483 (tortured), 416 (kind word), 417 (future), 418 (excitements), 430 (conversion), 435 (motives), 439 (truth), 465 (smiles), 469 (martyrdom), 468 (resistance), 472 (dissenter), 479 (understanding), 493 (wickedness), 502 (battle), 507 struggle), 511 (unconquered), 512 (helpers), 515 (betrayal).

As to the identity of the betrayer, one might think of Momigliano, who took over de Sanctis' teaching at the Sapienza after his dismissal, but more likely is Aldo Ferrabino, whose *Dissoluzione della libertà nella Grecia antica*, Padova 1929 had been severely reviewed by de Sanctis (*SM* VI, 439–55) and who then wrote a short article on freedom (1931) in which he contrasted that of Greece and Rome and held up the former to a withering criticism as 'arbitrary and protectionist', *Scritti di filosofia e storia*, Florence 1962, 89–95.

adulation, the characteristic vice of slaves, except that those whom he had in mind had been colleagues and students, acquainted with the highest culture.²⁵ As unpleasant as it is to intrude upon de Sanctis' most private thoughts in the two most crucial decades of his life, we discover a man tormented in every way from the 1920s. And yet this is not the explanation for his failure to complete the *Storia dei Romani*, because he turned instead to Greek history. This, as we have seen, was his favourite history, and his retelling of that classical epic was seen by him as the most effective way to emphasise the values which he held most dear. The diary also reveals analysis of parallels to his own situation in Sokrates – and Christ.

And thus he returned to the *Storia dei Romani* at the end of the Second World War. Now, however, there were more distractions than ever. He was restored to his chair for life in 1944, and that meant teaching obligations which, despite his blindness, he took very seriously. He was President of the *Enciclopedia Italiana* 1947–54; as such, incredibly, he had read to him the complete proofs for the two volumes of the 1938–1948 supplement! He was President of the *Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* until his death, a post to which he had been appointed in 1930. He was *Commissario della Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici* 1944–52; in this capacity he was responsible more than anyone else for the reestablishment of the *Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento*. He was one of the special commissioners for the reestablishment of the *Accademia dei Lincei*. He was the first President of the Association of Catholic University Teachers. And from 1950 he was Senator for life. As always there was personal tragedy: his beloved wife Emilia died in 1947 after a long battle with cancer.²⁶

It seemed, however, that as the previous great upheaval in his life, the appointment to Rome and then his dismissal, had brought him to the Greeks, so this next great change, the Liberation and his restoration, was to send him back

²⁵ *Ibid.* 443 (armed bands), 444 (freedom), 448 (mobs), 457 (desperation), 458 (tired), 459 (lie), 462 (battle), 464 (prophecy), 481 (Nero), 484 (Sokrates and Christ), 487 (oath), 496 (adulation).

²⁶ Treves (above n. 7) 308 says that he was fully occupied by the *Enciclopedia*. On the *Istituto Risorgimento* see Ghisalberti (above n. 22). On the *Lincei*, see de Sanctis' *Ricordi della mia vita*, Florence 1970, chap. 14, one of the most moving. Emilia Rosmini, born Casalmoferrato 30 June 1877, died Rome 28 June 1947. It is extraordinary that none of the many biographical sources on de Sanctis provide these dates. She and her husband are buried side by side in the Verano (Riguadro 35). I owe the greatest debt of gratitude to Lucos Cozza for helping me with this.

after twenty years to the Romans to finish what he had begun. It was then that the cruel fate that had dogged his life dealt him yet another blow. He had finally completed the manuscript by January 1946 and handed it to the publisher. The latter's car was stolen on the way from Rome to Milan – and the manuscript was never seen again.²⁷ Blind and in his mid-70s, de Sanctis set to work again, and IV,2,1 finally appeared in 1953, IV,2,2 in 1957, eight months after his death, and IV,3 in 1964, the sections devoted to the cultural, social and economic history of the second century from 167 to 134 BC.

The reconstruction of the missing history

We now turn to our second question, the content of the missing history. This can be fairly fully reconstructed. It is again Leandro Polverini who alone has devoted some attention to this matter.²⁸ He lists the main sources available for the reconstruction, but offers only a page or so on the nature of that history. He also quotes a valuable letter of de Sanctis to Ernesto Codignola in 1951 explaining his interpretation of the late Republic in broad terms. The first part of volume four (1923) showed Roman imperialism while it respected others' freedom; the following parts showed the transition to intolerance of that freedom. The fifth volume was to show how Rome, "having destroyed others' freedom, necessarily lost her own."

The starting-point, as everyone agrees, is the famous paper "Dopoguerra antica" of 1920, consciously informed by the situation after 1918.²⁹ De Sanctis compared the fall of the Carthaginian empire with that of the Austro-Hungarians and the exhaustion of 202 with that of 1918; he contrasted the peace of 202 with that of Versailles (of which he disapproved). For Rome, however, after that date, the picture he painted was of great pessimism. Popular sovereignty had been replaced by senatorial government, in which the ruling oligarchy was tighter than ever, but the senate was not fit to govern. It was

²⁷ Ghisalberti (above n. 22) iii, recorded de Sanctis weeping over the loss.

²⁸ Polverini, "La storia dei Romani che non fu scritta", *StudRom* 30 (1982) 449–462.

²⁹ "Dopoguerra antica", *Atene e Roma* 1 (1920) 3–14, 73–89, reprinted with an excellent commentary by Treves in his *Studi dell'antichità classica nell'Ottocento*, Milan 1962, 1246–82.

arrogant, in alliance with the unscrupulous nouveaux riches (the *equites*), and ever more conservative when reform was essential.

His analysis was three-fold. First, constitutionally, the senate was unable to devise a practical and accountable form of government for the overseas provinces; this failure led to anarchy, civil war, and the end of freedom. Second, socially and economically, the Italian small farmers were in crisis. As they declined the urban poor increased, and the *equites* profited. There was no hope of a compromise solution, only revolution, with the same results as the constitutional failure. Third, on the international front, after 202 war became essential for Rome. And that point led to de Sanctis' famous view that Rome made a fatal mistake in directing her energies to the East instead of the West. He was strongly in favour of "civilizing" imperialism. Rome's conquest of Spain was "a very important step in the history of human progress." There was similar scope in Gaul (although he recognised Camille Julien's lament for the loss of Gallic freedom). These western wars were, however, disorganised and incompetent. Augustus was the first consciously to understand Italy's duties in the West. In the East, on the other hand, were three great monarchies in balance, and constituting no threat to Rome. Even before the Hannibalic War, however, Rome had interfered across the Adriatic, even before she controlled the Alps. This is what caused Philip's alliance with Hannibal, although he in fact did nothing to help him. In sum, the West offered space and resources to Rome, the East had neither.

The first non-defensive war by Rome was the Second Macedonian, which set her on the road to world conquest. She would no longer tolerate equals. The Greek world, of which Rome destroyed the delicate balance, offered "riches, glory and power." Behind this new policy was Scipio Africanus. His influence on world history was thus enormous. Rome may have wanted only political and economic domination (!) but the conquered had to be rendered unable to challenge Rome again. Rome's intervention was marked by atrocities: for example, the enslavement of 150,000 Epirotes by Aemilius Paullus. Italian farmers were ruined by conscription, and Italy was flooded with slaves (de Sanctis judged that their lamented power as freedmen simply illustrated the "justice immanent in history" avenging their enslavement).

There were also moral consequences of these conquests: the decadence of the nobility and the *equites* in the late Republic. There were no checks on anyone, there was contact with peoples of "inferior culture", and instant riches. The claim that "captive Greece took captive her conqueror" is hardly true. The

damage to Greece, in fact, was enormous: the destruction of her flourishing culture in philosophy, science and literature. For de Sanctis the senseless killing of Archimedes was emblematic. The end of Greek culture under Rome signalled the end of classical culture. Plinio Fraccaro may have declared de Sanctis' preference for Roman imperialism in the West "of no value",³⁰ but his wide-ranging re-evaluation of the second century marks an important stage in modern Roman historiography.

The very next year, 1921, he published "Rivoluzione e reazione nell'età dei Gracchi," showing the product of his lectures.³¹ He placed the Gracchan revolution in a very broad context: it ended in the military monarchy and the death of political liberty ("the glory of classical civilisation"), which was recovered by the "Latins" only two millennia later with the French Revolution.

Tiberius Gracchus had no idea of starting a revolution. The people supported his land law against the illegal occupation of state land. On the family relationships of the Gracchi de Sanctis referred to Friedrich Münzer's *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, which had appeared only a year earlier – so we know that he had already read it.³² The oligarchy's resort to tribunician veto was natural. Tiberius replied with the *iustitium*, and tried to reach a compromise, but in vain. His deposition of Octavius was "the path to revolution." Such treatment of magistrates was accepted in Greece, but in fact was known also in Rome: Fabius proposed to abrogate Scipio's power in 205 (Livy 29,19,6), tribunes proposed dismissing Manlius, consul 178 (41,6,2), and Lepidus was stripped of all powers in 36 (*Epit.* 56). De Sanctis strangely thought that the procedure was invalid against tribunes, given their sacrosanctity (but that was their protection against assault). "That day wounded the champion and fulcrum of the constitution, the sacrosanct tribunician power,

³⁰ Plinio Fraccaro, *Opuscula*, Pavia 1956–7, 1,32.

³¹ "Rivoluzione e reazione nell'età dei Gracchi", *A&R* 2 (1921) 209–37, reprinted *SM* IV, 39–69.

³² De Sanctis has further comments on Münzer in *SM* VI, 512 and 526, a review of Richard Haywood's *Studies on Scipio Africanus*. Münzer's book was "fundamental" but exaggerated the effect of family relationships on politics. De Sanctis claimed that such divisions had little influence on the "wonderful unity" of the senatorial war effort. The book was rich in material evaluated for the first time, but the factions were not to be considered too rigidly: they formed and dissolved continually; for example, after opposition between Fabius and Scipio, Paullus' two sons were adopted by those two families. There was enmity between Cato and Africanus, but the former supported Aemilianus in the Third Punic War. See also below n. 49.

and the constitution was virtually overthrown."Tiberius had signed his own death warrant (de Sanctis compared the Jeu de Paume oath of 1789).

Reconstruction, according to de Sanctis, passes through subversion. Patience might have worked: obstructing tribunes could have been defeated in election (he was clearly here reliving his own contemporary political action focussing on education of the masses, but this was quite inappropriate in a state based on annual rotation of office).³³ By holding out prompt solutions to his electors, Tiberius had become their prisoner. The ruling classes were blind, never imagining that the people would assert its power. De Sanctis declared that the deposition of Octavius and subsequently the land law were both nul and void, but the law could not be touched, because the people was too powerful. Tiberius needed reelection to protect him from danger, but that would have given him powers "incompatible with the constitution of a free state." The presiding magistrate was crucial. At first it was Rubrius, who was favourable to Tiberius. When the first two tribes voted for him, his enemies were in uproar. Then Rubrius was to be replaced by Mucius, who had succeeded Octavius. When the other tribunes objected, the election was postponed. Tiberius was not a Robespierre: he lacked the fanaticism. The final assault was led by the young aristocrats, who had had military training. The result was that the constitution was fundamentally changed: now the aristocracy could rule only by force. However revolutionary Tiberius was, the reactionaries were far greater subvertors of the constitution. The blind aristocracy could not make even economic sacrifices for the good of the nation. And if anyone thought that Scipio Aemilianus was the right leader, he was, to the contrary, "the arch incarnation of Roman imperialism."³⁴

Four years later de Sanctis was awarded an honorary doctorate by Oxford. He read a paper to the Society for Roman Studies on Sallust and the Jugurthine War, again obviously derived from his lectures.³⁵ This is a fundamental attack on the reliability of that Roman historian, whose indictment

³³ This paper was mocked by two famous historians who declared it the programme of the Popular Party in Gracchan guise (in chiave gracchiana), *Commemorazione* (above n. 7) 41.

³⁴ Gabba noted two major objections: that Rome was drawn into overseas conquests in fact by appeals from allies; and that the Gracchi may have been generous, but were also anachronistic in trying to reinstate small farmers: "Riconsiderando l'opera storica di Gaetano de Sanctis" (above n. 1) at 20.

³⁵ "Sallustio e la guerra di Giugurtha", *SM IV*, 157–76.

of the Roman nobility had gone virtually unchallenged.³⁶ Sallust believed that it was Rome's duty to intervene in Numidia, but the kingdom's position as *amicus et socius* required no such thing. Numidia constituted no danger to Rome, even when "reunited". The main danger to Rome at this time lay to the north, from the Germans, who had defeated the consul Carbo in 113.

The rational way to curb Jugurtha's power, in de Sanctis' view, was "peaceful intervention". Unlike Thucydides and Polybios (the latter for once was right about something!),³⁷ Sallust does not examine in detail the causes of the war: its necessity is assumed. Its opponents are, by definition, corrupt. De Sanctis argued that the real reason was not the modern "civilising mission", like the policy of France in Algeria or Italy in N. Africa (what bitter ironies lie in wait for historians' judgements!) because the Romans left Numidia at the end of the war. It was rather for profit, and thus it was promoted by the *equites*, while the senate was dragged in and the people was least enthusiastic of all. The division, contrary to Sallust, was not between senate and people, but between senate and *equites*. The alliance which had destroyed the Gracchi was now broken.

The first intervention was by L. Opimius and nine other envoys. They were corrupted, claimed Sallust, but in fact the division of the kingdom made sense. Opimius was, however, condemned in court, by the people's whim (*Iug.* 40,5) stated Sallust, quite oblivious of the fact that the courts were in the hands of the *equites*! And when Cirta was captured by Jugurtha, Italians were killed by his order (*Iug.* 26,3). Challenging this, de Sanctis compared the capture of Phokaia in the Antiochan War, when the praetor Regillus was unable to control his troops (Livy 37,32). Even then Sallust claimed that there were apologists in the senate (*Iug.* 27,1). When the Romans intervened, Calpurnius Bestia (consul 111) aimed at peace with honour, leaving Jugurtha in power, but Sallust claimed that he had been corrupted.

³⁶ It is interesting to see that it is, in fact, regularly cited in books on Sallust; for example, R. Syme, *Sallust*, Berkeley 1964, 174f; George Paul, *Historical commentary on Sallust's Bellum Jugurthinum*, Liverpool 1984, seems to avoid it altogether.

De Sanctis summed up Sallust elsewhere as "one of the most lying historians of antiquity" (*SM* VI, 350). (He seems not to have begun to see through Tacitus, although his own countryman, Emilio Ciaceri (1909) did, thus founding our current understanding). What he held most against Sallust was his hypocrisy, "Dopoguerra antica" (above n. 29) 1278.

³⁷ "The more one studies Polybios, the more one's respect for the writer and the man decreases," he wrote in 1928 (*SM* VI, 394).

There followed the "scandalous comedy" of Jugurtha's coming to Rome as King's Evidence [sic]. Memmius, "a factious vulgarian", was exalted by Sallust; his opponent, the tribune Baebius, was said to have been bribed (*Iug.* 33,2), but he was never tried. All of Jugurtha's bribery could not, however, avoid the war. Numidia was to be subject to the same misgovernment and exploitation as the rest of the Mediterranean. There were even graver, unforeseen results: "an unnecessary colonial war" had to be fought by the proletariat, because the better-off were unwilling to fight, and they were then linked to their general in an unprecedented way. Political factions, as well, had been envenomed by the "struggles without quarter."

In close connection with the Jugurthine War was the paper which appeared, by an incredible irony, in 1931. The subject was Metellus Numidicus.³⁸ De Sanctis continued his attack on Sallust's credibility. The brother of Metellus' predecessor Postumius was supposed to have been defeated and passed under the yoke (*Iug.* 38,9–10), and the treaty repudiated by the senate. There is, however, no mention of guarantors or hostages; this was only a preliminary to peace, not ratified by senate or people. When Metellus took over, his aims were not military occupation, but security for Roman commercial interests. He could not defeat the guerilla fighters or destroy the forts: he made expeditions across enemy territory to tempt or demoralise them, attacked arms depots, and plotted to have Jugurtha betrayed. Marius followed the same three-pronged strategy, but had many more troops.

Metellus was censor in 103, but did nothing about the Italian problem. Then in 100 he headed the opposition to just rewards for the troops who had defeated first Jugurtha then the Germans. This resulted in all the upheavals which followed: the alliance of Marius with Saturninus, the illegality, and the *sanctio*. Metellus refused to take the oath. De Sanctis questioned whether that was a consistent and heroic act, which distinguished him from the general cowardice. He thought that it showed, rather, Metellus' "inability to recognise reality and the inescapable necessity which it imposed." And it ended his career: even on his return from exile, he was outside the play of the parties. His rigidity led to his failure as a politician and a general, and hastened the fall of the nobility which he wished at all costs to avoid. It was in November of the very year in which this paper was published that de Sanctis refused to take the

³⁸ "Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus", *Atti II Cong. Stud. Rom.*, 1931 = *Problemi di storia antica*, Bari 1932, 215–23 = *SM V*, 101–7.

Fascist oath, and was expelled from his chair. Unlike Metellus, however, after a wait of not two years but fourteen, he was restored – and to an even more active and respected role.

In the same year de Sanctis provided three brief chapters, covering from the Gracchi to Sulla, published in the famous German general history, the Propyläen Geschichte in ten volumes, in volume II, *Hellas und Rom*, published in Berlin. This enables us to complete any gaps left by the above papers. Gaius Gracchus was "the most important revolutionary in antiquity." He won over the plebeians by a very destructive food law (the grain was sold way below cost); de Sanctis offered no comment on the *equites* and the jury law. His downfall was caused by the alliance of senate and *equites* and the antagonism of the people to the franchise law. That was the fundamental question, which would not go away. The best aristocrats finally acted, led by Drusus the Younger. The Social War was followed by the Mithradatic. Since the victorious general in that would be the "uncrowned leader" of the state, the democrats³⁹ renewed their alliance with Marius. Cinna was the most clever and energetic leader of that party. Sulla's victory did, indeed, overthrow all constitutional norms. He did not aspire to rule alone, but as a "party man", re-establishing the oligarchy. His lasting influences were, abroad, the destruction of Athens and, at home, the destruction of the Samnites and Etruscans, which made it impossible to reinvigorate Rome from these peoples. The Italians were to play only a subsidiary role in Roman history. Sulla thus broke the last power in Greece and the rising power of the Italians. Roman life was turned back to before the Gracchi.

These observations can further be supplemented by comments in de Sanctis' reviews, his indefatigable work as editor of *Rivista di filologia* until 1929 and later. He had paradoxically the highest regard for Sulla's generalship. His campaign in Greece was "notable for genius and boldness in concept and execution"; so with the war against the Marians on his return. Both campaigns he labelled "Napoleonic".⁴⁰ Sertorius, on the other hand, he breezily declared to be "historically unimportant", which called forth protests.⁴¹

³⁹ De Sanctis used terms such as democrats, proletarii, capitalists, throughout.

⁴⁰ *SM* VI, 350.

⁴¹ *SM* VI, 350 (in a review of Adolf Schulten's biography). Gabba protested against this inaccurate judgement, an example of de Sanctis' "incomprehension" of the last century of the Republic: review of *Storia dei Romani* IV,3 (above n. 21) 1056.

His views on Cicero may be glimpsed in his review of Emilio Ciaceri, *Cicerone e i suoi tempi* in 1926. He praised Cicero for destroying Sulla's law depriving Arretium of citizenship, but noted that he was also capable of arousing the lowest passions of the jury (as in the *pro Fonteio*). De Sanctis enjoyed pointing out by the way that those who had once idealised German scholarship were now its fiercest critics! The less attractive side of Cicero was again stressed in 1935. The unprincipled lawyer first defended the provincials (in the *in Verrem*), then defended a corrupt governor (Scaurus in Sardinia in 54).⁴²

There is similarly a pointer to Pompey in the famous review of Rostovtzeff's *Social and economic history of the Roman Empire*. There was a profound difference between him and Caesar: only a madman could have thought of killing Pompey as a tyrant!⁴³ And what of the Principate? It was the end of freedom and therefore of history, noted Treves and Polverini. We have, in fact, his own words. In his *Ricordi* he wrote of "the tyranny of Caesar and Octavian."⁴⁴

The one chapter that was written

There was to be one last surprise. Almost two decades after his death there appeared one whole chapter of the missing fifth volume, but it was the fourth, on the Social War. Some have wondered why he chose to devote himself to this before all else. The answer is partly that he had already obviously done much work on the Gracchi and the age of Marius and Sulla. The real answer, however, is that, as he liked to say, "life is the teacher of history". If there was one topic in the late Republic which would fascinate him it was, as he himself made clear, the last stage in the political unification of Italy, the parallel to the events immediately preceding his own birth and which had such a definitive influence on his own formation. This dream of Italian unity was revived only twenty centuries later.⁴⁵

⁴² *SM VI*, 287f, 934.

⁴³ *SM VI*, 295f.

⁴⁴ Treves (above n. 7) 308; Polverini, *Storia* (above n. 28) 45; de Sanctis, *Ricordi* (above n. 26) 32.

⁴⁵ *La guerra sociale* (above n. 2) 41.

Apart from the narrative of the military operations, which occupies the major part of the chapter of 130 pages, there are telling themes and judgements. De Sanctis had good reason to be interested in oaths: that of the Italians to Drusus (Diod. 37,11) created a "clandestine army" of Italians. The Italian organisation "claimed Italy as a political entity for the first and last time in antiquity." Marius was looked at askance by the oligarchy for his Italian sympathies. De Sanctis praises him not only for his political concessions, but also, unusually, for his generalship, winning victories, tying up major forces, and blocking the road to Rome. The *lex Julia* "for the first time in the history of humanity laid the basis for a great state composed of citizens equal in rights and duties." The *lex Pompeia* was also crucial: it finally broke down the barrier between Gallo-Celtic northern Italy and the Italo-Greek centre and south, although that was not Strabo's aim, which was to counterbalance the various groups of new citizens.⁴⁶

De Sanctis was far too acute to end the chapter there.⁴⁷ He emphasised the selfishness of the oligarchy, which acted as though it had won the war and could resume where it had left off. Sulpicius Rufus continued Drusus' reforms (de Sanctis warned of partisan sources and uncritical moderns). His citizenship law was connected with that on Marius' command: the latter was to guarantee the former. The fatal mistake of Sulpicius and Marius was their failure to foresee the intervention, for the first time, of the army (an early "march on Rome" !). Sulpicius' reforms did not endanger the state, only the oligarchy; Sulla acted for personal reasons, but unwittingly founded the military monarchy.⁴⁸

The above numerous and varied chapters and articles allow us to reconstruct the broad lines of the missing last century of de Sanctis' history of the Republic. It is a very provocative interpretation. It is dominated by, and premised upon, his gravely pessimistic view from the beginning of the second century BC. The world had totally changed with Rome's defeat of Hannibal. A new world power was on the scene, one which would henceforth indulge in endless aggressive wars, the main result of which would be the destruction of

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 24, 42, 56, 70, 68, 94.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* A reviewer who either did not read the whole book or did not understand what he did read, complained, *JRS* 71 (1981) 153f – five years after the book was published.

⁴⁸ *La guerra sociale* (above n. 2) 104, 106, 110f, 121. In all this, Polverini noted de Sanctis' attention to Münzer and use of prosopography; for example, the *Livii Drusi* (*ibid.* 10f).

the delicately balanced kingdoms of the Hellenistic world and the end of Greek culture – which for de Sanctis meant the end of classical culture. This foreign policy was based on a fatal mistaken choice: the turn to imperialism in the East instead of the West.

These international problems were paralleled by internal ones: the inadequacy of the city-state government to rule the provinces effectively, the crisis in Roman agriculture with the decline of the small citizen farming class, the uncontrollable corruption of the capitalistic equestrian class, and, looming over everything, the problem of the Italians. De Sanctis flatly declared that the Roman oligarchy was totally incompetent to deal with any of these crises. And his negative estimation of both the Scipios is striking.

He naturally favoured the various reformers: the Gracchi, Drusus the Younger, even Sulpicius Rufus and Cinna. Tiberius Gracchus was an unwitting revolutionary. The turning-point in his tribunate was the deposition of Octavius: this was the beginning of the revolution. His brother's programme made him the most important revolutionary in antiquity. (Had de Sanctis heard, for example, of Akhenaten or Urukagina?)

The history of the end of the second century allowed de Sanctis to turn his attention to a major source – and his estimate of many of them (especially Polybios and Livy) was highly critical. He thought Sallust one of the most mendacious historians: his account of the Jugurthine War was almost totally unreliable. De Sanctis' defence of the oligarchy at this time, however, is rather at odds with his previous judgement. Rome had no need for military interference in Numidia, but Metellus' strategy was adequate, and Marius simply copied it. Metellus was, however, no hero to de Sanctis. By blocking fair rewards for the legions which had fought in Africa and against the Germans, he contributed to the political upheavals that followed.

The Social War was probably seen by de Sanctis as the key event of the last century before the institution of the military monarchy. The war was for him epoch-making in the attempt at nation-building. The main heir of the war, Sulla, was for de Sanctis a political monster – but a brilliant general – although he destroyed his favourite city, Athens! In contrast to such a black and white character, he found others pale and ambivalent, notably Cicero, but Pompey at least was no tyrant. The unavoidable conclusion to the oligarchy's incompetence and reaction was chaos, civil war, and finally autocracy: the age of Caesar and Augustus.

The Pavia School especially dismissed de Sanctis' interpretation as useless and moralising and liable to see the past through the eyes of the present. The history of the last century of the Republic was indubitably life as the teacher of history: he was responding to the Italian trauma during the First World War and then the Fascist horrors of the 1920s and 1930s, not to mention his own birth when the next chapter in Italian unity was written after two millennia. He had told a Torino colleague that documents are dust and that the historian has to give them spirit and life.⁴⁹ John Bagnell Bury in 1926 declared that "no history can be instructive if the personality of the writer is entirely suppressed" and cited Gibbon, Macaulay and Mommsen.⁵⁰ Few historians have had a more individual personality than Gaetano de Sanctis, or left a greater personal impress on their history. Fewer still have paid a higher price to uphold their highest principles.

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⁴⁹ De Sanctis, *Ricordi* (above n. 26) 97.

⁵⁰ J. B. Bury in *The Morning Post*, 30.11.1926, reprinted in *CHJ* 2 (1927) 196–7. This paper was originally given at the Australasian Society for Classical Studies conference at Newcastle, New South Wales, in January 2007, and again at the Finnish Academy in Rome in November of the same year.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF THE PRONOUN *HIC HAEC HOC* IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

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Oscan inscriptions differ in quite a few respects from their Latin counterparts; scholars with some knowledge of Oscan epigraphy will no doubt have observed that one of the differences is the fact that Oscan building inscriptions, when referring to the object – i.e., a building or some other structure – tend to define the object with the pronoun equivalent to Latin *hic* whereas Latin inscriptions, if mentioning the object at all – cf. the inscription on the Pantheon, *M. Agrippa L. f. co(n)s(ul) tertium fecit*¹ – normally just name the object without adding a pronoun. Thus, whereas Latin building inscriptions say that someone built (or dedicated, etc.) *aedem* or *aquaeductum* or *domum*, Oscan building inscriptions say (e.g.) *triibum ekak 'domum hanc'* (thus H. Rix, *Sabellische Texte*, Heidelberg 2002, Po 3; the same phenomenon in Po 1 and 5; Cm 4, 5, 9; Sa 3, 7, 10-12, 16, 17). But it is also true that there are some Latin building inscriptions which do define the object with the pronoun *hic*, and if the object is a funerary monument, things change completely, for in these cases the use of a pronoun is, in fact, the rule (e.g., *AE* 1974, 17 from Rome, *D. M.; C. Tarquitiu Auspicalis et Aelia Severina se vivi fecerunt hoc monimentum sibi et etc.*). Moreover, if one takes a closer look at Latin inscriptions in general, one observes that there are a number occasions when Latin inscriptions tend to, or at least may, add a pronoun to define something mentioned in the inscription in question. As the use of the pronoun *hic* in Latin inscriptions does not seem to

¹ K. Gast, *Die zensorischen Bauberichte bei Livius und die römischen Bauinschriften*, Diss. Göttingen 1965, has an 'Anhang' with a list of Republican building inscriptions in a tabular form; in quite a few cases, the square 'Objekt' remains empty (e.g., *ILS* 6356, *L. Caesius C. f. etc. d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) ex peq(unia) publ(ica) fac(iendum) curar(unt) prob(arunt)q(ue)*; 5325, 5892 [the inscription on the Tiber bridge], 6205, 6229f., 6231, 6247, 6357, etc.).

have been the object of scholarly attention, this article has the aim of providing some observations on the subject. However, it must be noted that I shall deal only with 'normal' inscriptions and not with inscriptions belonging to the following groups: (a) metrical inscriptions; (b) inscriptions quoting texts not formulated according to epigraphic conventions (e.g., letters, decrees, imperial constitutions, testaments, etc.); (c) *defixiones*; (d) *graffiti* and *dipinti*, mostly from Pompeii; (e) Christian funerary inscriptions. The reason for this is that inscriptions belonging to the above groups use a style unlike that of 'normal' inscriptions and cannot thus in any way illustrate the style used in inscriptions belonging to this latter group. I shall also not deal with inscriptions in which the pronoun *hic* refers to persons rather than objects (e.g., *hic in Ilviratu ... huic cives* etc., *CIL* II² 5, 789; cf. on this S. Panciera, *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti* [2006] 94).² From the point of view of a study which concentrates on a 'deictic' pronoun which is meant to 'demonstrate' something, it would obviously be of use to know what is being 'demonstrated', and how. Accordingly, I have tried to locate details on the physical appearance of all the inscriptions cited below. However, as my only source for much of the material were the volumes of the *CIL*, in which the inscribed monuments are normally not described, the form and the type of many of the inscriptions referred to below must unfortunately remain uncertain (though it is true that, e.g., *tabulae* can with some plausibility be identified with the help of the *ordinatio* of the inscription in question).

Let us start with building inscriptions (this category in this article including all kinds of constructions and also buildings, etc. being restored rather than built, but excluding funerary monuments even if consisting of "buildings" of a sort, and smaller objects such as statues). Although, as mentioned above, Latin building inscriptions do not normally add a pronoun to define the object, pronouns are not totally unheard-of in them. First of all, starting with Republican inscriptions, one observes that there are some Republican

² From a practical point of view, it seems advisable to concentrate on *hic*, since other pronouns are rarely used in inscriptions not belonging to the above categories (a) - (e). Note, however, e.g., *CIL* VI 26218 *D(is) M(anibus); Seponia Proclina coniugi dulcissimo Aureli(o) Mercurio memoriam istam se viba comparavit ...; si quis autem istam memoriam ex numero filiorum sibe libertorum distrahere voluerit ... (istam memoriam or something similar also in CIL XIII 3983 = ILB 84; AE 1946, 58, Theveste); CIL III 10868 = ILS 3029 (Poetovio) Prestito Iovi s(acrum); C. F(ulvius) Plautianus tribunus coh(ortis) X praet(oriae) ... aram istam posuit; CIL III 12483 = ISM II 238 = ILS 724, *istius fabr[ic]ae munitione*. As for *hic* used of persons, up to the Augustan period, one sometimes finds *is* instead of *hic* (*AE* 1996, 685, Aquileia, quoted below at n. 8; *ILS* 932, Superaequum).*

inscriptions which define the object as *hoc opus* (in these cases it is, of course, normally not possible to identify the exact object). We find something referred to as *hoc opus* (or *haec opera*) being built in at least the following Republican inscriptions: *CIL I*² 3083 (Praeneste, part of an *epistylum*) *C. Au[lius] (?) ---, . Etrili]us (?) C. f. Raucus haec o[pera³ de] senatus sententia faciend[a coeravere]*; *CIL I*² 2949 (Capua, a *tabula*), *N. Vesvi(us) N. f. ... Cn. Arri(us) Cn. f.; heisce mag(istreis) hoc opus faciundum couravere eisdemque probaver(e)*; *AE* 1980, 248 (Herculaneum, a *tabula*), *Haec op[era --- et (?)] aede[m ---] peq(unia) s[ua ---] D. Clau[dius ---,] Sex. Spu[rrius ---]* (probably Republican); *AE* 1987, 323 cf. 1991, 570 (ager Aequiculanus, a *tabula* or perhaps rather a *basis*),⁴ *T. Avius H. f. etc. magistri de veici sententia pequnia faani hoc opus coiravere*; *CIL I*² 1895 = IX 5021 (Hadria, a mosaic inscription, no doubt originally a floor), *[---]enus L. f., [---]olanus Se. f. [--- vir]ei hoc opus [faciun]du(m) dedere*; *CIL I*² 2129a = XI 400 (Ariminum, a *tabula*) *C. Obulcius C. f., M. Octavius M. [f.] duovir(i) hoc opus fac(iundum) quraverunt* (almost the same text, but with the two men in reversed order, in *CIL I*² 2129b = XI 401). In these cases, one could assume that the pronoun was added because of the vagueness of the term *opus* in order to point out that the question is not of an *opus* in general but of that which the reader of the inscription in question had before his eyes.⁵ The same explanation may well apply to the later cases of the use of the term *hoc opus*; note at least the following cases: *CIL XI* 598 cf. *AE* 2004, 541 (known only from old descriptions and clearly in part corrupt; apparently from the entrance of the tunnel of the Via Flaminia at Furlo), *Vesp(asianus) Caes(ar) Aug(ustus) ... hoc opus faciundum curavit*; *CIL II* 3423 = *I. Carthago Nova* 59 (a lintel with the inscription within a *tabula ansata*) *L. Aemilius ... Rectus domo Roma ... scribe(a) quaestorius ... civis adlectus ob honorem aedilitatis hoc opus testamento suo fieri iussit*;⁶ ; *CIL VIII* 11202 (Zucchar in Africa, known only from an old description) (...) *hoc opus sua*

³ Cf. *[op]era* in *CIL I*² 3084.

⁴ The stone (82 x 74) is now inserted into a wall; cf. the original publication, *ArchClass.* 36 (1984) 313f.

⁵ Cf. *huius operis* (a sepulchral complex) *conditor*, *CIL VIII* 11785; 11911 = *ILTun* 562. The term *opus* does not seem to figure in the index of building projects in H. Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine*, Strasbourg 1986.

⁶ Further instances from Spain: *CIL II* 3279 = *CILA III*, 1, 105; *AE* 1995, 902 = 1996, 906; *AE* 1988, 711; *HEp* 10, 5. A fragmentary text from Vintium in the Narbonensis with *hoc opus [---] f(aciundum) [c(uravit) (?)]: AE* 1991, 1181; perhaps also *AE* 2000, 865 (a *tabula*) from Forum Iulii (*hoc o[pus --- ?]*).

p(ecunia) f(ecit). There are also cases in which someone is said to have contributed something *in hoc opus*: *CIL IX 3152 = ILS 5676* cf. *Suppl. It. 3* (1987) p. 111f. (Corfinium; now lost, but no doubt a *tabula*), *Ser. Cornelius Ser. f. Dolabella Metilianus cos. balineum solo suo s(ua) p(ecunia) aedificavit et contextit*; *M. Atilius Bradua cos. et M'. Acilius Aviola cos. ... in hoc opus dederunt HS ...*; similarly *CIL V 969 = I. Aquileia 549* (where it is described as an 'epistylum', the measurements being 82 x 360 x 35; one might perhaps also think of a *tabula*); *CIL XII 1159* (a *tabula*); *CIL III 1717*. Note also *hoc opus* appearing in the nominative in *CIL V 6587* cf. *AE 2001, 1086* from the *pagus Agaminus* belonging to Novaria (*C. Atilius C. f. Mar[---] Paganis Agaminis Are[---] dedit ex quorum red[itu ---] hoc opus factum [est]*) and, furthermore, that although *opus* normally no doubt denoted a building or a similar structure, the term could also be applied to funerary monuments, probably preferably to those on a grander scale (cf. above n. 5); cf., e.g., *AE 1992, 1796* (Giufi in Africa; not described) *D. M. s. [---] itemque Q. Sentius Saturninus equestri di[gnitate exornatus ---] hoc opus instituit et post vitam eius ...*; *CIL VIII 26938 = Mourir à Dougga (2002) 554*, *hoc maesolaeum* later defined as *hoc opus*; *CIL XIII 2494 = ILS 9439 = ILAin 46* (*tabula ansata* to be inserted in the *aedicla*) *Memoriae aeternae M. Ruffius Catullus ... aediclam cum vinea et muris ... hoc opus sub ascia est.*⁷

However, to return to Republican inscriptions, there are also building inscriptions using the pronoun *hic* which are more specific about the structure they are referring to. In some cases, it must be admitted, we are not dealing with building inscriptions in the strictest sense, but rather with separate monuments only connected with the structure by the fact that they were, or at least must have been, located within or possibly immediately in front of the structure in question. This is obvious in the case of *AE 1996, 685* from Aquileia, a *basis* from about the middle of the second century BC, *T. Annius T. f. tri(um)vir; is hanc aedem faciundam dedit dedicavitque* etc. (note the omission of the mention of a deity – this perhaps in part explaining the pronoun). But the inscription of Mummius from Rome, *CIL I² 626 = VI 331 = ILS 20*, comes closer to a building inscriptions and is, in any case, described as a *tabula*: *L. Mummi(us) L. f. cos. ... Romam redieit triumphans; ob hasce res bene gestas quod in bello voverat, hanc aedem et signu(m) Herculis Victoris imperator dedicat* (in the case of this inscription it must, however, be observed that it

⁷ Cf. *hoc pietatis opus* in a metrical inscription from Arelate, *CIL XII 879 = CLE 1201*.

seems to contain metrical elements).⁸ *CIL* XI 3248 from Sutrium, with *P. Vergilius P. f. ... dedit [---] isdemque [---] vir hanc aed[em ---?] dedicavit*, is also a *tabula* (thus the description in *CIL* confirmed by the photo available at the Datenbank Clauss - Slaby website from which it also appears that this is a Republican text). The same goes for – temples apart for a moment – the inscription from Capua *CIL* I² 2946, (a *tabula* with the names of several freedmen followed by) [*heisce magistreis*] *hunc cu[n]eum ab ... aedifi[c]arunt, viam [---] am strave[r]unt* etc. On the other hand, the late second-century BC inscription from Caiatia, *CIL* I² 825 = X 8236 = *ILS* 5742, *Q. Folvius Q. f. M. [n.] hance aqua[m] indeixsit apu[t] ... pr(aetorem) urb(anum)*, is a *basis* and thus not physically part of the aqueduct. A special case is the mosaic inscription on the floor of a house in Capua, *AE* 1982, 173a cf. 1988, 292,⁹ *P. Confuleius P. M. l. Sabbio sagarius domum hanc ab solo usque ad summum fecit architecto T. Safino T. f. Fal. Pollione*.

This seems to be the material that can be dated to the Republic;¹⁰ let us now move on to the earlier empire up to about the end of the third century. In this period, it is also possible to locate some rare instances of *hic* being applied to the object in building inscriptions. To examine them, we can start with *aedes*, as the phrase *hanc aedem* was attested already during the Republic. During the Empire, there are not many instances of the pronoun; in Rome, there is an a fragmentary inscription according to which Hadrian seems to have restored *has aedes*, which seems to refer to the three temples in the *Forum Holitorium*: *CIL* VI 40521 (a *tabula*), *Im[p.] Caesar ... D[ivi Ne]rvae nepo[s Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus)] ... has aedes incendio [consumptas restituit*, etc. (note the apparent omission of some further definition of the *aedes*). In *CIL* VIII 2579 cf. 18089 = *ILS* 3841 (Lambaesis), *has aedes* seems to refer to only one temple, namely to the temple of Asclepius and Salus on the front of which the text has been inscribed: *Aesculapio et Saluti* (the emperors Marcus and Verus in the nominative; the rest has been inscribed in *aediculae* to the left and to the right of the main inscription:) *Iovi Valenti has aedes* (in the other *aedicula*;) *Silvano per leg(ionem) III Aug(ustam) fecerunt*. Otherwise, there is only an inscription

⁸ That we are dealing with Saturnians – the assumption in earlier studies – is denied by P. Kruschwitz, *Carmina Saturnia Epigraphica*, Stuttgart 2002, 142. However, it seems obvious that the writer of the text had a iambic metre in his mind.

⁹ But the reading of the nomen of the architect is *Safino*, not *Safinio*, as asserted by the scholars cited in *AE* 1988, 292.

¹⁰ For *CIL* I² 3356, cf. below n. 15.

from Aquitania, again fragmentary, *AE* 1983, 690 (a *tabula*), according to which a private person (or persons?) [*ha*]nc aedem [*fecit* or *restituit*].¹¹ As for *templum*, I seem to be able to find *hoc templum* as the object only in the following inscription from Scupi, *IMS* VI 15 (a *tabula ansata*, known from an older drawing), [---] *L. f. Pub. Re*[---] *Verona ... quaestor, Ilv(i)r ... hoc t(em)pl(um) (?) [impe]nsa sua fac(iendum) c(uravit) [d]Jaeae Syriae*. In *AE* 1978, 736 from Dyrrhachium, *L. Papio L. l. Fortunat(o) ... [h]oc templum Minerv[ae]* (note in this case both the pronoun and the name of the deity) *solo ab re p(ublica) dato*, etc. (the rest is fragmentary), *templum* may have been used in the nominative.¹²

Other buildings or structures that one finds defined with the pronoun *hic* in building inscriptions are the following:

Via: *CIL* V 698 = *ILS* 5889 = *Inscr. It.* X 4, 376 cf. *Suppl. It.* 10 p. 237 (Tergeste, a *tabula*, not a milestone; from the time of Claudius) [*H*]anc viam directam per ... et postea translata a Rundictibus in fines C. Laecani Bassi restituit iussu (of Claudius) *L. Rufellius Severus primipilaris*; *CIL* II 2886 = *ERP Soria* 136 (Hispania citerior; a *tabula ansata*), *Hanc viam Aug(ustam) L. Lucret(ius) Densus Ilvirum*¹³ *fecit*; *CIL* XIII 407 = *AE* 1961, 337 (inscribed in the rock near a road in Aquitania),¹⁴ *L. Val(erius) Veratus Ser(gia) (?) Ilvir bis hanc viam restituit* etc.¹⁵

¹¹ Cf. perhaps also *RIB* 927 ([*aedem* (?) --- *h*]anc iam vetustate [*c*]onlapsam restituit. *CIL* VIII 11999 = *ILS* 5441, with *Signum dei ... ex aede vetere in hanc aedem ... res publ(ica) ... transtulit*, belongs to another context. *CIL* III 1084 = *ILS* 3015 = *IDR* III 5, 211 (now lost, but no doubt either an *ara* or a *basis*) is an inscription set up *I. O. M. Conservat(ori)* by an Augustalis of Apulum in *his aedib(us) natus*; I. Piso in *IDR* suggests that the inscription may have been set up in the house in which the man, who could originally have been a slave, was born as a *verna*.

¹² Cf. also *CIL* XIII 5674 = *I. Lingons* 608 (a *stela*) *Successus Natalis l. maceriem caementiciam circa hoc templum de sua pecunia Matronae ex voto suscepto v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, and the fragmentary inscription *CIL* XIII 5043 = *RISchweiz* 1, 71 (an altar), beginning with *Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Ti. Pompon[ius ---]* and with *hoc templum* being referred to later. At Glanum, a *missicius aureum* (e.g., *signum*) *Marti pos(uit) [i]n ara ad pri[m]as huius tempuli (sic)* (*AE* 1946, 152). *Adve[n]tor huius templi* in *CIL* III 7728 = *IDR* III 4, 30.

¹³ Note the archaic partitive genitive, equivalent to the nominative.

¹⁴ The editors of *AE* 1961, 337 do not seem to have noticed that this is the same inscription as *CIL* XIII 407.

¹⁵ Note also *CIL* I² 3356b (with apparently *hanc viam*, etc.), inscribed in the rock somewhere in Etruria, but the reading seems to be very uncertain; I also wonder whether it is correct to regard this inscription as Republican; *CIL* V 1862 = *ILS* 5885 cf. *Suppl. It.* 12 (1994) p.

Pons: *HEp* 5, 787 (Toletum in Hispania Citerior; known only from ms. sources) [---] *Archetes fecit hunc pontem*.

Sacrarium: *CIL* X 7225 = *ILS* 6769 (Lilybaeum, in a mosaic floor) *Salvis Plotino et Rufae* (sic) *Logus ser(vus) act(or) port(us) Lilybit<a>ni hoc sacrarium ex voto exornavit*.

Augusteum: *AE* 1933, 90 (Augusta Traiana in Thracia; probably a *tabula*) *Bona Fortuna; Imp(eratori)* (Severus Alexander) ... *veterani consistentes Augusta Traiana honc* (sic) *Augustium* (sic) *ex suis impendiis a solo fabricaverunt feliciter et dedicaverunt* (AD 233).

Porticus: *CIL* IX 4968 = *ILS* 5543 (Cures, now lost, but perhaps a *tabula*; from the time of Nero) *L. Tuccius ... Maxim[us] trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XV Apollina[ris], praef(ectus) fabr(um)* etc. *has porticus sua pec(unia) restituit*. Note also *CIL* XI 3123 = *ILS* 6587 (a *tabula*, from Falerii),¹⁶ *C. Iulius ... IIIvir quinq(uennalis); hic ob honorem aedilitat(is) hanc [po]rticum vetustate dilapsam [refecit]*.¹⁷ – Portae et porticus: *CIL* II 397 = *HEp* 13, 976 (now lost) *Has portas et porticus refecit et donavit splendidissimae civitati Iulia Modesta flaminica provinc(iae) Lusit(aniae) ex patrimonio suo*.

Schola: *CIL* XIV 2924 (Praeneste, now lost but described as a *tabula marmorea*) [--- ? *re]s publica ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) in hono[rem ---] [mu]nificentiae Q. Instei T. f. Pup. [---] ... co(n)s(ulis) ... [et patr]is eius ac fratris filiique et uxori[s] ... scholam hanc dicavit*.

Chalcidicum:¹⁸ *CIL* XIII 3079 (Caesarodunum in the Lugdunensis, on an *epistylum*) [*Iulia Seve]ra ... [flamin]ica div[ae --- cum o]mnibus orna[mentis suis aedficav]it (?) hoc ch[alcidicum ---] filia et heres u[lt] mater iusserat (?) consu]mmavit*.

106f., *AE* 2003, 698 (inscribed in the rock near a road in an Alpine pass in Iulium Carnicum) *hoc iter ... apertum est curante Apinio Programmatio*. *CIL* V 1863 = *CLE* 891 = *ILS* 5886 = 1994, 697 cf. *Suppl. It.* 12 p. 107f. (from the same place), with *Hermias succceptor operis aeterni ... hanc viam explicuit*, is metric.

¹⁶ Cf. *Suppl. It.* I p. 120. A photo in E. Papi, *L'Etruria dei Romani*, Rome 2000, 169.

¹⁷ Note also the fragmentary inscription from Vasio, *CIL* XII 1383 (described as 'arca lapidea'), according which a sum was contributed *in hanc porticum*; and another fragmentary inscription from Tubusuctu in Mauretania, *AE* 1971, 514 (described as a 'bloc'), with the mention of *huius portici* (sic); in the commentary, [*ad or]nam(entum) huius portici* is suggested. The phrase *in his porticibus* is found in *AE* 1958, 39 = *CILA* II 1, 271 (*basis*, with the mention of statues set up 'in these porticoes') and in *CIL* XIII 7655a.

¹⁸ On the nature of a *chalcidicum*, cf. the articles cited in *AE* 2005, 143-145.

Tetrastylum: *CIL* XI 5963 (Pitinum Mergens, a *tabula*) *Hoc [tet]rastylum c[um] ---] loco adsignato d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) Licinia [---] pecunia sua fecit* etc.

Praetorium: *CIL* XI 1222 = *ILS* 1554 cf. *AE* 1988, 569 (Placentia, described as 'cippus', i.e. probably as a *basis*) *D. M. P. Aelio Aug. l. Prothymo ... Ulpia ... Clarina coniunx et ... fili patri ...; hic hoc praetorium cum balineo a solo erexit*. This is, of course, not a building inscription but, having no doubt originally somehow belonged to the decoration of the *praetorium* complex, it has, in a way, the role of a building inscription. Note also *procurator huius praetori* at Rome, *AE* 1990, 118; *Genio praetorii huius* in an inscription from Apulum set up by a legionary legate (*CIL* III 1019 = *IDR* III 5, 84).

Villa: *CIL* XIII 1571 (Aquitania, a 'lapis quadratus') *L. Sever(ius) Sev[e]rus ... o[m]nibus honori[b]us in civitate functus quiq(ue) hanc v[il]lam a solo instit[u]it et ... maior filior[um] heroum instituerunt* etc. This, too, is not a building inscription but does contain information on a building (cf. under 'praetorium').

Spelaeum (used for Mithraic worship): *CIL* VI 733 = *ILS* 4226 (a round altar)¹⁹ *Deo Soli Invicto Mitrhe (sic) Fl. Septimius Zosimus v. p. ... hoc speleum constituit*; cf. *CIL* V 5795 = *ILS* 4224 (Mediolanum, an altar)²⁰ *D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) P. Acil(ius) Pisonianus pater patratus, qui hoc spel(a)eum vii (sic) ignis absumtum ... pecunia sua restituit*.

An examination of the building inscriptions of the later Empire, from Diocletian onwards, seems to leave the impression that the use of pronouns becomes more common in this period; the range of buildings to which a pronoun is attached also seems to widen. We will have a look at what there is, starting with inscriptions not specifically Christian (and including inscriptions from the 6th century) and then move on to inscriptions recording the building of churches.²¹

Burgus: *RIU* III 804 (Aquincum, a *tabula*; AD 372) *Iudicio principali ddd(ominorum) nnn(ostrorum) ..., dispositione{m} etiam ... Equiti comitis Fo[scianus] p(rae)p(ositus) legionis ... hunc bu[r]gum a fundamentis (sic) et*

¹⁹ E. Schraudolph, *Römische Götterweihungen mit Reliefschmuck aus Italien*, Heidelberg 1993, 237 no. L153 (with references; the inscription is now lost, but known from an earlier description).

²⁰ A photo in E. A. Arslan (ed.), *Le civiche raccolte archeologiche di Milano*, Milano 1979, 230 fig. 219.

²¹ Note also *haec moenia*, but in metric inscriptions: *CIL* III 734 = *CLE* 289 = *ILS* 823 (Constantinople); *CIL* III 6037 = *CLE* 291 = *ILS* 826 (Sidon); *AE* 1948, 108 (Africa).

construxit et ad sum(m)am manum operis consulatu{s} Modesti et Arenthei vv. cc. fecit pervenire (a similar inscription from the same place, but from 371, *AE* 2000, 1223); *CIL* III 5670a = *ILS* 774 (Noricum, AD 370; now lost, but certainly a *tabula*) *DDD(ominorum) nnn(ostrorum) ... Augustorum saluberrima iussione{m} hunc burgum a fundamentis ordinante ... Equitio comite ..., insistente etiam Leontio p(rae)p(osito) milites auxiliares Lauriacenses ... ad summam manum perduxserunt perfectiones* (sic).

Turris: *AE* 1996, 1612 (Arabia, AD 368; described as a 'bloc de basalte') *Salvis et victorib(us) dd(ominis) nn(ostris) ... prospiciens salutiferum fore cunctis F[l.] Maximinus dux hanc turrem exurgere ius[sit a fun]damentis eius speculo²² curante ... per vex(illationem) VIII Dalmatam devotissimam*; a similar text *ibid.* 1613.

Munitio: *CIL* VIII 1434 = *ILS* 833 = *ILTun* 1330 (Thubursicum Bure) *Salvis dominis nostris ... Iustino et Sofia Augustis* (AD 565-78) *hanc munitionem Tomas excellentissimus prefectus feliciter aedificavit.*

Praesidium (?): *CIL* III 128 (?).²³

Locus (whatever is meant by this): *AE* 1908, 235 = 1909, 108 = E. Bernand, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 180f. (described as a 'stèle', but this is clearly a *tabula*; Syene in Egypt, found on the site of a temple; AD 367-375) *Salvis ddd(ominis) nnn(ostris) ... Fl. Mauricius v. c. com(es) et dux renovari iussit hunc locum; Fl. Traianus p(rae)p(ositus) cum Theb(anis) mil(itibus) reparavit.*

Aquaeductus: V. Besevliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (1964) no. 3 (Serdica, a marble column) *Imperator Tiberius* (AD 580) ... *inter reliquas (a)edes Serd(icensis) civitatis hunc aquiductum renovavit etc.*

Sedes spectaculi (i.e., a theatre or amphitheatre): *CIL* V 6418 = *ILS* 829 = *EAOR* II 67 (Ticinum; apparently a *tabula* reused as part of a sarcophagus)

²² This is perhaps a final dative ("pour être un poste d'observation").

²³ This is an inscription from Syria of which there exists only a corrupt copy: *Imp. Caesaribus Lucio Septimo et Pio Pertinaci semper Augusto Livius Calphurnius provin. Coelosuria p(-) hoc proesidium* (sic) *construxit in securitatem publicam et Scaenitarum Arabum terrorem.* It seems that the copy combines two inscriptions, perhaps inscribed on the same stone, for the beginning clearly has been copied from an inscription mentioning the emperor Severus, whereas the end, from *hoc* onwards, has been formulated in the style of 4th- and 5th-century inscriptions. Mommsen in *CIL* thinks that the final lines of the inscription are "temere adiecta", but it is hard to see how a non-specialist might have thought of such a formulation.

D(ominus) n(oster) Atalaricus rex ... has sedis spectacula anno regni sui tertio (528-9) fieri feliciter precepit (sic).

Cf. also *CIL XI 10 = ILS 826 (Ravenna) Rex Theodoricus ... hos hortos suavi pomorum fecunditate ditavit.*

There are also some instances of the addition of *hic* in references to the building of Christian churches. Note at least the following:

Ecclesia: *CIL XI 280 = ILCV 1793 (Ravenna) Theodericus rex hanc ecclesiam a fundamentis in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi fecit; cf. CIL X 1229 = ILCV 1790 = AE 2001, 834 (Abella, a tabula) Ihc (sic) requiescit ... Comitiolus ... [hic --- ecc]lesia (sic) anc (sic) beati Pet[ri renovavit (?)].²⁴*

Basilica: *ILCV 231 = AE 1998, 432 (Pisaurum, a mosaic inscription in the cathedral) Iohannis vir gloriosus ... hanc basilicam ... a fundam[ent]is construx[it] (a similar text AE 1998, 434); CIL XI 298 = ILCV 1797 (Ravenna, AD 550 Maximianus episcopus hanc basilicam ... a fundamentis construxit et dedicavit etc.*

Templum: *AE 1988, 717 = CILA II 3, 958 (Siarum, Baetica; marble column) Templu(m) d(omi)ni oc (sic) fundavit ipse; similarly CIL II² 7, 640 (Corduba).²⁵*

Aedes: *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae 100 = CIL II² 5, 299b (Cisimbrum, Baetica, AD 660) Dedicavit hanc aede(m) d(o)m(inu)s Bacauda ep(i)sc(o)p(u)s etc.* The same inscription (299b) also mentions that *consecrata e(st) baselica haec s(an)c(t)ae Mariae* (the date follows), i.e., what is normally the object is here the subject, and the same phenomenon can also be found in another inscription from Spain adding the pronoun, namely *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae 50 cf. 357 (Lusitania, AD 552: dedicata est hec ecclesia etc).*²⁶

This seems to be what I can find on building inscriptions with buildings and larger structures as their objects. One can in any case say that furnishing them in building inscriptions with the pronoun *hic* was always rather

²⁴ Cf. also *ICVR II 4093 Constantinus Aug(ustus) et Helena Aug(usta) hanc domum regalem [auro decorant quam] simili fulgore coruscans aula circumdat* (from the *Liber pontificalis* describing St. Peter's, introduced with the following narration: "*fecit ... et cameram basilicae ... et super corpus beati Petri ... fecit crucem ex auro ... ubi scriptum est hoc*").

²⁵ Cf. *fundavit s(an)c(tu)m hoc Chr(sti)i et venerabile t[e]mp[lu]m antistes Honoratus* in a metrical inscription from Oripippo in Baetica, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae 363 = CILA II 2, 606.*

²⁶ Cf. *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae 115 = CIL II² 5, 652 = CILA IV 38, hec s(an)c(t)a tria tabernacula ... aedificata sunt etc.*

uncommon. About the same can be said of smaller structures or objects mentioned in inscriptions as having been built or erected, etc. There are some instances of statues being described with *hic* ('*hanc statuam*', etc.). One might imagine that the normal scenario would be an inscription inscribed on a statue base indicating that the statue to which reference is made is 'this' statue, i.e., that collocated on the same base, and not some other statue; although it is, of course, hard to see how someone could have misunderstood the simple '*statuam*'. In any case, let us have a look at some examples. *CIL* X 2246 (Puteoli; no description) *C. Caudio C. l. Tri[---] Caudia C. l. Philumina pat[rono] suo ... hanc statuam [---]*; *CIL* XI 3596 cf. M. Fuchs, in Ead. & al., *Caere 2. Il teatro e il ciclo statuario Giulio-Claudio* (1989) 107 no. 25 (Caere, a *tabula*), *Imp(eratore) Caes[are ...] Augusto ... ex s(enatus) [c(onsulto)] hanc stat[uam ... in]cendio ab v[---]*;²⁷ *CIL* VIII 974 = *ILS* 6828 = *ILTun* 801 = *ILPBardo* 395 (Neapolis in Africa, a *basis*) *Memoriae M. Numisi Clodiani dec(urionis) ... qui dec[e]dens testamento su[o] ad remunerandos curiales ... HS X mil(ia) n(ummum) reliquit; ob hon[o]rem eius hanc statuam idem cur(iales) sua pecunia posue{u}r(unt)*; *CIL* VIII 1648 (Sicca Veneria, a *basis*) *Q. Cassio ... Capitoni q(uaestori) ... coloni coloniae Iuliae Cirtae Novae ... ; hanc statuam Aemilia L. f. Cerealis abnep[tis] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) hoc [t]ranstulit*; *CIL* VIII 11178 (Segermes in Africa, a *basis*?) (name lost) ... *Gar(-) Fortunata fl(aminica) p(erpetua) ... in solacium amissi karissimi mariti hanc statuam pecunia sua posuit; l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.²⁸ Note also an inscription in which the reference to "this" statue is in a relative clause: *CIL* II 964 = *ILS* 5402 = *CILA* I 5 (Baetica, now lost) *Baebiae C. f. Crinitae ... sacerdoti, quae templum Apollinis et Dianae dedit ex HS CC (milibus), ex qua summa ... it (sic) templum fieri sibique hanc statuam poni iussit*. From a much later period, one could adduce the following: *CIL* XI 268 = *ILCV* 225 (Ravenna) [*Salvo ... rege Theoderico*] ... *Gudila com(es) ... hanc*

²⁷ For a statue destroyed by fire, cf., e.g., R. De Bonis, *AIONArchStAnt* 13–14 (2006–07) 313 (Paestum), *statuam ... incendio co[rruptam] ... r[estituit]*. In *CIL*, the text is restored as *hanc stat[ionem] vigilum (?) in]cendio ab u[r]be arcendo (?)*, but as the inscription comes from the theatre and belongs to a series of *tabulae* recording statues of Julio-Claudian emperors and members of the imperial house, the restoration cannot be plausible. For *haec statio*, cf. below at n. 46.

²⁸ These few instances of *hanc statuam*, however, do not seem to be enough to recommend the restoration "[*hanc aeneam st]atuam*" in the inscription from Arelate, *AE* 2002, 921.

*sta[tuam terrae m]oto (sic) conlapsam [statuit] etc.; CIL VIII 12479 = ILCV 30 (Carthage) (...) d(omino) n(ostro) Focae Imp(eratori) Smar[a]gdus exarc(hus) Italiae hanc statua[m] ... d(ono) d(edit).*²⁹

In addition to statue bases with statues set up in honour of someone, there is another group of statues which one encounters frequently, namely those of gods. The fact is that votive inscriptions referring to images of gods attached to the monument also sometimes wish to point out that they refer to 'this' particular image rather than to an image in general. For some instances, note *CIL XIV 2867 = ILS 3687a = M.G. Granino Cecere, Supplementa Italica. Imagines. Latium Vetus 1 (2005) no. 640 (Praeneste, a basis) L. Sariolenus Naevius Fastus Consularis ut Triviam in Iunonario ... ita et hanc Minervam Fortunae Primigeniae dono dedit cum ara; CIL II 332 = HEp 9, 760 (Lusitania, "bloque de caliza") Pietati Aug(ustae) sacr(um); Val(erius) Maxim(us?) ... haec signa p(osuit); CIL II 2418 (Bracara; now lost) Flavia Cuba ... Cososo deo Marti suo hoc signum donavit; CIL VIII 858 = ILS 5073 (Giufi in Africa, a basis) Apollini Aug(usto) sacr(um) D. Fundanius Pap. Primianus ... ob honorem aedilitatis ... hanc statuam ... posuit eandemque dedicavit; CIL VIII 12001 = ILS 5470 (Satta in Africa, a basis?) Deo M[erc(urio)] Aug(usto) sa[crum] ... hanc quoque statuam ... posuerunt.*³⁰ In some inscriptions, a statue is referred to – but in a

²⁹ In *CIL VI 10058 = ILS 5296* (cf. M.L. Caldelli, *L'agon Capitolinus*, Rome 1993, 154 no. 62; now lost, but described as a "cippus marmorens", i. e., probably as a *basis*), *M. Aurelio Libero ... Aurelius Caecilius Planeta Protogenes ... hoc donum vovit*, a statue may have been referred to as *donum*; cf. *AE 1958, 4 = CILA III 1, 101* (Castulo in Hispania Tarraconensis, a *basis*) *L. Corn(elio) Marullo, quod ordo Castulon(ensium) pro liberalitate Cor(neliae) Marullinae matris eius ... statuam ei et filio suo posituram se decreverat Cor(nelia) Marulli[n]a honore accepto d[e] pec(unia) sua poni iussit; [h]oc donum* (i.e., the two statues) *illius C. Co[r(nelius)] Bellicus heres eius d(edit) d(edicavit)*.

³⁰ Also *AE 1990, 764* (Germania sup., a *stela*, so that it remains uncertain where the *signum* was collocated), *h(oc) Eponae signum; CIL III 8104 = IMS II 11* (Viminacium, a small *basis*), *[H]erc(uli) ... h(oc) s(ignum); CIL III 14077, h(anc) ar(am) et sig(num); CIL VIII 2353 = ILS 5476 = G. Wesch-Klein, in G. Zimmer, *Locus datus decreto decurionum*, München 1989, 83 no. T47 (Thamugadi, a hexagonal *basis*) *Victoriae Aug(ustae) sacr(um) L. Cestius Successus fil(ius) et heres L. Cesti Galli fideiussoris Fl(avi) Natalis pollicitatoris huius ... adiectis ad HS III (milia) n(ummum), quanti tunc hanc statuam idem Fl(avius) Natalis r(ei) p(ublicae) positurum se pollicitus erat* etc. As for *hoc Vetedius signum Ganimedes ... dedit* (*CIL X 4891* from Venafrum, with a text coming from an old description), the inscription was republished by S. Aurigemma, *NSA 1924, 86* (a 'cippo'), and although there is in fact a lacuna before *signum*, I very much doubt the reading *hoc* and would rather opt for an interpolation.*

quite different context – in the nominative.³¹ There are also votive inscriptions which refer to *hoc munus* or *donum*.³²

Again, there are some cases of the *ara* (this term being often used of a stone which one could also describe as a *basis*) itself being called *haec ara*,³³ note, e.g., *CIL XI 3572 = ILS 3227*³⁴ (Castrum Novum, a *basis*) *Apollini sacrum L. Statilius Primus de sua p(ecunia) p(osuit); hanc aram vetustate labefactatam L. Statilius Pollio de sua pec(unia) et renovavit et restituit; CIL VIII 1267 = ILS 5461 = ILTun 1275* (Thisiduo in Africa, a *basis*) *Pro salute Imp(eratoris) (Marcus) L. Memmius Felix ... hanc aram et ollam etc. s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) idemq(ue) dedicavit*.³⁵ A mention of *impedium huius arae* in *CIL XIII 1752 = ILS 4132* (Lugdunum, AD 190).

In some rare cases, one observes the pronoun *hic* being used in inscriptions which function as signs (on this, cf. also below on the type *in his praediis*, etc.). From Rome we have stones set up by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus with the text *hos lapides constitui iusserunt propter controversias, quae inter mercatores et mancipis ortae erant, uti finem demonstrarent* etc. (*CIL VI 1016a [= ILS 375]*, b, c; in 1016c the mention of Commodus has been erased and replaced by that of Severus Alexander);³⁶ *CIL VI 1268* (cf. add. p. 4366), *Hi termini XIX positi sunt ab Scriboniano et Pisone Frugi ex depalatione*

³¹ *CIL VI 579 = ILS 3520 Imperio Silvani; ni qua mulier velit in piscina virili descendere; si minus, ipsa de se queretur: hoc enim signum sanctum est; CIL XIV 4178* (lost, but described as an *ara* or a *basis*; Lanuvium) *Mavortio sacr(um); hoc signum a servo tangi nefas est*.

³² *AE 2000, 1688* (Mididi in Africa) [*Pro*] *salute Imp. ... [Co]mmodi Aug. Q. Volusius M[axi]mus Maximianus sacerdos, quod [---] nania Maxi[ma] uxor sua hoc mun[us] fieri una s[ec]um voverat, id [Vo]lusius Maximianus votu[m] [sol]vit; CIL III 8696* (Salona) *Paxea Elpis cum suisque (sic) filiabus hoc m(unus?) ex voto posuit. Donum*: a statue or some other monument of uncertain nature is referred to as *donum* (*dedicatione huius doni ... dedit*) in *CIL XIII 2002 = ILS 7032* (Lugdunum). Note also *haec mon(umenta) possierunt* (sic) in a votive inscription from Spain, *AE 1965, 109 = F. Diego Santos, Epigrafia romana de Asturias, Oviedo 1959, 11* cf. *HEp 12, 6*.

³³ Cf. *hanc aram* in a different context in a Republican inscription from Capua, *CIL X 3785 = CIL I² 688 = ILS 3064* (*Iovei sacr(um) ... hanc aram ne quis dealbet*).

³⁴ G. Spinola, *Il Museo Pio-Clementino 3*, Vaticano 2004, 73f. no. 27.

³⁵ *hanc aram* also in *CIL XI 944 = ILS 4909* (Mutina, a *tabella*, now lost); *RIU 6, 1351* (an *ara*); *CIL VIII 8425; CIL VIII 20743 = ILS 4431; AE 1968, 645* (Lambaesis, an *ara*); *AE 1905, 235* (Germania Inferior): *I.O.M. ... hunc locum sive aram*. Cf. above n. 30 (*h(anc) ar(am) et sig(num)*); *hanc aram* in metrical inscriptions: *CIL VIII 17586 = CLE 874 = ILAlg I 3840; CIL VIII 18106 = CLE 252 = ILS 3895; aediculam hanc: CIL XII 2926 = CLE 863*.

³⁶ Cf. on these inscriptions R. E. A. Palmer, in J. H. D'Arms – E. C. Kopff (eds.), *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome*, Rome 1980, 218.

T. Flavi Vespasiani arbitri; CIL VI 29771 = ILS 5998 *Cippi hi finiunt hortos Calyclan(os) et Taurianos*;³⁷ CIL VI 576 = ILS 4915 *Extra hoc limen aliquid de sacro Silvani efferre fas non est*. Cf. below some of the instances of *locus* being defined with *hic*, e.g., *in hunc locum*.

Up to this point, we have been concentrating on buildings and structures which appear as objects in inscriptions referring to building or the setting up of something. Let us now move on to some other cases in which one can observe the pronoun *hic* occasionally being used (still excluding sepulchral monuments and their decoration).

The noun to which the pronoun *hic* is most often attached is *locus*, referring to a very wide palette of various 'places'.³⁸ Perhaps the most common scenario is a dedication to a deity *huius* (in the northern and northeastern provinces sometimes *huiusce*)³⁹ *loci*, most often *Genio huius loci* (obviously there are also numerous cases of *Genio loci* without the pronoun), e.g., CIL XIV 2087 = ILS 3652 (Lanuvium) *Euphrates Aug(usti) lib(ertus) ... Genio huius loci d(onum) d(edit)*.⁴⁰ The *Genius* may be combined with some other deity, e.g., CIL VI 216 cf. 30718 = ILS 2013, *Genio et Fortunae Tutelaeque huius loci*, or RIU III 663, *I. O. M. et Genio huiusce loci*. But quite a number of various deities may be observed to be connected with a certain *hic locus*, e.g., CIL XII 4183, *Deae Fort[unae] Tuta[t(rici)] huius loci*; CIL XIII 440 *Tutelae loci huius*; CIL XIII 8810 = ILS 9266, *dis patriis et praesidibus huius loci*; AE 1980, 735 = IDR III 5, 36, *dis deab[us]q(ue) huiusq(ue) loci*; etc.⁴¹

Another notable group of inscriptions in which one finds the genitive *huius loci* is that in which *huius loci* is combined with a title or other definition attached to a person. Within this group, one observes a subgroup consisting of persons in one way or another attached to a cult, e.g., *sacerdos huius loci* (CIL

³⁷ *cippi hi* also in CIL XII 4299 (Baeterrae). Cf. also CIL V 1469 = I. Aquileia 2337 (*tabula*), *ad ter(minum) hunc*; AE 1955, 186 (Ostia) *Hic paries ad hanc altitudin(em) hac fine communis est* (*hic paries* also in CIL VI 22300, 29960); AE 1973, 331 (Lugdunum), *Hic murus inter duo hor(r)ea ... communis est*; CIL IX 4792 = ILS 6006 (Forum Novum) *Per hanc viam fundo C. Marci C. l. Phileronis iter actus debetur*; CIL V 2447 *Iter aq(uae) hoc*.

³⁸ Cf. M. Raoss, in the *Dizionario epigrafico* IV 3 (1946–85) 1460–1832. Here, too, I am not referring to funerary monuments.

³⁹ Sometimes this is incorrectly rendered as *huiusque* (IDR III 3, 5, 21; 36, etc.).

⁴⁰ Also, e.g., CIL X 378 = *Inscr. It.* III 1, 105; AE 2001, 1262 (Barcino); RIB 102; etc. Note also *Genio huius decuriae* CIL VI 245 = ILS 7359; 246 = ILS 3652.

⁴¹ Cf. AE 1991, 1184 = ILS Alpes I 3 (Axima in the Alpes Graiae, an altar set up by a procurator) *I. O. M. ... et dis praesidibus huiusce provinciae*.

VI 738, cf. 716),⁴² *antistes huius loci* (*CIL* XIV 57-59 = *ILS* 4201abc; *CIL* III 1115 = *ILS* 3174 = *IDR* III 5, 364; *IDR* III 5, 297), *Isiacus huius loci* (*CIL* XIV 352 = *ILS* 6149 = *SIRIS* 536), etc.⁴³ But the definition *huius loci* might be attached to quite a number of titles or other descriptions of persons, e.g., *actor* (*CIL* XII 2250 = *ILNarb* V 2, 387), *aquarius* (*CIL* VI 131 = *ILS* 3253), *consistentes* (*AE* 1974, 571, Moesia Inferior), *custos* (*AE* 1932, 69 from Rome), *argentari et negotiantes boari* (*CIL* VI 1035 = *ILS* 426), *ornator* (*CIL* VI 1767 = *ILS* 1282), *peregrinus* (*CIL* III 14729 from Salona), *vilicus* (*CIL* VI 9089 cf. 33761 = *ILS* 9244; *disp(ensator) qui ante vilicus* in *CIL* VI 278).⁴⁴

To leave the term *locus* for a while, but to stay with the genitive *huius*, there are also other cases in which a person is defined by an attribute in the genitive to which *huius* is attached. In Late Antiquity, magistrates, benefactors, etc. of cities are in some cases described as being magistrates, etc. of 'this city'; e.g., *duumviro ... huius splendidissimae coloniae* (*CIL* XI 5283 = *ILS* 6623 = *EAOR* II 21, Hispellum); *pa[trono h]uiusce civitatis* (*CIL* XI 7298 = *ICI* I 18, Volsinii); *huius civitat(is) sed et vicinarum urbium ... defensori* (*CIL* XI 15, Ravenna).⁴⁵ However, there are also some inscriptions in which a person is said to be somehow attached to something defined with 'this'; note, e.g., in inscriptions from Rome from Late Antiquity, *conditor huius fori* (*CIL* VI 1662 = *ILS* 5357; *CIL* VI 31888; *fori huiusce inventori et conditori primo*, *CIL* VI 1678 = *ILS* 1281; cf., on *forum*, *AE* 1997, 106); *conditor* of 'this' something also appears in other inscriptions.⁴⁶ For some other descriptions of persons combined with the genitive to which *huius* is attached observe, e.g., *manceps huius monimenti* (*CIL* VI 8893), *[poss]essor huius do]mus* (*CIL* XIII 2581), *p(rae)p(ositus) sta[t(ionis)] huius* (*CIL* V 7643 = *Inscr. It.* IX 1, 173).

⁴² For *sacerdotes, patroni, candidati* etc. *huius loci* pertaining to the cult of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus see M. Raoss, *Diz. epigr.* IV 3, 1468f.

⁴³ Cf. *pater huius loci* (*AE* 1980, 49 from Rome), and note *adve[n]tor huius templi* (*CIL* III 7728 = *IDR* III 4, 30); *aryspici regionis huius* (*AE* 1983, 160 Tibur).

⁴⁴ Cf. *verna loci huius* in a metrical text from Africa, *CIL* VIII 7999 = *CLE* 1333 = *ILAlg* II 73.

⁴⁵ Also, e.g., *fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) huiusce civitatis* (*CIL* VIII 989 = *ILS* 9043 = *ILTun* 849); *huius urbis restauratori* (*CIL* VIII 898). Cf. the use of *iste* in the same context: *CIL* XI 2834 = *ICII* 2 (Volsinii, 4th or 5th century) *curator r(ei) p(ublicae) (i)stius civitatis*.

⁴⁶ *CIL* III 6423 (Dalmatia, *conditor vineae huius loci*), *ILAlg* I 158 *conditor uius domui, putei e(t) uius orti* (sic). Note also *huius operis conditor* in African inscriptions referring to sepulchral monuments (above n. 5).

To return to *locus*, there are of course very numerous further instances of references to a certain *locus* being equipped with the pronoun *hic*; thus we may observe altars being moved *in hunc locum* (*AE* 1973, 449 from Pannonia Inferior) or someone being buried *contra hunc locum* (*CIL* V 4182 = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 924) or a sepulchral monument being accorded a space *ex hoc loco usque ad vias publicas* (*CIL* II 5919 = *CILA* III 2, 367); *hic locus* may be somehow defined (*CIL* IX 1618 = *ILS* 6507; *CIL* V 2288); a temple might have been built *hoc loco* (thus *AE* 1932, 77 from Baiae, 4th century, with the error *locum* instead of *loco*) or a statue, either that of a person or of a god, might be placed *hoc in loco* (*CIL* X 5426, Aquinum; 4th century) or *hoc loco* (*ILAlg* I 1228 = *ILS* 9357b, Diocletianic: *Herculem*); *hoc in loco* might also be the description of a place where something unpleasant had happened (*quod hoc in loco anceps periculum sustinuerit*, *CIL* X 3805 = *ILS* 2997, 3rd century) or where someone was saved by Jupiter (*CIL* III 1918, Dalmatia, probably 3rd century).⁴⁷

Finally, there are some further instances of the use of the pronoun *hic* in inscriptions which have the function of, or at least come close to, signs or advertisements. In Rome, we have at least one inscription which describes the facilities of the *horrea* belonging to a consul of AD 158 beginning with *In his horreis privatis ... loc[antur]* etc. (*CIL* VI 33860 = *ILS* 5913), and the phrase *in his horreis* was probably used in other inscriptions as well (*CIL* VI 33747 = *ILS* 5914; 37795). But the most common formulation of this type was *in his praediis*,⁴⁸ found in more than 60 inscriptions from all around the Roman world, and meant to indicate that something was on offer or being done, etc. 'on this (particular) estate'; as this is a phrase which has been the object of a scholarly article it will be sufficient for me to refer to this article.⁴⁹ Inscriptions referring to *hoc pomarium* (*CIL* VI 29775 = *ILS* 6030, *In hoc pomario gestationis* etc.), to *hortulus hic* (*CIL* XIV 2775 = *ILS* 6029) or to *hic ager* (*CIL* X 1579 = *ILS*

⁴⁷ Some further instances of the phrase *hoc loco*: *AE* 2001, 2051 cf. *ibid.* 2047 and *AE* 2005, 1630 (Berenice in Egypt, AD 77/8; *L. Iulius Ursus ... hoc loco hydreuma quaeri praecepit*); *CIL* VIII 16759 = *ILAlg* I 1179 = *ILS* 4486 (*sacerdos hoc loco initiatus*); *ILAlg* I 1275.

⁴⁸ Simple *in praediis* in the same context (i.e., clearly used as a sort of sign, and not, e.g., in the phrase found mainly in African inscriptions that someone was buried *in praediis suis*) is much less common, but attested (e.g., *ILS* 5723 from Pompeii, *In praedis Iuliae ... Felicis locantur* etc.; *ILS* 5721, 6023, 6027). For a selection of inscriptions with the phrase *in (his) praediis*, cf. *ILS* 5720ff., 6019ff.

⁴⁹ D. Lengrand, 'Les notables et leurs propriétés: la formule « in his praediis » dans l'Empire Romain', *REA* 98 (1996) 109-131, with all the material and an interpretation of it (perhaps in some cases going beyond the evidence).

4291 from Puteoli, *Hic ager iug(erum) VII ... eorum possessorum iuris est qui etc.*)⁵⁰ belong to the same category.

Note finally also the inscription on the arch of Trajan in Ancona which interestingly refers to *hic portus: Traiano ... quod accessum Italiae hoc etiam addito ... portu tutiorem navigantibus reddiderit* (CIL IX 5894 = ILS 298).

Up to this point we have been dealing with other than funerary inscriptions (by which term I mean all inscriptions somehow pertaining to sepulchres). Focussing on the use of the pronoun *hic*, and comparing funerary inscriptions with the rest, one observes a most notable difference, for whereas the use of *hic* to define a structure is, as we have seen, attested but in general rare, in funerary inscriptions it is of course a rule rather than an exception to use the pronoun. Thus we have thousands of instances of *hoc monumentum* (very often in the abbreviated phrase *h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*; also used in other cases) and very numerous other expressions, used in a variety of cases, referring to tombs and their decoration to which *hic haec hoc* is attached, e.g., *accubitorium*,⁵¹ *adparatorium*,⁵² *aedicula*, *ara*, *arca*, *casula*, *cepotaphium*, *columbarium*, *cubiculum -lus*,⁵³ *domus*,⁵⁴ *hypogaeum*, *lapis*,⁵⁵ *locus*, *mausoleum (maesoli-)*, *memoria*,⁵⁶ *munus supremum*,⁵⁷ *praedium*, *sarcophagus*, *saxum*,⁵⁸ *sedes*,⁵⁹ *sepulcrum*, *tumulus*. In fact, the use of the pronoun is so common that one observes many tombs being referred to with just 'hoc', e.g., NSA 1923, 372 (Rome) *L. Matrini Artemidori ossa hic sita sunt; hoc filia fecit*; CIL X 2353 (Puteoli) *D. M. Q. Critoni Ianuari ... Aviania ... coniugi*

⁵⁰ Cf. *vinea huius loci*, above n. 46.

⁵¹ CIL VIII 9586, *quorum corpora in accubitorio hoc sepulta sunt*.

⁵² CIL VI 12258 = AE 1996, 94 *Hoc adparatorium pertinet ad monimentu(m) Q. Aquili Dionysi etc.*

⁵³ CIL VI 18423, *Hic cubiculus ... pertinet ad monumentum*; CIL X 4035 (Capua) *filiae ... mater misera hoc cubiculum fecit.*

⁵⁴ *hanc domum nostram aperire* AE 1975, 351.

⁵⁵ It seems, however, that phrases like *lapide hoc inclusa* or *hoc lapide tegitur* (sic) appear mainly in inscriptions meant to be metrical (CLE 555, 557, 1523, etc.).

⁵⁶ CIL XIV 3323 = ILS 8090 (Praeneste) *Aurelius Vitalio hanc memoriam ... a solo fecit*; AE 1974, 100 (Rome); AE 2002, 1230 (Moesia superior).

⁵⁷ CIL II 1753 = IRPCadiz 149 *Suavis ... hoc munus supremum dat.*

⁵⁸ *magna(m) sapientia(m) ... posidet hoc saxsum* CIL I² 11 = ILS 7 (one of the Scipionic epitaphs); CIL XII 2012 = ILNarb V 1, 202, *hoc sax(um) sub ascia ded(icatum) est.*

⁵⁹ CIL V 157 = Inscr. It. X 1, 49 *hanc sedem fructum laboris sui vivi sibi posuerunt*; CIL III 12706 (*has sedes*); CIL VIII 19146 = ILS 8151 = ILAlg II 6583; AE 1965, 150 (Mauretania, Christian; *hanc suae memoriae sedem perpetuam*).

..., *quae ... hoc libens fecit*;⁶⁰ it may, however, well be that in some of these examples *hoc* has a more abstract meaning and refers not only to the funerary monument but also to the circumstances of the burial in general; but in inscriptions with *hoc posuit* or *qui hoc violaverit* etc. the reference is clearly only to the monument.

To recapitulate: in funerary inscriptions, the pronoun *hic haec hoc* was extremely common, and one can say that the style of a funerary inscription with a reference to the monument itself or its parts (*hoc monumentum, haec ara*, etc.) practically required the use of the pronoun the function of which appears to have been to point out that the question was of 'this', and not of some other, monument. But in 'normal' inscriptions, or at least in those of the earlier periods, the use of this pronoun was rare (unless it was used to refer to a person, a scenario not under inspection in this article). It is only in combination with the term *locus* that the pronoun seems to have been more common, quite understandably, as *locus* by itself would not have meant very much. As for building inscriptions, one observes that in most of the few cases in which the pronoun *hic* is used to define the object, the inscription was not inscribed on the monument itself (e.g., in the *epistylum* of a temple; but cf., e.g., *CIL* I² 3083 and II 3423 above), but (most often) on a *tabula* meant to be attached to the monument. There are also some instances of building inscriptions, or at least of inscriptions referring to building, inscribed on altars or bases, and in some mosaic inscriptions. One could conclude that in these cases, the authors of the inscriptions had thought that, since the inscriptions were not physically parts of the monuments but only parts of their decoration, it might be useful to point out that the inscriptions referred to 'these' particular monuments. On the other hand, one can also observe a few cases of the object being identified vaguely only as an *opus*, the pronoun in these cases clearly being added in order to stress the fact that the question was of 'this' and not of some other *opus*.

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⁶⁰ Also, e.g., *CIL* VI 9042, 20051 = *ILS* 8189; *AE* 1981, 300 (Falerio); *AE* 1985, 355 (Ricina); *CIL* XI 4790; *CIL* V 8422 = *I. Aquileia* II 1272; *AE* 1981, 558 (Hispania Citerior); *CIL* III 5830, 5834, 5839, 12473, 13867; *ILJug* III 1853 = *ILS* 9411; *CIL* VIII 12614; *AE* 1903, 118 and 1972, 747 (Africa).

THE SO-CALLED DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN AD 395

Notes on a Persistent Theme in Modern Historiography

KAJ SANDBERG

The genius of Rome expired with Theodosius; the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine, who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire.

Edward Gibbon

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ch. xxix

Few single events in history have been attributed so much significance, actual or symbolic, as the passing of the Roman emperor Theodosius I in AD 395. Still widely perceived as a defining moment in the decline (or, alternatively, transformation) of the Ancient World, this date actually used to be one of the customary starting-points for the Middle Ages in western historiography. With the advent of the notion of a Late-Antique era (*Late Antiquity* or *Spätantike*) as a self-contained transitional period in the Mediterranean World, roughly between the accession of Diocletian in the late third century and about AD 600 (see below), it has lost some of its standing as a turning-point in world history. Even so, in Roman history it remains one of those epoch-making dates that need no validation in order to be used as chronological termini in historical writing. Of course, all historians recognize that such termini are nothing but conventional labels reflecting the arduous and unremitting struggle to organize and accord significance to the mass of historical data that they have to deal with, but – however artificial in theory – in practice conventions of this kind do influence perceptions of historical processes and, indeed, the very ways scholars select and present their material. As is well known, scholarly works providing general overviews of Roman history, or presenting one or another specific

aspect of Roman culture or society, tend to cut off at the end of the fourth century.¹

Conventionally, the death of Theodosius – better known to history as Theodosius the Great – marks the division of the Roman Empire into a Western and an Eastern Empire. That a formal division of the Empire never actually took place – either in AD 395 or at any subsequent point in the following decades, and that the whole concept of a partition is merely a modern construction – seems not necessarily to be common knowledge among all historians and classical scholars. Whereas the significance of the events of 476 has been repeatedly discussed (see below, p. 209), the so-called division of the Empire has received much less attention. It is manifest that it is considered something more than a mere convention, even among scholars fully embracing the notion of a Roman history extending well into the centuries formerly known as the Early Middle Ages. For instance, in his edition of the Roman coins of the period 395–491, John Kent speaks of the "definitive division of the Roman Empire" in 395.² Though some historians do note that the Roman Empire remained a legal and constitutional unity well beyond this date, even after the deposition of Romulus Augustulus,³ this state of affairs is rarely given emphasis per se. A notable exception is James Robinson's long-forgotten essay "The Fall of Rome", published nearly a hundred years ago.⁴ Among the very few scholars

¹ As examples abound it makes little sense to cite a selection, but it is interesting to note that also works intended to be scholarly aids are prone to follow suit. We may note at least D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 1990 (2. durchges. und erw. Aufl., Darmstadt 1996), the standard one-volume guide to the genealogies, chronologies and titles of the Roman emperors, which goes no further than Theodosius. A very good example of a scholarly treatise which, conditioned more by the conventional standing of AD 395 than by the chronological extension of the subject, clearly cuts off too early is A. Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien (325–395)*, Paris 1972.

² RIC X = J. P. C. Kent, *The Roman Imperial Coinage X. The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts A.D. 395–491*, London 1994, vii. Cf. A. Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284–430*, Cambridge, MA 1993, 1.

³ See, for instance, S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284–641. The Transformation of the Ancient World*, Malden, MA 2007, 102.

⁴ J. H. Robinson, "The Fall of Rome", in Id., *The New History. Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook*, New York 1912, 154–194. This essay, written for a more general readership, is heavy with tedious background and very sparsely documented. However, in a single sentence Robinson makes several of the points that I will make in the present paper (169): "The Roman Empire was divided but remained one; Theodosius had never been sole emperor; and in no sense does the separate history of the East and West begin with the death of Theodosius."

who more recently have expressly rejected the idea of a division we note another American, William Bayless, who in 1972 wrote his dissertation on the political unity of the Empire in the fifth century. This work, which was only published in microform and never reached the book market, has been very little noted by subsequent scholarship on the themes discussed here.⁵

The present paper constitutes an attempt to call renewed attention to a much neglected question which, nevertheless, is nothing short of crucial for our perception of the evolution of the Late Roman Empire, not least in its broader historical context. Unlike Bayless (stressing the unity) and Émilienne Demougeot (stressing the split between the two halves of the Empire),⁶ I will not be concerned with individual events in yet another attempt to assess to what extent they represent instances of antagonism between Ravenna and Constantinople. As the history of imperial Rome, after all, to no little extent is a story of conflicts within the elite, enmity between key actors cannot reasonably be employed as a criterion.⁷ Largely focusing on legal and constitutional form, I will merely restate some of the basic facts and lay bare the discrepancies between the current conventional view and the formal situation as it emerges from the primary sources.

Theodosius I and his co-emperors

The commonplace that Theodosius I was the last emperor to rule the Roman Empire in its entirety is so observably inaccurate that it is outright astounding that it has not been more seriously challenged. Instead, it is being repeated over and over again as a well-established fact in scholarly literature.⁸ The plain truth

⁵ W. N. Bayless, *The Political Unity of the Roman Empire during the Disintegration of the West, AD 395–457* (diss. Brown University 1972, available through *University Microfilms International*, Ann Arbor, MI).

⁶ E. Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'empire romain, 395–410. Essai sur le gouvernement impérial*, Paris 1951.

⁷ This observation is also made by Bayless, *Political Unity* (above n. 5) 1.

⁸ For a recent example, see J. Moorhead, *The Roman Empire Divided, 400–700*, Harlow 2001, 35: "Theodosius the Great was the last ruler of the whole Empire. Following his death in 395, it was divided between his two sons, the elder, Arcadius, succeeding to his power in Constantinople, while the younger, Honorius, reigned in Rome." See also H. Leppin, "Theodosius der Große und das christliche Kaisertum. Die Teilungen des Römischen Reiches", M. Meier (Hrsg.), *Sie schufen Europa. Historische Portraits von Konstantin bis Karl dem Großen*, München 2007, 27–44.

is that Theodosius never was sole emperor. It will not be considered here whether or not Gibbon was right in his discernment of a "true Roman Emperor",⁹ that is, a political figure worthy enough to be counted among the successors of Augustus and Constantine – and whether Theodosius really was the last one who met this standard. We will merely take a look at the constitutional situation, which, though well and unambiguously recorded in our sources, is so frequently disregarded by modern scholars.

In late summer of 378 the Roman Empire all of a sudden faced deep crisis. The defeat against the Tervingian Goths at Adrianople on 9 August had been just as unexpected as disastrous, leaving the East with a semi-destroyed army and an enemy roaming about largely out of control. As the senior emperor Valens had fallen in the battle, the task of handling one of the severest military crises ever to befall Rome went to his nephew, his western colleague Gratian. Ruling together with his half-brother Valentinian II, who was still in his infancy, the young emperor realized that he was in short need of an able officer and administrator to deal with the situation in the East. His choice fell on Flavius Theodosius, a member of a distinguished military family from Hispania.¹⁰ Theodosius began his dealings in his capacity of *magister militum per Illyricum*, but was promoted to *augustus* at Sirmium in the very beginning of the following year, on 19 January.¹¹ Living up to the expectations vested in him, Theodosius rebuilt the eastern army, gloriously won a series of decisive victories and induced the Goths, by formal treaty, to settle as *foederati* along the Danube in Thrace.¹²

⁹ Gibbon's characterization is echoed by Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire* (above n. 3) 102. As is well known, in spite of his famous observation as to the rather early demise of the "genius of Rome", Gibbon took his story all the way to the fall of Constantinople.

¹⁰ On the evidence of most ancient sources it is usually held that Theodosius was a native of Cauca in Gallaecia (Zon. 4,24,4; *Consul. Constant.* s.a. 379; *Aur. Vict. epit.* 48,1; *Soc.* 5,2; *Soz.* 7,2,1, *Oros. hist.* 7,34,2), but it has recently been argued that Marcellinus Comes was perfectly right in indicating Italica as his birthplace (*chron.* s.a. 379: *Theodosius Hispanus Italicae divi Traiani civitatis*), see A. M. Canto, "Sobre el origen bético de Teodosio I el Grande, y su improbable nacimiento en Cauca de Gallaecia", *Latomus* 65 (2006) 388–421.

¹¹ The elevation of Theodosius: *Consul. Constant.* s.a. 379; *Consul. Ital.* s.a. 379, *Soc.* 5,2; *Theod. hist. eccl.* 5,6,3; *Paneg.* 12,11,1 ff.; *Aur. Vict. epit.* 48,1; *Soz.* 7,2,1; *Oros. hist.* 7,34,2. The documentation concerning Theodosius' accession is treated in detail by R. M. Errington, "The Accession of Theodosius I", *Klio* 78 (1996) 438–453.

¹² One of the focal points in modern scholarship regarding the reign of Theodosius, is Rome's dealings with and policies with regard to the Tervingian Goths (later known as the

It is perfectly clear that Theodosius, throughout his reign, ruled together with several co-regents. The co-regency with Gratian lasted until late August of 383, that with Valentinian II until May of 392.¹³ Moreover, in the earlier part of his reign he had to face the usurpation of Magnus Maximus (383–388),¹⁴ and in his later years that of Eugenius (392–394). It is commonly asserted that Theodosius was sole ruler of the Roman World after the battle of the Frigidus (6–8 September, 494), when Eugenius was eliminated, but the certain fact is that the Empire at this point had not one single, but three emperors. Theodosius' elder son Arcadius had been made *augustus* already during the celebration of the *quinquennalia* of his father (19 January 383),¹⁵ the younger son Honorius was elevated to this rank ten year later, on 23 January of 393.¹⁶

The co-regencies in which Theodosius was part are important features in all surviving contemporary documentation. In the coins circulating in the Roman World the specific number of *augusti* was always made perfectly clear. The legends celebrating the *victoria* or *concordia* of the sovereigns regularly feature the element AVGGG (or AVGGGG) if AVGVSTORVM was abbreviated,¹⁷ whereas in the inscriptions the names and titles of the imperial colleagues appear alongside.¹⁸

These are all important observations, with bearing on the formal situation at the demise of Theodosius, which took place at Mediolanum on 17 January 395.¹⁹ There was technically no succession to the imperial throne on the part of

Visigoths). Recent studies include R. M. Errington, "Theodosius and the Goths", *Chiron* 26 (1996) 1–27.

¹³ Gratian was murdered on August 25: *Consul. Constant.* s.a. 383; *Aur. Vict. epit.* 47,7; *Soc.* 5,11; *Zos.* 4,35,5 f. Valentinian II was found dead, probably by suicide, on May 15: *Epiphan. de mensur.* 20; *Zos.* 4,54,3; *Marcell. chron.* s.a. 391; *Paul. Med. vita Ambr.* 26; *Claud. Hon. cos. IV* 75 ff., 93 ff.; *Soc.* 5,25,4; *Oros. hist.* 7,35,10; *Philost. hist. eccl.* 11,1; *Hier. epist.* 60,15; *Ioh. Ant. fr.* 187.

¹⁴ According to one source (*Zos.* 4,37,3) Maximus was recognized as a legitimate colleague for some time; this has been confirmed by epigraphic evidence, see e.g. *CIL VIII* 27 = *ILS* 787.

¹⁵ *Consul. Constant.* s.a. 383; *Soc.* 5,10,5; *Soz.* 7,12,2; *Philost. hist. eccl.* 10,5; *Theod. Lect.* 2,63; *Synes. regn.* 5c.

¹⁶ *Consul. Constant.* s.a. 393; *Soz.* 7,24,1; *Philost. hist. eccl.* 11,2; *Claud. Hon. cos. IV* 169 ff.; *Lib. epist.* 1100. One source, *Soc.* 5,25, provides a different date, 10 January.

¹⁷ For the coinage of Theodosius I, see *RIC IX* = J. W. E. Pearce, *Roman Imperial Coinage IX. Valentinian I – Theodosius I*, London 1951, 1–304.

¹⁸ Examples abound, but there is a convenient selection of Theodosian inscriptions in *ILS*, nos. 780–792.

¹⁹ *Consul. Constant.* s.a. 395; *Chron. Edess.* 39; *Soc.* 5,26,4, 6,1,1; *Theod. hist. eccl.* 5,25,2.

the two sons; Arcadius and Honorius merely continued to rule, having received their powers long before.²⁰ This state of affairs was in stark contrast with the situation at the death of Constantine I almost sixty years earlier, when the three surviving sons of the deceased emperor actually succeeded their father, advancing from *caesares* to *augusti*.²¹ True, the two young sons of Theodosius were notoriously weak rulers relying heavily on a series of strong men, but the formal situation is nonetheless all clear and beyond dispute.

Unity and continuity in the post-Theodosian Empire

In the scholarly discussion concerning the development after the death of Theodosius it is customary to speak of a *Western Roman Empire* and of an *Eastern Roman Empire*.²² Examining the evidence we have for the operation of the political machinery of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, however, it is easy to agree with Robinson,²³ who notes that "[t]he elements of continuity are more striking than the changes." Similar observations, though more controversially, have been made about the developments in the western areas

²⁰ Modern accounts commonly fail to give a clear picture of the constitutional situation at the death of Theodosius; see, for instance, see Moorhead, *The Roman Empire Divided* (above n. 8, with quotation) 35. A notable exception is R. C. Blockley, "The Dynasty of Theodosius", A. Cameron and P. Garnsey (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History XIII. The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*, Cambridge 1998, 113: "Theodosius died ..., leaving his two sons already Augusti, Arcadius since 383, Honorius since 393."

²¹ Constantinus II had been proclaimed *caesar* already on 1 March 317: *Consul. Constant. s.a.* 317; Anon. *Vales.* 5,19; *Aur. Vict. caes.* 41,6, *epit.* 41,4; *Euseb. Const.* 4,40; *Oros. hist.* 7,28,22; *Zos.* 2,20,2. Constantius II and Constans received this title in, respectively, 8 November 324 and 25 December 333: *Consul. Constant. s.aa.* 324, 333. All three brothers were elevated to *augusti* on 9 September 337: *Consul. Constant. s.a.* 337.

²² Recent examples of scholars adhering to the use of these geo-political terms include D. Henning, *Periclitans res publica. Kaisertum und Eliten in der Krise des Weströmischen Reiches 454/5–493 n. Chr.* (Historia Einzelschriften 133), Stuttgart 1999; R. W. Mathisen, "Sigisvult the Patrician, Maximus the Arian, and Political Strategems in the Western Roman Empire, c. 425–440", *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999) 173–196; T. Stickler, *Aëtius. Gestaltungsspielräume eines Heermeisters im ausgehenden Weströmischen Reich* (Vestigia 54), München 2002; T. Janssen, *Stilicho. Das weströmische Reich vom Tode des Theodosius bis zur Ermordung Stilichos (395–408)*, Marburg 2004. Some scholars avoid to use such terms, preferring the notion *the Roman West*, see, for instance, P. S. Barnwell, *Emperors, Prefects and Kings. The Roman West, 395–565*, London 1992, and G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568*, Cambridge 2007.

²³ Robinson, "The Fall of Rome" (above n. 4) 161.

which were settled by barbarians. Arther Ferrill, commenting on modern scholarship regarding these areas (the rudiments of later territorial kingdoms) speaks of "a kind of nationalistic bias in favour of change rather than continuity".²⁴ In the Anglo-Saxon world there has actually been a trend in the last few decades, originating with the work of Peter Brown,²⁵ to describe the political, social, economical and cultural evolution in western Europe after the Romans in terms emphasizing the elements of transformation, change and transition – as opposed to decline and crisis. I will not, however, enter here into the discussion concerning the nature of post-Roman developments, which obviously constitute a problem per se.²⁶ In this paper I will focus on the political system that incontestably formed part of the Roman realm, regardless of whether it is perceived as a unified Late Roman Empire or as two separate ones.

The fact that there were no changes as to the formal structures of the Roman Empire in 395 cannot be overstressed, given the prominence of this alleged end-point or (depending, of course, on the point of view) new beginning. The post-Theodosian Empire is, in every important respect, an undeviating continuation of the politico-administrative edifice of the preceding period.²⁷ The two consuls, whatever their actual powers, were common to the entire Empire. The two capitals were common to the whole Empire. In the coins of the period there are several joint representations of Roma and

²⁴ A. Ferrill, *The Fall of the Roman Empire. The Military Explanation*, London 1983, 17 f. Cfr. A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity, AD 395–600*, London – New York 1993, 203: "the often exaggerated claims based on national interest which have been made in the modern literature". In this connection it is crucial to point out that a *regnum* in this period did not necessarily have a territorial extension. It related first and foremost to a certain ethnic group. Moreover, many kings, such as those of the Ostrogoths in Italy after 493, acknowledged the lordship of the emperor residing in Constantinople.

²⁵ P. R. L. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity. From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad*, London 1971; Id., *The Making of Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, MA 1978. The inspiration for this kind of approach is, of course, derived from the ideas of Henri Pirenne; these are collected in the posthumous work *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, Paris – Bruxelles 1937 (available also in English translation: *Muhammed and Charlemagne*, London 1939).

²⁶ It must be noted here that the notion of a gradual and allegedly peaceful development has been vehemently contested by B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, Oxford 2005.

²⁷ Cf. A. Demandt, *Geschichte der Spätantike. Das Römische Reich von Diocletian bis Justinian, 284–565 n. Chr.*, 2. vollständig bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, München 2007, 499 f.

Constantinopolis.²⁸ Most importantly, the emperors were common to all Romans, despite the ubiquitous current practice to insert their names in two separate lists of rulers. In the coins of the fifth century the emperors are invariably referred to as co-regents. Legends such as *VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM* and *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM* are legion, and there are many examples of coins where the emperors are represented together.²⁹ Also in the inscriptions of the period the emperors appear together, communicating with, or being honoured by, their subjects.³⁰

A very important element of continuity after 395 is, obviously, the Theodosian dynasty, which retained its power after the deaths of Theodosius' sons. Arcadius was succeeded by his son Theodosius II, who had been proclaimed *augustus* in 402.³¹ At the death of his father in 408 he became sole emperor in the East.³² The succession was not as smooth in the West, but after the two-year usurpation of a certain Iohannes, Honorius was eventually succeeded by his nephew Valentinian III in 425 (see below). The dynastic element of the history of this whole period was further enhanced by marriage bonds between the courts of Constantinople and Ravenna. Imperial nuptials, such as those between the western emperor Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia (the daughter of the eastern emperor Theodosius II) in 437, received much public visibility, as they were celebrated in coins with the legend *FELICITER NUBTIIS*.³³

That the unity of the Empire was no empty fiction is evident from legal and administrative documents giving clear evidence that key functionaries of the imperial system were subordinate to the authority of both emperors. For instance, it is interesting to note that officials such as the *praefecti urbi* of Rome and the *praefecti praetorio* received instructions issued in the name of both

²⁸ Specimens are known for Theodosius II and Leo I, see Kent, *RIC* X, 58. See also J. M. C. Toynbee, "Roma and Constantinopolis in Late-Antique Art from 365 to 578", B. E. Mylonas (ed.), *Studies Presented To David Moore Robinson II*, St Louis 1951, 261–277.

²⁹ For a good overview of the relevant numismatic material, see A. Blanchet, "Le monnayage de l'empire romain après la mort de Théodose I^{er}", *CRAI* (1908) 77–82.

³⁰ Again, there is a selection, albeit a very short one, in *ILS*, nos. 793 ff.

³¹ On 10 January: *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 402; *Marcell. chron.* s.a. 402.

³² On 1 May: *Soc.* 6,23,7 and 7,1,1; *Marcell. chron.* s.a. 408.

³³ *RIC* X, 267. For references to imperial marriages in the coins see G. Zacos and A. Vegler, "Marriage *Solidi* of the Fifth Century", *Spink's Numismatic Circular* (1960) 73–74.

emperors.³⁴ Also after the end of Theodosius' dynasty, terminating with the deaths of Theodosius II and Valentinian III in 450 and 455 respectively, the unity of the Empire was a prominent and omnipresent feature in all political discourse. Just like the Theodosian emperors, the rulers continued to appear as co-regents. This can be seen both in inscriptions and in the coins.³⁵ Moreover, several of the many examples of joint measures on the part of both emperors are from this period.³⁶

It is vital to point out that, throughout the fifth century, the imperial succession was never a mere internal concern for either part of the Empire. It is clear that, throughout this period, it was important for the individuals who were elevated to the western throne to gain recognition not only from the Roman Senate, but also from the emperor reigning from Constantinople. For instance, Eparchius Avitus immediately upon his accession in 455 sent *legati* to the eastern court in order to gain Marcian's formal approval.³⁷ An important state of affairs, the significance of which has not been fully appreciated, is that some of the western emperors were actually appointed by the ruler at Constantinople. In 425 Valentinian III was put on the western throne by Theodosius II.³⁸ In 467 Anthemius was appointed by Leo I.³⁹ Also Iulius Nepos, the last western

³⁴ *Novell. Valent.* 14 pr., 18 pr.: *Imp. Theodosius et Valentinianus a(ugusti) Albino II. pr(aefecto) p(raetorio)*, 19 pr.: *Imp. Theodosius et Valentinianus a(ugusti) Maximo pr(aefecto) p(raetorio) II. et patricio*, 21.1 pr.: *Imp. Theodosius et Valentinianus a(ugusti) Albino II. pr(aefecto) p(raetorio) et patricio*, 21.2 pr.: *Idem a(ugusti) Albino II. pr(aefecto) p(raetorio) et patricio*, etc. *Novell. Marc.* 2 pr.: *Imp. Valentinianus et Marcianus a(ugusti) Palladio pr(aefecto) p(raetorio)*, 3 pr.: *Imp. Valentinianus et Marcianus a(ugusti) Palladio pr(aefecto) p(raetorio) Orientis*, 4 pr.: *Imp. Valentinianus et Marcianus a(ugusti) ad Palladium pr(aefectum) p(raetorio)*. *Novell. Maior.* 4: *Imp. Leo et Maiorianus a(ugusti) Aemiliano p(raefecto) u(rbi)*, 7 pr.: *Imp. Leo et Maiorianus a(ugusti) Basilio pr(aefecto) p(raetorio)*. *Novell. Sev.* 1 pr.: *Imp. Leo et Severus a(ugusti) Basilio pr(aefecto) p(raetorio) et patricio*.

³⁵ Not only does the legend AVGG continue in use, there are also joint representations of the emperors in the coin types. In the coinage of the 450s, 460s and 470s, there are several issues depicting the eastern emperor Leo I together with Majorian (*RIC X*, 398 nos. 2601 ff.) and Anthemius (*RIC X*, 411–421 nos. 2801 ff.).

³⁶ See above, n. 34.

³⁷ *Hyd. chron.* 163 (s.a. 455): *Per Avitum ... legati ad Marcianum pro unanimitate mittuntur imperii*.

³⁸ *Olymp. fr.* 46; *Philost.* 12,13; *Soc.* 7,23; *Prosp.* s.a. 424; *Hyd. chron.* 84 (s.a. 425); *Marcell. chron.* s.a. 424; *Ioh. Ant. fr.* 195.

³⁹ *Sidon. carm.* 2,212–215; *Fast. Vind. prior.* s.a. 467; *Pasch. Camp.* s.a. 467; *Hyd. chron.* 234 (s.a. 466); *Marcell. chron.* s.a. 467; *Iord. Get.* 236, *Rom.* 336; *Prok. Vand.* 1,6,5; *Ioh.*

emperor formally recognized in the East (see below), was appointed by Leo I, who in 474 sent him to Italy in order to depose Glycerius.⁴⁰

Another undeniable fact, which seems to have been more or less completely lost to view, is that the Roman Empire, at least formally and nominally, was united under one man's rule during several periods after AD 395. This date, of course, is really irrelevant here, and is cited only because of its conventional standing as the end-point of the history of a united Empire; as was established above, Theodosius I had not been sole ruler for a single day. It is rarely noted that the Roman Empire during the 450s and the 460s repetitively had only one emperor, due to vacancies in the West. The first instance occurred after the deposition of Eparchius Avitus on 17 October 456,⁴¹ when there was a delay until 1 April 457 before Majorian was put on the western imperial throne.⁴² After 2 August 461, when Majorian was deposited (he was put to death four days later),⁴³ the western throne was vacant until 19 November of the same year, when Libius Severus (461–465) was declared emperor.⁴⁴ At Severus' death, which seems to have taken place on 14 November 465,⁴⁵ there was an interregnum that lasted until 12 April of 467, when Anthemius was installed as

Mal. 368 f.; *Chron. Gall.* 511 no. 645; Cassiod. *chron.* s.a. 467; Vict. Tonn. *chron.* s.a. 467; Theoph. *chron.* a.m. 5957.

⁴⁰ Ioh. Ant. fr. 209; Anon. Val. 7,36; *Auct. Haun. ordo post.* s.a. 474; Marcell. *chron.* s.a. 474; Evagr. *eccl. hist.* 2,16.

⁴¹ *Auct. Haun.* s.a. 456; Hyd. *chron.* 183 (s.a. 456); Vict. Tonn. *chron.* s.a. 456; *Chron. Gall.* 511 no. 628; Theoph. *chron.* a.m. 5948.

⁴² *Fast. Vind. prior.* s.a. 457: *levatus est imp. d. n. Maiorianus kald. April.* Another source provides a much later date, 28 December of the same year, see *Auct. Haun.* s.a. 457: *levatur ... Maiorianus v kal. Ian.*

⁴³ *Fast. Vind. prior.* s.a. 461; Hyd. *chron.* 210 (s.a. 461); Marcell. *chron.* s.a. 461; *Chron. Gall.* 511 no. 635; Ioh. Ant. fr. 203; Evagr. *eccl. hist.* 2,7; Ioh. Mal. 375; Theoph. *chron.* a.m. 5955; Mich. Syr. 9,1.

⁴⁴ *Fast. Vind. prior.* s.a. 461; Cass. *chron.* s.a. 461; Marcell. *chron.* s.a. 461; *Chron. Gall.* 511 no. 636. Two sources, clearly erroneously, provide 7 July as the date for Severus' accession: Vict. Tonn. *chron.* s.a. 461; Theoph. *chron.* a.m. 5955.

⁴⁵ *Pasch. Camp.* s.a. 465; Iord. *Rom.* 336, *Get.* 236. The date 15 August is given by *Fast. Vind. prior.* s.a. 465; this must be wrong, as we know of a law of Severus issued on 25 September, see J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II. AD 395–527*, Cambridge 1980, 1005 s.v. Libius Severus 18.

emperor.⁴⁶ It is all clear that the whole Empire, at least formally, was ruled from Constantinople during these interregna.⁴⁷

It is outside the scope of the present considerations to deal with the development after 476, when Romulus Augustulus was deposed at Ravenna (in early September).⁴⁸ We just note that this boy emperor, from the point of view of Constantinople, was actually a usurper. The last legitimate emperor in the West was Iulius Nepos, who on 28 August 475 had been expelled from Italy by the patricius Orestes, the father of Romulus.⁴⁹ Having taken up refuge in Salona, Dalmatia, and being still recognized by his eastern colleague Zeno, Nepos continued to strike coins featuring his imperial titulature until his assassination in 480.⁵⁰ Moreover, it is clear that Odoacer and, from 493, Theoderic and his successors acknowledged the authority of the emperor at Constantinople. Therefore, from a purely constitutional point of view, it is by no means incorrect to perceive the situation as a return to the rule of one single emperor – at any rate for the Roman citizens living in Italy. I will not, however, go into an argument over whether this represents a meaningful way of looking at the period.⁵¹

⁴⁶ See above, p. 207 with n. 39.

⁴⁷ Dirk Henning does note these interregna, but merely interprets them as evidence for the increasing insignificance of the western imperial throne, see *Periclitans res publica* (above n. 22) 331 n. 10.

⁴⁸ Anon. Vales. 10,45; Iord. *Get.* 241 f., *Rom.* 344; Prok. *Goth.* 1,1,7, Theoph. *chron.* a.m. 5965.

⁴⁹ Anon. Vales. 7,36; *Fast. Vind. prior.* s.a. 475; *Pasch. Camp.* s.a. 475; *Auct. Haun. ordo prior* s.a. 475, *ordo post.* s.a. 475; Marcell. *chron.* s.a. 475; Iord. *Get.* 241, *Rom.* 344; Evagr. *eccl. hist.* 2,16; Theoph. *chron.* a.m. 5965.

⁵⁰ For the coinage of Nepos, see *RIC X*, 204–207 (discussion) and, for the specimens, 427–434 (nos. 3201 ff.). See also J. P. C. Kent, "Julius Nepos and the Fall of the Western Empire", *Corolla Numismatica Memoriae Erich Swoboda Dedicata*, Graz – Köln 1966, 146–150. Nepos was killed by his own people (*a suis*) in his villa outside Salona. Three different dates are provided by the sources; 25 April, 9 May, and 22 June: Anon. Vales. 7,36; *Fast. Vind. prior.* s.a. 480; Marcell. *chron.* s.a. 480; *Auct. Haun. ordo prior* s.a. 480, *ordo post.* s.a. 480, *ordo post. marg.* s.a. 480.

⁵¹ The significance of the end of the western line of emperors has been much discussed, not least in the decade or so around 1976, which was celebrated as the fifteenth centenary of the "Fall of the Western Roman Empire". Among studies that appeared in those years we note the following items: P. Hübinger, *Zur Frage der Periodengrenze zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1969; K. Christ (Hrsg.), *Der Untergang des Römischen Reiches* (Wege der Forschung 269), Darmstadt 1970; A. Momigliano, "La caduta senza rumore di un impero nel 476 d.Chr.", *ASNP*, ser. 3, 3.2 (1973) 397–418; L. Várady, *Die Auflösung des Altertums. Beiträge zu einer Umdeutung der Alten Geschichte*, Budapest 1978; E.

Finally, we note here that the very first known reference to a fractional Roman Empire, *hesperium Romanae gentis imperium* (implying of course the existence of another, eastern part), and to Romulus Augustulus as its last emperor, is found in Marcellinus Comes.⁵² Brian Croke has shown that this kind of perception of the events of the fifth century originated in Constantinople in the sixth century, during the Gothic wars.⁵³

The transformation of the Roman World in Late Antiquity

As we have seen in the foregoing discussion, there is no doubt that the transition between the fourth and fifth centuries was a very smooth one, in terms of political and administrative continuity. We have not been dealing with questions relating to cultural development, the history of the Church or mentality, but since Nicaean Christianity was already well established in the late fourth century, it seems safe to affirm that the transition was gentle also in these respects. The conventional notion of a transition or shift is clearly misleading, and can be justified only in hindsight, knowing that the large-scale invasions of Germanic tribes over the Rhine (from 406) and the first sack of

Demougeot, "Bedeutet das Jahr 476 das Ende des römischen Reiches im Okzident?", *Klio* 60 (1978) 371–381; B. Croke, "A.D. 476: The Manufacture of a Turning Point", *Chiron* 13 (1983) 81–119; A. Demandt, *Der Fall Roms. Die Auflösung des römischen Reiches im Urteil der Nachwelt*, München 1984 and G. Zecchini, "Il 476 nella storiografia tardoantica", *Aevum* 59 (1985) 3–23. The events of 476 were also commemorated with seminars and exhibitions. Among the publications resulting from these initiatives we should note at least *476, segno di transizione. Giornata di studi promossa dalla Società di studi Romagnoli nel XV centenario della fine dell'impero romano in Occidente* (Istituto di Antichità Ravennati e Paleobizantine), Ravenna 1976 and B. Luiselli et al., *La fine dell'Impero romano d'Occidente* (Istituto di Studi Romani), Roma 1978.

⁵² Marcell. *chron.* s.a. 476: *Hesperium Romanae gentis imperium, quod septingentesimo nono urbis conditae anno primus Augustorum Octavianus Augustus tenere coepit, cum hoc Augustulo periit, anno decessorum regni imperatorum quingentesimo vigesimo secundo, Gothorum dehinc regibus Roman tenentibus.*

⁵³ Croke (above n. 51) 119. See also Moorhead, *The Roman Empire Divided*, (above n. 8) 266: "In many parts of the Empire, it was possible to live through the fifth century without feeling that it was a time of great change. It was eastern authors writing some decades later who first attributed significance to the deposition of the last emperor of the West in 476". For the development in the West from the view-point of Constantinople, see also W. E. Kaegi Jr., *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, Princeton 1968, and J. Irmscher, "Das Ende des weströmischen Kaisertums in der byzantinischen Literatur", *Klio* 60 (1978) 397–401.

Rome (in 410) – events foreboding the eventual disintegration of the Roman West – took place under the immediate successors of Theodosius I.

Summarizing the essence of our observations thus far, we note that, in the fabric of the Roman Empire as a political and administrative entity, there are no structural changes to cite around the time of Theodosius' death in order to sustain the idea of a breach, of any kind, with the preceding period. Clearly, the most momentous changes transforming Roman society in Late Antiquity are rather to be associated with the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine. The former was the principal architect of the administrative structures of the Late Roman Empire, whereas the latter, together with his sons, was responsible for the religious revolution that so profoundly altered Roman culture.⁵⁴ It is, therefore, quite remarkable that modern historiography has been so insistent on maintaining the terminus at AD 395, a state of affairs which is all the more notable given that Theodosius, as we have seen, actually founded a dynasty that ruled the entire Roman World until the middle of the fifth century.

At this point it must also be stressed that the administrative division of the Roman Empire in two parts was no novelty of the post-Theodosian period. If, for say analytical purposes, it is deemed advantageous for modern scholarship to maintain a conceptual distinction between a Western Roman Empire and an Eastern one, it would no doubt be a better and less arbitrary reflection of actual facts to make the accession of Diocletian, in the final years of the third century, the starting point for such usage.⁵⁵

As is well known, Diocletian's reign stands out as a watershed between the Empire of Augustus and his successors and that of Late Antiquity. The significance of the innovations of Diocletian has always been duly noted by modern scholarship. Indeed, in standard periodization the accession of Diocletian marks the end of the 'Principate' and the beginning of the 'Dominate'. It is, accordingly, fully recognized that his rule marked a decisive move away from the old fiction of republicanism toward a real autocracy. Much less attention has been paid to the fact that the Empire from this point on –

⁵⁴ For a very valuable synopsis of all the characteristics of the Late Roman Empire, see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge, MA 1982.

⁵⁵ This kind of perspective, prominently present already in A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602. A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey I–III*, Oxford 1964, has been applied in many recent studies, such as A. Demandt, *Geschichte der Spätantike* (n. 27 [first edition, München 1998]; cf. Id., *Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diokletian bis Justinian 284–565 n. Chr.*) and S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284–641. The Transformation of the Ancient World*, Malden, MA 2007.

regardless of the ultimate failure of the tetrarchic system (or of the number of rulers at any time) – was permanently divided in two parts. It is in the reign of Diocletian that the provinces of the Roman Empire, the number of which was greatly increased by way of divisions into smaller units, were grouped into two large clusters named *Occidens* (or *pars Occidentis*) and *Oriens* (*pars Orientis*).⁵⁶ Though there had always, throughout Rome's imperial history, been a linguistic and cultural bifurcation between an increasingly Latin West and the old Greek East, this polarity did not exist on an institutional level before the administrative reforms of Diocletian.⁵⁷

Christianity's final victory over paganism in the reign of Theodosius I, though an important symbolic event, actually entailed no or little change in the lives of most Romans of the time. It simply marked the culmination of a process that, in any case, had been well under way for decades before the accession of the Theodosian dynasty.⁵⁸ It seems to me that it has been overstressed by

⁵⁶ The scholarship on Diocletian's reforms is immense; there is an overview of the various debates in R. Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*, Edinburgh 2004, 3 ff. (for the administration, see 24–37). Among older studies still valuable are J. G. C. Anderson, "The Genesis of Diocletian's Provincial Reorganisation", *JRS* 22 (1932) 24–32, and W. Seston. *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie I. Guerres et réformes (284–300)*, Paris 1946. More recent work includes K. L. Noethlich, "Zur Entstehung der Diözesen als Mittelinstanz des spätrömischen Verwaltungssystems", *Historia* 31 (1982) 70–81; F. Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, Berlin 1987; S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs. Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284–324*, Oxford 1996; B. Rémy, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, Paris 1998; W. Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie. Das römische Reich zwischen Krisenbewältigung und Neuaufbau (284–313 n. Chr.)*, Frankfurt a. Main 2001; B. Bleckmann, "Bemerkungen zum Scheitern des Mehrherrschaftssystems. Reichsteilung und Territorialansprüche", A. Demandt et al. (Hrsg.), *Diokletian und die Tetrarchie*, Berlin 2004, 74–93.

⁵⁷ That the Roman world had been divided at earlier times as well, for instance between Octavian and Mark Antony in the final years of the Republic, is sometimes cited as a relevant fact in accounts treating (*ab ovo*, obviously) the "final division" of the Empire. Therefore it is important to point out that the *de facto* division of the triumviral period was an *ad hoc* arrangement not associated with any administrative structures, but solely with the number of members in the alliance in power. It suffices to take note of the fact that, as long as M. Aemilius Lepidus had been part of the coalition, the Empire was divided in three parts.

⁵⁸ The real focal point of scholarship concerned with the reign of Theodosius has been his policies with regard to religion, both pagan and Christian. Among standard works we should note W. Ensslin, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Theodosius des Großen* (SBAW, Phil.-hist. Klasse), München 1953 (cf. Id., "Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Theodosius des Großen", G. Ruhbach [Hrsg.], *Die Kirche angesichts der Konstantinischen Wende* [Wege der Forschung 306], Darmstadt 1976, 87–111) and N. Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity*, London 1961. Recent contributions to the scholarly discussion

western, and of course mostly Christian, scholars. With less religious bias the periodization of Roman history would no doubt have been given a different structure.

Conclusion

In this paper a construction of modern scholarship has been discussed. Though in principle a well-known fact, it is commonly overlooked, forgotten, or simply ignored, that there was never a formal division of the Roman Empire, either in AD 395 or at any subsequent point in the fifth century. It was also reminded that Theodosius I (379–395), whose principal claim to fame is his reputation for being the last sole emperor of the Empire, never reigned alone. A succession of co-emperors ruled together with him throughout the duration of his reign. Moreover, during several shorter or longer periods in the fifth century the Roman World was actually united under the rule of a single sovereign. Finally, it was argued that the significance of the religious policies of Theodosius has been overstressed by modern scholars, who largely on account of his religious legislation have seen the Theodosian period as a transitional phase in Roman history. The really significant changes that gave rise to the Late Roman Empire had taken place earlier, in the reigns of Diocletian and the emperors of the Constantinian dynasty.

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include R. M. Errington, "Church and State in the First Years of Theodosius I", *Chiron* 27 (1997) 21–72; Id., "Christian Accounts of the Religious Legislation of Theodosius I", *Klio* 79 (1997) 398–443. See also N. B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan. Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1994.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CCXLIV. IMMER NOCH WEITERE NEUE COGNOMINA

Hier nochmals eine weitere Auslese. Zu den im folgenden gebrauchten Abkürzungen und diakritischen Zeichen s. *Rep.*² 475. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 189.¹

Aburnianus: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. Er hatte einen gleichnamigen Vater: *PIR*² S 387.

Aciliana: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 41 (2007) 89. Den dort angeführten hispanischen Belegen hinzuzufügen ist *AE* 2005, 874 (Saguntum).

Acutianus: Kajanto mit 249 mit sieben Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2005) 163 (christl.). Dazu *AE* 1989, 580–582, Senator vom Anfang des 3. Jh., wahrscheinlich ein Scribonier (vgl. *PIR*² S 258). *I. Smyrna* 597.

Aeterna: Kajanto 2274 mit drei Belegen (bei Männern üblicher). Dazu *AE* 2005, 1257 (Aquincum).

Afrio: s. unten 239f.

**Agilis* als Frauennamen ist auszuschließen, denn der in *CIL* VI 11254 überlieferte Dativ *Agilini* gehört eher zu *Agele*.

Albinianus -a: Kajanto 227 mit fünf Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu Männernamen *AE* 1996 755 (regio XI) *C. Albinus Albinian(us)*. Frauennamen *IAM* 2, 645 *Albinia[na]*.

Albio(?): *Suppl. It.* 20 *Venusia* 43. Freilich steht die Existenzberechtigung dieser Ableitung aus *Albius* oder *Albus* auf dem Spiel, da die Lesung recht unsicher bleibt, vgl. aber unten 240.

¹ Mein herzlicher Dank geht an Peter Kruschwitz, der meinen Text einer sprachlichen Durchsicht unterzogen hat. Mika Kajava und Olli Salomies haben meinen Text in bewährter Weise durchgelesen. Giorgio Filippi hat meine Arbeit in den vatikanischen Museen unterstützt.

Albula: Kajanto 227 mit drei Belegen, alle aus Afrika (in Wirklichkeit ist die Zahl der afrikanischen Belege vier). Dazu *ILAlg* II 2857. 2859. 3129. 3282.

Appius -a: Kajanto 172 mit zwei Belegen für den Männernamen, mehreren für den Frauennamen. Als Männernamen noch *CIL* VI 19389. Die meisten Belege für den Frauennamen gehören Sklavinnen und Freigelassenen, weswegen man den Verdacht hat, es liege eher der griechische Name *Apphia* vor; dieser war üblich etwa in Rom (s. mein Namenbuch 1029f, wo auch Formen ohne *h* mitberücksichtigt worden sind) und konnte beliebig ohne *h* geschrieben werden, zumal in republikanischer Zeit, aus welcher der von Kajanto angeführte Beleg *CIL* I² 1226 stammt.

Apris: Kajanto 325 mit einem Beleg. Dazu möglicherweise *Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 161 (Lesung unsicher; vgl. unten 244).

Balbillianus: Kajanto 240 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu in Kyzikos belegt.

Balbillus: Kajanto 240 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *IGUR* 124 (ein Evocatus). *IG* XIV 617 (Rhegium) Κ. Ὀρτώριος Κ. υ. Β. ἱεροσκόπος. *PIR*² C 813 *Ti. Claudius B.*, Praefectus Aegypti unter Nero.² *IGRR* I 1170 = *SB* 999 (Koptos, 105 n. Chr.) Β. Ἡρακλείδου. *OGIS* 669 = *IGRR* I 1263 (Hibis, 68 n. Chr.). *P. Bub.* II 5 (205–206 n. Chr.) Stratege der Bubastites. *P. Leid. Inst.* 44 (*PLB* XXV 44) (2. Jh.). *BGU* III 776 = *CPJud* II 434 (Arsinoites) Κλαύδιος Β.

Balbinianus: Kajanto 240 mit einem Beleg. *CIG* 4755 (Memnon, Βαλβεῖν-). *P. Oxy* 2978.

Barbilla: *Rep.* 301 aus *AE* 1982, 776 (Carnuntum). Dazu *CIL* XI 6376. Der entsprechende Männernamenname ist nur aus Papyri bekannt (den in *Rep.* 301 angeführten können weitere hinzugefügt werden), steht aber wohl für *Balbillus*.

Barbula: Kajanto 224 mit zwei Belegen außerhalb der republikanischen Aemilii. Dazu *AJA* 59 (1955) 160 (Rom). *CIL* IV 9961 *a* (Lesung nicht sicher, die des Cognomens jedoch plausibel: von mir am 23. Mai 1973 gesehen).

Bassillianus: *CIL* XV 7597 (Bleirohr) *C. Anneius Bassillianus*. Vgl. *Bassilla* (*ThLL* II 1779, 77–1780, 18) und *Bassillus* (*Rep.*² 497). Diese Namensippe um *Bassus* fehlt bei Kajanto, weil er sie als dialektisch – natürlich verkehrt – urteilte.

**Bonata* Kajanto 256 aus *CIL* III 3314 verschwindet. Es muss *Boniata* gelesen werden: *RIU* 1004.

Brundisinus: Kajanto 193 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 161. Den dort angeführten Belegen aus Brundisium, wo der Name häufig vorkommt,

² Stein, *PIR* führt einige Homonyme an, die möglicherweise nicht identisch mit dem Praefectus Aegypti sind.

hinzuzufügen *AE* 2001, 862 (hier Frauenname). 2005, 380. Dazu in Rom *NSc* 1919, 321 (Frauenname).

Calvio: Kajanto 235 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2005, 573 (Altinum). *Suppl. It.* 15 Ateste 36 (Freigelassener). *ILJug.* 1706 (Dalmatien). Christlich: *RICG* I 12 (Trier).

Castinianus: Kajanto 252 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu Prévot, *IChrMactar* XII 59.

Castinius: *ILAlg* II 8817 (Uzelis). Vgl. *Castinia Rep.* 310.

Castinus: Kajanto 252 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1911, 25 (Aragenua in der Lugdunensis). 1981, 734 (Ulpiana). 1982, 701 (Lugdunum Convenarum). *ILBulg* 271. *SEG* XIV 582. *IG* XIV 2266 (Florentia, 424 n. Chr.). *IL Afr* 162, 68 (Ammaedara). *ILAlg* I 2429.

Certianus: *CIL* VIII 4555.³ Kajanto 254 kennt nur den Frauennamen *Certiana* (ein Beleg).

Clarilla: Kajanto 279 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *RAL* 1971, 789 Nr. 8 = *AE* 1971, 100 (Casinum, Sklavin). *HEp* 2, 185e (Clunia).

Clario: Kajanto 279 mit drei Belegen. *Rep.*² 498. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 8 Cingulum 9 (Freigelassener). *I. Aquileia* 676. Unsicher bleibt *ILJug* 1588 (Breza in Dalmatien) *Clario*, wo auch Dativ von *Clarius* vorliegen kann.⁴

! *Clarius* aus *Rep.* 314 ist besser als griechischer Stoff zu deuten, vgl. unten 241.

Cliens: Kajanto 313 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1928, 7a (Rom, Sklave). *AE* 2005, 498 (Lucus Feroniae). Für den entsprechenden Frauennamen *Clienta* verzeichnet Kajanto einen Beleg. Dazu noch *CIL* IX 2033 (Beneventum) *Viciria Clienta* (das Cognomen wurde von alten Gewährsleuten verschiedentlich gelesen, eine Autopsie am 12. Oktober 2008 mit Paola Caruso hat dies als richtige Lesung bestätigt). *Inscr. It.* X 5, 298.⁵

Coma: Kajanto 222 fünfmal als Männername und einmal als Frauenname. Dazu als Männername *AE* 2000, 1326 (Philippi). *BGU* 610 = *CPL*

³ Der Beleg fehlt im Cognominaindex des *CIL* VIII; der Name ist in der Tat akephal, dürfte aber feststehen, denn es gibt keine anderen Cognomina auf *-certianus* (wenn denn C nicht sicher ist).

⁴ So G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, 177.

⁵ Der Text ist fragmentarisch und die Deutung nicht unmittelbar, doch scheint zumindest *Clienta* festzustehen; s. *Samnium* 81 (2008).

115 (140 n. Chr.) *M. Alfius Coma exsignifer*. Frauennamen: *CIL* X 328 (christl.). Sexus unbestimmt:⁶ *CIL* VI 1803 (der Vater stammt aus Thamugadis). XI 2975.

Cominianus: Kajanto 144 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2005, 1263 (Aquincum) *C. Cominius*.

Commodiana: Kajanto 256 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 25078 *Comodiana*.

Commodianus: Kajanto 256. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 169. Dazu *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 6 (Aurelius). *IGRR* I 1216 (Thebai in Ägypten, Commodus).

Concordianus: Kajanto 255 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 9736. 11479(?). *EE* VIII 410 (Puteoli).

!Constantiana: *CIL* IX 659. Kajanto 258 führt versehentlich diesen Beleg unter den Männernamen an.

Constantianus: Kajanto 258 mit vier Belegen. Dazu zwei spätantike Beamten *PLRE* III 333–337 Nr. 1–2 (6. Jh., der erstere stammt aus dem Illyricum). *CIL* XIII 8333. *ILBulg* 18. Unsicher, ob PN in *AE* 1987, 975*b* (Thebai in Ägypten).

Constantilla: Kajanto 258 mit einem Beleg aus Salona. Dazu, ebenfalls aus Salona, *BullDalm* 34 (1911) 34 (vgl. *ILJug* III S. 317).

Costa: Kajanto 226 mit sieben Belegen (davon 3 Senatoren und 2 Frauen). Dazu Plut. *Cic.* 26, 9 Πόπλιος Κῶστα (von Cicero zitierter Zeuge).

Crispiana: Ulp. *dig.* 35, 3, 3, 4. *CIL* XII 1726. Kajanto hat nur *Crispianus* (s. den folgenden Eintrag).⁷

Crispianus: Kajanto 223 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001). 39 (2005) 163. Ferner war der Name im 2. Jh. n. Chr. in einer messenischen Familie in Gebrauch: *IG* V 1, 1469 (126 n. Chr.) Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Κρισπιανοῦ υἱὸς Ἀριστομένης (derselbe *I. Olympia* 446); der in *SEG* LIII 39 (139 n. Chr.) aufgetauchte Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Κρισπιανὸς Γεμνιανός war wohl ein naher Verwandter.

Δεκμίων: *Arctos* 34 (2000) 150 aus Boiotien. 41 (2007) 93 aus Kos. Ferner *SEG* LIV 235, 128 (Athen, ca. 50 v. Chr.).

Denticulus: Kajanto 224 mit einem Beleg. Hier sei auf eine alte Streiffrage hingewiesen, ob in Cic. *Phil.* 2, 56 *Lenticula* oder *Denticulus* (so F. Buecheler, *Kleine Schriften* I 51–53) verstanden werden soll. Heute wird zwischen den

⁶ Bang im Nominaindex des *CIL* S. 4 und Vidman im Cognominaindex sehen hier einen Männernamen. Das geht aber aus dem Text nicht hervor. Wenn aber die Person mit L. Aelius Coma *CIL* VI 9240 identisch wäre, dann stünde der Sexus fest.

⁷ Kajanto schreibt im Lemma *Crispianus/na*, gibt aber keine Belege für den Frauennamen.

beiden geschwankt. Für die erstere Alternative plädieren, außer älteren Editionen wie Clark oder Denniston (aber auch neuere wie Shackleton Bailey und Ramsey), z. B. Kajanto 336; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Speeches*, Stuttgart 1988, 62; Ders., *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*, Atlanta 1991², 30. 94. Dagegen treten manche neuere Ausgaben für *Denticulus* ein (Boulangier, Kasten, Fuhrmann, Lacey, Fedeli), von den älteren etwa Ker.

Dextrianus: Kajanto 250 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *PIR*² H 70 (Suffektkonsul zwischen 180 und 186). *CIL* VI 10674. XV 7319. *Epigraphica* 19 (1951) 101 (Rom, ein Eques singularis). Wessel, *IGCVO* 353 (Catina, Δεξτρανός). *AE* 1902, 11. 147 (Lambaesis).

Domnina: Kajanto 362. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 171. 39 (2005) 164. Dazu *AE* 2005, 1723 (Tochter eines *ex gregale* unbekannter Herkunft).

Domninus: Kajanto 362. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 176. 38 (2004) 171. 39 (2005) 164. 41 (2007) 93. Dazu *SEG* LIV 1486 (Anazarbos, 252 n. Chr.).

Domnula: Kajanto 363 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 9668. 9775. 26566. *I. Aquileia* 3152. *AE* 2005, 1257 (Aquincum).

Eburnus: Kajanto 227 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu *AE* 1973, 349 (Avaricum in Aquitanien) Gen. *Eburni Iul*(---). Wenn nicht Gentilname, wie in *Rep.* 71 angenommen?

Epidianus: Kajanto 146 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 1058 VII, 89. III 1488 vgl. *IDR* III 2, 372 *Ael. Macrinus Epidianus [qui e?]t Epidius* (so der Editor). 1747 Duovir in Epidaurum. 12680 = 13818 (Doclea). *ILJug* 1830. 1851.

Erucianus: Kajanto 146 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg* II 4582 *[E]rucian*(---).

Faber: Kajanto 322 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 177 (wohl als Cognomen zu verstehen).

Fidentina: Kajanto 257 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.*² 499. Dazu *I. Barcelona* 78.

Firmillus: Kajanto 258 mit drei Belegen aus *CIL* (der Frauename *Firmilla* ist üblich). Dazu *CIL* II² 5, 932 Ventippo in der Baetica). 7, 937–8 (Iulipa in der Baetica). *AE* 1981, 558 (Hisp. cit.).

Firminianus: Kajanto 258 mit acht Belegen aus *CIL* III. Außerhalb dieses Gebiets *CIL* VI 20941. Unbekannter Herkunft *AE* 1976, 640 (Perinthos) Soldat der Legio I adiutrix.

Firmulus: Kajanto 259 mit drei Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *CIL* IV 4155 (aufgrund der Autopsie, anders der Editor).

Flaccianus: Kajanto 146 = 240. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 177. Dazu noch *AE* 1941, 96 (Sentinum). *ILA* 388 (Carthago). *IRT* 114 (Sabratha). – Der in *Arctos* 37 zitierte Beleg aus Ager Albanus bezieht sich auf den Frauennamen *Flacciana*, nicht auf den Männernamen.

Flaccilianus: *Rep.* 332 aus Philadelpheia. Dazu *AE* 1985, 527 (Lusitanien).

Flaccillus: Kajanto 240 mit einem Beleg (*Flacillus* in der *Tarraconensis*). Dazu *I. Ephesos* 667. 823 Φλάκκιλλος.

Flaccinus: Kajanto 240 mit fünf Belegen, meistens aus Hispanien. Dazu *AE* 1983, 584 (Aquae Flaviae). *HEp* 13, 898 (Civitas Igaeditanorum).

Φλακκίων: *I. Cos* EF 711.

Φλαμμίνα: Audollent *Def. tab.* 188 besser D. Jordan, *Mediterraneo antico* 7 (2004) 705 (unbekannter Herkunft) [Φ]λαμμείνα, Mutter von Nikomedes. Eine weitere Ableitung aus *Flamma* neben *Flammula* und dem gleich unten folgenden *Flammis*, eine vorzüglich erklärbare Bildung, so dass kein Grund besteht, hier mit Jordan 705f eine entstellte Form des Namens *Flaminia* zu sehen, im Gegensatz ist dies eher unwahrscheinlich. – Zu dem in derselben Defixion vorkommenden Namen MHPH (überliefert Dat. Μήρη) vergleicht Jordan zögernd lat. *Merens*, das kein Name ist. Ist hier vielleicht der Name Μήτρης verkannt worden? Dieses Anthroponym scheint in der afrikanischen Defixio Audollent 251 vorzukommen (Dat. *Metrete* von einem Venator).⁸ Vgl. Μητρῶς (Bechtel *HPN* 317f), üblich in Griechenland, wie auch *Metra(s)* im römischen Westen.

Φλαμμίς: *P. Marm.* VI 26, eine Οὐαλερία. Der Männername *Flamma* ist öfters im griechischen Osten, zumal in der Kyrenaika,⁹ belegt, und schon deswegen bereitet es keinerlei Schwierigkeiten, diese neue Bildung mit dem gräzisierungsfähigen Suffix *-is* festzulegen.

Florilla: Kajanto 234 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 177. Dazu *AE* 1974, 296 = 1999, 544 (Velia). 1991, 654 (Pisae, Freigelassene). *IRPLeón* 108 = 162 (Asturica).

Fuscinilla: Kajanto 228 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *PIR*² F 76 aus *CIL* VI 31711 *Fabia Fuscinilla clarissima ... femina ... Petelina domo orta*.

⁸ Audollent S. 444 vermutet ohne Grund einen Nominativ *Metreta*.

⁹ S. *LGPNI* 475.

Fusc(u)linus: *AE* 1951, 101 (Augusta Rauricorum) Vater *Fusculus*.

!*Fusculus -a:* Kajanto 228 mit vier Belegen für den Männernamen, fünf für den Frauennamen. Männernamen noch in *Inscr. It. X* 5, 170. *I. Galicia* 771. Andererseits entferne das Falsum *CIL VI* 2993 = 3613*. – Als Frauennamen noch *I. Aquileia* 568. *IRC IV* 163. *ERLara* 157. *ILAlg II* 4929. *AE* 2004, 1746 (Limisa in Byzacena).

Γαβ(ε)ιανός: *IGI Napoli* 224–226. Entweder auf *Gabianus* (Kajanto 147 mit einem Beleg) oder *Gavianus* (ebendort, mit 10 Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes) zu beziehen.

Gabinianus: Kajanto 147 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *ILN V* 73 (Vienna). *ILAlg I* 2125 (derselbe 2145, *eq. R.*). 2127 (beide Madauros).

Gabinus: Kajanto 182 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 23960.

Gaiana: Kajanto 172. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 173. 39 (2005) 169 mit östlichen Belegen. Weiterer östliche Belege *SEG LIV* 1210 (Nordost-Lydien); *I. Köln* 302 aus Sidon. Ferner *EpigrMarsi 97a* (Pescina). *ICUR* 22473.

Gaudentianus: Kajanto 260 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1977, 207 (Nola, christl., 6. Jh.). 1997, 515 (Volaterrae, Bischof, aber 2. Hälfte des 7. Jh.).

Gaudianus: Kajanto 260 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1956, 73 (Tibur, Freigelassener Hadrians).

Gaudinus: Kajanto 260 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1902, 11. 147 (Lambaesis, *Aurelius*).

Gaudio: Kajanto 260 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *SEG XLII* 582 (Kalindoia in Makedonien, 68–98 n. Chr.) Διοσκουρίδης Γαυδίου.

Gaudius: Kajanto 260 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1995, 490 (Luna) *Cl(audius) Gaudius* (anders die Erstherausgeberin).

Hadrianus: Kajanto 187. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 174 mit östlichen Belegen. Dazu aus dem Westen *AE* 2005, 249 (Ricina, regio V).

Helvianus: Kajanto 148 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *IRConvPacensis* 208 (Caetobriga). *IG IV²* 2, 775 (1. Jh. n. Chr.) Ἑλβια[νός].

!*Herculianus:* Kajanto 215 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2005, 1636 (schon *SB XIV* 11979 = *SEG XXVIII* 1536; Ägypten) Ἡρκουληϊανός; wegen der Schreibweise sollte man erwägen, ob das auf Latein *Herculeianus* heißen sollte, welche Namensform nicht belegt ist.

Hilarilla: Kajanto 261 mit einem Beleg aus Dalmatien. Dazu *Bull. com.* 51 (1923 [1924]) 101 Nr. 123 (Rom, Sklavin).

Hirpinus: Kajanto 185 mit sechs Belegen. *Rep.*² 500 (s. v. *Hircinus*). Dazu *AE* 1979, 182 (Lampe unbekannter Herkunft) ein *Aug. l. a rationib(u)s de statione Aug. Mediola(nensi) Portinaria*. 2005, 415 (Salapia, Freigelassener).

Iduarius: Kajanto 219 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XV 1239 *Q. Lepidi Q. f. Iduari* (1. Jh. n. Chr., Lesung sicher).

Importunus -a: Kajanto 266 einem Beleg für den Männernamen und zwei Belegen für den Frauennamen. *Rep.*² 500 (Männernamen). Dazu der Konsul 509 n. Chr. Der Frauenname noch *AE* 2005, 637 (unbekannter Herkunft). Der Name ist ausschließlich christlich.

Incitatus: Kajanto 248 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1982, 104 (Rom). *HEp* 2, 57 (Ebusus). 7, 589 (Calagurris). *IRCatalogue* V 179 (Emporiae).

Induster: Kajanto 259 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *ICUR* 12304.

Innocens: Kajanto 252 mit drei sicheren Belegen als Name. Der Name kommt mit einiger Sicherheit noch in folgenden altchristlichen stadtrömischen Inschriften vor: *ICUR* 13172. 14140. 14354. Weniger sichere Fälle sind *ICUR* 24424 *Iulio Innocenti* (der Editor Ferrua fasst den Namen als *Iulius Innocens* auf, wie aus dem Namenindex S. 402 hervorgeht, ebenso gut kann aber *Iulius* der allein stehende Rufname sein). 26475 *Innocens puer quiescit in pace* (schwer festzustellen, ob links etwas fehlt; eher wohl Epitheton [nicht im Namenindex verzeichnet]). 27096 (überliefert von alten Gewährsleuten in der Form *INNOCINB*, was im Kommentar als *Innocin(ti) b(enemerenti)* gedeutet wird, während im Namenindex *Innocinb* als Schreibfehler für *Innocins* erklärt wird; jedenfalls bleibt der onomastische Charakter ganz in der Luft hängen). 27427 *Innoces pu[er ---]* (im Namenindex verzeichnet, wenn aber *innocens* in derselben Wendung in 26475 keinen Zugang in den Namenindex erhalten, sollte dasselbe hier geschehen). Ein weiterer unsicherer Fall außerhalb Roms: *CIL* XI 6473 = *ICI* VI 132 (Pisaurum) *Fl(avius) Mauricius Innocens cives Gallus pelegrinus*. Der Wortlaut lässt *Innocens* am ehesten als ein Namenselement zu nehmen; wäre *innocens* Adjektiv, würde man es nicht vor *cives Gallus* placiert sehen.

Insulanus -a: Kajanto 308 mit einem Männernamen- und einem Frauennamenbeleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 203. Dazu *AE* 2005, 678 (Pantelleria) *L. Appuleius M. f. Q[uir(ina) In]sulanus* (die Ergänzung hat viel für sich). Es sei hier nachgetragen, dass der in *Arctos* 35 angeführte Mann in *PIR*² M 239 verzeichnet ist.

Iovica: *Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 140. Zur Erklärung vgl. unten 243; dort auch zu einer vermeintlichen keltischen Herleitung.

Iubilator: Kajanto 261 mit einem (christlichen) Beleg. Dazu *IGUR* 160 II, 642 (Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Iulitta: Kajanto 171. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 203. 39 (2005) 170. Dazu *SEG* LIV 1789 (Ägypten?) Εἰουλείττα.

Iustula: Kajanto 252 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ILAlg* II 5761.

Larga: Kajanto 256 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ILJug* 2215 (Salona).

Lautinus: Kajanto 232 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *NSc* 1928, 353 (Rom).

Lentinus: Kajanto 249 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *AE* 1953, 56 (Rom) *T. Iulius T. Iuli f. Vol. Lentinus praefect(us) fabrum ex civitate Tricassium*. *IRC* IV 230. *IRGalicia* III 38. *RIU* 1238 (*eq. coh. III Bat(avorum)*). *RIU* Suppl. 27. Es kann teilweise keltisches Namengut vorliegen.

Lentiscus: *CIL* XIII 10010, 1129 (vasculum Gallicum). Da die Sippe häufig in westlichen Provinzen vorkommt und das Suffix *-iscus* keltisch gefärbt ist, kann auch einheimischer Stoff vorliegen. Doch bietet der keltische Namenschatz keine schlagenden Parallelen, so dass letzten Endes doch ein rein lateinischer Namen vorliegen dürfte.¹⁰

Lento: Kajanto 249 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu *CIL* X 194 (unsicher).

Liberatus -a: Kajanto 353 mit vier Belegen für den Männernamen, neun für den Frauennamen. Dazu der Männernamen *AE* 1968, 136 (Beneventum). 1971, 501 (christl.). 1975, 904 (christl.). *PLRE* III 790. – Der Frauennamen *AE* 1972, 692g (Ammaedara, christl.).

Lucerna: *AE* 2005, 424 (Aeclanum, christlich, spät). Der Beleg ist, aus dem der Erstpublikation beigelegten Photo zu schließen,¹¹ einwandfrei. Von der Namensippe war bisher nur das im folgenden angeführte *Lucernio* bekannt.

Lucernio: Kajanto 343. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 206. Dazu *ICUR* 26397.

Lucusta als Männernamen: Kajanto 333 mit einem Beleg für den Männernamen (11mal bei Frauen). Dazu *CIL* V 3803. 3806 (Verona). 5164. *AE* 1991, 855 (Bergomum). 2005, 1106 (Germania superior) *T. Silius Lucusta*.

Lucustianus: *ILAlg* II 2401 (Castellum Celtianum).

¹⁰ Etwa D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*, Oxford 1967 und K. H. Schmidt, Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen, *ZCPH* 26 (1957), 31ff bieten nichts Vergleichbares.

¹¹ C. Lambert, *VetChr.* 42 (2005) 302 Nr. 4. Vgl. auch Dies., *Studi di epigrafia tardoantica e medievale in Campania* 1, Borgo S. Lorenzo 2008, 62 fig. 15.

Lucustinus -a: Kajanto 333 mit zwei Belegen für den Männernamen und drei für den Frauennamen, alle aus Africa. Dazu als Männername *Bull. com.* 23 (1895) 199 Nr. 300 (Rom, Sklave). *ILAlg* I 2391 (Madauros). II 9259 (Castellum Arsacalitanum). Als Frauename *ILAlg* I 1427 (Thubursicu Numidarum).

Macrinianus: Kajanto 245 mit drei Belegen aus einer Senatorenfamilie. Dazu *ICUR* 21861 *Iullo Macrinia[no]* (so überliefert). *RIU* 1010 (3. Jh.).

Maiorica: Kajanto 294: neben zahlreichen afrikanischen (denen hinzuzufügen *AE* 1978, 870. 1997, 1718. *ILA* 208. *ILAlg* I 2326. 2415. II 8179. *ILT* 1109, 48) Belegen sonst nur einmal belegt, und zwar in Ostia. Dazu ein weiterer ostiensischer Beleg: *IPO* A 17. Der Männername *Maioricus* ist seltener: Kajanto gibt nur einen (christlichen) Beleg aus Africa. Dazu *AE* 1912, 65 = 1998, 1555 (prov. proc.). *ILAlg* II 6974.

Marcilla: Kajanto 169 = 173 mit zwei Belegen (der erstere fehlt 169). Dazu *CIL* X 8053, 274 (Lampentempel in Cagliari). *IRT* 754u (Leptis Magna). Es wird sich um eine Nebenform von *Marcella* handeln, wenn nicht zu *Marcus* (vgl. *Plautius* ~ *Plautilla*). Das gilt auch für *Marcillina* aus Edessa Feissel, *IChrMacéd.* 54.

Modestianus: Kajanto 263 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *IRConvPacensis.* 134 (Vater *Modestus*). *RECAM* V 233 (Pisidien) Τρωίλος Μοδεστιανοῦ.

Mundus: Kajanto 232. Jetzt auch im Senatorenstand belegt: *PIR*² S 1013.

Musc(u)losus: Kajanto 232 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *IGUR* 1010 Μουσκλ-. *NSc* 1923, 393 (Rom, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.). *AE* 1979, 407a (Augustodunum).

Natta: Kajanto 322 mit drei Belegen außerhalb der republikanischen Pinarii Nattae. Dazu Tac. *ann.* 4, 34, 1 (*PIR*² P 410). *Collezione epigr. Musei Capitolini* 78 (ein Cornelius wie es scheint).

Navina: Kajanto 259 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* II² 7, 60a (Isturgi).

**Nervilla*: der einzige von Kajanto 247 angeführte Beleg verschwindet, in der Inschrift ist *Nerulla* zu lesen; andererseits kommt der in *Arctos* 38 (2004) 179 angeführte Name Νέρβιλλα an seine Stelle, sofern die überlieferte Form im Akk. NEPBΕΙΑΑΝ hierher gehört.

!*Nitentius*: Kajanto 232 mit zwei Belegen. Der eine bezieht sich auf eine Familie o. ä. auf Ziegelstempeln (vollständige Nachweise in *CIL* XV 1482. 2321. 2340),¹² die wohl stets den Genetiv Pluralis *Nitentiorum* aufzuweisen

¹² Kajanto zitiert nur *CIL* XIV 4091, 34, wohl weil Bloch im Supplement zu *CIL* XV den Namen im Gentiliciaindex anführt.

scheinen. Es bleibt aber ein Problem: Dressel in *CIL XV* datiert 2321 und 2340 ins 1. Jh., freilich etwa zögernd.¹³ Wenn dem so ist, dann kann *Nitentius* unmöglich ein Cognomen sein, denn die mit dem Suffix *-ius* aus Partizipien abgeleitete Cognomina kommen in Gebrauch erst seit Ende des 2. Jh. *Nitentius* müsste ein Gentilname sein,¹⁴ welcher aber sonst nirgends belegt ist, und auch in der römischen Namengebung eine sehr ungewöhnliche Bildung wäre. Als ein plausibler Ausweg wäre, dass Dressel mit seiner Datierung geirrt habe und dass die 'Familie' der Nitentii in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jh. gehört; einer späteren Datierung steht die rechteckige Form des Stempels entgegen. In dem Fall wäre *Nitentius* als eine Art Signum deutbar, als ein ‚club name‘ verwendet, und würde einen sehr frühen Beleg dieses Namentyps darstellen.

Numa: Kajanto 179 mit drei Belegen als Männername. Dazu *PIR*² C 67 kaiserlicher Procurator der Provinz Asia. *HEp* 1, 218 (= *CIL* II 5122, Baesippo).

Octavilla: Kajanto 169 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *Septimia Octavilla*, Schwester des Septimius Severus *PIR*² S 500. *AE* 2001, 221 (Rom).

Orata: Kajanto 297 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2005, 388 (Brundisium).

Oratus: Kajanto 297 mit drei Belegen (alle Sklavennamen). Dazu *CIL* VI 1057 II, 81 (205 n. Chr.).

Pansina: *AE* 1969–1970, 106 (Senatorin). Kajanto 241 kennt nur den Männernamen *Pansinus* (aus *CIL* XII 2358).

Parcus: Kajanto 260 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ILBelg* 141.

Piperio: Kajanto 340 mit einem Beleg (spät). *Rep.*² 502. Dazu C. R. Morey, *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library*, Città del Vaticano 1959, 6 Nr. 19 (spät). *AE* 2005, 1127 (Mogontiacum).

Praepositus: Kajanto 317 mit einem Beleg (aus Hispanien). Dazu *SB* 6009 = *SEG* LIV 1762 (Thebai in Ägypten, 590–620 n. Chr.) Πραιπόσιτος πρεσβύ(τερος).

Prior: Kajanto 294 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 10169. *RAL* 1970, 211 (Rom).

Purpurio: Kajanto 230 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 182. Dazu *CIL* VI 15475. *Suppl. It.* 20 *Venusia* 52 (2. Jh. n. Chr.). 27. *BRGK* 80, 3.

¹³ Von 2321 sagt er "saec. I ut vid.", von 2340 "saec. I (?)".

¹⁴ Bloch im Supplement zu *CIL XV* placiert *Nitentius* in den Gentilnamenindex, M. Steinby, *Indici complementari ai bolli doliari urbani (CIL XV, 1)* (ActaIRF 11), Roma 1987, 90 wiederum hält es für ein Cognomen. Blochs Deutung kann von Dressels Datierung herrühren.

Quinquatralis m.: Kajanto 220 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *Bull. com.* 91 (1986) 786 (Rom, Freigelassener). *NSc* 1953, 283 (Ostia).

Repertus: Kajanto 355 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 137. Dazu noch *AE* 2005, 977 (Arelate).

Restio: Kajanto 322 mit 4 Belegen (davon zu entfernen *CIL* IX 1940, wo *restio* zu verstehen).¹⁵ Dazu *CIL* VI 34433.

Reverentius: Kajanto 254 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.*² 503 (Rom, chr.). Dazu *RIT* 975 (chr.).

Rhenus: Kajanto 203 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 183. Dazu *AE* 2005, 274 (Rom).

Rixa: Kajanto 267 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2005, 313 (Atina). *CIL* IV 1358 (ebenso gut kann das Subst. vorliegen). *I. Aquileia* 497. *CIL* III 7164 (Samos) *L. Cornelius L. f. Pal. Rixa*. Der Name kann vorzüglich als lateinisch erklärt werden (man hat auch an keltische Onymie gedacht).

Rufellus: Kajanto 230 mit einem Beleg (*Rufe[l]lus*). Jetzt vollständig *CIL* VI 2442 *praetoriano coh. Ic(enturia) Rufelli*. Oder Gent. *Rufellius*?

Ruma: Kajanto 226 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 7076 (Freigelassener). 26171.

Ruma f.: *CIL* XII 5093 (Narbo, Freigelassene). *RMD* IV 223 (Pannonierin). Leber, *I. Kärnten* 265. Vgl. den oben angeführten Männernamen *Ruma*. Es handelt sich aber eher um epichorischen Stoff.

Saburrio: s. unten 236.

Saburtilla: *Rep.* 395. *Rep.*² 503 mit altchristlichen stadtrömischen Belegen (dazu vgl. auch *Arctos* 33 [1999] 189f). Dazu *AE* 2005, 1256 (Aquincum).

Salsula: Kajanto 261 mit acht Belegen (vornehmlich aus Africa). Dazu *ICUR* 14618. *ILAlg* II 4819 (Thibilis).

Salsulus: Kajanto 261 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 13525. 20944 *Aurelius*. *ILAlg* II 176.

Satrianus: Kajanto 154 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 41 (2007) 103. Dazu *SB* 7472 (164/165 n. Chr.) ὁ κρᾶτιστος; vgl. *PIR*² S 728. *EE* VIII 371 (Puteoli). *AE* 1992, 468. 469 (Potaissa in Dakien).

Satulinus: *Graff. Pal.* II 102. Wohl nur Nebenform von *Satullinus*, von dem Kajanto 233 zwei Belege verzeichnet.

¹⁵ Vgl. H. Solin, *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum X. Passato, presente, futuro*, in: *Epigrafi e studi epigrafici in Finlandia*, a cura di H. Solin (ActaIRF 19) 115f.

Scaevinus: Kajanto 243 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu Tac. *hist.* 1, 77,3 (*PIR*² P 127; die Überlieferung unsicher, Text korrupt). *AE* 1922, 126 (Interamna Lirenas). *CIL* II² 7, 922 (aus Emerita). *Fouilles de Conimbriga* II (1976) 64.

Scaurianus: Kajanto 242 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *PIR*² S 245 (Procurator der Provinz Asien, 3. Jh.).

Scutarius: Kajanto 320 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. Schon in der Zeit von Actium bei einem Soldaten belegt: Suet. *Aug.* 56, 4 vgl. *PIR*² S 278.

Senex: Kajanto 301 mit 13 Belegen aus *CIL*. Auch im Senatorenstand: *PIR*² L 324 L. *Lollius Senex* (Mitte 2. Jh.).

Sertorianus: Kajanto 155 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1909, 43 (Bleirohr, Rom) *Sex. Coc(ceius) S.*, vielleicht ein Senator.¹⁶

Servilla: Kajanto 170 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 178. 41 (2007) 103. Dazu die Senatorin Plautia Servilla *CIL* XV 7514 (*PIR*² P 487).

Settidianus: *AE* 2005, 542 (Nesactium) Senator im 2. Jh., aus der lokalen Familie der Settidii.

Severius: *AE* 1998, 910 (Augusta Praetoria, Amphorengraffito, nicht datiert) *Severius*; also Einzelname. *AM* 35 (1910) 485 (Pergamon) Κλ(αύδιος) Σεβήριος. Im ersten Beleg kann auch der Gentilname *Severius* in der Funktion eines Cognomens vorliegen; im zweiten scheint es sich deutlicher um ein echtes Cognomen zu handeln.

Sextilla: Kajanto 170 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *HEp* 3, 254. 11, 150. *IRT* 525. 634 (beide Leptis Magna).

Sillianus: *CIL* XIV 2831 C. *Seius M. f. Quir. Calpurnius Quadratus Sillianus* (2. Jh.); zur Lesung des Cognomens s. *PIR*² S 315.

Siloniana: Kajanto 237 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *IRC* IV 54 (Barcino).

Sima: *CIL* VI 14405 (Freigelassene). Auch in meinem *Namenbuch* 746 als griechisch. Kajanto 237 (mit einem Beleg) kennt nur den Männernamen *Simus* (der auch als griechisch deutbar ist).

Sincerus: Kajanto 253 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *I. Galicia* II 20 = *IRLugo* 56.

Sospes: Kajanto 232. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 186. 41 (2007) 103. Zu den östlichen Belegen noch *PIR*² S 785.

Sponsianus: Kajanto 305 mit einem Agnomenbeleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 219. Dazu ein Usurpator aus der Mitte des 3. Jh.: *PIR*² S 803.

¹⁶ Vgl. W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit* 2, Basel – Berlin 1998, 265.

Strigo: Kajanto 244 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 1622. 21358 (geschr. *Strico*). 33027. IV 10188 (falsch *Sirico* der Editor).

Subatianus: Kajanto 156 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand (Konsul 210 oder 211). Zu derselben Familie gehören noch der Proconsul von Cyprus *PIR*² S 935 und zwei ritterliche Beamten *PIR*² S 936. 937.

Sucinus: Kajanto 341 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.* 409. Dazu *Epigraphica* 13 (1951) 24 Nr. 36 vgl. *PIR*² S 850 (Bleirohr, Rom). *ILAlg* II 4677 (Thibilis).

Surdus: Kajanto 239 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 14661.

Tarinas: *Epigraphica* 70 (2008) 280 (Iuvavum). Vgl. *Tarinales*, Einwohner eines sabinischen Municipiums bei Plin. *nat.* 3, 107 (diese Namensform, deren Überlieferung schwankt, wird durch die neue Inschrift bestätigt).

Tenax: Kajanto 259 mit 15 Belegen. Auch im Senatorenstand: *PIR*² S 273 Scribonius T., Legatus Augusti der Provinz Arabia unter Severus.

Terentilla: Kajanto 170 als Koseform für Maecenas' Frau Terentia. Dazu *AE* 1983, 962 (prov. proc.).

! *Titilianus*: Kajanto 157 hält in der Nachfolge von Dessau (*PIR*¹) den Namen für dubios. Er dürfte aber einwandfrei überliefert sein, vgl. *PIR*² S 97.

Tranquilliana: *ICUR* 9448b. Kajanto kennt nur den unten zu behandelnden Männernamen *Tranquillianus*.

Tranquillianus: Kajanto 262 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *RMD* V 411, *AE* 2005, 1726 und sonst (153 n. Chr.) *C. Ostorius T., Roma*, Kommandant einer Auxiliärtruppe.¹⁷ *ICUR* 9448a.

Turno (?): *IAM* Suppl. 879 (Volubilis). Wenn Deutung und Lesung stimmen, liegt ein interessantes Beispiel des sonst nicht geläufigen Suffixes vor. Nicht fern bleibt *Herculeo* (Kajanto 214), wenn direkt zu *Hercules* (und nicht zu *Herculeus*) gebildet. Freilich steht die ganze Existenz eines solchen Namens auf dem Spiel, denn er ist in der Inschrift ergänzt: Gen. [T]urno[nis].

! *Turnus*: Kajanto 179. Dort zu streichen *CIL* IV 1237, wo der Name des vergilischen Heros vorliegt.

Umbrianus: Kajanto 159 = 188 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1989, 786 (Theveste).

¹⁷ Der Name findet sich vollständig in der von B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* I, Mainz 2004, 101 Nr. 34 publizierten Urkunde vom Jahre 153 n. Chr.

Urbanianus: *Rep.* 416 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (004) 188. Dazu *AE* 1952, 209 = 1954, 212 (Theveste, 494 n. Chr.). Kajanto 159 verzeichnet nur den Frauennamen *Urbaniana* (mit einem Beleg).

Urbiana: *ILAlg* II 9020 (überliefert VRBIENA). Kajanto 159 verzeichnet nur *Urbianus* (mit einem Beleg).

Ursianus: Kajanto 159 = 330 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 20724 (Prätorianer). Pais 824 (Comum).

Velox: Kajanto 248 verzeichnet neben zahlreichen heidnischen Belegen nur einen aus christlichen Urkunden; dazu Greg. M. *epist.* 2, 7 (Umbrien, 591 n. Chr.).

Βεττινιανός: *AE* 2005, 338 (3. Jh.) aus Hierokaisareia in Lydien. Der Name vertritt *Vettinianus*. Vgl. Βεττηνιανός *Arctos* 38 (2004) 166.

Vincomalos Vincomalus: *Rep.*² 423. 505. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 189. Dazu *JlWE* I 111 = *Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 297 υἱὸς τοῦ Βιν[κ]ομάλο[υ]; vgl. unten 246.

Vindemialis: Kajanto 218 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *Epigraphica* 28 (1966) 36 (Rom, Bind-). *ICUR* 12606. *AE* 1912, 65 = 1998, 1555 (prov. proc.). *IChrMactar* 34.

! *Viratus* Kajanto 257 aus *CIL* 10010, 2052 könnte auch den germanischen Namen *Viriathus* vertreten.

Vocula: Kajanto 364 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2005, 465 (Carsulae, frühe Kaiserzeit). Ob der Name als etruskisch einzustufen sei, wie Schulze, *ZGLE* 381 geltend macht, stehe dahin.

Volscus: Kajanto 180 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2005, 303 (Ostia, 6 n. Chr.) Duovir, ein *Q. Setinus*. *CIL* III 2876 (dieser Beleg aus Dalmatien kann auch als illyrisch beurteilt werden).

CCXLV. FALSCHER NAMEN

Aphroditus. S. Weiss, in *Von Anfang an. Archäologie in Nordrhein-Westfalen* (Schriften zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Nordrhein-Westfalen 8), Mainz 2005, 417 (= *AE* 2005, 1071) publiziert Fragment einer Ölamphore mit dem links fragmentarischen Text *[Ap]hroditus / [- I]unias / [I]ucundus*. Der erste Name ist natürlich *Epaphroditus*. Leider geistert das Monstrum *Aphroditus* auch sonst in Publikationen von Inschriften (siehe z. B. *Anal. epigr.* 192). Man wundert sich auch über die Existenzberechtigung eines sonst nirgends belegten Namens

Iunias (die in der Grußliste des Römerbriefes im Akkusativ Ἰουνιῶν erwähnte Person, die in vergangenen Zeiten oft als Mann im Umlauf gewesen ist [in dem Fall würde der Nominativ Ἰουνιῶς lauten], kann ebenso gut eine Frau gewesen sein). Ich bemerke dies eigens, weil im Cognominaindex von *AE* 2005 S. 704 ein Name *Iunias* postuliert wird, während der Erstherausgeber richtig gesehen hat, dass hier ein Kalenderdatum vorliegt.

Quies. In *AE* 2005, 537b (Vada Sabatia, 7.–8. Jh.) *Quies Racha<l>dis, Siqui et Auna<l>t* ist das erste Wort in den Cognominaindex von *AE* eingeschlichen. *Quies* ist aber kein Name, sondern einfach *quies*, auch von dem Editor princeps erkannt.¹⁸

CCXLVI. VERKANNTEN IDENTITÄTEN UND VERWANDTES

CIL VI 1128* = X 1963.¹⁹ Die Inschrift ist echt und stadtrömisch. Sie wurde von Ligorio, *Neap.* I. 39 f. 142v an der via Appia angezeigt (*trouato nella via Appia, dentro la vigna di M. Battista d' Anagna*). Da alle anderen alten Gewährsleute von Ligorio abhängen, hat Henzen, *CIL* VI 1128* die Inschrift unter die Fälschungen verbannt. Henzen ist ja, was die nur von Ligorio überlieferten Inschriften angeht, sehr rigoros vorgegangen, nicht immer aber zu Recht, wie man auch an diesem Fall sieht.²⁰ Das Stück wurde nämlich im 17. Jahrhundert von zwei verlässlichen Autoren, von dem Salernitaner Matteo Girolamo Maz(z)a am Anfang des Jahrhunderts in seiner Villa in Posillipo bei Neapel und im Jahre 1662 von dem Holsteiner Marquard Gude abgeschrieben; von ihnen Mommsen, *CIL* X 1963. So ist die Echtheit der Inschrift über allen Zweifel erhaben. Leider ist sie verschollen. Die Inschriften der Villa Maza, die noch im Jahre 1809 vorhanden waren, wurden von dem Museum in Neapel gekauft; da der Stein sich dort nicht auffinden lässt, wurde er wahrscheinlich vor 1809 aus der Sammlung Maza entfernt, und ist spurlos verschwunden. Die Textgestaltung bei Ligorio und Maza/Gude weist keine Unterschiede auf, auch die Zeilenverteilung ist identisch.

¹⁸ G. Mennella, *RSL* 71 (2005) 66.

¹⁹ Ich habe auf die Identität schon in: *Ligorianen und Verwandtes*, in *E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften*. Hrsg. von R. Günther und St. Rebenich, Paderborn 1994, 342 hingewiesen. Da sie aber in A. Fassbenders *Index numerorum. Ein Findbuch zum Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* nicht verzeichnet ist, habe ich es vorgezogen, sie hier dem Publikum mitzuteilen.

²⁰ Im übrigen vgl. meine in der vorigen Anm. angeführte Studie.

CIL X 6747 = VI 36345.²¹ Die Inschrift wurde circa 1870 in Anzio gefunden und von Lanciani publiziert (daraus Mommsen *CIL* X 6747), geriet aber später durch Privathandel nach England und wurde von einem Anonymus im Brasenose College in Oxford abgeschrieben; aus dessen Kopie publizierte Hülsen durch Vermittlung von Zangemeister und Mommsen die Inschrift als neu in *CIL* VI 36345. Am Anfang der Zeile 2 las Lanciani nur [---]X, der anonyme Abschreiber aber ergänzte [*Fel*]/ix. Der Stein muss als verschollen gelten, Nachforschungen in Oxford sind fruchtlos geblieben. Wenigstens im Brasenose College und im Ashmolean Museum (wo er am ehesten hätte enden sollen) findet sich der Stein nicht.

IG XIV 785 = *ICUR* 2896, am 15. Mai 1985 von Mika Kajava und mir im Museum von Neapel aufgenommen). Die Identität wurde schon von Ferrua erkannt,²² da es aber nicht mit völliger Sicherheit feststeht, ob der Stein aus Rom oder Neapel bzw. Puteoli stammt, sei die Frage hier kurz gestreift. Die Inschrift befindet sich seit jeher in Neapel und wurde regelmäßig Neapel bzw. Puteoli zugewiesen. Sie taucht zum ersten Mal in Neapel im Haus des Hauptes der bekannten neapolitanischen Patrizierfamilie Adriano Guglielmo Spadafora,²³ wo sie Accursius, *Cod. Ambr.* D 420 p. 30 und der Burgunder Simon de Vallambert (1535–1560) abgeschrieben haben;²⁴ dessen Kopie ist bei Metellus, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 6039 f. 302v erhalten. Daraus hängen sowohl Gruter 645, 5 als auch Franz, *CIG* 5834 und Kaibel, *IG* XIV 785 ab, der für den Stein puteolanische Herkunft vermutete, jedoch ohne jeglichen Grund. Er war inzwischen ins Museum von Neapel gelangt, wo sie von Fiorelli, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Raccolta epigrafica* II (1868) 1977 und de Rossi abgeschrieben wurde; der letztere sprach der Inschrift wegen Ähnlichkeit mit anderen christlichen Inschriften von Rom stadtrömische Provenienz zu.²⁵ Aus de Rossis Scheden schöpfte Silvagni, *ICUR* 2896 (daraus Wessel, *IGCVO* 154 ohne Kenntnis der früheren Editionen und der Zuweisung auf Neapel).²⁶ Für

²¹ Identität nur in Fassbenders *Index numerorum* 686 und 915 erkannt.

²² A. Ferrua, *Corona delle osservazioni alle iscrizioni di Roma incertae originis* (MemPARA in 8°, 3), Città del Vaticano 1979, 84.

²³ Zu ihm H. Solin, *Arctos* 22 (1988) 149f = *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) 303f und *Puteoli* 12–13 (1988–1989) 67–71.

²⁴ Zu ihm vgl. P. A. Heuser, *Jean Matal. Humanistischer Jurist und europäischer Friedensdenker (um 1517–1597)*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2003, 95. Seine epigraphischen Aktivitäten kennen wir ausschließlich aus Matals Handschriften.

²⁵ "Tabella christianis et romanis inscriptionibus simillima" sagt de Rossi in seinen Scheden.

²⁶ Silvagni kennt Kaibels Edition in *IG* XIV nicht.

stadtrömische Herkunft tritt auch Ferrua ein. Neuerdings wurde die Inschrift mit Photo und Kommentar von Miranda, *IGI Napoli* 122 publiziert, aber wiederum ohne Kenntnis von Silvagnis Edition; sie plädiert entschieden für neapolitanische Herkunft.

Wie soll aber die Herkunft des Steines letzten Endes beurteilt werden? Im Haus Spadafora war eine große, bald aufgelöste Sammlung von Inschriften untergebracht, von denen viele sicher puteolanisch sind; auch fehlen Inschriften aus anderen Nachbarstädten nicht, die aus den phlegräischen Feldern oder aus der Gegend um die Bucht von Neapel stammen, abgesehen von einer capuanischen (*CIL* X 3904) und drei salernitanischen (*CIL* X 596. 1753. 8123) Inschriften. Stadtrömische Inschriften waren in der Sammlung nicht enthalten,²⁷ wenigstens hat keine einzige Inschrift, deren Provenienz unbekannt bleibt, Anzeichen stadtrömischer Herkunft. De Rossis Feststellung von Ähnlichkeiten mit stadtrömischen christlichen Inschriften lässt sich nicht begründen. Deswegen würde ich die Inschrift ohne Bedenken als campanisch bewerten. Ist sie aber eher Neapel oder Puteoli einzustufen? Für Neapel spricht die griechische Sprache und die späte Zeit. Die Inschrift stammt eindeutig aus der Zeit des ausgehenden Altertums. Was Kaibel veranlasst hat, den Stein Puteoli zuzuschreiben, bleibt unklar; vielleicht hat er dabei an die große Zahl von Gewerbetreibenden östlicher Herkunft in Puteoli gedacht, aber Leute aus Antiocheia, wie Heliodoros, sind auch in Neapel zu Genüge bezeugt. Außerdem ging die Bedeutung von Puteoli in der spätesten Phase der Antike sehr zurück. Um das Fazit zu ziehen, scheint mir die beste Zuweisung für unsere Inschrift Neapel zu sein. So glaube ich, dass wir gut beraten waren, diese Inschrift aus dem Katalog der stadtrömischen Inschriften des Museums von Neapel wegzulassen.

CCXLVII. NOCHMALS IONICUS

Ich habe *Arctos* 41 (2007) 109–112 die Existenz von *Ionicus* als Herkunftsangabe in der römischen Überlieferung besprochen. Dabei ist mir ein Zeugnis aus severischer Zeit entgangen, das einiges Interesse beansprucht, die zwei stadtrömischen Inschriften des aus dem lydischen Tripolis stammenden Q. Iulius Miletus *IG* XIV 1092. 1093 = Moretti *IGUR* 1566. 1567 = *CIL* VI 10091,

²⁷ Ich habe *Arctos*, a. a. O. irrtümlich den Gedanken ausgesprochen, *CIL* X 200*–205* seien stadtrömisch. Dafür gibt es keine Anzeichen.

von denen in der ersten gesagt wird τὸν σοφὸν ἐν ἀνδράσιν Εἰωνικόν, ἄνδρα μέγιστον Κύντον Ἰούλιον Μείλητον οἱ τεχνεῖται ἀνέθηκαν - *Q. Iulius Fa(v)entius alumnus cum artificibus posuit*; in der zweiten wird die Herkunft folgendermaßen präzisiert: Κύντος Ἰούλιος Μίλητος προλιπὼν Ἀσίας Τρίπολιν πατρίδαν πόλιν ἄγνήν. Iulius Miletus war als Marmorbildhauer nach Rom gekommen,²⁸ um an den von Septimius Severus 204 veranstalteten Säkularspielen mitzuwirken, ist dann dort geblieben und gestorben. Nun, was heißt Ἰωνικός in der ersten Inschrift? Für Moretti ist es ein Signum; Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII (1960) 11f und *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 667 = *Opera minora selecta* III (1969) 1632 denkt allgemein an einen Personennamen.²⁹ Dass hier nun ein weiterer Zuname,³⁰ d. h. ein Agnomen, oder anders ausgedrückt, ein "Signum" vorliegt, ist natürlich möglich. Ebenso gut ist es aber möglich, dass eine Art Ethnikon vorliegt.³¹ Darauf könnte auch dessen Stellung in der Inschrift hinweisen: Vor Angabe des eigentlichen Namens wird festgestellt, Iulius Miletus sei ein jonischer Weiser unter den Männern und ein ἄνθρωπος μέγιστος. Wenn eine Anspielung auf die ionische Philosophie vorliegt, so versteht man, dass in poetischem Kontext eine freiere Verwendung von Ἰωνικός nachvollzogen werden konnte. Robert, *Hellenica* wendet ein, dass dies nicht möglich sei, da Tripolis nicht in Jonien, sondern in Lydien lag. Man kann sich aber gut denken, dass die Griechenstädte des westlichen Teils von Kleinasien in der Kaiserzeit im allgemeinen Bewusstsein zum 'ionischen' Gebiet gerechnet werden konnten. Die 'ionische' Prägung unseres Mannes wird auch durch sein Cognomen erhärtet. Der Name des einstigen Mittelpunktes griechischen Lebens wurde auch als Männernamen gebraucht, freilich nicht intensiv, doch ist es in der griechischen Anthroponymie einigermaßen belegt,³² besonders in Kleinasien, von der Westküste bis nach Pontos und Paphlagonien: in Milet selbst, Smyrna, Mysien, Lydien, Kios, Aizanoi, Pisidien. In Rom ist es ferner aus *CIL* VI 631 I, 15 (177 n. Chr.) bekannt.

²⁸ Zur Person zuletzt U. Huttner, *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* I (2001) 366.

²⁹ Miletos sei "surnommé "Ἰωνικός"".

³⁰ An einen Personennamen dachte auch etwa Kaibel, *IG* XIV 1092.

³¹ So dachte einst Cagnat, *IGR* I 167–168.

³² Zur Verbreitung L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie mineure. Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie* (BEFAR 239), Paris 1980; vollständiger H. Solin, in *Festschrift E. Matthews* (im Druck). Dort auch zur Verbreitung des Ethnikonnamens Μιλήσιος -ία (die stadtrömischen Belege in meinem Namenbuch² 662 (dort hinzuzufügen *Epigraphica* 16 [1954] 33 fig. 4d; der Kontext bleibt freilich etwas undeutlich).

CCXLVIII. VARIA URBANA

1. *CIL* VI 13176/7: R. Barbera, *Boll. Monum. Musei e Gallerie Pontificie* 20 (2000) 98 schlägt für die letzte Zeile folgende Lesung vor: *donatu(s) a M(arcis) Manlibus* oder alternativ *donatu(s) a M(arco) Man(---) Libus*. Ich habe den Text am 6. Februar 2009 mit Giorgio Filippi (dem ich herzlich danken möchte) in der Galleria Lapidaria der Vatikanischen Museen gesehen. Die im *CIL* gegebene Lesung steht fest (nur findet sich eine Hedera auch nach DONATV und A). Die Beschädigung zwischen MA und NIIBVS ist antik, also hat der Steinmetz sie übersprungen. Die zweite der von Barbera vorgelegten Alternativen ist ohne weiteres auszuschließen. *Libus* ist kein Name, und die Möglichkeit, hier liege gr. *Libys* vor, worauf Barbera hinweist, ist ebenfalls ausgeschlossen, denn – um von anderem zu schweigen – man erwartet einen Ablativ. Was die erste Alternative betrifft, ist sie a priori nicht auszuschließen; freilich ist der Buchstabe nach N, so wie er eingehauen ist, ein I, doch macht der Steinmetz den Querstrich des L gelegentlich sehr kurz, der sich kaum von den Serifen unterscheidet, so deutlich der erste Buchstabe der Zeile 4. In dem Fall wäre das Grab von zwei (oder mehreren) Marci Manlii gestiftet worden; ihre Cognomina wären aus Platzgründen weggelassen worden. Oder sollte man *Maniibus* für *Maniis* verstehen? Freilich schrieb der Autor des Textes *filibus* mit einem *i*, hier aber hätte er zwei *i* gesetzt, um den Namen von *manibus* zu unterscheiden. Doch wird *Manius* nur selten als Gentilname gebraucht. Eine dritte Möglichkeit wäre es, den Text mit *CIL* so zu verstehen, dass der Name des Stifters aus dem allein stehenden M besteht, wobei dann *maniibus* für *manibus* stünde (*manibus* kann gelegentlich einen grabinschriftlichen Text beenden). Doch wäre ein so in abgekürzter Form wiedergegebener Name etwas überraschend.

2. *CIL* VI 23072 und 24123 beziehen sich auf dieselben Personen, was bisher nicht bemerkt wurde; nur in Fassbenders *Index numerorum* auf S. 596 und 600 wurde die Identität der zwei Inschriften angenommen.³³ Es kann sich aber nicht um zwei Kopien derselben Inschrift handeln, denn 23072 wurde von Oderici in der villa Pellucchi an der via Salaria gesehen,³⁴ während 24123 um 1879 aus dem Flussbett des Tibers auf der Höhe der villa Farnesina geborgen wurde. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass der Stein aus der villa Pellucchi bis nach

³³ Die Identität wurde auch in meinem griechischen Namenbuch² notiert (S. 170 s. v. *Philomusus*, 418 s. v. *Musa* und 1201 s. v. *Cosmus*).

³⁴ Zu villa Pel(l)ucchi vg. R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma VI*², Roma 2000, 147 (diese Inschrift ist der dort gegebenen Liste nachzutragen).

Trastevere geschleppt wurde. Vielmehr haben wir es mit zwei Grenzcippi aus Travertin mit identischem Text zu tun; von der Gewohnheit, neben der eigentlichen Grabinschrift Grenzsteine mit identischem Text zu errichten, sind aus der spätrepublikanischen und frühen Kaiserzeit mehrere Fälle bekannt.³⁵

3. Ich habe die im Grab der Octavii an der via Triumphalis befindliche Inschrift *NSc* 1922, 443 Nr. 4 zusammen mit Giorgio Filippi (dem ich herzlich danke) am 24. Oktober 2005 gesehen. Bei der Lesung kann ich nur Quisquilien anmelden: in 4 ist statt A·LV VI zu lesen A LXVII, wobei X aus V verbessert wurde; in 5 VIII. Diese Inschrift wurde von M. Octavius Eutyches libertus *M. Octavio Felici sen(iori) patri* dediziert. In dem Grab wurde eine zweite Inschrift gefunden, die derselbe M. Octavius Felix seiner Tochter Octavia Paulina errichtete. Außer diesen gab es in der Familie wohl einen weiteren Sohn, der ebenfalls *M. Octavius Felix* hieß (deswegen wurde dem Namen des Vaters *sen.* hinzugefügt, um die zwei Homonyme zu unterscheiden). Interessant ist, dass Eutyches anscheinend sowohl als Freigelassener wie als Sohn des Felix angegeben wird. Das wäre nichts Außergewöhnliches und ist des öfteren belegt; vgl. auch Wendungen wie *CIL* 10216 VI *d. m. M. Blossi Felicis M. Blossius Speratus patri patrono* oder 11895 *d. m. s. L. Antistio Alexae L. Antistius Diadumenus patrono et patri*. Man hat kürzlich angenommen, dass der Tod der Tochter Octavia Paulina der Anlass für den Bau der Grabkammer war, was man auch aus der Dekoration und dem Wortlaut herauslesen könne, und dass die Tochter der "entscheidende Dreh- und Angelpunkt der Grabanlage" gewesen sei; deswegen habe Eutyches den Felix als *pater* bezeichnet.³⁶ Eine solche Erklärung scheint etwas gesucht. Denn, wie gesagt, kann ein Vater in Grabinschriften sowohl als *pater* wie als *patronus* bezeichnet sein. Es gibt aber noch eine andere Erklärung, nämlich die, dass Octavius Felix als *pater* bezeichnet wurde, weil er einen homonymen Sohn gehabt haben muss, wie aus der anderen Inschrift hervorgeht; in den zwei Texten hätte man also zwischen *senior* und *pater* variiert.

4. Das von M. Torelli, *DArch* 2 (1968) 51 Anm. 21 herausgegebene Grabmonument existiert noch in der Piazzale di Porta Maggiore rekonstruiert,³⁷ leider ist die darin enthaltene Inschrift schwer beschädigt, sowohl

³⁵ Vgl. H. Solin, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen in Rom und Umgebung*, Helsinki 1975, 32 zu Nr. 57.

³⁶ F. Feraudi-Gruénais, *Inschriften und 'Selbstdarstellung' in stadtrömischen Grabbauten* (Libitina 2), Roma 2003, 33f. 46–48. 7f.

³⁷ Auch *AE* 1990, 115 (2 falsch *Saburrius*).

fragmentarisch als auch mit stark beschädigten Lettern (die von Torelli gesehene erste Zeile ist verschwunden). Ich habe sie am 3. Februar 2008 zusammen mit Giorgio Crimi (dem ich herzlich danke) besichtigt und glaube, von dem Erhaltenen eine einigermaßen gesicherte Lesung bieten zu können: 1 man kann so gut wie nichts Sicheres mehr eruieren. – 2 TVRNISES ist spurlos verschwunden wie auch der Vorname des Mannes und die ersten zwei Buchstaben seines Gentilnamens; von dem dritten Buchstaben, den Torelli als P angibt, kann man mit Mühe die vertikale Haste erkennen, nicht aber den Bogen eines P. ILIVS scheint sicher zu sein, nur sind der Querstrich des L und die zweite Haste des V verschwunden. P·L·SABVRRIO ist sicher. – 3 man liest ohne Mühe [---]MISQVE· ARBITRA·P·RV+ILI·P·L·SABVRR·ET·HISTVM, aber die Fortsetzung ENNIAE·M·L·BASSAE ist nur mit Mühe zu erkennen.

Aus meiner Neulesung ergibt sich zweierlei. Erstens ist in 3 *arbitra(tu) P. Ru+ili P. l. Saburr(ionis) et Histumenniae M. l. Bassae* anstatt von Torellis *P. Rupili P. l. Saburri P. l. et* zu lesen; das heißt, wir brauchen hier nicht einen cognomenlosen (dazu noch praenomenlosen) freigelassenen Saburrius anzunehmen. Zweitens kann als Gentilname des Saburrio jetzt mit *Rutilius* statt *Rupilius* festgelegt werden. Der Mann ist nämlich höchstwahrscheinlich identisch mit dem P. Rutilius Saburri[---], der kürzlich in einer stadtrömischen Inschrift spätrepublikanischer Zeit aufgetaucht ist, ein *magister quinquennalis* des *collegium tibicinum Romanorum*.³⁸ Wenn dieser Ansatz richtig ist, dann hieß das Cognomen des Mannes *Saburrio*. Hier kommen wir zum zweiten Punkt. Ein Cognomen *Saburrio* war bisher nur in *CIL VIII 9430* belegt. Zugrunde liegen muss wohl ein ansonsten bislang unbelegter Gentilname **Saburrius*, den man aber neben *Saburius* leicht postulieren kann. Dazu vgl. Schulze, *ZGLE* 223. 404. Der Name in Rom: *CIL VI 2589*. Belegt ist auch eine cognominale Ableitung: *Saburianus* (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 154 mit einem Beleg). – Wenn die zwei Belege sich auf denselben Mann beziehen, dann tilge *Saburri[nus?]* in meinem Sklavennamenbuch 15.

Die Struktur unserer Inschrift bietet im Großen und Ganzen keinerlei Schwierigkeiten. P. Rutilius Saburrio war anscheinend ein Nutznießer des Grabes (ob in dem von Torelli gelesenen CIONI in 1 ein Dativ ([z. B. *Senecioni*] vorliegt, bleibt ungewiss, so dass der Umstand, dass der Name des Rutilius im Nominativ steht, nicht unbedingt zeigt, dass er nur Errichter des Monuments war). Zugleich war er Vollstrecker der (testamentarischen)

³⁸ S. Panciera, in *Epigrafia. Actes du colloque en mémoire de Attilio Degrossi*, Rome 1991, 285f (= *AE* 1991, 120). Die Lesung des Gentilnamens steht ohne den geringsten Zweifel fest.

Bestimmung hinsichtlich des Gebrauchs des Grabes; dass derselbe als Nutznießer und Vollstrecker wirken kann, ist nichts Außergewöhnliches.³⁹ – MISQVE am Anfang von 3 ist ein harter Brocken (die Lesung scheint gesichert, so dass an *posterisque* nicht gedacht werden kann). In den Sinn kommt etwa *[opti]misque*, doch davor nach *Saburrio* muss recht viel ausgefallen sein (was an sich nicht ausgeschlossen ist), also so etwas wie *sibi amicis optimisque*. Das befriedigt aber nicht sonderlich. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre hier den Schlussteil einer kurzen grabinschriftlichen Wendung vom Typ *[gemitu lacru]misque* zu sehen. Non liquet.

CCIL. CAIATINUM

In *CIL X 4597* ist der Name in Zeile 6 korrupt überliefert. Der einzige Zeuge Melchiorri las AMXIATAS, was Mommsen zu AMPLIATVS heilen wollte. Von mir ohne Protest akzeptiert *Iscr. antiche di Trebula, Caiatia e Cubulteria* 65. Mit weniger Gewalt könnte man mit der Konjektur *Amyntas* operieren. Dieser griechische Name war auch im westlichen Teil des Reiches verbreitet: in Rom (mein Namenbuch² 206), sonst in Italien *CIL X 1871*; *Suppl. It. 5* Forum Novum 23 ein sevir Augustalis; *AE 1998, 629* (Mediolanum, Freigelassener).

CCL. ZU POMPEJANISCHEN GRAFFITI

Seit einigen Jahren beschäftige ich mich mit der Lesung pompejanischer Wandkritzeleien im Rahmen der Arbeiten für ein neues Supplement zu *CIL IV*, das hoffentlich bald das Tageslicht erblicken wird.

Ich möchte hier einen interessanten Einzelfall kurz berühren. Man kann oft beobachten, wie die Corpuseditoren, mit älteren Transkriptionen gerüstet, gelegentlich aufgrund mangelhafter Lesungen ihrer Vorgänger deren Fehler übernommen haben, auch wenn sie selbst den Text kontrolliert haben. In diese Falle ist auch der größte von allen, Mommsen, gelegentlich geraten. Nur ein Beispiel. Als er 1876 in Sora war, um die dort noch erhaltenen Inschriften aufzunehmen, stieß er am Berghang von Rava Rossa unmittelbar oberhalb von

³⁹ Ein schönes rezentes Beispiel in einer beneventanischen Inschrift (*Samnium* 2008): *ex testa[mento.] Veturiae Sex. l. Tele[te et?] Veturiae (mulieris) l. Tert[iae]. Arbitratu Tertiae[.]*

Sora auf eine Felseninschrift, in deren Edition in *CIL* X 5710 er, zweifellos von älteren Abschriften beeinflusst,⁴⁰ einen merkwürdigen Fehler begangen hat: Er las L·SABIDIVS·M·F·MOR· und schlug für das sinnlose MOR die Emendation *Rom(ilia)*, die Tribus der Soraner, vor. Eine Autopsie im Jahre 1978 ergab jedoch eindeutig *L. Sabidius Memor*.⁴¹

Und ebenso ist es mir einmal beim Studium pompejanischer Graffiti widerfahren. Es geht um *CIL* IV 5213. Sein Inhalt ist sprachlich wie mentalhistorisch recht interessant. Die Kritzelei wurde von Mau im *CIL* wie folgt publiziert:

Filius salax / qu(o)d (pro quot) tu muliero/rum difutuisti.

Ich habe die Inschrift das erste Mal am 26. Mai 2006 in einem zur Zeit geschlossenen Saal des Nationalmuseums von Neapel gesehen (inv. n. 120032). Mit Maus Edition in der Hand verglich ich den Text und konnte nur Quisquilien notieren (im Wort *tu* in 2 war vom T nur der untere Teil der Hasta, vom V nur der obere Teil der rechten Hasta erhalten). Sonst war ich zufrieden mit der von Mau gebotenen Textform. Als ich aber am 2. Dezember 2008 dabei war, die mit Inschriften gefüllten Wandverputzstücke im Depot des Museums aufzunehmen, stieß ich auf ein Stück mit Inschrift, das mir nicht unbekannt anmutete, von dem ich mich aber nicht genau erinnern konnte, ob ich den in der unteren rechten Ecke gekritzelten Text kontrolliert hatte oder nicht. Da ich das *CIL* IV nicht mit ins Depot gebracht hatte und so keine Unterlagen hatte, um den Text direkt aus *CIL* zu kontrollieren, habe ich ihn genau und gewissenhaft ohne eine Vorlage aufgenommen. Und siehe da, es kam eine abweichende Textform heraus, wie ich später feststellte, als ich meine neue Kopie mit dem im *CIL* publizierten Text verglich. Ohne weiteres war die neue Textform besser, ich wäre aber nie zu dieser richtigen Fassung gekommen, wenn ich nicht gezwungen gewesen wäre, den Text ohne Vorlage zu kopieren. Folgendes kam heraus. Zuerst eine Kleinigkeit zur ersten Zeile: ich hatte 2006 nicht angemerkt, dass vom ersten S nur ein winziger Teil des oberen Bogens links erhalten war. Das Entscheidende ist aber die Lesung der zweiten Zeile. Der dritte Buchstabe kann kein D sein;

⁴⁰ So haben Manutius, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5237 f. 233 und De Nino, *NSc* 1879, 119 den Text wiedergegeben. Die Abschrift des dritten älteren Zeugen Loffredo ist mir z. Z. nicht zugänglich.

⁴¹ Vgl. H. S., *Epigraphica* 43 (1981) 58. Auch bei der Lesung von *CIL* X 5709 hat Mommsen vielleicht ältere Abschriften gebraucht; er las *hIERO*, wo eher *Piero* steht.

auf V folgt ein I und danach ein A.⁴² Von T ist – wie ich schon 2006 festgestellt hatte – nur der untere Teil erhalten, der folgende Buchstabe, den die früheren Editoren (Sogliano und Mau) als V gelesen hatten, ist eher ein O. So sieht der neue – und endgültige – Text aus wie folgt:

filius salax | quia to[t] muliero/rum difutuisti.

Durch die neue Lesung wird vor allem die Form QVD (so Mau; Sogliano hatte dafür QVOT gelesen, und Diehl, *Pompejanische Wandinschriften* 651 schlug vor, anhand der Kopie von Mau, *quot (t)u* zu verstehen) für das vermeintliche *quod* beseitigt. Auch stilistisch ist *tot mulierorum* besser als *quot tu mulierorum*. Sprachlich ergiebig noch *filius* als Vokativ, der Gen. *mulierorum* und *difutuisti*, das wohl für *diffutuisti* steht (H. Ammann, *ThLL* V 1, 1114, 43–46), wenn nicht für *defutuisti* (vgl. M. Leumann, *ThLL* V 1, 379); in der Tat ändern einige Editoren von Catull. 29, 13 *def-* in *diff-*. – Das Wandmalereifragment, auf welchem das Graffito eingeritzt wurde, stellt den Philoktetes dar. Mau (und mit ihm andere) meint, der Schreiber habe den Hercules in Sinn gehabt. Aber er braucht doch gar keinen Bezug mit dem Philoktet-Bild gehabt zu haben.

CCLI. VENUSINA

Es folgen einige Beobachtungen zur ausgezeichneten Edition venusinischer Inschriften aus der kundigen Hand von M. Chelotti in *Supplementa Italica* 20, 2003.⁴³

Nr. 43. Chelotti hat in der Lesung des Namens des *cunarius* großen Fortschritt gegenüber den früheren Editoren gemacht, doch befriedigt auch ihr Vorschlag *Aerio(s)* nicht; vor allem würde die griechische Endung befremden wie auch die unbegründete Weglassung des *-s*. Nicht besser bestellt ist es mit *Aerio* in *AE* 2003, 383; ein solcher Name lässt sich nicht belegen. Wenn links vor A (das sicher zu sein scheint) nichts fehlt und der Name mit diesem A

⁴² Das A weist eine ähnliche Form auf wie die Nr. IV 13 *b* in Zangemeisters Tafel I im ersten Band von *CIL* IV.

⁴³ Ich habe seinerzeit die meisten der hier vorgelegten Beobachtungen der Redaktion der *Année épigraphique* zur Verfügung gestellt, aus mir unbekanntem Gründen haben sie aber keinen Eingang in *AE* 2003 gefunden.

beginnt und wenn der zweite Buchstabe als F anstatt von E gelesen werden kann (freilich lässt das nicht sehr scharfe Photo keine sichere Entscheidung zu), dann ergibt sich die Lesung *Afrio* von selbst. *Afrio* ist freilich eine okkasionelle Bildung, bisher nur einmal belegt (*CIL* I² 2689, Sklave in Minturnae aus spätrepublikanischer Zeit), doch ein guter Name, Ableitung aus *Afrius* oder *Afer*.⁴⁴ Ein *Afrius* in Venusia: *Suppl. It.* 20, 53. Oder könnte man *Albio* vermuten (freilich scheint der zweite Buchstabe, aus dem Photo zu schließen, an erster Stelle nicht ein L zu sein)? *Albio* ist sonst nirgends belegt, stellt aber eine plausible Namensbildung dar als Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Albius* (der in der Regio II, z. B. im benachbarten Canusium, vorkommt) oder aus dem beliebten *Albus* (*Albio* wäre etwa neben dem ebenfalls beliebten *Albinus* gar nicht überraschend).

45. *Catallage* ist in der Tat einmalig im römischen Westen, vertritt aber eine an sich gute griechische Namenbildung *Καταλλαγή*; freilich ist der Name auch nicht in Griechenland belegt, was aber an einem Zufall beruhen kann. Er mag nach Süditalien durch den Sklavenhandel gekommen sein (die Inschrift scheint aus der frühen Kaiserzeit zu stammen, als die Kaufsklaverei noch bedeutsam war). Man soll ihn nicht zu den lateinischen Entsprechungen von *καταλλαγή*, *commutatio*, *permutatio*, *reconciliatio* stellen, ganz gewiss haben der Namensgeber und die Sprachteilhaber ihn nicht mit diesen lateinischen Abstrakta assoziiert.

49. Der Gentilname *Caerdius* ist einmalig, mit Chelotti mit *Cerdius* zu vergleichen. Gelesen werden könnte auch *Caedrius*, auch dieser einmalig, vgl. aber *Cedrius* in *CIL* VI 14626.

72. Der Textverlauf bleibt höchst problematisch. In der ersten Zeile würde ich eher an den Namen *Auge* denken, hier im Dativ *Augeni*; *Augena* ist kein Name. In 2 könnte man auch an das Cognomen *Firmilla* denken. Ob in 3 SEP in *ser(va)* geändert werden soll, stehe dahin.

75. Da die Errichterin die Angabe des Freigelassenenstandes mittels des Vornamens des Patrons führt, würde man auch im Namen von Norius Felix den Vornamen erwarten, um so mehr als er der Verstorbene ist. Also etwa *N. Orio*. Ein Gentilname *Orius* war bisher freilich nicht belegt, lässt sich aber etwa aus *Orillius* (Schulze *ZGLE* 443) erschließen. Man bedenke auch, dass *Norius* nur in keltischen Gebieten belegt ist, dessen Auftauchen in Süditalien also etwas überraschend wäre.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 163. 205.

76. Weder *Atiatice* noch das von Chelotti als Vergleich ins Leben gerufene *Atiatiche* stellen plausible Namensformen dar. Ich frage mich, ob *Asiatice* gelesen werden kann. Das beigefügte, nicht sehr scharfe Photo gibt keinen sicheren Aufschluss. Der erste am Photo sichtbare Buchstabe scheint freilich an erster Stelle als T deutbar zu sein (von einem anlautenden A sieht man nichts), doch wäre eine Autopsie vonnöten. Das Cognomen der freigelassenen Frau war aber *Asiatice*; also Verschreibung? Was die von Chelotti als Vergleich herangezogenen Belege angeht, so ist in *CIL IX 649* von zwei alten Gewährsleuten (Pontanus und Iucundus) TIATICE überliefert, was nun was auch sein kann (etwa *Theatice*?). In *CIL IX 1828* wiederum schwankt die Überlieferung, freilich bietet der gute Verusio ATIATYCHEN gegen Gualtherus' ATYCHEN, doch zeigt gerade die Lesart des Letzteren, dass der Stein beschädigt war, weswegen auch auf Verusios Lesung kein Verlass ist. Als letztes Beispiel zieht die Editorin *AE 1997*, 335 heran, wo aber der Erstherausgeber M. Buonocore, *Epigraphica 59* (1997) 233 für das überlieferte ATIATICE eben *Asiatice* konjiziert!

84 ist onomastisch und schriftgeschichtlich interessant. Der Name *Callimedon* taucht hier das erste Mal im römischen Westen auf; in Griechenland ist er aber nicht ganz so selten, wie die Editorin (mit Verweis auf den ersten Band des Oxforder Namenbuches, wo er 6mal registriert ist) meint: allein in *LGPN II* 11mal, in sonstigen Bänden 4mal belegt. – Bemerkenswert die kontraktive Abkürzung PRI für *patri*, noch selten in vorchristlichen Urkunden (muss auch sonst höchst selten wenn überhaupt vorkommen⁴⁵), was die Datierung auf das 3. Jh. einengen würde.

86. Auf eine späte Zeit weist auch der Name *Gerontius* hin, der vor Anfang des 3. Jh. kaum vorstellbar ist. – Aus dem Wortlaut geht hervor, dass Calvia Fortunata als Witwe nicht wieder geheiratet hat, eine für Christen charakteristische Tugend; ob aber die Inschrift als christlich einzustufen sei, dafür gibt es keine sicheren Indizien (aber in Rom ist *Gerontius* exklusiv christlich und jüdisch).

97. *Clarius* (zweifellos als Cognomen zu nehmen, nicht als Gentilname, der existiert) wird von Chelotti aus unserem Repertorium 314 (nicht 515) als lateinisch registriert, ist aber besser als griechisch zu deuten (Nachweise in *ThLL Onom. II* 469, 16–21). Ein lateinisches *Clarius* müsste aus *Clarus* mit dem für die spätere Antike charakteristischen Suffix *-ius* abgeleitet sein, aber

⁴⁵ Belege fehlen gänzlich bei U. Hälvä-Nyberg, *Die Kontraktionen auf den lateinischen Inschriften Roms und Afrikas bis zum 8. Jh. n. Chr.*, Helsinki 1988.

unsere Inschrift scheint nicht der Spätzeit zu gehören (wie auch nicht die im Repertorium zitierte *ILJug* 1588). Im griechischen Bereich war aber Κλάριος ein alter guter Name,⁴⁶ und zu ihm sind die westlichen Belege zu stellen.

100. Die Lesung des Cognomens der Errichterin bleibt sehr unsicher. Chelotti schlägt zögernd *Salva* vor. *Salvus -a* ist nur selten belegt. Eine Kontrolle der Lesung wäre vonnöten; das beigefügte Photo hilft nicht weiter.

107. Die Ergänzung *Luciliae [--- Aphrod]iti* wird auf keine Weise erklärt. Sie ist nicht nur gewagt, auch der unregelmäßige Ausgang *-iti* wäre recht unwahrscheinlich in einer Inschrift, die aus der frühen Kaiserzeit stammt. Anstelle dessen könnte man an einen Frauennamen mit der Endung *-is* denken, als dessen Dativ *-iti* anstatt *-idi* erschiene; derartige Flexion ist nicht selten. Freilich ist der Typ *-is -itis* eher später einigermaßen in Gebrauch gekommen. So drängt sich der Gedanke auf, dass der erste erhaltene Buchstabe in der Zeile 6 den rechten Teil eines N ausmacht; in dem Falle hätten wir einen Frauennamen auf *-ns*. Solche gibt es in Fülle; beliebt sind etwa *Crescens* und *Clemens*, beide Kajanto zufolge als Frauennamen 10mal belegt; ferner *Elegans* 7mal und *Pudens* 6mal.⁴⁷

112. *Egnatia (mulieris) l. Egloge* kann gut im Nominativ stehen, kein Grund also, die Namensform in *Egnatia[e]* zu ändern.

121 weist eine interessante Nomenklatur auf. Das überlieferte CAESARVM N... SER. VERN. kann als *Caesarum nn.*, aber auch als *Caesarum nnn.* gedeutet werden. Diese Kombination existiert: *CIL VIII 22924 Tertia Caesarum nnn. serva*; 12758 *Hospes Caes. nnn. ser.*; das letztere Zeugnis kann in severische Zeit gehören.⁴⁸ Im ganzen muss festgestellt werden, dass die Zeugnisse der *Caesarum servi/servae* so geringfügig sind, dass über ihre Beschaffenheit (im besonderen über die innerste Bedeutung des Wortes *Caesares*) und zeitliche Verteilung nur wenig gesagt werden kann (die meisten der wenigen Zeugnisse sind nicht genau zu datieren);⁴⁹ wahrscheinlich gehört die Inschrift in eine Zeitspanne, die sich von 161 n. Chr. bis in die severische

⁴⁶ Bechtel *HPN* 531.

⁴⁷ Folgende Frauennamen auf *-ns* sind mir bekannte: *Absens Abstinens Amans Clemens Constans Crescens Diligens Elegans Exoriens Florens Frequens Geminans Habens Ingens Obsequens Pollens Potens Praesens Pudens Sapiens* (*AE* 1995, 1698).

⁴⁸ Zur strittigen Datierungsfrage vgl. H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser. Studien zu ihrer Nomenklatur*, Wiesbaden 1967, 259f und sonst.

⁴⁹ Nur zwei in Papyri erhaltene Belege sind aufs Jahr datierbar: Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 175 (201 n. Chr.) Σατουρνείνος Καισάρων οἰκονόμος und *CPL* 134 (205 n. Chr.) Κομαρῖνος Καισάρων οἰκονόμος (zur Textform vgl. Chantraine, *o. c.* 261).

Zeit streckt, wie auch Chelotti ansprechend vermutet.⁵⁰ Angesichts der Seltenheit der anschlägigen Zeugnisse gewinnt unsere leider nicht einwandfrei überlieferte Inschrift an Interesse und Wichtigkeit.⁵¹

127. Ich würde die Inschrift eher in die republikanische Zeit setzen, vor allem wegen der Endung *-es* im Plur. Nom. *Flavies* (wenn so zu lesen), die, soweit ich übersehe, in der frühen Kaiserzeit überhaupt nicht mehr vorkommt (alle diesbezüglichen Belege in *CIL* IX, X, XIV gehören ausnahmslos der republikanischen Zeit an).⁵² Auch die Buchstabenformen sind mit der republikanischen Zeit nicht inkompatibel.

135. Ich würde in 3 *Felicla* lesen. Der Querstrich des L ist nicht so markant wie in dem ersten L des Namens, ähnelt sich aber, aus dem Photo zu schließen, demjenigen in 5, und ist auch ein bisschen länger als die Serifen von I. Vor allem aber wäre der Name *Felicia* etwas überraschend in einer Inschrift, die in die erste Hälfte des 2. Jh. zu gehören scheint. Dagegen steht *Felicia* in 119 fest, wenigstens sind keine Spuren des Querstrichs vorhanden (leider weist diese Inschrift keine anderen L auf, so dass ein Vergleich nicht möglich ist). Zum Problem *Felicia* ~ *Felicla* vgl. demnächst anderswo.

140. Wie Chelotti bemerkt, bleibt die Lesung *Apro* in 5 sehr unsicher. Eine Nachprüfung am Original wäre vonnöten. Vor allem aber interessiert am Text das Cognomen *Iovica*, das neu ist (die Lesung ist sicher, so dass kaum an eine verdorbene Form von *Iuvenca* gedacht werden kann; diesen Frauennamen kennen wir nunmehr aus *I. Philippi* 279). Die Bildung ist etwas merkwürdig. Wenn der Name lateinisch ist (und andere sprachliche Zugehörigkeit sehe ich

⁵⁰ Theoretisch ist es nicht ganz auszuschließen, dass die Inschrift in die Zeit vor 161 n. Chr. gehört, so wie es mehrere Fälle von *Augustorum liberti* gibt, die vor 161 n. Chr. freigelassen wurden. Doch angesichts der weit geringeren Datierungsmöglichkeiten muss die Frage offen bleiben, zumal es keine durchschlagenden Beweise für ältere Zeugnisse von *Caesarum* (und *Augustorum*) *servi* gibt.

⁵¹ Die wenigen Zeugnisse seien hier zusammengestellt (zu *CIL* VIII 12758 und 22924 s. oben im Text): *CIL* VI 8494 *Clemens Caesarum n. servus castellarius aquae Claudiae*; X 7653 (vgl. G. Sotgiu, *Epigraphica* 19 (1957) 34f) *Tantilia Cesarum* und *Cornelianus Caess.*; XI 534 [--- *Cajess. nn. [ver]na*; VIII 24756 (möglicherweise aus severischer Zeit).

⁵² Chelotti verweist auf Leumanns Laut- und Formenlehre (besser nach der 2. Auflage 427 zitieren), der den Gebrauch der Endung *-eis* (auch *-es -is* geschrieben) bis ins 1. Jh. n. Chr. hinein verlängert. Zur Zeit sind mir keine eindeutigen Fälle von *-es* aus der Kaiserzeit gegenwärtig. All die Belege, die von Neue - Wagener I 156f (worauf Leumann verweist) aufgezählt sind, lassen sich in republikanische Zeit datieren.

nicht),⁵³ dann bleibt nur übrig, hier eine Ableitung mittels des Suffixes *-icus/a* aus dem Namen des Jupiter anzunehmen. Das Suffix *-icus/a* war einigermaßen in Gebrauch in der lateinischen Namengebung (Kajanto *LC* 111f), wäre aber hier zum ersten Mal an einen Götternamen angehängt. Eine solche Bildung lässt sich leicht etwa neben dem beliebten *Iovinus* verstellen. Die Erklärung wird noch dadurch gestützt, dass ein Mitglied derselben Sklavenfamilie *Iovianus* heißt.

141. Bemerkenswert der Männernamen *Arcas*; der stadtrömische Beleg gehört einer Frau. In Griechenland war Ἀρκάος Männernamen.⁵⁴

156. *Nemusa* belegt noch in *CIL* XIV 1019 (Ostia) und *Suppl. It.* 16 Rusellae 77. Aus Griechenland kenne ich keine Belege, doch sind aus Präenspartizipien gebildete Namen bestens in der griechischen Anthroponymie bekannt, besonders in römischer Zeit, so dass das Fehlen von Belegen zufällig sein kann. Nach *Venusia* mag der Name etwa als Sklavename gelangt sein.

159. *Medicus* kann auch als gr. Μηδικός aufgefasst werden: der Vater hieß *Antiochus*, und nach den Namen folgt eine griechische Klausel; vgl. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 135f.

161. Es gibt keine einwandfreien Beispiele für einen Namen *Aphrosia*; der vermeintliche Beleg in *CIL* VI 8659 ist nur eine entstellte Form aus *Aphrodisia*. Auch *Aphros* in *CIL* VI 27008 ist eine schwer erklärbare Augenblicksbildung.⁵⁵ Anhand des Photos wage ich keine Entscheidung, frage mich aber, ob hier der bisher nur aus *CIL* VI 3177 bekannte Fraunamen *Apris* vorliegen könne.

185. Das überlieferte MESTES erklärt Chelotti als 'errore di lettura per Mistes a sua volta errato per un più corretto Mystes'. Man braucht aber ein MISTES als Nebenstadium nicht zu postulieren; E als Verlesung (oder sogar Verschreibung) für Y kann vorzüglich angenommen werden.

186. Man sollte nicht vorschnelle Folgerungen aus den Photos ziehen. Hier mache ich eine Ausnahme. In 6 würde ich statt des von der Editorin befürworteten *Catus* (weniger wahrscheinlich wäre ihr zufolge *Gaius*) *Calus*

⁵³ Vgl. immerhin einige keltische Bildungen auf *Iovinco-*, aufgezählt in K. H. Schmidt, Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen, *ZCPH* 26 (1957) 227.

⁵⁴ Kein sehr beliebter Name, doch überall in Griechenland hie und da belegt: in *LGPN* folgendermaßen registriert: I: 1mal (Kypros, 6. Jh. v. Chr., doch unsicher); II: 3mal; III 1: 4mal; III 2: 1mal. IV: 0mal.

⁵⁵ Freilich existiert im Griechischen ein Fraunamensuffix *-ώς*, auch in der römischen Namengebung vorhanden: *ICUR* 15090. 15091 Νεικὸς θυγάτηρ.

wagen. Zur Bezeugung von *Calus* im römischen Westen vgl. *ThLL* Onom. II 111, 17–25 und mein Namenbuch² 724.

193. *[Pub]licius* eignet sich gut als Ergänzung. Man kann vermuten, dass Maximus ein öffentlicher Sklave gewesen war und bei der Freilassung folgerichtig den Gentilnamen *Publicius* erhalten hat. – *[E]uticia* für *Eutychia* ist eine schöne Konjektur von Chelotti für das überlieferte VIICIA.

196. 197. Zur Bibliographie füge hinzu *Gnomon* 51 (1979) 195; *ANRW* II 29 (1983) 734.

203. *Sedecianus* ist in *CIL* IX 6406 ein Gentilname (Salomies, *Repertorium* 166), so wohl auch hier.

211. Die Zeile 3 wird von Chelotti *[et] Dissus* ergänzt. Da *Dissus* kein Name ist, könnte man die Ergänzung *[Aphro]dissus* für *Aphrodisius* erwägen. Vgl. Schreibungen wie *[Aph]rodissiae* (*CIL* VI 38013)⁵⁶ oder Formen ohne *-i-* wie *Afrodisa* (*ICUR* 6559,⁵⁷ 11811a), oder noch *Afrodise* (*ICUR* 18432) und *Afrodisas -sati* (*ICUR* 1844a, 20901, 22322. Außerdem wäre *[et]* eine zu kurze Ergänzung.

212. Nach Einsicht des Photos stelle ich bange Frage, ob *Eutychie* statt *Euticie* gelesen werden könnte.

214. In 1 kann mit gleichem Recht *Tertull[ae]* ergänzt werden. *Tertulla* ist übrigens viel üblicher als *Tertullus*.

217. Bemerkenswert ist das Cognomen *Stratacus* (für *Stratagus*), 'dorische' Form für *Strategus*, welcher Name sonst nirgends im römischen Westen vorkommt; dagegen kam der Frauennamen *Strategis* in Gebrauch (etwa in Rom des Öfteren belegt).⁵⁸ Die Form mit *a* mag aus der unteritalienischen Gräzität herrühren. In Griechenland sind beide Formen, *Στραταγός* und *Στρατηγός* hie und da belegt.⁵⁹

280. Die Editorin liest die Angabe der Datierung in 10 *Opilione cons{s}(ule)*; was sie als ein zweites S tilgen will, ist in Wirklichkeit wohl ein

⁵⁶ Zur Lesung vgl. *RPAA* 59 (1986–1987) 187 Nr. 20.

⁵⁷ Zur Lesung vgl. *Iscr. urbane ad Anagni*, ed. a cura di H. Solin e P. Tuomisto, Roma 1996, 74 Nr. 112.

⁵⁸ In meinem Namenbuch 1096f 7mal; dort noch *Strategicus* und *Strategia* (S. 1344). Außerhalb von Rom *Strategis* in Aquileia (*CIL* V 1007), *Strategicus* in Interpromium (*CIL* IX 3052).

⁵⁹ In den vom *LGPN* schon gedeckten Gebieten kommt der Name folgendermaßen vor: in Attika 1mal; in Mittelgriechenland, Thessalien mit eingeschlossen 26mal Arkadien 1mal; Westgriechenland 10mal; Makedonien 1mal; Inseln des ägäischen Meeres 2mal, Kyrenaika 1mal.

S-förmiges Interpunktionszeichen, wie sie oft in späten christlichen Grabinschriften begegnen.⁶⁰

284. Es wäre der Erwähnung wert gewesen, dass *πάτρονος* für *πάτρωος* steht. Da die Inschrift verschollen ist, hätte ich gern gewusst, auf welcher Grundlage die Textform basiert. Da hilft das Lemma nicht weiter; kein Wort über die Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse der verschiedenen Transkriptionen. An diesem Punkt würde man auch sonst mehr Klarheit wünschen. So musste ich auf die älteren Autoren zurückgreifen, um mich der Textgeschichte zu vergewissern. Die Inschrift wurde von Frenkel als ältesten Zeugen in den dreißiger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts gesehen; ob der nächste Autor, Bognetti den Text selbst in Autopsie verglichen hat, geht aus seinem Wortlaut nicht mit völliger Sicherheit hervor, doch scheint dies der Fall zu sein. Lifshitz hat die Inschrift selbst in der Katakombe gesehen. Alle lesen *πάτρονος*, was also gesichert gelten kann. In der Bibliographie fehlt manches, z. B. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1955, 301, wo der Name des Mannes *Λυσανίας* gelesen wird, doch kaum richtig (Roberts wollten die falsche Lesung *ΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ* von Bognetti verbessern).

297. Es ist interessant zu notieren, dass ein sonst ausschließlich christlicher Name wie *Vincomalos Vincomalus* von jüdischen Gemeinden übernommen wurde. Zur Beleglage *Repertorium*² 423, 505. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 189. Christlicher Einfluss ist auch sonst in der spätantiken jüdischen Namengebung zu beobachten.

Mit diesem Supplement hat Chelotti eine beachtenswerte Leistung gezeigt. Die Mitforscher müssen ihr dafür dankbar sein, das weit zerstreute Material in vorzüglicher Weise zur Verfügung gestellt zu haben. Sie hat zahlreiche falsche Lesarten beseitigt und auch die historische Interpretation der Texte gefördert. Die vorigen Beobachtungen eines dankbaren Benutzers wollten zeigen, wie viel interessanter Stoff den venusinischen Inschriften innewohnt.

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⁶⁰ Mehrere Beispiele gesammelt in H. Solin, *Il patrimonio epigrafico cristiano di Cimitile: alcune considerazioni*, in *Il complesso basilicale di Cimitile. Patrimonio culturale dell'umanità? Convegno internazionale di studi, Cimitile 23–24 ottobre 2004*, a cura di M. de Matteis – C. Ebanista, Napoli 2008, 99 ff, passim.

ON GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN ANCIENT LINGUISTICS – THE ORDER OF GENDERS*

JAANA VAAHTERA

Apollonius Dyscolus believed that there is a linguistic order that is found on all levels of the linguistic system and that should be followed in grammar as well. This means that the order of the various lists used in grammar is rational and based on nature. Apollonius compares the list of the parts of speech to that of the letters of the alphabet. It is the parts of speech that are at the centre of this ordering,¹ but Apollonius also mentions the order of the cases, tenses, and genders, i.e. masculine, feminine, and their negation, neuter gender.² This

* This article is based on a paper given at the 11th International Conference on the History of the Language Sciences (ICHoLS XI) in Potsdam on 1 September 2008. The topic is something I have been working on for a long time, preparing a monograph on gender in ancient linguistics. I am deeply grateful to Professor Toivo Viljamaa for his invaluable insights and advice in the course of my work on gender in ancient linguistics generally and in preparing this paper. I also wish to thank Professor Martti Nyman for his kind help and advice. The anonymous referee of the *Arctos*, FM Minna Seppänen and Professor Jyri Vaahtera have all read the paper and suggested improvements, for which I am grateful.

¹ See A. Luhtala, *Grammar and Philosophy in Late Antiquity: A Study of Priscian's Sources*, Amsterdam – Philadelphia 2005, 80 ff. for Apollonius' explanations for the order of the parts of speech.

² *Synt. GG* II.2 15,6 – 16,4: "Ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἡ τάξις τῶν στοιχείων ἐν λόγῳ παραλαμβανομένη τοῦ δι' ὅτι τὸ α πρόκειται, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸ τὸ β, ἀπαιτήσῃ καὶ τὴν κατὰ λόγον τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου τάξιν, δι' ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα πρόκειται, μεθ' ὅ ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα μέρη τοῦ λόγου, ὡσεὶ καὶ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς πτώσεσιν ἡ λεγομένη εὐθεῖα καὶ γενικὴ καὶ αἱ ὑπόλοιποι, ἔν τε ταῖς χρονικαῖς τομαῖς κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ὁ ἐνεστώς, εἶτα ὁ παρατατικὸς καὶ οἱ ἐξῆς χρόνοι, ἔν τε γένεσι τὸ ἀρσενικόν, μεθ' ὃ τὸ θηλυκόν καὶ τρίτον τὸ τούτων ἀποφατικὸν οὐδέτερον, καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων πλείστων, περὶ ὧν ἰδίᾳ ποιησόμεθα συναγωγὴν. – "Perhaps also the traditional order of the letters of the alphabet, with A first, followed by B (etc.), will suggest the order of the parts of speech, in which *noun* appears first, followed by *verb* and the rest of the parts of speech and likewise the order of the cases, with nominative, genitive and the rest, or of the tenses of the verb, with present (*enestōs*) first, then imperfect (*paratatikos*) and the rest; or the order of genders – masculine,

statement of the order of the three genders is the starting point of this paper.³ Why should this brief remark on the order of the genders be so remarkable? – In ancient linguistic texts the three genders are always listed in this order, but here the context gives the ordering an explicit justification: it is not merely a traditional order in which to treat the genders, but a natural linguistic order. I do not intend to analyse Apollonius' order of the genders as such, but to use it as a presupposition in my approach to grammatical gender in the ancient grammarians.

Apollonius' explanations for the order of the parts of speech vary in kind: noun precedes verb because substance must exist before action,⁴ noun and verb precede the participle because the participle shares the characteristics of both; analogously, masculine and feminine precede the neuter because the neuter is a

then feminine, and third the negation of these, the neuter, and similarly in many other cases which we will reason about individually." Translation Householder (*The Syntax of Apollonius Dyscolus*, Translated, and with commentary by Fred W. Householder, Amsterdam 1981) 23.

³ Apollonius claims that this order is μίμημα τοῦ ἀντοτελοῦς λόγου (*GG* II.2 16,12), a claim that cannot be taken literally and has consequently aroused slightly different interpretations. For interpretations of this passage I refer to D. L. Blank, *Ancient Philosophy and Grammar: The Syntax of Apollonius Dyscolus*, Chico, California 1982, 12–13; D. L. Blank, "Apollonius Dyscolus", *ANRW* II.34.1, Berlin – New York 1993, 715–716; J. Lallot, "L'ordre de la langue: Observations sur la théorie grammaticale d'Apollonius Dyscole", *Philosophie du langage et grammaire dans l'antiquité* (Cahiers de philosophie ancienne 5), Brussels 1986; J. Lallot, *Apollonius Dyscole: De la construction*, Texte grec accompagné de notes critiques, introduction, traduction, notes exégétiques, index par Jean Lallot, Volume II Notes et index, Paris 1997, 19 n. 52.

⁴ See *Synt.* *GG* II.2 18,5–8: Καὶ τοῦ ῥήματος δὲ ἀναγκαίως πρόκειται τὸ ὄνομα, ἐπεὶ τὸ διατιθέναι καὶ τὸ διατίθεσθαι σώματος ἴδιον, τοῖς δὲ σώμασιν ἐπίκειται ἡ θέσις τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἐξ ὧν ἡ ιδιότης τοῦ ῥήματος, λέγω τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὸ πάθος. – "The noun necessarily precedes the verb, since influencing and being influenced are properties of physical things, and things are what nouns apply to, and to things belong the special features of verbs, namely doing and experiencing." – Translation Householder (above n. 2) 25. Lallot 1986 (above n. 3) 420 has observed that Apollonius refers constantly to the argument of presupposition in explaining the order of the parts of speech. Lallot (*ibid.*, 421) also suggests that this order is linked to the idea that what precedes is "earlier" ('invention progressive'). Blank 1993 (above n. 3) 716 n.50 objects to Lallot's reasoning since this includes the idea that the preceding parts of speech resolve the ambiguities of the following, an idea contrary to Apollonius' views as expressed in *GG* II.2 35,10–11. In view of what follows in the present article, however, the idea of presupposition as such is quite befitting to the order masculine, feminine, neuter.

negation of both of these.⁵ The characterization of the neuter as the negation of the masculine and feminine is thus repeated here, while the order masculine first, followed by feminine, is left unexplained.

The order of the genders is only briefly mentioned by Apollonius, but it is in fact of great importance in ancient grammatical texts as a whole, on many levels. Gender is a common criterion for forming groups or organizing items in various contexts in ancient grammar, and when it is used, it is used in the appropriate order. The Byzantine grammarian Theodosius, in his *Canones*, classifies Greek nouns according to gender: the first masculine κανών is that of disyllables ending in -ās, the second that of words of more than two syllables ending similarly, and so on, the total number of masculine κανόνες being 35 (see *GG* IV.1 118, 30 ff.).⁶ Charisius, in his account of first-declension nouns, begins with three masculine words, *Aeneas*, *poeta* and *Achates* (first-declension nouns, according to him, end in -as / -a / -es); he then names two feminine words, *Minerva* and *Diana*, and finally states that the first declension has no neuter (Char. 16,7–21 B = *GL* I 18,11–16). As to feminine words, Charisius simply states that they end in -a and are inflected in the same way as *poeta* or

⁵ *Synt. GG* II.2 24,1–10: Προφανές δ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἐγγενομένη θέσις τοῦ ὀνόματος οὐκ ἄλλως ἂν ἐφυλάχθη, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ ἐκ τούτων ἐκ καταφάσεως ἠρτημένον μόριον παρελαμβάνετο, ὡς καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀρρενικὸν καὶ θηλυκὸν τὸ τούτων ἀποφατικὸν οὐδέτερον. εἰ γὰρ μὴ παραδεξαίμεθα τὴν τῶν προκειμένων μορίων προτέραν θέσιν, καταλείπεται τὸ μηδὲ μετοχὴν καλεῖν μηδὲ μὴν οὐδέτερον, ἐπεὶ τίνων δύο προϋφεστῶτων γένοιτο ἂν ἀποφατικὸν τὸ οὐδέτερον, τίνων δὲ μεθέξει ἡ μετοχὴ; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλου μορίου δύναιτο ἂν τις παρέμπωσιν ποιήσασθαι, λέγω ἀντωνυμίας, ἐπιρρήματος, συνδέσμου, ἄλλου του·οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς τούτων ιδιότητος μετέσχεν. – "It is also clear that the etymological application of the name "participle" could not otherwise be kept in view unless it were introduced after both noun and verb had been, since this part of speech depends on its acceptance of some of their features, just as the neuter must come after masculine and feminine, as a negation of both of them. For if we did not accept the prior ordering of these categories, we would be left without a basis for calling one "participle" and the other "neuter"; of what two preestablished entities could the neuter be a denial? And what ones would the participle share? Neither would it be possible to insert any other part of speech – pronoun, adverb, conjunction, anything else – before the participle. For it (the participle) would not have any share in their unique features." Translation Householder (above, n. 2) 27.

⁶ See D. J. Taylor, "Varro and the Origins of Latin linguistic theory", in I. Rosier (éd.), *L'héritage des grammairiens latins de l'Antiquité aux Lumières* (Bibliothèque de l'Information grammaticale 13), Paris 1988, 44 for an informative juxtaposition of Theodosius' *canones* and Varro's declension.

fortuna (18,17–19 B = *GL* I 21,1–2).⁷ The newly introduced feminine *fortuna* is the word that Charisius inflects as a model. Charisius thus teaches the Latin first declension beginning with the masculine and using mostly proper names (of Greek origin) as examples.

Similarly, words ending in *-a*, according to Donatus and Priscianus, are either masculine or feminine, or of common or neuter gender, in this order.⁸ This does not mean that the grammarians did not connect words ending in *-a* with feminine gender. In his list of special cases of noun gender (*GL* IV 375,24 ff.), Donatus takes it for granted that the ending *-a* is primarily related to feminine gender: the words *poema* and *schema* are "feminine by form but are understood to be neuter".⁹

The order of the genders affects the mode of presenting paradigms, and is present for instance in the process of derivation as seen by the ancient grammarians, a theme discussed later in this paper. To look for an explanation for this influential order in ancient linguistics is unjustified in the sense that the ancient linguists did not question it. For us today, however, questioning the

⁷ Charisius mentions one exception (18,23–27 B = *GL* I 21,3–6), the plural dative forms in *-bus* in cases such as *his deabus, libertabus, filiabus* from *haec dea, liberta, filia*. I return to these forms later in the present article.

⁸ See Don. *GL* IV 376,10–12 and Prisc. *GL* II 143,4 ff. For the passage of Donatus, see J. Vaahtera, "Observations on *Genus nominum* in the Roman grammarians", *Arctos* 34 (2000) 239.

⁹ Pompeius, in his commentary on Donatus, clarifies this point after finishing his presentation of the epicene (*GL* V 161,32–162,7): *Praeterea scire debemus quasdam regulas quasi solemnes esse generum. ecce a quasi solemnis est generis feminini, puta Musa casa; ecce ipsa regula quasi dedicata est feminino generi. item us syllaba masculino generi quasi dedicata est, doctus clarus magnus. invenitur tamen ut et in us exeat et generis sit feminini, ut est haec laurus. ecce syllaba quasi quae erat masculino dedicata feminini est. sed non penitus us syllaba dixi quod dedicata sit masculino, sed quod frequentius ... ne dicas mihi 'ecce nomen in a exit, debet generis esse feminini'. nam potest fieri ut sonet femininum et sit masculinum, ut est Catilina Agrippa Messala. – "In addition, we should know that some paradigms are almost customary to a gender. See that *-a* is almost customary to feminine gender, e.g. *Musa, casa* 'a hut'; the very declension is almost dedicated to feminine gender. Likewise, the syllable *-us* is almost totally dedicated to masculine gender, e.g. *doctus* 'learned', *clarus* 'illustrious', *magnus* 'great'. However, there are cases when a word ends in *-us* but is feminine, e.g. *haec laurus* 'the laurel'. Here, a syllable that was almost dedicated to masculine belongs to feminine. But I did not say that the syllable *-us* is entirely dedicated to masculine, but that it is more often so [...] So do not say to me 'this noun ends in *-a*, therefore it has to be of feminine gender.' For it is possible that it sounds like a feminine but is a masculine, such as *Catilina, Agrippa, Messala*."*

order is rewarding since in the process of looking for answers we encounter some ideas central to ancient linguistics.

The two original genders

Apollonius explained the position of neuter as based on the negation of masculine and feminine. This explanation is repeated by many grammarians, but the order of the three genders is not discussed.¹⁰ What we find in grammatical texts is the idea that masculine and feminine are "the" genders. In this connection, many Roman grammarians report the opinion of Varro that "only those are genders that generate" (*GRF* 270, fr. 245 F: *Varro ait generatantum illa esse quae generant*; this fragment is *incertae sedis*).¹¹ We find an etymology of γένος that relates it to reproduction among the *scholia* on the *Techne* as well:¹² "What is the origin of γένος? It is derived from the verb γείνω which means γεννώ" (i.e. γεννώω 'to give birth').¹³ As far as Varro is concerned, this is first and foremost an etymology of the word *genus* and an explanation of the origin of the terms employed in connection with it. The notion expressed in

¹⁰ Priscianus, following Apollonius, mentions "the order of the cases, genders and tenses" before explaining the order of the parts of speech (Prisc. *GL* III 115,20–121,15). See Pompeius (*GL* V 96,27 ff.) for the order of the parts of speech normally followed by the Roman grammarians.

¹¹ A. Corbeill, "Genus quid est? Roman Scholars on Grammatical Gender and Biological Sex", *TAPhA* 138 (2008) 76, uses this Varronian etymology as a starting point in his useful article on grammatical gender and biological sex in Roman grammar. For grammarians using this etymology, see e.g. Pomp. *GL* V 159,23 ff.; *Explan. in Don.* *GL* IV 492,37 ff.; Serv. *GL* IV 407,39–408,1; Consent. *GL* V 343,9–10. Another fragment of Varro buttresses the idea that gender is really to be identified with male and female and the neuter is not a gender at all (*GRF* 270, fr. 246 F = Cleidonius *GL* V 41,27 ff.; this fragment, too, is *incertae sedis*): *dicit Varro nullam rem animalem neutro genere declinari* ("a word for a living thing cannot be inflected according to neuter gender").

¹² *Sch. in D.T. GG* I.3 361,29: Πόθεν γένος; Ἀπὸ τοῦ γείνω, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ γεννῶ. The *scholia* are a challenging source in the sense that there is often no proper context for individual statements. The question preceding this etymological question is "Why are there five properties of *onoma*?", accompanied by the answer "Because the human being has five senses ..."; the following question is "How many genders are there?" accompanied by the answer repeating the *Techne* and explaining the history of the neuter as the gender of the inanimates and the term itself as the negation of the masculine and the feminine.

¹³ There seems to be a lapsus in Corbeill (above n. 11) 76 n. 2 where he cites this passage with the remark (emphasis mine): "...the Byzantine commentaries on the Greek grammarian Dionysius Thrax, which **do not** refer to words engaging in a kind of reproduction".

it is not particularly descriptive of Varro's ideas on gender as they appear in the *De lingua Latina* as a whole. The discussion of anomaly and analogy in *De lingua Latina* is of course connected to the question of the nature of language and is therefore both philosophical and grammatical. This is also visible in Varro's approach to gender: in some contexts he seems to speak of natural gender, while in others gender is strictly grammatical.¹⁴ Grammatical gender is, of course, one of the criteria of the Alexandrian analogy.¹⁵

The etymology that connects gender with reproduction and sex was found useful for instance by Priscianus:¹⁶

The original genders of nouns are the two which are the only ones known to the order of nature, masculine and feminine. For those that can generate are called genders, from the word *generare*, and these are masculine and feminine.

Priscianus does not discuss this any further but proceeds to treat common gender and neuter, which he thus opposes to the original genders. He does not explicitly state the number of genders but seems to follow Donatus in acknowledging four of them, masculine, feminine, neuter and common gender (Don. *GL* IV 375,13 ff.). The number of genders recognized by individual grammarians varies,¹⁷ but masculine and feminine are of course the unquestioned genders.¹⁸ Priscianus' reference to the *ratio naturae* together with

¹⁴ See J. Collart, *Varron grammairien Latin*, Paris 1952, 160–162, on how Varro managed here too to combine two opposing theories into a theory of his own: the substance of this is that gender is natural in those words in which the distinction is useful. Otherwise the gender of a word is revealed by agreement. On gender and analogy in Varro, see V. Lomanto "Varrone e la dottrina del genere", in: U. Rapallo – G. Garbugino (a cura di), *Grammatica e lessico delle lingue 'morte'*, Alessandria 1998. In her article, Lomanto stresses the influence of the "naturalismo stoico" in Varro's vision of the Latin language (see e.g. *ibid.* 95).

¹⁵ Varro normally follows the Alexandrians in employing gender as one of the criteria of analogy, but in *Ling.* 10,62 he shows that gender is not a necessary criterion: the Latin declensions can be distinguished by the ablative singular alone (I thank Professor Daniel Taylor for drawing my attention to this brilliant passage).

¹⁶ *GL* II 141,4–6: *Genera igitur nominum principalia sunt duo, quae sola novit ratio naturae, masculinum et femininum. genera enim dicuntur a generando proprie quae generare possunt, quae sunt masculinum et femininum.*

¹⁷ On the number of the genders see A. Ahlqvist "'Gender' in Early Grammar", in V. Law – W. Hüllen (eds.), *Linguists and Their Diversions: A Festschrift for R.H. Robins on His 75th Birthday*, Münster 1996, 44 ff.

¹⁸ D. Baron, *Grammar and Gender*, New Haven and London 1986, 90, gives undeserved honor to Priscianus: "This association of grammatical gender with human generation was introduced as early as Priscian's sixth-century Latin grammar, and it was developed by

the Varronian etymology amounts to identifying gender with sex, and implicitly to connecting neuter with inanimate and placing animate before inanimate.

The *scholia* on the *Techne* record the reference to existing things in the extra-linguistic world as well, in the manner of Priscianus: a scholiast (Stephanos) relates that according to some there are only two genders because existing things are divided into male and female, while the rest are "neither".¹⁹ The scholiast opposes this view: grammar does not base the division into genders on the real world, but on the syntax of the articles and on euphony. For instance, πόλις 'a city' is in itself not male or female apart from its inhabitants (see *Sch. in D.T. GG I.3 218,9–16*). Euphony here seems to refer to the knowledge that a native speaker has of grammatical gender, i.e. to the "ear": for instance, ὁ πόλις must have "sounded wrong" to a native Greek speaker. Indeed, another scholiast shows that it is sometimes the meaning, sometimes the form and "the euphony of the article" that defines the gender of a word. In case the masculine article ὁ is added to the word πόλις, the result is ὄφωνία, while ἵππος 'a horse' allows both the masculine ὁ and the feminine ἡ, with euphony, because of the different meanings (stallion, mare).²⁰

The point about the possible discrepancy between grammatical gender and natural gender was also made by Apollonius:²¹

The word τὸ παιδίον 'a child', too, is neuter by form, although it is common by meaning: for when someone provides a male and a female child, he says "I provide you with children".

The word τὸ παιδίον is a typical example of a contradiction between form and meaning. On the one hand it is stated that the meaning does not show the gender

medieval grammarians and accepted by their successors." Baron is here discussing the following argument: "[t]he most blatant attempts to connect linguistic form with stereotyped characteristics of sexes are found ... in the study of the phenomenon of grammatical gender".

¹⁹ The passage of Priscianus is cited side by side with this statement from the scholiast in the fragments of Apollonius' lost works as gathered by Schneider, under the title of *περὶ γένων* (*GG II.3,59*). Schneider explains Apollonius' gender system in detail in his commentary on Apollonius' *scripta minora* (*GG II.1 fasc. 2,23–25*).

²⁰ *Sch. in D.T. GG I.3 525,6–18*.

²¹ *Coni. GG II.1 215,20–22*: ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ παιδίον οὐδέτερον διὰ τὸν τύπον, ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ δηλούμενον· παρατιθέμενος γοῦν τις ἀρσενικὸν καὶ θηλυκόν, εἴποι ἄν παρατίθεμαί σοι παιδία. The context is that of proving that disjunctives are conjunctions, despite their meaning. See also *coni. GG II.1 248,7–8*.

of a word, while on the other hand the very stating of this fact shows the interest in the contradiction between form and meaning.

Philosophical *versus* grammatical

Choeroboscus, in his commentary on Theodosius' *Canones*, judges the approach that sees gender and sex as closely related to be philosophical, and opposes it to the grammarians' notion of gender. He first gives the usual definition of the three genders in terms of the article, and then states:²²

And we do not accept the view of those who say that it is masculine that ejects seed, feminine that receives seed and neuter that neither ejects nor receives seed: for see that ὁ οἶκος 'house' is masculine and does not eject seed, and again, ἡ αὐλή 'the court-yard' is feminine and does not receive seed: similarly, τὸ γύναιον 'little woman' is neuter and yet receives seed.

The scholiasts of the *Techne* discuss the same (e.g. *Sch. in D.T. GG I.3 361,35 – 362,5*):²³

In the definition of gender there is included the "in the word form" (ἐν φωνῇ), since the philosophers do not observe the gender from the form but from the meaning: and they call masculine that which ejects seed, feminine that which receives seed, and neuter that which does neither. If they are asked the gender of τὸ βρέφος 'fetus, the new-born babe' or τὸ παιδίον 'a child' they will answer "masculine" since they look at the meaning: and again if you ask them which gender is τὸ γύναιον 'little woman' they will say "feminine" looking at the meaning; and if you ask which genders are ἡ πέτρα 'a rock' and ὁ πύργος 'a tower' they will say "neuter": but the neuter does not have its name because of meaning but because of the negation of the two genders. The grammarians call masculine that which is preceded in the nominative singular by the article ὁ, as in ὁ Αἴας...

²² *GG IV.1 107,8–14*: οὐδὲ γὰρ δεχόμεθα τοὺς λέγοντας ἀρσενικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ σπέρματος ἀποβλητικόν, θηλυκὸν δὲ τὸ σπέρματος δεκτικόν, οὐδέτερον δὲ τὸ μήτε σπέρματος ἀποβλητικὸν μήτε σπέρματος δεκτικόν· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ οἶκος ἀρσενικὸν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἔστι σπέρματος ἀποβλητικόν, καὶ πάλιν ἡ αὐλή θηλυκὸν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἔστι σπέρματος δεκτικόν· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ γύναιον οὐδέτερόν ἐστι καὶ ὅμως σπέρματος δεκτικόν ἐστὶν.

²³ Similarly also *Sch. in D.T. GG I.3 524,35–525,2*.

These scholiasts explain how the poets often form the agreement of a neuter word according to the sense, not the form, as in Διὸς τέκος, ἥ ... "child of Zeus, who ..." (this is from *Iliad* 10,278, where the neuter τέκος is referred to with the feminine ἥ).²⁴

The relation of form and meaning is central to the idea of the two original genders: it is also central to the first history of the genders. The terminology itself records the association of gender with sex, but also the effort to efface this association: Aristophanes of Byzantium used the terms ἄρσεν and θῆλυ for masculine and feminine, while Aristonicus uses the terms found in later grammar, ἀρσενικόν and θηλυκόν, or the adverbs ἀρσενικῶς and θηλυκῶς.²⁵ Consentius presents the Varronian etymology for *genus*, but makes the point that "it is not the names that generate, but the bodies of which they are names" (*GL* V 343, 16). The original situation is no longer valid: a word being masculine or feminine no longer means that the referent is necessarily sex-differentiable. Consentius' point is that words such as *hic aer* 'air', *haec terra* 'earth', *hoc caelum* 'sky' are words that, not being attributed sex by nature, should be neuter – yet, grammar attributes to them any gender, whether freely (i.e. making them masculine or feminine) or properly (i.e. making them neuter). Consentius (*GL* V 343,21–344,7):

Since 'genders' were first thus named in names of animate beings, the custom was then extended by usage so that even those that were without sex were thought to be masculine or feminine, e.g. *aer* 'air', *portus* 'harbour', *terra* 'earth', *domus* 'house'. The two genders are then natural or original, masculine and feminine. The third gender is what is called neuter, which is thought artificial by some because it is said of those things alone that are not animate. For they say that this does not belong to nature but arises from grammar. But others think correctly that this too is a natural gender. For they say that what is neither masculine nor feminine by nature is neuter by nature. **Thus nature constituted first three genders.** Grammar followed nature, partly obeying some logic, and generally preserved the number of genders, supported by natural distinctions between things. **For what is not ascribed to sex by nature, should be considered neuter. But grammar attributed it to what gender it wanted whether freely or whether properly, e.g. *hic aer*, *haec terra*, *hoc caelum*.** It followed usage in that it thought *miles* 'soldier' to be masculine, since this office belongs to men; likewise it thought *Lamia* 'witch' to be feminine, because this is

²⁴ *Sch. in D.T. GG* I.3 362,20–24.

²⁵ See S. Matthaios, *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik Aristarchs: Texte und Interpretation zur Wortartenlehre*, Göttingen 1999, 272–273.

correctly said to be a women's crime. It follows a certain logic for instance in calling the male *caelebs* 'unmarried man' and the female *vidua* 'unmarried woman' so that the distinction of the names themselves would indicate the different quality of the solitude.

Consentius sees neuter as an originally natural gender belonging to the inanimate. Here too, however, history is history: *hic aer, haec terra, hoc caelum*.²⁶ According to Corbeill, *terra* has "a long tradition of having an "obvious" gender". He refers to Varro, whose statement on *terra* (*Ling.* 9,38: *Quo neque a terra terrus ut dicatur postulandum est, quod natura non subest, ut in hoc alterum maris, alterum feminae debeat esse*) he interprets to the effect that "the noun is feminine on account of its underlying nature".²⁷ I find Corbeill's interpretation to be too free. It is not in line with Varro's notions of gender generally or with the original context of the statement on *terra*.²⁸ The context is that of linguistic analogy, and Varro shows its limitations, based on nature and on usage.²⁹ Varro does not explain why *terra* is feminine rather than masculine, but why there are not both *terra* and *terrus*. The claim that "*terra* is feminine because earth has a somehow female character" is in my opinion alien to Varro's thinking. Varro discusses *Terra* as a female deity attaching to it (i.e. the earth) the feminine characteristics of frigidity and humidity (*Ling.* 5,59) and relates Aelius Stilo's etymology of *terra*, '*quod teritur*' (*Ling.* 5,21). It is important to note, however, that the grammatical gender of *terra* does not enter into these contexts. Indeed, there is no reason to believe that Varro found it significant here: *Caelum* is the male deity which together with *Terra* begets everything (*Ling.* 5,60), and Varro does not comment on the neuter gender of the word for this fatherly sky either.

This is an important point considering both Varro and the later grammarians. The history of gender in ancient linguistics begins with

²⁶ The use of the article here is equivalent to our listing "masculine *aer*, feminine *terra*, neuter *caelum*" – and, of course, the examples obey the order of the genders.

²⁷ Corbeill (above n. 11) 93.

²⁸ I thus agree with the translation of *Ling.* 9,38 by Kent (Varro *On the Latin Language*, with an English translation by Roland G. Kent, vol. 1–2, London 1951), *ad loc.*: "Therefore it is not to be demanded that from *terra* 'earth' there should be also *terrus*, because there is no natural basis that in this object there ought to be one word for the male and another for the female".

²⁹ See W. Ax, "Pragmatic arguments in morphology. Varro's defence of analogy in book 9 of his *De lingua Latina*", in P. Swiggers and A. Wouters (edd.), *Ancient Grammar: Content and Context* (Orbis Suppl. 7), Leuven – Paris 1996, especially 107 ff.

Protagoras and his often cited claim that Homer's μῆνις 'wrath' and πῆληξ 'helmet' should be masculine instead of feminine,³⁰ but the idea that the gender of a word for an inanimate thing might be based on its male or female characteristics is not expressed in Roman grammar.³¹ A passage in Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* might be interpreted to contain a value statement of the masculine and feminine genders respectively: "And some people claim that *dies* as a masculine means a good day, as a feminine a bad day."³² Servius, however, does not present this as his own opinion or clarify the claim (nor does Aristotle when he cites Protagoras). The idea that masculine and good belong together, as well as feminine and bad, is merely one possible interpretation by the reader – the impression that this might be Servius' intention is caused by his manner of offering explanations that attach positive value to male sex in one way or another. I return to this below.

Default gender and valued sex

The grammatical terms for masculine and feminine are themselves subject to an order at the level of conventional expression, since I think the pair is comparable to those mentioned by Quintilian:

³⁰ Arist. *Soph.el.* 173b17–23. See I. Sluiter, *Ancient Grammar in Context. Contributions to the Study of Ancient Linguistic Thought*, Amsterdam 1990, 7–8 for the interpretation of the Aristotelian account of Protagoras and gender, with further literature. Casper de Jonge, in a paper held at the XIXth International Colloquium of the SGdS / Henry Sweet Society Annual Colloquium in July 2007 in Helsinki, argued convincingly that this Protagorean fragment (and Arist. *Poet.* 1456b13 ff.) should be interpreted primarily from the point of view of Protagoras' relativism (according to de Jonge, he will argue for the same interpretation in a forthcoming article: Casper C. de Jonge & Johannes M. van Ophuijsen "Greek philosophers on language", in Egbert J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Greek Language*, forthcoming 2009).

³¹ This does not mean that male or female characteristics were not attached to inanimate things. Macrobius (5th century AD), in describing the time after chaos (*Sat.* 1,17,53), states that while the warmth of the sun is intense, the moon has a more humid, moderate heat and is, as it were, of feminine sex. Macrobius finds the sun to have the substance of father, the moon that of mother. Macrobius does not, of course, speak about gender here, although it would have been easy to explicitly connect the feminine gender of *luna* and the masculine gender of *sol* with these characteristics.

³² Serv. *Aen.* 1,732: *et quidam volunt masculini generis 'diem' bonum significare, feminini malum.*

There is also another species of order which may be entitled natural, as for example when we speak of "men and women," "day and night," "rising and setting," in preference to the reverse order.³³

In our terms, this is about convention.³⁴ In Quintilian's opinion, rhythm, euphony, etc. would have been disturbed should one have said *femina ac vir* – and I think he might have said the same of *femininum et masculinum* as well. This is rhetoric, not grammar, but nonetheless important. The breaking of the convention with "feminine and masculine" would disturb the modern conventional ear as well.

Masculine plays a special role in many Indo-European languages, in the sense that it functions as the default gender. This was occasionally noted by the grammarians as well:³⁵ "ATQUE HOS whenever masculine and feminine are connected, the rule is that, even if the latter is feminine, we make the agreement with the masculine." The *hos* of Vergil refers to bulls and heifers. This observation by Servius is restricted to gender,³⁶ but in another passage Servius connects masculine gender, male sex, and positive value:³⁷ "AD SOCEROS why *ad soceros* although it is said both *socer* 'father-in-law' and *socrus* 'mother-in-law'? Vergil makes the agreement with the better sex, i.e. with the masculine."³⁸ As far as I can see, statements such as this are not easy to find in ancient grammar, even if one is looking for them. In the Carolingian *Commentum*

³³ Translation Butler (*The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, with an English Translation by H.E. Butler, Volume III, London 1986), *ad loc.* Quint. *inst.* 9,4,23: *Est et alius naturalis ordo, ut uiros ac feminas, diem ac noctem, ortum et occasum dicas potius quam retrorsum.*

³⁴ The context in Quintilian is that of the necessary properties of artistic composition, one of which is *ordo*.

³⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 8,209: *ATQVE HOS quotiens masculinum et femininum iunguntur, haec disciplina est, ut etiam si posterius est femininum, masculino respondeamus.* Probus states in *Instituta artium* something that comes close to being a rule (*GL IV* 127,31–34): *... quaecumque generis feminini nomina generibus masculinis reperiuntur esse coniuncta, haec sub sono generis masculini necesse est ut procedant* – ... all feminine words that are found connected with masculine ones have to go under a word of masculine gender" (repeated in *GL IV* 128,7–9). One of Probus' examples, the pronoun form *hos*, comes from the Vergilian passage (*Aen.* 8,209), discussed by Servius.

³⁶ See also Serv. *Buc.* 3,34 *ALTER ET HAEDOS*.

³⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 2,457: *AD SOCEROS quare 'ad soceros' cum 'socer' et 'socrus' dicantur? sed meliori sexui respondit, id est masculino.*

³⁸ The poet, in the lines commented on, speaks of Priamus and Hecuba as parents-in-law.

Einsidlense in Donati barbarismum (by Remigius of Auxerre), Donatus' *syllepsis*³⁹ is illustrated with an example that concerns gender.⁴⁰

... *vir et mulier, qui noviter ad nos venerunt, magni sunt*. Although *vir* 'man' and *mulier* 'woman' are of masculine and feminine gender respectively, they are enclosed within one gender, i.e., the masculine, since when the two genders masculine and feminine are joined together, they are resolved into the superior gender.

A statement to the effect that masculine and male are indeed worthier than feminine and female is found in the late grammar attributed to the bishop Iulianus Toletanus:⁴¹

Give a word of masculine gender: *vir* 'man'. Why is it called masculine gender? Because in it there is more virtue than in the woman. Give a feminine: *mulier* 'woman'. Why is it called feminine gender? From the parts of *femur* 'thigh' that distinguish the kind of sex from man.

This etymology for the terms *masculinum* and *femininum* comes from the discussion of the property of *genus nominum*. It can be considered a late recognition of the fact that the usually tacit order of the two genders is based on the hierarchy of the sexes in the society. It is not irrelevant from the point of view of earlier grammar either: although we do not find anything as explicit in the older texts, what we find is in accordance with these views.

An interesting example of how the social necessity of distinguishing the sexes could work its way into language is the ending *-abus*, created to avoid the

³⁹ See Don. *GL* IV 397,23–29.

⁴⁰ *GL* VIII 270,4–8: ... '*uir et mulier, qui nouiter ad nos uenerunt, magni sunt*'. *Hic 'uir' et 'mulier' cum sint masculini et feminini generis, per unum genus i(dest) masculinum clauduntur, quia, ubi duo genera iunguntur masculinum et femininum, per illud, quod praecipuum est, resoluuntur*. How should (*genus*) *praecipuum* be translated? Could the adjective just mean default gender? The expression *per illud, quod praecipuum est, resoluuntur* could also allow the interpretation that the gender chosen depends on the case at hand, but this interpretation is not credible since there is nothing in the example given that would suggest the masculine.

⁴¹ Iulianus Toletanus 20,279–281 Maestre Yenes: *da masculini generis nomen: 'vir'. masculinum genus cur dictum? eo quod maior in eo virtus sit quam in femina. da feminini: 'mulier'. femininum unde dictum? a partibus femorum ubi sexus species a viro distinguitur*. The etymology of *femor* that links it with *femina* is found in Isidorus of Seville (*orig.* 11,1,106: *Femora dicta sunt quod ea parte a femina sexus viri discrepet*).

ambiguity of such forms as *filiis*. This form, mentioned by Sacerdos already in the late third century (*GL VI 427,5 ff.*), is discussed by many Roman grammarians.⁴² Cledonius, among others, explains the necessity of the form in wills (*GL V 46,2 ff.*). He attributes its invention to those that are *iuris periti*: they created it in order to distinguish male and female, to avoid a situation in which someone wanting to leave an inheritance to his sons would seem to be making his daughters the heirs. This demonstrates how the social hierarchy could become the grammarians' business as well. The apparently minor morphological peculiarity recorded by the grammarians is important because it shows so manifestly the desire for exactness of reference, the interest in words for sex-differentiable beings (especially humans) and the ubiquity of the ideal of a single form corresponding to a single meaning.⁴³ Cases where this ideal was not realised were of special interest.

Pompeius' observation on forms such as *filiis* is certainly well-grounded.⁴⁴

For in case we say from *equa* 'mare' the form *equis* or from *filia* 'daughter' *filiarum* the form *filiis*, in case we say like this, we understand the male sex rather than the female sex.

⁴² Priscianus discusses *filiabus* and other similar forms in connection with dative and ablative cases of the first declension (*GL II 293,5–8*): *Inveniuntur tamen quaedam pauca feminini generis, quae ex masculinis transfigurantur non habentibus neutra, quae et animalium sunt demonstrativa, naturaliter divisum genus habentia, quae differentiae causa ablativo singulari 'bus' assumentia faciunt dativum et ablativum pluralem.* – "There are a few feminine words that are transformed from masculine ones that do not have a neuter form, and these indicate living beings that have naturally a division in gender, and these feminines produce, for the sake of differentiation, the dative and ablative plural by adding *-bus* to the ablative singular". Priscianus duly observes that the form *filiis* is in use for the feminine as well (*GL II 293,12–13*). See also Don. *GL IV 378,7–10*; Prob. *GL IV 84,33 ff.*; Serv. *GL IV 434,8 ff.*; *Fragmentum Bobiense GL V 557,3 ff.*

⁴³ See E. Itkonen, *Universal History of Linguistics. India, China, Arabia, Europe* (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Series III, Vol. 65), Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1991, 185 for an exposition of how the 'one meaning – one form' ideal is connected to the Stoic theory of language: cases when for instance a feminine form expresses a masculine notion are supportive of anomaly in language.

⁴⁴ Pomp. *GL V 173,28–30*: *nam ab eo quod est equa si dixerimus equis, filia filiarum filiis, si sic dixerimus, sexum potius masculinum intellegimus, quam femininum.* See also Pomp. *GL V 189,9–11* where Pompeius acknowledges the ambiguity of the form.

According to Charisius, the words *heres* 'an heir / -ess', *parens* 'a parent', *homo* 'a human being, man' are always masculine.⁴⁵ This view concerns the actual grammatical gender of the word visible as agreement; Charisius claims that no one would say for instance *bona parens* 'a good parent' (with a feminine attribute), even when the reference is to a woman. In fact, *homo* as a feminine is in practice not found in Latin, while *heres* and *parens* are words of common gender, used with both feminine and masculine attributes. What is important is that Charisius wants to present them as essentially masculine words.

Masculine words

Words such as *filius* and *filia* share inflectional forms in the plural, which causes ambiguity – but it is also important to notice that the Roman grammarians approached *filius filia* as essentially one word.⁴⁶ This claim is true in the sense that the masculine is the basic form from which they derive the feminine one. The case is thus similar to that of adjectives such as *bonus bona bonum*, which are represented by the masculine form. All gender-inflected words could be subject to similar considerations, due to the less than clear status of the adjective among the *nomina*.⁴⁷ The masculine form of a gender-inflected word is thus comparable to the nominative in the inflection, but it is also similar to the primary word in word formation.

Varro employed gender in his discussion of *impositio* and *declinatio*, two concepts central to his great idea of the birth and development of language. He

⁴⁵ Char. 130,19–23 B = *GL* I 102,20–23: *Heres parens homo, etsi in communi sexu intellegantur, tamen masculino genere semper dicuntur. nemo enim aut secundam heredem dicit aut bonam parentem aut malam hominem, sed masculine, tametsi de femina sermo habeatur.*

⁴⁶ V. Law, *The History of Linguistics in Europe from Plato to 1600*, Cambridge 2003, 71 has pointed out this important detail in the ancient conception of grammatical gender, concerning words of common gender: gender was not conceived as intrinsic to a noun in the sense that *sacerdos* was not considered either masculine or feminine according to the referent, but at once potentially masculine and feminine. This conception is behind the very terms *commune* and *commune trium generum*.

⁴⁷ A survey of the definitions of noun and of the description of adjectives is found in Luhtala (above n. 1) 38 ff. (noun), 49 ff. (adjectives), 97 ff. (adjectives in Apollonius Dyscolus). Adjectives were not a part of speech, nor were they properly defined as a group of their own among the common nouns. See Vaahtera (above n. 8) for how the different types of Latin adjectives were accounted for in the Roman grammarians' account of *nomina*.

argued (*Ling.* 8,7) that it is no wonder if errors sometimes occur in inflection, since they may have taken place already in the process of the original name-giving (*impositio*). The purpose of this process was to name each thing and from these names to inflect the plural and the case forms. The aim concerning gender is "that male children be designated in such a way that from these the females might be indicated by inflection, as the feminine *Terentia* from the masculine *Terentius*".⁴⁸

Gender inflection appears in Roman grammar mostly in connection with the division into *genera nominum fixa* and *mobilia*.⁴⁹ It is clear that words semantically related to sex are in focus in the *genus mobile nominum*.⁵⁰ Priscianus usually employs the concept of *genus mobile* in a quite practical way, as a way of referring to adjectives.⁵¹ His account of *mobilia* within the

⁴⁸ Translation Kent (see n. 28) *ad loc.*; *ling.* 8,7: *sic mares liberos voluisse notari, ut ex his feminae declinarentur, ut est ab Terentio Terentia*. For Varro, the creation of *Terentius* is thus an act of name-giving, while that of *Terentia* is an act of inflection (*ling.* 8, 14; see also *ibid.* 9,55 ff.). Women, even in the highest social circles, were primarily identified through their fathers and families. This usage is continued for instance in the *RE*, which does not list women, e.g. the notable Hortensia and Cornelia, in their correct alphabetical position, but following the various Corneliuses and Hortensiuses. Hortensia (Tochter des Q. Hortalus Nr 13) is number 16 *s.v.* Hortensius (*RE* VIII, 2) and Cornelia is number 417 *s.v.* Cornelius (*RE* IV, 1). A seeker of less suspicious mind might not find these women at all: there is indeed a *vox* "Cornelia" (*ibid.*) but it is an "alte römische Landtribus".

⁴⁹ The examples of the latter are either proper names with a masculine and a feminine form, or adjectives of three genders. Words such as *filius filia* are mobile as well, although this is not so self-evident before Priscianus. See Vaahtera (above n. 8) 244–245.

⁵⁰ E.g. Donatus (*GL* IV 376,1–7): *sunt etiam genera nominum fixa, sunt mobilia. fixa sunt quae in alterum genus flecti non possunt, ut mater soror pater frater. mobilia autem aut propria sunt et duo genera faciunt, ut Gaius Gaia, Marcius Marcia, aut appellativa sunt et tria faciunt, ut bonus bona bonum, malus mala malum. sunt item alia nec in totum fixa nec in totum mobilia, ut draco dracaena, leo leaena, gallus gallina, rex regina.* – "There are also nouns that have fixed gender and nouns that have mobile gender. Those nouns have fixed gender that cannot be inflected into another gender, such as *mater* 'mother', *soror* 'sister', *pater* 'father', *frater* 'brother'. As for nouns of mobile gender, they are either proper names and have two genders, such as *Gaius Gaia*, *Marcius Marcia*, or *appellativa* and make three genders, such as *bonus bona bonum* 'good', *malus mala malum* 'bad'. There are likewise some words that are not entirely fixed nor entirely mobile, such as *draco dracaena* 'dragon', *leo leaena* 'lion', *gallus gallina* 'a cock, hen', *rex regina* 'king, queen'."

⁵¹ Priscianus employs the concept of mobility mainly in connection with adjectives of three forms, e.g. Prisc. *GL* II 86,14–18: "Words that can be compared belong thus to the second or third declension. And in case they belong to the second declension, they are mobile, i.e., they produce feminines in *-a* and neuters in *-um* and end either in *-er* or in *-us ...*"; *GL* II 94,25–26: "and all the superlatives are mobile, i.e. they produce feminines by changing *-us* into *-a* and neuters by changing it into *-um*".

treatment of the *genus nominum*,⁵² however, is rather different in nature: Priscianus takes here into account gender variation even when there is no corresponding gender inflection. He claims that *pater* and *mater*, *frater* and *soror*, *patruus* 'father's brother' and *amita* 'father's sister', words with totally different stems, are mobile: this, according to him, is variation (mobility) *natura et significatione, non etiam voce* (*GL* II 142,1–2).⁵³ According to another passage, *mater* is the feminine of *pater*:⁵⁴

This is no wonder, since the same is found in other parts of speech as well, namely that related meaning is present between different forms, such as, in nouns, *pater* is masculine while its feminine is *mater*.

Apollonius made distinctions that resemble the division into fixed and mobile words in Roman grammars, but for instance his τριγενῆ is not quite equivalent to *mobilia*: Apollonius focuses on gender variation, not necessarily visible as gender inflection. Thus τριγενῆ applies to both two- and three-form adjectives (see e.g. *Adv. GG* II.1 167,16–18: e.g. εὐσεβής and καλός are included).⁵⁵ Later Greek grammarians, however, seem to have a notion of τριγενῆ similar to that of the Roman grammarians. When Sophronius (in his commentary on Theodosius' *Canones*) defines the τριγενῆ, he states that the masculine form makes the feminine and the neuter: "τριγενῆ are those words that make the feminine and the neuter with a derived form" (*GG* IV.2 391,11–12).

The masculine form is the word, which then may produce the feminine and neuter forms.⁵⁶ As in word formation, the primary word may be (from the

⁵² This account of the nature of the mobile nouns begins directly after the words common of three genders that Priscianus identifies with *adiectiva*.

⁵³ It is noteworthy that for instance in Donatus' standard account of the division into fixed and mobile words, *mater*, *soror*, *pater*, *frater* are examples of fixed words "that cannot be inflected into another gender" (see Don. *GL* IV 376,2–3). Words such as *mater* or *pater* are not mobile in Priscianus either but in this one passage.

⁵⁴ Prisc. *GL* II 418,3–5: *nec mirum, cum in aliis quoque partibus orationis hoc inveniatur, ut cognata significatio in diversis inveniatur vocibus, ut puta in nominibus 'pater' masculinum est, eius femininum 'mater'*. This comes from a section dedicated to the tenses of verbs.

⁵⁵ The Romans used *mobile* of the latter only, thus leaving adjectives with two forms without a clear position, see Vaahtera (above n. 8) 248–249.

⁵⁶ *Sch. in D.T. GG* I.3 144,2–9: "Masculine words ending in -ος that produce a feminine separately, meaning those that are not of common gender (in the manner of ὁ φιλόσοφος and ἡ φιλόσοφος), in case they have a vowel before the -ο-, produce the feminine in -α, such as Βυζάντιος Βυζαντία, Ρόδιος Ροδία, ἀλλότριος ἀλλοτρία 'belonging to another': in case they have a consonant before the -ο-, they produce the feminine in -η-, such as σοφός σοφή

modern point of view) totally unrelated to the derived word. Probus seems to hesitate in recognizing *anus* as the feminine of *senex*:⁵⁷

I remind that the nouns of masculine gender of the above-mentioned form [sc. ending in -ex], if they are forced to produce feminines, too, of their kind, that these feminine nouns are found to be anomalous through substitution, e.g. *hic senex* 'an old man' has to produce *haec anus* 'an old woman'.

As such, this sort of a relation between words that are not cognate must have been acceptable to the grammarians, since suppletive inflection is quite common in Latin.

When a female-specific noun is in question the expectation is that there is a masculine counterpart for it from which the feminine derives. Thus the feminine forms of patronymics in *-is* and *-as* are not endings in their own right, but rather the result of deletion.⁵⁸ The rule is mechanical: take *-de-* from *Priamides* and you obtain *Priami-s*.⁵⁹

Order of the genders – order of the sexes

I began this paper with the passage from Apollonius stating the order of the three genders, and I am fully aware that I have moved away from this to other kinds of order. However, I think the fact remains that the order of the genders stated by Apollonius and visible in the grammatical mode of treating gender has

'wise', *καλός καλή* 'beautiful', *ἀγαθός ἀγαθή* 'good': in case they have the *-ρ-* before the *-ο-*, they produce the feminine in *-α*, such as *φοβερός φοβερά* 'terrible', *χλιαρός χλιαρά* 'warm', *καθαρός καθαρά* 'clean': it is thus clear that *ρ* is not a consonant but a vowel". Neuter forms are not cited in the examples, since the interest lies in the employment of the feminine form in the argument at hand, namely that *ρ* is a vowel.

⁵⁷ *GL* IV 61,8–11: *sane hoc monemus, quod haec eiusdem supra dictae formae nomina generis scilicet masculini, si cogantur ex specie sua et generis feminini facere nomina, quod haec eadem generis feminini nomina per inmutationem reperiantur esse anomala, ut puta hic senex haec anus facere debeat.*

⁵⁸ Prisc. *GL* II 67,15–17.

⁵⁹ A similar derivational process is found in the *scholia* of the *Techne*, where there is an account for feminine words in *-ις* (*GG* I.3 222,4–5): *Τὰ εἰς δης ἀποβάλλοντα τὸ δὴ ποιεῖ θηλυκόν, Τανταλίδης Τανταλῖς. – "Words ending in *-δης* produce the feminine by losing the *-δης*, e.g. *Τανταλίδης Τανταλῖς*". This view is referred to Apollonius' followers, while Herodianus is said to have been of the opinion that the feminine forms are not derived from the masculine patronymics, but from the genitive of the primary word: thus *Πριαμῖς* is from *Πριάμου* (*ibid.* 222,10–21).*

its explanation in what has been said above. It is clear that the notion of the two original genders places masculine and feminine before neuter, but it does not explain why masculine comes before feminine. The grammarians do not explicitly claim that masculine is prior to feminine, but they nonetheless act on the principle that the order of the three genders is masculine, feminine, neuter, and not just in the listing of the genders.

The opinion of the gender and meaning of *dies* as related by Servius (above n. 32) in his commentaries on Vergil is accompanied by his references to the difference between the status of men and women. Servius refers to acting men and suffering women in explaining that Vergil's *Iovi Stygio* 'to the Stygian Jupiter' means *Plutoni* 'to Pluto':⁶⁰

And it is to be known that the Stoics say that there is one god, whose names vary according to actions and functions. Because of this, divinities are also said to be of double sex, so that when they act, they are male; they are female when they have the nature of being the object of action.

The active man and the passive woman continue to be a commonplace for centuries after Servius. A direct reference to the weakness of the female sex is found in another of Servius explanations:⁶¹ "*LAEVA TENET THETIS* prudently enough he places the weaker sex in the left part." The comment is interesting in the sense that it leads us to ask why Servius found it necessary to give this explanation – there is nothing unclear in what Vergil says, but Servius wants to make the point that it is appropriate for the weaker sex to be connected with the left side. This idea was by no means new. It appears in Aristotle's explanation of how the distinction between male and female came to be.⁶² Aristotle connects the left side with weakness and with the female: men are hotter and drier than women, and the right side of the body is warmer and stronger than the left. Indeed, Servius uses the poet in order to have an opportunity to make the nature of women explicit and to show his knowledge of biological facts.⁶³

⁶⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 4, 638: *et sciendum Stoicos dicere unum esse deum, cui nomina variantur pro actibus et officiis. unde etiam duplicis sexus numina esse dicuntur, ut cum in actu sunt, mares sint; feminae, cum patiendi habent naturam.*

⁶¹ Serv. *Aen.* 5,825: *LAEVA TENET THETIS satis prudenter sexum debiliorem sinistrae adplicat parti.*

⁶² Arist. *De gen. anim.* 763b26 ff.

⁶³ The grammarians were the guardians of language and tradition. R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1988, 18: "[t]he grammarian was the conservator of all the discrete pieces of

The order of the genders was taken for granted because it was so obvious. In spite of the contrary claims of the grammarians, gender is connected through the sexes with the real world and thus also with the male hierarchy of the society. Kaster has pointed out how the grammarians necessarily aimed at appearing as the most suitable guides for the best men: they aimed at giving the appearance of men that believed in the elite values of their society and behaved accordingly.⁶⁴ Furthermore, it is clear that the grammarians mostly did not want to be mixed up in "philosophical" notions of language. It seems, however, that a grammarian was perhaps freer to be philosophical when he was not writing grammar, as is the case with Servius' commentary on Vergil.

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tradition embedded in his texts, from matters of prosody [...] to the persons, events, and beliefs that marked the limits of vice and virtue."

⁶⁴ See Kaster (above n. 63) 60 ff.

TIBERIUS, TACFARINAS, AND THE JEWS

DAVID WOODS

Why did the emperor Tiberius expel the Jews from Rome in AD 19? Three ancient sources preserve relatively detailed accounts of this event. Writing c. AD 93, Josephus preserves the earliest. He first describes how Tiberius crucified some priests of Isis in Rome, had their temple razed, and the statue of Isis thrown into the Tiber, because of the role that they had played in dishonouring a Roman noblewoman. He then proceeds to describe the expulsion of the Jews from Rome at about the same time:

There was a certain Jew, a complete scoundrel, who had fled his own country because he was accused of transgressing certain laws and feared punishment on this account. Just at this time he was resident in Rome and played the part of an interpreter of the Mosaic Law and its wisdom. He enlisted three confederates not a whit better in character than himself; and when Fulvia, a woman of high rank who had become a Jewish proselyte, began to meet with them regularly, they urged her to send purple and gold to the temple in Jerusalem. They, however, took the gifts and used them for their own personal expenses, for it was this that had been their intention in asking for gifts from the start. Saturninus, the husband of Fulvia, at the instigation of his wife, duly reported this to Tiberius, whose friend he was, whereupon the latter ordered the whole Jewish community to leave Rome. The consuls drafted four thousand of these Jews for military service and sent them to the island of Sardinia; but they penalized a good many of them, who refused to serve for fear of breaking the Jewish law. And so because of the wickedness of four men the Jews were banished from the city.¹

¹ Jos. *AJ* 18,81–84: Ἦν ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, φυγὰς μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ κατηγορία τε παραβάσεων νόμων τινῶν καὶ δέει τιμωρίας τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, πονηρὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ πάντα. καὶ δὴ τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἐξηγεῖσθαι σοφίαν νόμων τῶν Μωυσέως, προσποιησάμενος δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρας εἰς τὰ πάντα ὁμοιοτρόπους τούτοις ἐπιφοιτήσασαν Φουλβίαν τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν καὶ νομίμοις προσεληλυθυῖαν τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς πείθουσι πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν διαπέμψασθαι, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ χρείας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν αὐτὰ ποιοῦνται, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἡ αἴτησις ἐπράσσετο. καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, ἀποσημαίνει γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλος ὢν Σατορνίνος τῆς Φουλβίας ἀνὴρ ἐπισκήψει τῆς γυναικός, κελεύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τῆς Ῥώμης

Writing perhaps c. AD 120, Tacitus preserves a much briefer account of the same event:

Another debate dealt with the proscription of the Egyptian and Jewish rites, and a senatorial edict directed that four thousand descendants of enfranchised slaves, tainted with that superstition and suitable in point of age, were to be shipped to Sardinia and there employed in suppressing brigandage: "if they succumbed to the pestilential climate, it was a cheap loss." The rest had orders to leave Italy, unless they had renounced their impious ceremonial by a given date.²

Finally, Suetonius preserves a third account similar to that of his contemporary Tacitus:

He [Tiberius] abolished foreign cults, especially the Egyptian and Jewish rites, compelling all who were addicted to such superstitions to burn their religious vestments and all their paraphernalia. Those of the Jews who were of military age he assigned to provinces of less healthy climate, ostensibly to serve in the army; the others of that same race or of similar beliefs he banished from the city, on pain of slavery for life if they did not obey. He banished the astrologers as well, but pardoned such as begged for indulgence and promised to give up their art.³

ἀπελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι τετρακισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον, πλείστους δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὴ θέλοντας στρατεύεσθαι διὰ φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων νόμων. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἠλάυνοντο τῆς πόλεως. Text and translation from L. H. Feldman, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities, Books XVIII–XIX* (Loeb Classical Library 433), Cambridge MA 1965, 58–61.

² Tac. *ann.* 2,85,4: *Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis patrum consultum ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta quis idonea aetas in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent.* Text and translation from J. Jackson, *Tacitus III* (Loeb Classical Library 249), Cambridge MA 1931, 516–17.

³ Suet. *Tib.* 36: *Externas caerimonias, Aegyptios Iudaicosque ritus compescuit, coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur religiosas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Iudaeorum iuventutem per speciem sacramenti in prouincias gravioris caeli distribuit, reliquos gentis eiusdem vel similia sectantes urbe summouit, sub poena perpetuae servitutis nisi obtemperassent. Expulit et mathematicos, sed deprecantibus ac se artem desituros promittentibus veniam dedit.* Text and translation from J. C. Rolfe, *Suetonius I* (Loeb Classical Library 31), Cambridge MA 1913, 344–47.

Despite this relative wealth of sources, their combined evidence does not allow of a clear explanation as to why exactly Tiberius expelled the Jews from Rome in AD 19. Although they preserve broadly similar accounts of the circumstances surrounding this expulsion, they differ among themselves in several points of detail and interpretation. They are in broad agreement that the emperor acted against the adherents of Egyptian cults at Rome at this time as well as against the Jews, and that he did so on religious or moral grounds. They are in broad agreement also that, in addition to his expulsion of the Jews from Rome, he conscripted 4,000 of those affected by his new religious measures and sent them to Sardinia. Nevertheless, there is little insight otherwise as to what motivated him to take these particular actions at this particular time.

Josephus interprets the measures against both Egyptians and Jews as a response to two separate scandals involving two different Roman noblewomen, one of whom had been taken advantage of by some priests of Isis, the other by a group of Jews, but few modern commentators have been prepared to accept this account of events in full, not least because of the repetitive nature of the alleged scandals and their obvious polemical intent.⁴ Several scholars have accepted

⁴ Most recently, S. Matthews, *First Converts: Rich Pagan Women and the Rhetoric of Mission in Early Christianity*, Palo Alto 2001, 10–25, reads the account of these scandals as 'a play on common Roman tropes and stereotypes concerning the prominence of notable women in foreign religions'. R. S. Rogers, "Fulvia Paulina C. Sentii Saturnini", *AJPh* 53 (1932) 252–56, expressed amazement at 'the coincidence that two women of the same rank were involved with two Eastern cults in the same year, were the wives of men of the same name, who both had entrée to the Emperor and sufficient prestige to set governmental investigations in motion'. He concluded, therefore, that both stories relate to separate incidents in the life of the one woman who was 'somewhat catholic in her religious tastes and beliefs'. I am inclined towards the alternative view, that Josephus' source had gathered together two very different accounts of the one incident from two distinct sources where the authors of these accounts had exaggerated and elaborated upon the original scandal in accordance with their particular religious prejudices. It is no coincidence that the one group of religious villains were Egyptians and the others Jews, since these two peoples seem to have come to symbolise foreign superstition in the eyes of many ordinary Greeks and Romans. Hence Diogenes of Oenoanda associated them together as the two most superstitious and disgusting of all peoples. See e.g. P. W. van der Horst, "The Most Superstitious and Disgusting of All Nations: Diogenes of Oenoanda on the Jews", in A. P. M. H. Lardinois – M. G. M. van der Poel – V. J. C. Hunink (eds.), *Land of Dreams: Greek and Latin Studies in Honour of A.H.M. Kessels*, Leiden 2006, 291–98.

what one might best describe as a weak version of the basic Josephan argument when they argue that Tiberius was reacting to the increasingly successful efforts by foreign cults, including Judaism, to proselytise among the Roman elite, even if they do not accept that his anecdotes concerning the duping of the two Roman noblewomen have much, if any, basis in fact.⁵ These scholars have tended to place great weight upon a fragment attributed to Dio which claims that Tiberius expelled the Jews from Rome because they were converting many people to their religion:

As the Jews had flocked to Rome in great numbers and were converting many of the natives to their ways, he banished most of them.⁶

Unfortunately, this probably tells us less about what Dio actually wrote than about how the seventh-century author John of Antioch who transmitted this fragment thought that he should best summarize his account. It may in fact be a brutally short summary of an account similar to that preserved by Josephus, if not of the same account even. Alternatively, it has also been argued that Tiberius expelled the Jews and others from Rome because of their participation, real or alleged, in public protests at the grain shortage in Rome that year.⁷ The most recent explanation is that he expelled the Jews and the members of other alien cults from Rome as a public demonstration of his commitment to the ancestral divinities and did so in response to the popular outcry at the apparent

⁵ See e.g. E. M. Smallwood, "Some Notes on the Jews under Tiberius", *Latomus* 15 (1956) 314–29; H. Solin, "Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt. Eine ethnisch-demographische Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der sprachlichen Zustände", *ANRW* II.29.2, 587–789, at 686–88; L. H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1993, 302–03. The extent to which Jews proselytised during the first century AD has been severely questioned, however. See M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1994, 60–90.

⁶ Dio 57,18,5a. Τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων πολλῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συνελθόντων καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἔθη μεθιστάντων, τοὺς πλείονας ἐξήλασεν. Text and translation from E. Cary, *Dio Cassius VII* (Loeb Classical Library 175), Cambridge MA 1924, 162–63.

⁷ See M. H. Williams, "The Expulsion of the Jews from Rome in AD 19", *Latomus* 48 (1989) 765–84. L. V. Rutgers, "Roman Policy Towards the Jews: Expulsions from the City of Rome during the First Century C.E.", *ClAnt* 13 (1994) 56–74, argues that Tiberius expelled the Jews in order to maintain 'law and order', but refuses to speculate as to how exactly they had disturbed these.

murder of his adopted son and nephew Germanicus at Antioch in Syria and the rumours that black magic had played an important role in his last illness before his death.⁸

It is noteworthy that none of the above explanations for Tiberius' expulsion of the Jews and others from Rome explains why he also conscripted 4,000 of their number into the army. Nor do any of them explain why he then sent these men to Sardinia in particular. No other religious or social dissidents had been subjected to conscription in this way previously. For example, no attempt seems to have been made to conscript the Jews expelled from Rome in 139 BC.⁹ Nor did anyone suggest it as a solution to the persistence of the followers of Isis in rebuilding their shrines within the city of Rome itself, despite their apparent destruction in 59, 58, 53, 50, 48, 28 and 21 BC.¹⁰ No group was treated in a similar way subsequently either. For example, there is no hint that the emperor Claudius sought to conscript any of the Jews when he expelled them from Rome also, whether one dates this event c. AD 41 or 49.¹¹ Nor did any of the persecuting emperors ever try to conscript Christians en masse in order to punish them for their faith. On the contrary, they eventually prohibited them from military service.¹² As for the despatch of these conscripts to Sardinia in particular, Tacitus maintains that they were sent there to suppress banditry. Unfortunately, he does not attempt to substantiate his claim by describing any particular incident, nor by naming any of the bandits or of the localities allegedly affected. More importantly, no independent evidence confirms that Sardinia was suffering a problem in this respect at that particular

⁸ See E. Gruen, "The Emperor Tiberius and the Jews", in T. Hantos (ed.), *Laurea Internationalis: Festschrift für Jochen Bleicken zum 75 Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 2003, 298–312.

⁹ Val. Max. 1,3,3. See e.g. E. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans*, Cambridge 2002, 15–19; E. N. Lane, "Sabazius and the Jews in Valerius Maximus: A Re-examination", *JRS* 69 (1979) 35–38.

¹⁰ Tert. *nat.* 1,10,17–18; Dio 40,47,3; 42,26,2; 53,2,4; 54,6,6.

¹¹ Suet. *Claud.* 25,4; Dio 60,6,6; *Acts* 18,2; Oros. *hist.* 7,6,15. In general, see H. Dixon Slingerland, *Claudian Policymaking and the Early Imperial Repression of Judaism at Rome* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 160), Atlanta 1997.

¹² See Lact. *mort. pers.* 10,1–5; Eus. *hist. eccl.* 8,4,3; Hier. *chron.* 227d (ed. Helm). The extent of pacifism within the pre-Constantinian church tends to be exaggerated by modern commentators, partly for polemical reasons, partly because of a failure to understand the anachronistic nature of the hagiographical sources in particular.

time. On the contrary, since Augustus had assumed direct control of the province for several years c. AD 6 in response to a growing bandit problem then, it is natural to assume that he would have already resolved any problems in this respect several years before AD 19.¹³ Indeed, Tacitus and Suetonius both hint that the real reason that Tiberius sent the conscripts to Sardinia in particular was so that the oppressive climate there would kill them, but there are two obvious problems with this explanation of his motivation. First, the climate on Sardinia was not significantly different from that at Rome itself, if it makes any sense at all to generalise in this way about a large island where local conditions varied considerably between mountains and lowland. All things considered, the oppressiveness of its climate was more of a literary topos than an objective description of the situation, and one doubts that Tiberius made important policy decisions on the basis of literary topoi.¹⁴ Second, if it really had been Tiberius' intention to punish the conscripts by exposing them to an unusually harsh or dangerous environment, whether as a result of climatic extremes or of hostile

¹³ Dio 55,28,1. Sardinia had a history of banditry. See e.g. Varro *rust.* 1,16,2; Liv. 40,34,13. G. Marasco, "Tiberio e l'esilio degli Ebrei in Sardegna nel 19 d.C.", *L'Africa Romana* 8 (1990) 649–59, at 656, argues that banditry was a severe problem on Sardinia again by AD 19. His argument rests on the fact that Strabo (5,2,7) writes as if the bandits were still a severe problem, and that his final revision of book 5 can be dated sometime during the period AD 15–18. The hidden assumptions here are first, that Strabo would have access to good recent information about developments in Sardinia, and, second, that he would have been concerned to keep his work absolutely up to date in such matters. Since Strabo does not name his source for his account of Sardinia, and does not refer to any specific occurrence there dateable within his own lifetime even, it is not at all clear to what period one should date his knowledge of Sardinia. For comparative purposes, see e.g. Z. Safrai, "Temporal Layers within Strabo's Description of Coele Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea", in D. Dueck, H. Linday, – S. Potheary (eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia*, Cambridge 2005, 250–58, on how Strabo can mix material from very different periods, some of which is long out of date by his time.

¹⁴ On the unhealthy climate of Sardinia, see Liv. 23,34,11; Paus. 10,17,11; Strabo 5,2,7; Mart. 4,60,6; Sil. 12,371. These statements are generally taken to refer to the fact that, broadly speaking, Sardinia suffered a greater intensity of malaria than did mainland Italy. Yet Rome itself also suffered badly from malaria, particularly in the low-lying areas of the city where the ordinary masses were concentrated. This is why those who could afford to do so retired from the city during the late summer. See R. Sallares, *Malaria and Rome: A History of Malaria in Ancient Italy*, Oxford 2002, 90–93 on Sardinia, and 201–34 on Rome. Hence the humble conscript sent from Rome to Sardinia probably did not notice much change, if any, in the 'climate'

natives, then he should easily have been able to discover many locations far more threatening than Sardinia, whether facing the Germans in the cold and damp of the Rhine frontier in northern Europe or facing the Moors in the heat and dust of the desert fringe in northern Africa. The reality is that, as far as any ordinary inhabitant of the city of Rome itself was concerned, one could hardly have hoped for a safer or more convenient billeting than on Sardinia. The island was highly Romanised, the climate was like that of Rome, there was no threat of hostile incursion, and Rome itself was only a short distance across the Etruscan Sea. After all, bandits were a not uncommon problem even within peninsular Italy itself.¹⁵ Finally, if Tiberius really had wanted to send some group to Sardinia in order to punish them, to the extent of endangering their lives even, he would probably have sent them to work in the mines there rather than to serve as soldiers.¹⁶

The purpose of this paper is to offer a new explanation as to why Tiberius expelled the Jews from Rome in AD 19 by paying due respect to these two aspects of the problem, the fact that he also conscripted 4,000 men, many, if not most, of whom were Jews, into the army, and the fact that he then sent these men to Sardinia in particular. I must begin, however, by clarifying my assumptions concerning the relationship between the three main sources for these events. This is important because one's assumptions concerning the relationships between the surviving sources affect how one treats their evidence. It is generally agreed that Tacitus and Suetonius used a common source for their accounts of the circumstances surrounding the expulsion of the Jews in AD 19. It has sometimes been assumed that this common source was the *Acta Senatus*, but there is no evidence for this.¹⁷ It may just as well have been an earlier literary work. The bigger difficulty concerns the relationship between Josephus' account of this event and this common source of Tacitus and Suetonius. It is my hypothesis that all three authors depend on the same ultimate

¹⁵ App. *Civ.* 5,132; Suet. *Aug.* 32,1, *Tib.* 37,1. In fact, banditry remained a permanent problem throughout the empire. See T. Grünwald, *Bandits in the Roman Empire*, London 1999, 14–32.

¹⁶ In general, see F. Millar, "Condemnation to Hard Labour in the Roman Empire, from the Julio-Claudians to Constantine", *PBSR* 52 (1984) 123–47, although one must concede that the evidence for this practice during the Julio-Claudian period is very slight.

¹⁷ E.g. Williams (above n. 7) 766.

source in this matter. Since all three authors were writing at the same location, Rome, during roughly the same chronological period, the late first and early second centuries AD, and, in part at least, about the same broad subject, the political history of the Julio-Claudian period, it seems inevitable that they should have shared several of the same sources. Hence the traditional assumption that they all drew upon the lost work of Cluvius Rufus for the reign of Caligula at least.¹⁸ The real problem, however, is whether they knew the same sources in the same form. Here one notes that there is scattered evidence that Suetonius knew one of his major sources for the Julio-Claudians only in a Latin translation of its original Greek text.¹⁹ My working assumption, therefore, is that they knew slightly different versions of the same ultimate source where this provided most of the information which remains common to at least two of the three authors. Such differences as exist between their accounts may best be explained as a result of their different abbreviations of their common material or their different inferences from the same material.

The acceptance that our three main surviving sources for the circumstances surrounding the Jewish expulsion from Rome probably all derive their information from the same ultimate source has an important consequence, that one cannot use the evidence supplied by one source to prove the veracity of the same or similar material in a second of the sources. The agreement of all three authors – Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius – in any matter can prove only that their ultimate source contained this detail, and not that this detail was itself correct. Similarly, the agreement of Josephus with one or other of Tacitus and Suetonius proves only that their ultimate source contained this detail, while the agreement of Tacitus and Suetonius proves only that their immediate source had contained this detail. Hence if the ultimate source for our three surviving sources contained some serious errors, whether in the sequence of the events which it described, the association which it described between these events, the motivations which it ascribed to those involved in these events, or the very details of these events themselves, there is no easy way of detecting such errors.

¹⁸ This cannot be firmly proven, of course. Hence the criticisms by e.g. D. Wardle, *Suetonius' Life of Caligula: A Commentary* (Coll. Latomus 225), Brussels 1994, 47–54; L. H. Feldman, "The Sources of Josephus' 'Antiquities', Book 19", *Latomus* 21 (1962) 320–33.

¹⁹ See e.g. D. Woods, "Nero, 'Doryphorus', and the Christians", *Eranos* 104 (2006) forthcoming.

In a case such as this, therefore, it is important to think things through from first principles once more rather than to accept anything at face value, all the more so when there is strong reason to suspect that the ultimate source for the surviving accounts of the events under discussion did contain at least one serious error.

The error in this case was the allegation, by implication at least, that Tiberius conscripted 4,000 men into the army in order to punish them for their religious beliefs, whether present or former. Since all three surviving sources for the circumstances surrounding the Jewish expulsion from Rome agree in this, it is clear their ultimate source had explained Tiberius' conscription of these men in this way. Indeed, their agreement in this error is probably the best proof of my working assumption above that they do derive their information from the same ultimate source. One can also accept that the ultimate source had recorded that Tiberius conscripted as many as 4,000 men, because both Josephus and Tacitus agree on this figure. As already indicated, however, conscription had never been used to punish any other group of religious or political dissidents. More importantly, the examples furnished by the last two attempts to enforce conscription at Rome suggest that Tiberius would not have attempted a renewed levy there except in the case of pressing military need. For when Augustus had conscripted men there in AD 6, he had done so in response to the dangers posed by a revolt in Pannonia, and when he had conscripted men there in AD 9 again, he had done so in response to the German destruction of three whole legions at the battle of the Teutoburg Forest.²⁰ The obvious conclusion, therefore, is that when Tiberius raised 4,000 troops at Rome in AD 19, he did so in continuation of policies which he himself had helped enforce during the last years of Augustus and for the same reason again, because he felt a pressing military need for more troops.

The next step in rethinking this problem is to identify why Tiberius might have felt a pressing need for more troops in AD 19. Where was there fighting and, more to the point, where was the Roman army failing to perform as their

²⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 25,2 (slaves freed to serve in AD 6 and 9); Dio 56,23,1–3 (AD 9). The epitaph of C. Fabricius Tuscus (*AE* 1973, 501) reveals that he had supervised a levy of free-born men (*ingenui*) at Rome under Augustus, so during the emergencies of either AD 6 or AD 9. In general, see e.g. M. P. Speidel, "Citizen Cohorts in the Roman Imperial Army: New Data on the Cohorts Apula, Campana, and III Campestris", *TAPhA* 106 (1976) 339–48.

emperor might have wished them to ? The situation must have been very tense in several regions, such as in Moesia where the governor was ordered to take king Rhescuporis of the neighbouring kingdom of Thrace captive, or in Gaul where the Treviri and Aedui broke into open revolt finally in AD 21.²¹ Nevertheless, everywhere remained at peace in AD 19, with the exception of the province of Africa. A certain Tacfarinas, a former member of the Roman auxiliary forces, had managed to unite the Musulamii and several other tribes in order to launch a guerrilla war against the Romans which lasted for eight years, AD 17–24.²² He proved a capable and energetic leader so that in AD 18 he even managed to destroy a Roman cohort near the river Pagyda, and plundered far and wide within the province before he was finally driven away again.²³ The obvious suggestion, therefore, is that when Tiberius decided to raise new troops at Rome in AD 19, he did so in order to send them to Africa for use against Tacfarinas.²⁴ He was probably provoked by Tacfarinas' unexpected success against the Roman cohort, the continued failure since to inflict a decisive defeat upon him, and fears that he would turn out to be an African Arminius whose success in uniting the native leaders against the foreign enemy and turning the knowledge and experience gained as an auxiliary soldier against his former masters would lead to African equivalent of the disaster at the Teutoburg Forest. As a measure of the seriousness with which he treated the situation, one notes that he ordered the transfer of a second legion, the *IX Hispana*, to Africa in order to assist the legion already stationed there, the *III Augusta*, and that this

²¹ Tac. *ann.* 2,66–67; 3,40–47.

²² Tac. *ann.* 2,52. In general, see R. Syme, "Tacfarinas, the Musulamii, and Thubursicu", in P. R. Coleman - Norton et al. (eds.), *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, Princeton 1951, 113–30.

²³ Tac. *ann.* 3,20–21.

²⁴ Marasco (above n. 13) comes nearest to this solution when he suggests that Tiberius sent the conscripts to Sardinia because the safeguarding of the Roman corn-supply from there became much more important now that Tacfarinas was disrupting the supply from Africa. The difficulty with this suggestion is that, as already indicated, there is no firm evidence of any threat to the corn-supply from Sardinia at this period, whether from 'bandits' or any other cause.

legion had reached Rome by late AD 20.²⁵ Hence the decision to raise 4,000 recruits at Rome may have formed part of a larger plan to reinforce the Roman garrison in Africa by quite a considerable amount. Yet if this really was the case, why did the 4,000 conscripts end up on Sardinia? The answer to this lies partly in the geography of the region, partly in the nature of our surviving sources of information in this matter. Their journey to Africa probably took the 4,000 conscripts to Sardinia first, since it lay between their starting point in Rome and their final destination in Africa.²⁶ In so far as Roman sailors tended to prefer to spend the night on land, and to stay in sight of land as they made their journey, then the fleet bearing the conscripts may have decided to transport them via the coast of Sardinia rather than pursue a more direct course from Rome to Africa. Alternatively, the conscripts may have been sent to Sardinia in order to link up with and reinforce some units already stationed there before commencing a united journey onwards to Africa itself.²⁷ Hence our surviving sources are probably correct when they say that the 4,000 conscripts were sent to Sardinia. The problem is that this need not be the full truth. Yes, they were sent to Sardinia, but this may have been a stop on their journey to their final destination rather than the final destination itself. The agreement of our three surviving sources in this matter proves only that their common source had described the despatch of the 4,000 conscripts to Sardinia, and in such a way as to lead its readers to assume that this had been their final destination. This does not prove that Sardinia had indeed been their final destination, not

²⁵ The identity of the anonymous legion whose journey from Pannonia to Africa via Rome is mentioned at Tac. *Ann.* 3,8,1 is supplied by *Ann.* 4,23,2. The fact that this legion was travelling via Rome raises the question whether it was supposed to unite with the conscripts from Rome in order that they might journey together to Africa. If so, then one must assume either that the new conscripts spent almost a year training in or about Rome, or that the conscription and the subsequent expulsion of Jews need to be redated to AD 20. Vegetius (*mil.* 2,5) suggests that basic training normally took at least four months.

²⁶ See e.g. Caes. *bell. Afr.* 98 where he records his route in 46 BC from Utica in north Africa to Rome via Caralis on Sardinia; also, Claud. *in Gildonem.* 504–25 where he records Mascezel's route in AD 398 from northern Italy to Africa via Olbia and Caralis on Sardinia.

²⁷ One notes here that the *Cohors I Corsorum Civium Romanorum* which had been stationed on Sardinia during the reign of Augustus was stationed in Mauretania Caesariensis by AD 107, and that while it has been assumed that it was transferred directly from Sardinia to Mauretania when that kingdom was incorporated within the empire in AD 40, it is equally possible that it was transferred to Africa first, in order to participate in the war against Tacfarinas, to be eventually transferred to Mauretania from there rather than from Sardinia. See J. Spaul, *Cohors²: The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry Units of the Imperial Roman Army* (BAR Int. Ser. 841), Oxford 2000, 50.

even if this common source had specifically stated that this was the case, since it need not have been any more correct in this than it was about the alleged religious or social motivation of Tiberius in ordering the conscription in the first place.

It may be objected at this point that Tacitus specifically states that the 4,000 conscripts were sent to Sardinia in order to check banditry there (*coercendis illic latrociniiis*). At first glance, therefore, this seems to exclude the interpretation which I have just proposed, that the conscripts were actually on their way to fight against Tacfarinas in Africa. Yet none of our other sources supports Tacitus in this. Hence this claim may represent an inference by Tacitus himself rather than a detail from his ultimate source. Let us concede, though, that the ultimate source behind our three surviving sources did indeed state that the conscripts were raised and despatched in order to check banditry. This need not actually have been the case. Again, it is important to stress that the author of this source need not have been any more correct in this than he was about the alleged religious or social motivation of Tiberius in ordering the conscription in the first place. However, his choice of language may preserve some insight into his own source-materials. Here one must ask oneself what a 'bandit' (*latro*) is. One should be careful not to fall into the trap of assuming that 'banditry' (*latrocinium*) here must denote the activities of common criminals with no higher social or political motives. Roman authors frequently used the term 'bandit' to abuse those whose social or political motives they emphatically rejected, whether leaders of national revolts against Roman rule or rival emperors.²⁸ Of most note here, Tacitus denigrates Tacfarinas as a 'bandit' despite the fact that his own descriptions of his political success in uniting several different tribes behind him and his ability to raise and train an army sufficient to meet the Romans face-to-face on the battlefield proves that he was very much more than this.²⁹ Hence if the author of the common source behind the three surviving sources did claim that Tiberius had raised the 4,000 conscripts in order to check banditry, he may well have been influenced by the use of this term within his source-materials in reference to the revolt by Tacfarinas rather than in reference to the activities of those whom we would more correctly describe as bandits.

²⁸ Grünewald (above n. 15) 33–161.

²⁹ Tac. *ann.* 2,52 (*vagos primum et latrociniiis suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare*); 3,73 (*latro Tacfarinas*). See Grünewald (above n. 15) 53–55.

One must now return to the religious question. What does the conscription of 4,000 men in Rome really have to do with the expulsion of the Jews from the city? Josephus comes the nearest to the truth when he says that the consuls punished many Jews who refused to serve in the army for fear of breaking Jewish law. It is noteworthy, however, that he does not tell us how exactly the consuls punished these men. Although he presents events as if the conscription of the 4,000 men and their despatch to Sardinia was part of the wider expulsion of the Jews from the city, itself the response to the way in which some Jewish criminals had managed to cheat a Roman noblewoman of purple and gold, one suspects that, following his source, he has completely misunderstood these events. The Jews who were banished from the city were those who had refused to be conscripted into the army. Their banishment had nothing to do with the defrauding of a Roman noblewoman by some Jews. For some reason, however, the author of the common source behind the surviving descriptions of these events by Josephus, Suetonius and Tacitus, traced a causal connection between the defrauding of a Roman noblewoman by some Jews and the banishment of those Jews who refused to participate in the conscription process. He may have been misled somewhat by the fact that the Julio-Claudian emperors had been accustomed to exile their enemies to various islands, including Sardinia, to assume that anyone sent there had to have been effectively banished for some reason, whatever their apparent status.³⁰ Alternatively, he may have assumed a sequence of cause and effect where none in fact existed in accordance with some deep prejudice against 'foreign' religions. At the very least, however, he used the description of the defrauding of the Roman noblewoman by some Jews as a literary bridge from one subject, the duping of Roman noblewomen by adherents of foreign cults, Egyptians and Jews, to the next, the circumstances surrounding the conscription of 4,000 men in the city when some Jews refused to participate in the process.

One cannot totally exclude the possibility that those in charge of the conscription process at Rome in AD 19 somehow interfered with it so that the burden fell disproportionately hard upon the Jewish or Egyptian populations of the city, and that they did so in response to the recent scandals involving

³⁰ In general, see S. Bingham, "Life on an Island: A Brief Study of Places of Exile in the First Century AD", in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XI* (Coll. Latomus 272), Brussels 2003, 376–99; also S. T. Cohen, "Augustus, Julia and the Development of Exile *Ad Insulam*", *CQ* 58 (2008) 206–17.

Egyptians and Jews. Unfortunately, however, we know almost nothing about how the process of conscription actually worked at this period.³¹ Nor is the hypothesis necessary. The Jewish conscription-controversy of AD 19, if one may call it that, was a crisis which had been waiting to happen. The Jewish population of the city seems to have grown significantly during the first century BC so that over 8,000 Jewish men were able to rally there in 4 BC in support of a delegation petitioning Augustus to end Herodian rule in Judaea.³² Since the Jewish population seems to have been concentrated in one particular region, that part of the city across the Tiber,³³ they may have been able to avoid the drafts of AD 6 and 9 if these had been organized on a territorial basis, however indirectly. The result of such a system, however, is that it would have impacted very heavily on the community when the burden of conscription finally fell on their region of the city, as it would have to have done at some point. While the emperor may have been able to excuse individual Jews from military service if they had formed a tiny proportion of a larger draft without arousing jealousy against their community, he would not have been able to excuse a larger number en masse without risking public unrest and the start of the inter-communal violence one would normally associate with the cities of the east. Hence when Tiberius decided to banish those members of the Jewish community who refused military service in AD 19, he was probably acting with an eye to the longer-term interests of the community as a whole. Indeed, his decision to banish these ancient refuseniks from the city compares very favourably with Augustus' measures in AD 9 when he had stripped many of their property, disenfranchised others, and even executed some,³⁴ although one may choose to interpret the relative mildness of Tiberius' actions as proof that there was no real military crisis at the time rather than that he was particularly well disposed towards the Jewish community.

A second objection to the interpretation proposed above must be raised at this point also, that Seneca preserves a passage which seems to support the traditional interpretation, that Tiberius expelled the Jews, and others also perhaps, from Rome for religious reasons rather than as a result of their

³¹ In general, see P. A. Brunt, "Conscription and Volunteering in the Roman Imperial Army", *SCI* 1 (1974) 90–115.

³² Joseph. *AJ* 17,300.

³³ Philo, *Leg.* 155.

³⁴ Dio 56,23,2–3

resistance to conscription.³⁵ It is important here, however, that one pays due attention to the nature of Seneca's text. He does not intend to provide a technical legal description of the event to which he alludes. Nor does he describe the event as part of a full and detailed political narrative of the reign of Tiberius. He simply refers to the event in passing as the background to a time in his youth when he abandoned the vegetarianism of the Pythagoreans and returned to eating meat. The event itself does not form the focus of his attention. It is nonsense, therefore, to try and read precise definitions into his language. Hence when he claims that 'foreign rites were being expelled then' (*alienigena tum sacra movebantur*), one should not read this as more than a vague generalisation concerning the event in question. He does not say that all practitioners of these rites were being expelled, but he does not say either that only a limited group were being expelled. Nor does he say why they were being expelled. Perhaps the key point in this passage is Seneca's report that he abandoned his vegetarianism at the request of his father, but that his father did request this of him not because he feared *calumnia*, but because he hated philosophy. If one interprets the use of the term *calumnia* here in a technical legal sense to mean 'prosecution', then this passage could be read to imply that the government was prosecuting anyone suspected of being a Jew, or other forbidden religion, simply for being a member of that religion, although this is

³⁵ Sen. *epsit.* 108,22: *Hic ego instinctus abstinere animalibus coepi, et anno peracto non tantum facilis erat mihi consuetudo, sed dulcis. Agitatioem mihi animum esse credebam, nec tibi hodie adfirmaverim, an fuerit. Quaeris, quomodo desierim? In primum Tiberii Caesaris principatum iuventae tempus inciderat. Alienigena tum sacra movebantur, sed inter argumenta superstitionis ponebantur quorundam animalium abstinentia. Patre itaque meo rogante, qui non calumniam timebat, sed philosophiam oderat, ad pristinam consuetudinem redii. Nec difficulter mihi, ut inciperem melius cenare, persuasit.* For the traditional interpretation, see e.g. Smallwood (above n. 5) 320; Dixon Slingerland (above n. 11) 21–23.

not necessarily the only possible reading of this text.³⁶ Alternatively, if one interprets it to mean 'false accusation' in a non-technical sense, then this passage need imply only that social odium was attached to anyone suspected of being a Jew at this time, when some Jews were being expelled from the city, for whatever reason, and that Seneca was proud of the fact that his father was not swayed by such irrational prejudice, no matter how widespread it had become. In brief, Seneca's evidence is infuriatingly vague, and cannot be used to tell decisively either for or against the interpretation which I have outlined above.

The possibility has been raised above that the ultimate source of our surviving accounts by Josephus, Suetonius, and Tacitus misrepresented the events of AD 19 in accordance with his own religious prejudices, that he distorted the relationship between events to make it seem that Tiberius had punished the whole community of Jews, and perhaps all the adherents of Egyptian rites also, for the crimes of a only a small group of their co-religionists in each case. The obvious implication is that he did not like either group and wished to highlight the fact that the early emperors did not hesitate to act decisively against these foreign religions when the need arose. This may tell us something about the period at which he wrote, but it also warns us against the simple acceptance of any other of his statements in such matters should we prove able to detect them. One needs to be highly suspicious, therefore, of the origin and reliability of that passage where Suetonius reports that Augustus had treated ancient Greek rites with respect but had omitted to make even a slight detour to visit the temple of Apis when he had been in Egypt, and that he had praised his grandson Gaius for not offering prayers at Jerusalem when he had passed near there in AD 1.³⁷ The hostility towards Egyptian and Jewish religion once more suggests that Suetonius derives this information from the same

³⁶ J. Gummere (ed.), *Seneca VI: Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales III* (Loeb Classical Library 77), Cambridge, MA 1925, 243, translates 'prosecution', as does Dixon Slingerland (above n. 11) 320. M. H. Williams, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans: A Diasporan Sourcebook*, Baltimore 1998, 58, translates 'false accusation', but proceeds to clarify, 187, that she means this in a technical legal sense also. If one insists on translating this term as 'prosecution', then it is important to note also that it may well refer to prosecution for refusing conscription rather than for being Jewish or a member of an Egyptian cult as such. Many of those liable for military service as a result of the recent conscription would probably have gone on the run within the city of Rome itself. Seneca's father did not wish to see his son mistakenly accused by someone of being one such draft-dodger, many of whom were known to be Jews and Egyptians, easily identifiable by their unusual dietary behaviour, and this is why he urged him to stop his vegetarianism.

³⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 93.

ultimate source as he does his account of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in AD 19, and that it is likely to represent a similar distortion of the truth. At least one modern scholar accepts this passage at face-value, to mean that Augustus had praised Gaius for snubbing the Jewish religion, and uses it to prove the anti-semitism of both.³⁸ On the contrary, if this incident has been as badly misrepresented as the events of AD 19, it is more likely that Augustus praised Gaius for not praying at Jerusalem because he thought that this was the more diplomatic gesture towards the Jews who had always been so sensitive about their temple there. Gaius had resisted the temptation to act the religious tourist and intrude where the natives would not have cared to be reminded once more of their powerlessness before Rome. If more Romans had showed the same tact subsequently, then a lot of lives could have been saved on both sides. Finally, it is useless to speculate as to the identity of the author of the ultimate common source behind our three main surviving accounts of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in AD 19, or that of the intermediate source used by Suetonius and Tacitus alone, whether he is identifiable as Aufidius Bassus, Servilius Nonianus, Fabius Rusticus, or Cluvius Rufus, if for no other reason that we know so little about the works of any of these authors in the first place.³⁹

To summarize, the accounts by Josephus, Suetonius, and Tacitus of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in AD 19 are second or third-hand accounts, and need to be treated accordingly. In so far as they all repeat the same bizarre claim that Tiberius conscripted 4,000 men at Rome in order to punish them for their religious beliefs, it is clear that they all depend on the same ultimate source. In fact, the emperors only performed conscription to serve military needs. Either the author of their common source was very careless in his reading of his own source materials, or, much more likely, he deliberately re-

³⁸ See e.g. Dixon Slingerland (above n. 11) 47–49, who contrasts the behaviour of Gaius to that of Marcus Agrippa who had visited Jerusalem and offered sacrifice there in 15 BC, to the great joy of all concerned if one wants to believe Philo (*Leg.* 297) and Josephus (*AJ* 16,14), although they have every motive to exaggerate the historical harmony between Jew and Roman. A great deal had happened, though, between 15 BC and AD 1, not least when the Romans had destroyed the porticoes of the Temple and looted the Temple-treasury during their crushing of anti-Herodian rebels in 4 BC (Joseph. *AJ* 17,261–64). E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations*, Leiden 1976, 117, interprets Gaius' behaviour as a snub to the ethnarch Archelaus, whose territory included Jerusalem, rather than to the Jewish faith.

³⁹ On the lost sources for the Julio-Claudian period see e.g. R. Syme, *Tacitus*, Oxford 1958, 271–303.

shaped events in accordance with his own religious prejudices against Egyptian and Jewish religion. The reality is that it was probably the continued success of the revolt by Tacfarinas in Africa in AD 19 which provoked Tiberius to institute conscription at Rome. The coincidence between the alleged destination of the 4,000 conscripted adherents of the Jewish and Egyptian rites and the position of Sardinia on the main sea-route between Rome and Africa proves as much. Tiberius sent the conscripts to Sardinia, but only as a stop on their journey to fight against the 'bandit' Tacfarinas in Africa, not as their final destination. As for the Jews in Rome, the burden of conscription seems to have fallen rather heavily upon them in AD 19, so that it caused a great controversy when many of them refused to accept their conscription. It was these Jews alone who were expelled from Rome, not the community as a whole.

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Fides Humanitas Ius. Studi in onore di Luigi Labruna. A cura di COSIMO CASCIONE – CARLA MASI DORIA. 8 volumi. Editoriale Scientifica, Napoli 2007. ISBN 978-88-95152-38-7. LII, 6157 pp. EUR 320.

Reading this book, one feels like one is attending a prestigious Italian academic conference. The settings are nice, the food is good, and everybody who is someone is there, but the timetable is illusory and no-one is ever interrupted, no matter how long they speak, making the days long and very tedious in the end. The list of the three hundred authors of the Festschrift of Luigi Labruna is a veritable who's who of the Roman law community, a gathering of friends, pupils, and colleagues, scholarly stars and regional obscurities, the retired and the newly hired. The eight volumes and 6157 pages is a remarkable accomplishment, even in the highly competitive and typically Italian world of Festschrift one-upmanship, though Labruna's eight volumes pale in comparison to his teacher Antonio Guarino's ten-volumed Festschrift.

Luigi Labruna (born 1937), a scholar of Roman constitutional history, is Professor of the History of Roman Law at the University of Naples "Federico II". Apart from being the former Rector of the University of Camerino and the President of the Italian Consiglio Universitario Nazionale, Labruna has numerous significant academic positions and six honorary doctorates to his name. He is a student of Guarino and Max Kaser, both among the most esteemed scholars of Roman law. He is the founder and the editor-in-chief of the journal *Index* and presides over the prestigious *Premio Boulvert*. In addition to 33 monographs, he has authored several hundred articles and smaller pieces. I could go on, but I suspect that I have made my point already: Labruna is the kind of person who commands authority and respect, not to mention Festschriften in eight volumes. Labruna's penchant for big glasses and big, furry dogs is apparent in the selection of photos included in the first volume.

Writing a normal review of a work like this is practically impossible because simply listing the titles of contributions that are included in these volumes would take the space of ten book reviews. In addition to a list of the friends and associates of a senior professor that could be used to make a sociological study of international scholarly networks, Festschriften like this one provide a cross-section of the current state of scholarship in their field. I shall use the opportunity to assess the state of current studies in Roman Law. Romanists, or scholars of Roman law, are a diverse lot, consisting of jurists, historians, and classicists, the highest scholarly populations residing in Germany and Italy, with countries such as Poland and the Netherlands having large research communities. *Fides Humanitas Ius* reflects this geographical division nicely, with a natural overrepresentation from the Naples-Warsaw axis of co-operation, especially among the younger authors.

Since the field of Roman law is purportedly in a predicament because of an existential crisis of epic proportions that has lasted for well over a century, massive collections of essays like this one offer a glimpse of where the field is coming from and where it is heading. The original bread and butter of Roman law was dogmatics, the study of the substance of Roman law, the legal rules in the writings of Roman jurists as they could be gleaned from Justinian's *Corpus Iuris* and other sources. The second strand of Roman law scholarship seeks to address contemporary issues such as finding the common roots of European law from the Roman law tradition and its work is clearly aimed at a contemporary audience. More historically oriented Roman law scholars seek to study the legal texts as sources for the history of ancient societies and their functioning. Legal papyrologists are represented in both the dogmatically and historically oriented groups.

A good example of the first group, legal dogmatics, is Okko Behrends' paper titled "Eine Bibliothek wird verkauft". The text in question is Digest 18,1,50, where the jurist Ulpian discusses Labeo's treatment of a case of a sale of a library under the condition that the council of Capua agrees to sell the buyer a piece of land to house it, and the issue of whether a certain action in law is available to the seller if the buyer neglects to apply for the land from the council. What follows is an analysis of the options available for the seller according to the solutions presented by Labeo and Ulpian and how the opinions of different jurists reflect their views on larger issues, such as the teachings of Sabinian and Cassian schools. Like much of the dogmatical scholarship, the result is logical and learned, but also very legal and extremely impenetrable to outsiders. The extent of the self-referentiality of dogmatics is underlined by the fact that beyond references to the current civil law codes of Germany and Italy, there are no other references except to works by and about Roman jurists. To entitle a work simply using its Digest reference, as done by Boudewijn Sirks among others, testifies to the extent to which knowledge of the sources is assumed.

The Roman law tradition as the foundation of European law or as a sounding board for contemporary issues is, despite its high visibility otherwise, mostly absent from this book. Johanna Filip-Fröschl examines in "*Libertas naturalis*" the concept of natural rights of both men and animals in Roman legal sources and their implications for contemporary legislation. J. Michael Rainer discusses illegal trade in humans and prostitution, another pressing contemporary concern, in Roman law, pointing to the attitudes and shortcomings of the Roman approach. A refreshing connection between the ancient and contemporary is achieved by Aglaia McClintock in her piece "Nemico non più cittadino", which deals with the case of Yaser Hamdi, a prisoner at Guantanamo, using the Roman concept of *servitus poenae* as a point of reference. There are also a number of articles of purely contemporary significance.

The descent of Roman law into history, to paraphrase Bruce Frier's famous title, is evident in the large proportion of historical works in the book. There are historical analyses of Roman jurists, such as Federico D'Ippolito's reading of Cic. *de orat.* 1,56,239–240, studies on textual transmission, like Alfonso Castro Sáenz' article on whether Suetonius' *De viris illustribus* served as a model for Pomponius' *enchiridion*, as well as traditional legal history such as François Hinard's constitutional analysis on Sulla's dictatorship or Maria Baccari's observations on the condition of women in the Roman legal and religious system. As always, the dividing line between legal history and regular history is blurred, and there are several contributions that could be categorized either way.

The division of the papers is indicative of the larger transformation that studies in Roman law are currently going through. Despite the fact that the average article in the book is a legal dogmatic study on Roman law, the works by scholars of the younger generation tend to be inclined more towards historical analysis, at least by linking dogmatic study with its historical context.

For the main part, close textual analysis appears to be the method of choice, whereas prosopography, comparative analysis, papyrology, anthropology, and epigraphy are represented with just a paper or two each, which is surprising to say the least. Purely historical articles are also quite a small minority, though not without a few novel approaches, for example in "*Balneum romanum*" Carmela Pennacchio discusses the discovery of warm water in the form of baths in the Roman historical experience.

Unlike many similar Festschriften that group essays by their fields, the editors of this one have opted for alphabetical ordering throughout the eight volumes. Considering the heterogeneity of the papers involved, the choice is understandable, but at least some grouping together, either chronologically or thematically, would have made this massive opus slightly more accessible. For example, the likelihood is not great that without prior knowledge of its existence, even the most diligent student of ancient mythology would venture to the last volume of the book to find Marisa Tortorelli Ghidini's fascinating article on matriarchal myths, on the idea of mother earth and mother gods.

Like Roman law scholarship in general, the book is multilingual, containing articles in Italian, German, English, Spanish, and French. The quality of individual papers varies, as does the level of care taken with proofreading.

Kaius Tuori

MARTIN FERGUSON SMITH: *Supplement to Diogenes of Oinoanda the Epicurean Inscription*. Bibliopolis, Napoli 2003. ISBN 88-7088-441-4. 156 pp., 6 Figs. EUR 103.

Diogenes und kein Ende. For decades, Smith has worked on with the publication and explanation of the fragments of the Epicurean which do not seem to cease to appear on the scholarly market. In this journal, Smith's earlier contributions to the textual criticism of Diogenes were hailed by Rolf Westman as fundamental pieces of work. I have nothing to add to his judgement. What justifies this supplement is the discovery during excavations in 1997 of ten blocks from the stoa wall on which Diogenes displayed his inscription, the reader will find much of compelling interest in Smith's new readings of old discoveries, reflections and retractions, but the essential part of this volume are these new discoveries of 1997. We should indeed be grateful to the editor for having put this new material at to the disposal of the scholarly community in a rapid and successful way.

Heikki Solin

Stephani Byzantii Ethnica. Volumen I: A-Γ. Recensuit germanice vertit adnotationibus indicibusque instruxit MARGARETHE BILLERBECK. Adiuvantibus JAN FELIX GAERTNER – BEATRICE WYSS – CHRISTIAN ZUBLER. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae XLIII/1. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 2006. ISBN 978-3-11-017449-6. X, 64*, 441 S. EUR 148.

In the sixth century, Stephanus of Byzantium wrote an extensive geographical encyclopedia, which included numerous quotations from earlier historical works. Since the days of Stephanus, most of the sources he used have been lost and so has also most of the original work of Stephanus itself. Mere fragments survive from the original *Ethnica*, but we do have a later epitome of the work by a certain Hermolaus on which our knowledge of the work is based.

The previous edition of Stephanus was done in 1849 by Augustus Meineke, who also attempted to create a proper commentary on the work, but this was never completed. Such a volume is long overdue, and the present edition by Margarethe Billerbeck is sure to remedy this need. Billerbeck's four volume Stephanus (Vol. I: A-Γ, Vol. II: Δ-K, Vol. III: Λ-Ω and Vol. IV: *Indices*) for the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* does not only provide a new critical edition of the *Ethnica*, it also includes a highly readable German translation of the text and very extensive commentaries about the original sources used by Stephanus and the locations mentioned.

The present first volume begins (5*-29*) with an examination of the known manuscripts and their relations, providing an easy-to-use *stemma codicum*. Each manuscript, which contains either direct or indirect quotations from the *Ethnica* is briefly described, as are all the known manuscripts containing the epitome by Hermolaus. This is followed by a brief examination of the late Byzantine references to the epitome of the *Ethnica* (29*-36*) and the earliest scholarly research (by Ermolao Barbaro and Angelo Poliziano) concerning Stephanus' work (36*-38*). In a similar fashion all the previous editions of the *Ethnica* are described briefly (38*-44*) and the editorial principles of the present edition are explained (44*-49*).

The Greek text has been edited according to the individual alphabetic terms so that there are 581 entries under A (i.e., A.1-A.581), 201 entries under B (i.e., B.1-B.201) and 122 entries under G (i.e., G.1-G.122), although the page and line numbering implemented by Meineke has been retained in the margin. The Greek text is on the left hand side and it is faced by the German translation on the right hand side of the spread. Underneath the Greek text there are two editorial commentary sections. The first one of these refers to the original sources used by Stephanus and the second to the manuscript variations of the *Ethnica* itself. There is also a commentary section underneath the German translation providing references to the other classical authors mentioning the same localities or modern research concerning the entries in question.

In spite of the extensive research already done, the *Ethnica* of Stephanus still contains much unexplored information. The new edition by Billerbeck does not only provide a much improved version of the text, but it also provides a gateway for further research and understanding of the work itself. If anything more could have been desired from this work, it would be the inclusion of a little bit more commentary based on modern research on the localities mentioned by Stephanus. Still, one must realize that such an addition would have required an enormous amount of work, which could not have been easily contained in a

useable size. Thus one can only prophesy that this new edition will enable an abundance of new research on the individual entries. And with that in mind, one remains in excited anticipation of the following volumes which are to be published (hopefully) in the near future.

Kai Juntunen

TACITUS: *Annaler I–V. Annales. Ab excessu divi Augusti*. Från latin till svenska av IVAN SVALENIUS. Paul Åströms förlag, Sävedalen 2003. ISBN 91-7081-115-6. 126 pp. EUR 18.67, USD 24.30.

The Annals (to use the title which dates only from the 16th century) originally consisted of eighteen (or sixteen) books. Of these, most of 5, all of 7–10, and much of the rest are lost. Here we are given a Swedish translation of the first four books and of what remains of the fifth. If I am allowed, as a non-native speaker, to pass judgement on the translation, it seems to be good and fluent. It is not the first Swedish translation of the Annals; the immediate predecessor by B. Cavallin from 1966 was a good piece of work, too. But Tacitus is the despair of the translator, to quote a famous verse by Michael Grant, and it is a very difficult task indeed to emulate the highly personal style of the great historian; we see it from various other translations, e. g., from those into Finnish. However, be that as it may, the general readers in Sweden should be grateful for this new translation into their language. Let us hope that the rest of the translation of the Annals will appear soon.

Heikki Solin

TACITUS: *Histories. Book 1*. Edited by CYNTHIA DAMON. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003. ISBN 0-521-57822-1 (pb), 0-521-57072-7 (hb). XII, 324 pp., 3 maps. GBP 16.95; USD 24 (pb), GBP 47.50; USD 70 (hb).

According to the editor, the aim of her commentary is "to reintegrate *Histories* I into the corpus of teachable Latin texts". To reach this goal, the author had to overcome many challenges which she has thought carefully about. The result is an enjoyable commentary, rewarding both for students and scholars. A valuable contribution to the Cambridge Classics series which makes the understanding of Tacitus' in many senses difficult work easier for the younger generation.

Heikki Solin

MICHAEL LAPIDGE with contributions by JOHN CROOK, ROBERT DESHMAN – SUSAN RANKIN: *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester: The Cult of St Swithun*. Winchester Studies 4.ii. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2003. ISBN 0-19-813183-6. 856 pp., 5 figs and 8 pls. GBP 287.

St. Swithun of Winchester was initially an obscure ninth-century bishop who, after his canonisation in the late tenth century, became the centre of a massively popular cult that

spread not only throughout southern England but also to Ireland, France and Scandinavia. The emergence of the cult of Swithun can best be explained with the increasing demand for local saints in post-Carolingian Europe as well as its aggressive marketing by Bishop Æthelwold, who saw the cult as an invaluable means of promoting the authority of his bishopric.

Michael Lapidge's *The Cult of St Swithun* is a momentous work that represents the results of thirty years of research. It is an exhaustive compendium of texts pertaining to the cult of Swithun with a time-span of five hundred years, expertly edited, annotated and translated. The volume also has a thorough introduction, drawn from a wide array of historical, hagiographical and liturgical sources that outlines the origins and development of the cult. The texts themselves, many of them previously unpublished, encompass a variety of genres, styles and languages, from Anglo-Latin to Middle English. Some of the presented texts can be regarded as minor classics in their own right, in particular the earliest hagiographical portrayals of the saint's cult by Lantfred, Wulfstan and Ælfric. Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, a prose narrative of the translation of the saint's remains and the miracles following it, is the earliest Anglo-Latin work in rhymed prose, whereas its verse paraphrase, Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, is, with its over 3,500 lines, the most extensive hexameter work composed in Anglo-Saxon England. Ælfric's *Life of St Swithun*, taken from his legendary known as *The Lives of Saints*, on the other hand, represents one of the earliest examples of hagiographical literature in a vernacular language.

As a figure of hagiography, St. Swithun was highly problematic, because virtually nothing was known of his life. This is reflected in the earliest authors who pay no attention to St. Swithun's time on earth, focusing instead on the posthumous aspects of his sainthood: the *inventio*, or discovery, of St. Swithun's remains, their translation to a new reliquary, and the subsequent miracles associated with the saint or his remains. It was only at the very end of the eleventh century that an anonymous *Vita S. Swithuni* attempted to present a creditable biography of the saint, mainly deriving from historical facts known about ninth-century Winchester and stock *topoi* generally considered appropriate for a saint's life. Intriguingly, the saint appears, over time, to have developed an identity of his own, usually as a defender of the meek and innocent, quite irrespective of his historical background.

Michael Lapidge's *Cult of St Swithun* should prove invaluable to all scholars of medieval saints' cults, their origins and evolution. As documents of the spread of the cult, the liturgical texts in the volume are no less illuminating than the hagiographical ones. Of particular interest for Scandinavian readers is a fragment of a liturgical text, recently discovered in Helsinki, which may have been used in medieval Turku. At the same time, the sheer historical scope of the volume provides the reader with a generous overview of the evolution of literacy, literature and literary tastes in the Middle Ages.

The Cult of St Swithun constitutes a part of *Winchester Studies*, a series published under the editorship of Martin Biddle with the aim of presenting a full account of the archaeology and history of the city of Winchester.

Seppo Heikkinen

Le Pogge. Facéties. Confabulationes. Édition bilingue. Texte latin, note philologique et notes de STEFANO PITTALUGA, traduction française et introduction de ÉTIENNE WOLFF. Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2005. ISBN 2-251-73016-8. XCIII, 223 pp. EUR 40.

Dopo aver pubblicato, Stefano Pittaluga, nel 1995, il testo latino con la traduzione italiana, e Étienne Wolff, nel 1994, una versione francese delle *Confabulationes* di Poggio Bracciolini, i due studiosi hanno unito i loro sforzi nella realizzazione di questo volume. A Wolff si devono l'introduzione e la traduzione francese, a Pittaluga l'introduzione critica (*Note philologique*), il testo latino e le note al testo. Nell'*Introduction* Wolff illustra brevemente la vita di Poggio (1380–1459) e le sue opere, dedicando poi maggiore spazio alle *Facezie*. L'opera è costituita tradizionalmente di 273 brevi componimenti, le facezie appunto, redatti in un periodo che si estende per almeno una quindicina di anni (all'incirca dal 1438 al 1453). Il titolo dato dall'autore pare essere quello di *Confabulationes*, aneddoti cioè dedicati alla conversazione, che presentano curiosità, stranezze, motti arguti, veri e propri raccontini, spiritosi, talora grossolani, se non osceni, che hanno come scopo sempre un piacevole intrattenimento.

Non semplicissima risulta la tradizione manoscritta dell'opera: oltre ai 50 manoscritti conosciuti, si contano numerosissime edizioni a stampa – oltre 30 incunaboli! –, che ne testimoniano non solo il successo e quindi l'immediata diffusione, ma anche le diverse fasi di composizione. Per questo lavoro Pittaluga ha scelto 10 manoscritti, un incunabolo – senza indicazione di luogo e di data, ma probabilmente Roma, Georg Lauer, 1470 [IGI 7930], forse l'*editio princeps* – e l'edizione di Basilea del 1538, la cosiddetta *vulgata*, di cui segue la numerazione dei brani. La scelta dei testimoni non è, ovviamente, casuale ma rifletterebbe le diverse fasi redazionali. Gli interventi successivi di Poggio sarebbero per lo più dedicati all'inserimento di nuove facezie e alla loro sistemazione in gruppi tematicamente omogenei. Ogni qual volta la base manoscritta gliene fornisce l'occasione, e questo avviene in maniera significativa per circa 750 passi, Pittaluga si allontana dal testo della *vulgata*. Le scelte ecdotiche si basano in questi casi sulla totalità o su gran parte della tradizione, contro le innovazioni della *vulgata*, o come scrive Pittaluga (p. LXII) "en présence de plusieurs variantes je me suis plié, cas par cas, au critère de majorité et/ou à des raisons stylistiques et l'*usus scribendi*, ou de logique interne du texte". E proprio perché il lavoro è condotto sull'esame della tradizione manoscritta il risultato che ne scaturisce è un deciso miglioramento per un testo che finora era conosciuto praticamente solo attraverso una *vulgata* zeppa di incrostazioni non autentiche. Al testo latino, con traduzione a fronte, seguono 304 note, che illustrano soprattutto riferimenti storici e eventuali collocazioni delle facezie in altre raccolte. Un indice dei nomi propri che ricorrono nelle *Facezie* chiude il volume.

Paolo Gatti

PÄIVI MEHTONEN: *Obscure Language, Unclear Literature. Theory and Practice from Quintilian to the Enlightenment*. Translated by ROBERT MACGILLEON. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Humaniora* 320, Helsinki 2003. ISBN 951-41-0911-2. 228 pp. EUR 38.90.

This book is a comprehensive study of the history of the notion of obscurity in the field of rhetoric and literary studies. "Obscurity" is defined as a textual feature, which can be either deliberate or involuntary. An obscure writer is one whose meaning is difficult to understand. Elliptical style and use of archaic words or ornate language are traditional examples of textual devices creating obscurity. Obscurity is treated in this book as a technical term in literary history, and Mehtonen explains many different standpoints for sources and types of obscurity.

The writer promises in this book to trace the contexts in which grammarians, rhetoricians, dialecticians and scholars of poetics have voiced their opinions either for or against obscurity. Mehtonen makes clear statements about the interlacing of the disciplines of the *trivium* (for example the debate about whether clarity is a grammatical or a rhetorical quality of language), and persuasively introduces the *artes liberales* and the history of the system. This background information provided in Part I is one of the most useful aspects of the study. As the writer points out in the epilogue of this book, obscurity rests on the ancient legacy of rhetorico-poetological rules, and divergence from these rules may itself become the rule. Therefore the codes of rhetoric, grammar and poetics are to be seen as less uniform and normative than subsequent generations have been willing to acknowledge.

A central figure in theories of obscurity in both ancient and early modern rhetoric is Quintilian, whose categorisations of style form a starting point for Mehtonen's discussion of *obscuritas* and its definitions. Quintilian is perceived as a boundary mark between the language of Cicero and the evolving Christian discourse. Mehtonen points out that especially book eight of *Institutio oratoria* has been seen by later writers, linguists and art theoreticians as a summary of many important points concerning *obscuritas* and *perspicuitas*. Other ancient writers receiving attention in this book are Aristotle, Cicero, Horace, Varro and Sextus Empiricus. Another essential writer, according to Mehtonen, is St. Augustine, whose *De doctrina christiana* was in fact a defence of obscurity. Biblical obscurity – a central problem for all Christian writers throughout the ages – is discussed in the context of the Augustinian doctrine of signs.

From antiquity, the Church Fathers and the Middle Ages, Mehtonen proceeds all the way to the early modern era (c. 1500–1750), Cartesianism, and finally to the legacy of ancient rhetorical theory in Baumgarten (1714–1762) and Campbell (1719–1796). Mehtonen explains the continuum of obscurity theories as an alteration of various "isms", one prominent line running from medieval Ciceronism to early modern Quintilianism. Nevertheless, a history of an idea is not easy to bring together into a consistent description or, as Mehtonen puts it: "The line between obscurity of language and *writing* of the obscurity of language was – and is – exasperatingly thin." There are some problems in the readability and coherence of this book, although it still seems to be a useful literary-historical tool for anyone interested in the reception of classical disciplines through the centuries.

Inkeri Kinnari

DAVID WILES: *Mask and Performance in Greek Tragedy. From Ancient Festival to Modern Experimentation*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-86522-7 (hb). XII, 320 pp. GBP 50.

David Wiles' *Mask and performance in Greek Tragedy* is a significant work. It would be important even if its significance relied solely on the fact that it is the first full-length study of the Greek tragic mask, but in addition to this, Wiles has succeeded in crossing the boundaries of separate fields of study, such as classical philology, reception of Greek drama, anthropology, and theatre studies. These he has successfully intertwined with theory and practice of theatre, thus creating a work of both scholarly and art-theoretic value. Wiles' book is essential for any scholar writing about Greek tragedy in performance, but it is also useful for any theatre practitioner interested in Greek drama and masked performance.

Wiles poses two major questions he then seeks to find an answer to in his research: what made the mask an inseparable part of a fifth-century BC Athenian theatre performance, and relatively, why are we so reluctant to make use of masks in theatre today, why are they so alien to us? In his book, David Wiles engages in four major debates over Greek tragedy. The first concerns the "ownership" of Greek tragedy, namely, is a Greek play a text that happened to be performed or is the text a component in the historical performance event? The second issue is the question of the actor in Greek tragedy: are the actors in constant control of their craft or are they somehow possessed by their part? This is a relevant question in relation to Greek tragedy and its dual political and divine nature; it is especially essential when considering the meaning and use of masks. The third debate concerns the ritualistic nature of Greek tragedy. Wiles examines if the masks used in tragedy were essentially a manifestation of its Dionysiac nature, or whether they were just an artistic invention made for the purposes of theatre. The fourth issue discusses the meaning of the face, the eyes and gaze to ancient Greeks, and the difference between ancient and modern ideas of personal identity – is the face an image of a soul, or is it something one shows to the world, thus constituting one's identity? In a structuralist view, the Greek mask provides a way to escape from the domain of facial expression, but it does exclude expressing and viewing of actor's authentic feelings.

Wiles has examined the use of masks in New Comedy in his earlier work *Masks of Menander* (1991), but due to the different nature of the evidence used in *Mask and performance in Greek Tragedy* his methodology is different. In this work Wiles concentrates solely on tragedy, as the mask in Old Comedy would require a separate volume; hence, an essay *The poetics of the mask in Old Comedy* will be published in 2008. In the *Masks of Menander* Wiles relied in his analysis on a vast body of artefacts, and contemporary physiognomic treatises, his approach being semiotic and cognitive. Vase-paintings form the primary iconographic evidence in the case of fifth-century tragic masks as well, but the material is more complicated, and requires a more phenomenological approach than the material of New Comedy, where materialist philosophy provides a secure basis for analysis. However, in depictions of tragedy, the mask is never an isolated object, but a function of relationships. In the case of tragedy, gods have a defining role, and so in examining the tragic mask one has to explore the relationship between masking and a sense of the divine.

In chapters 2 and 3 Wiles deals with the iconographic evidence, vase-paintings and sculpture. He adopts a new and fresh approach, using the French research on Greek gaze

inspired by the intellectual tradition of Lacan and Sartre. He considers the function of the vase as a whole, and looks at the masks portrayed in the vases as agents engaged in a set of transactions communicating in a process of transition, asking why the painter chose to portray masking. Wiles notes the "failure" of fifth-century vase-painting in supplying us with scientific data of the tragic mask as something not to be lamented, since the evidence of vases offers us instead a rich source on what masks meant: that they were agents of transformation, turning the actor into something else such as a maenad; tools for achieving presence, not distance (p. 41–2).

After this carefully detailed analysis of iconographic evidence, Wiles shifts the focus from antiquity to the present and employs another methodological point of view: in chapters from 4 to 7 he examines the use of mask in twentieth-century theatre practice. Wiles emphasises the otherness of the Greek past in his discussion of the reception of masks in twentieth-century performances. As theatre research stresses the importance of the converging of theory and practice, Wiles uses in his approach also the methodology of a practice-based research, seeking to demonstrate what can be done with masks, and what masks can do to us. Wiles starts by investigating modernist views, discussing the ideas of, for example, Goethe, Nietzsche, Stanislavski and other influential theatre theorists about Greek tragedy and the mask. Wiles also examines remarkable modernist productions of Greek tragedy, like Eva Palmer-Sikelianos' and Angelos Sikelianos' *Prometheus* in Delphi in 1927, and Sartre's *Les Mouches* in Paris in 1943. From modernism Wiles turns to the twentieth-century actor and the experience of the mask. He concentrates in chapter 5 on Jacques Copeau's understanding of the mask as a tool for actors' training, and significantly, on Roland Barthes' view of Barrault's *Oresteia*, and on the division between these two schools of acting. Chapter 6 deals in detail with Peter Hall's *Oresteia* of 1981, paying much attention to Jocelyn Herberts' impressive technique in creating masks for the production. In chapter 7 Wiles continues to examine closely the technique of creating a mask, concentrating on the art of Michael Chase and Thanos Vovolis, and their use of the mask almost as a musical instrument.

In chapter 8 Wiles returns to the mask in antiquity, beginning with the conception of the mask and polytheism. The first two parts of this book are remarkable, but especially in these last chapters from 8 to 11 Wiles' scholarly expertise make the reading truly enjoyable. Wiles' arguments are sharp and carefully considered, he makes his points clearly, leaving the reader with an impression of his thorough insight on the matter, linking his discussion widely with earlier studies. Wiles' approach to tragedy and the mask as an ancient phenomenon is broadly anthropological. In an unbiased way, he uses parallels from Nigerian Yoruba, Balinese Topeng and Japanese Noh traditions in explaining the polytheistic nature of Greek tragedy. Wiles notes, that research on masks is still in an in-between-state within mainstream Classics, as it belongs neither to the field of literary criticism nor to the study of religion (p. 9). Either scholars have accepted a view that masks had "nothing to do with Dionysos", or that masks were a mimetic way of distancing the play from the ritual enactment. As Wiles points out, these accounts are based on a distinction between theatrical mimesis and authentic ritual (p. 10). However, recently scholars have made an important recognition that tragedy often provides an aetiology for a cult, but despite this there still is a certain reluctance to admit the relationship between tragedy and the divine. Wiles to some extent criticises the post-modern need to "demystify" Greek tragedy. He recognises as his stance two related

coinages; post-secular and post-dramatic. In Wiles' words, "the mask made someone happen" (p. 12) – he argues that masking added another dimension to the experience of performance and it is this dimension that he attempts to clarify in his work.

In chapter 9 Wiles argues convincingly for theatrical "epiphany", of tragedy as *theoric* activity, "a rite of viewing", a Greek encounter with the god Dionysus (p. 205, 227). When an actor put on his mask, he was catching a glimpse of the other world of the gods, and at the same time making this possible for the spectator as well. In the last two chapters Wiles examines the masked nature of tragedy, how certain drama texts like Sophocles' *Ajax* are composed in such a way that they flourish when performed with a mask and its intense gaze, as well as tragedy's nature as something to be seen, an essentially visual performance. The Greek sense of self was completely different from our individualistic thinking; an Ancient Greek formed his/her identity by the way he/she was seen by others. In the light of this, the nature of the mask as something which saw the god and the other world and formed a connection between them and the spectator is understandable. Equally understandable are the outward features of the mask, namely, the piercing eyes.

In his work Wiles has rejected linear historiography, as he stresses the notion that we understand the past only through the present. Through ancient material evidence and modern and post-modern theatre practise he guides the reader to ancient ritualistic and ideological thinking, as well as to tragedy as a performance and text, and firmly convinces the reader of his answer to the question: what made the mask an inseparable part of a fifth-century BC Athenian theatre performance? And finally, while reading the epilogue, the reader gets the second question answered as well: why are we so reluctant to use masks in theatre today, why are they so alien to us? Precisely because they are alien, other and ancient. We do not see the world as an ancient Greek did, and that is what Wiles is pointing to throughout this work. In studying the mask, it is essential to understand this feature. Maybe because I lack the masked experience, it took me some time to see this – I was not able to see the mask clearly, but instead kept theorizing about it, trying desperately to understand it from my own modern point of view. But it does not work like that with the ancient, tragic mask!

Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä

XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae: Provinciae Imperii Romani inscriptionibus descriptae: Barcelona, 3–8 Septembris 2002. Ediderunt Marc Mayer i Olivé, Giulia Baratta, Alejandra Guzmán Almagro. Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica 10. Institut d'Estudis Catalans; Universitat de Barcelona; Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona 2007. ISBN: 978-84-7283-921-2. 800 pp. EUR 120.

Tomis duobus ponderosis continentur Acta XII congressus internationalis epigraphices Graecae et Latinae mense Septembri a. MMII Barcinone habiti. Libellorum auctores auctricesve ex omnibus fere orbis terrarum oriundi, plurimi ex Hispania Lisitaniaque, multi non solum ex aliis civitatibus quae pars erant Imperii Romani, sed etiam ex Europa septentrionali orientaliqque, Asia, Africa, America, Australia in urbem Barcinonensem convenerunt, ut cum aliis rerum epigraphicarum cultoribus dissererent, ab iis novas res discerent rursusque iis sapientiam suam partirentur, et simul ut eodem tempore magnifico

hospitio dominorum, qui illum conventum administrabant, exciperentur. Homines studiosi in actorum duobus voluminibus libellis numero plus minus 190 de omnibus fere generibus studii orbis antiqui variisque rei epigraphicae argumentis ad eum pertinentibus disceptant. De operis editi indole eiusque significatione haec fere dicenda sunt (plenum libellorum indicem invenies interretialiter <http://www.ub.edu/epigraphiae/>).

Editio acroasium Barcinone habitaram largiter subministrata statum scientiae epigraphicae nostrae aetatis optime in conspectum cedit. Continentur secundum ordinem alphabeticum ipsorum scriptorum libelli quidam maiores (plenarii ut vocabulo moderno utar) et alii plerumque aliquantum breviores ad rem epigraphicam et Graecam et Romanam pertinentes (subtitulo notatur de provinciis Imperii Romani describendis agi, non desunt autem libelli qui de rebus Graecis tantum disserant). Editores actorum igitur ordinem systematicum apte et congruenter compositum inducere noluerunt, contra usum actorum congressuum praecedentium Nemausi Romaeque habitorum. Tamen non est cur in ea re qui volumina ediderunt nimis reprehendantur. Plures libelli bene concepti et maximi momenti sunt, aliae quaedam commentationes fortasse cognitione minus dignae. Sed haec proprietas communis librorum huius generis est. Opus nimis difficile est spatio restricto ab iis qui huic ephemeridi edendae operam dant mihi concesso libellos accuratius describere. Sed ii presertim qui in studiis nostris praecellere mihi videntur mandatum sibi datum plerumque optime perfecerunt. Hic illic autem editores in libellis seligendis edendisque paullulum severius agere potuerunt. In universum tamen de opere maximi momenti agitur quod in loculamento uniuscuiusque rerum epigraphicarum cultoris sub manibus esse necesse est. Gratiae quam maximae sunt agendae amico nostro Marco Mayer eiusque collegis quod fontes novos argumenta themata, denique res epigraphicas Barcinone propositas nobis suppeditaverunt.

Heikki Solin

Inscriptiones Graecae. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae. Voluminis IV editio altera. Fasciculus II: Inscriptiones Aeginae insulae. Schedis usus quas condidit HANS R. GOETTE edidit KLAUS HALLOF. Gualterus de Gruyter et socii, Berolini – Novi Eboraci 2007. ISBN 978-3-11-019522-4. XIII, 201 S., 28 Taf. EUR 248.

Ein sehr willkommener Band. Aus circa 213 in der ersten im Jahre 1902 erschienenen Auflage von *IG IV* enthaltenen Inschriften sind es in der neuen – wenn ich richtig gerechnet habe – 494 geworden. Ein bedeutender Zuwachs. Die Struktur des Bandes ist die altbewährte. Die Edition ist von nützlichen *Fasti* vorangegangen. Dort habe ich einige Einträge vermisst: 1) ein bekannter Arzt namens Petronas oder verkürzt Petron: Schol. in Hom. II.11, 624, *RE* XIX1191f; 2) Pythainetos, Verfasser von *Aiginetika*: Athen. 589f; 3) Epigonos, ein Flötenbläser *SEG* XLIV 129.

Die Edition, von zahlreichen Photos begleitet (die freilich nicht immer eine sichere Lesung ermöglichen), ist von guter Qualität und fasst alles zusammen, was uns zur Zeit über die epigraphische Überlieferung von Aigina zur Verfügung steht. Auch die *Alienae* sind weitestgehend mit berücksichtigt. Ich frage mich aber, ob es nötig war, etwa Grabinschriften von Rheneia mit vollständigen *Lemmata* neu herauszugeben; sie sind ja vor nicht langer Zeit

von Couilloud ausgezeichnet publiziert worden (darunter stehen auch Stücke, die nie nach Aigina gelangt sind). – In einer Einzelheit würde ich dem Editor nicht folgen: In Texten römischer Zeit, in denen nach lateinischer Sitte Trennpunkte zwischen den Wörtern gebraucht werden, gibt der Editor diese Punkte in seinem Minuskeltext wieder, z. B. 760. 952. Ich würde diese Verfahrensweise auf keinen Fall empfehlen.

Ein paar Beobachtungen zu einzelnen Texten. 773: Die Weihung gehört dem C. Norbanus Flaccus, nicht Balbus. Und was heißt im Kommentar "P. Norbanus Flaccus"? Keiner der bekannten Norbani Flacci war ein Publius. – 806: Kein Wort zur merkwürdigen Bildung Πόσιττος. Stimmt die Lesung? – 889: Κέρδων ist nicht thrakisch, sondern ein gut griechischer Name (Bechtel *HPN* 235), der sogar in Rom ein Modename geworden ist. – 939: Ich würde Πρεῖμα statt Πρεῖμα akzentuieren. Vor allem aber interessiert an der Namensform, dass Πρεῖμα in der Stellung eines Vornamens gebraucht worden ist. Die Inschrift ist alt, möglicherweise noch vorchristlich, aus einer Zeit also, da in Italien Frauenpraenomina noch gelegentlich in Gebrauch waren. Und *Prima* ist des öfteren als Vorname bezeugt (Nachweise bei M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina* 60–62). An sich könnte man in unserer Inschrift auch an zwei Cognomina denken, von denen das erste dem Gentilnamen vorangestellt wurde (vgl. *CIL* I² 1219 aus Rom *Prima Pompeia*, wo möglicherweise eine solche Inversion der Namen stattgefunden hat). – 949: Statt [M]ἄρκος Ἰκάρο[ς] besser [M]ἄρκος Ἰκάρο[υ]. *Marcus* wird hier in der Funktion eines Rufnamens gebraucht, wie so oft im griechischen Osten (und schon in Rom) und kann nicht einen Gentilnamen vertreten. – 962: Die Inschrift gehört in der Tat dem ausgehenden Altertum, wie die progressive Datierung der Tage des Monats des römischen Kalenders in der modernen Art zeigt, die vor dem 6. Jh. nur sporadisch auftaucht. – 964: 2 könnte ein Name auf Φανο- oder Φαντο- vorliegen? Namen mit diesem Vorderglied sind nicht sehr üblich, aber Namen auf Φημο- sind noch seltener. – 1011: Apographon von G. W. Elderkin, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 477. Die Bleitafel ist kaum, wie auch Hallof ansprechend vermutet, jüdisch, jedenfalls ist sie sehr spät. Es ist zu notieren, dass im Band nacheinander zwei magische Texte stehen, von denen der erstere byzantinisch ist, der zweite vom 5. Jh. v. Chr. Wäre eine umgekehrte Ordnung nicht angebracht gewesen? – 1185: Λίκκνος kann eine nachlässige Schreibung für lat. *Licinus* vertreten, das schon früh in der Namengebung der römischen Aristokratie in Gebrauch kam.

Das Latein ist im allgemeinen flüssig und verständlich. Im Vorwort, erster Absatz, viertletzte Zeile, schreibe "conferrem"; letzter Absatz, erste Zeile, schreibe "Corpore"; in den Fasti unter Nr. 3 verstehe ich nicht "Aeginetae"; Nr. 779 und sonst: "quoque" soll nach dem Hauptwort stehen.

Heikki Solin

J.-M. LASSERE: *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine*. Vols. I–II. *Antiquité*. Synthèses 8. Éditions A. et J. Picard, Paris 2005. ISBN 2-7084-0732-5. 1167 p. EUR 70.

This is a most welcome addition to the already existing range of introductions to Latin epigraphy. It is modestly described as an "ouvrage d'initiation" (p. VII; cf. "scolaire" p. VIII, "débutants" p. (IX)), and is clearly aimed mainly at French students, but no doubt this book will be of use both to students and scholars also outside France. The explanation for the use

of the term "Roman" rather than "Latin" in the title lies in the fact that Greek inscriptions of the Roman period are also taken into consideration (even Oscan inscriptions are adduced, cf. the "tabula Bantina", no. 208). I hardly need to stress the usefulness of this, and the success of this book in any case seems to emerge from the fact that according to some sources, a second edition, "revue et mise à jour" (not yet seen by me), appeared in 2007. As is normal in modern introductions to epigraphy, the point of view is historical rather than philological (cf. the reference to "historiens" p. VIII).

The book is divided into three parts (each with many subsections), "L'individu", "La cité" (these two in vol. I) and "L'état" (vol. II). All this is preceded by an Introduction (pp. 3–75) consisting of a definition of epigraphy, a history of the discipline, and of a description of the methods of epigraphy (with notes on palaeography, etc.). All this is well illustrated by photos and also by a number of inscriptions all furnished with translations and commentaries, used to illustrate certain points (e.g., *AE* 1977, 816 from Isaura is adduced on p. 25 to illustrate the fact that literary and epigraphical sources complement each other; by the way, I think that the reading should be [P.] *Serveilius C. f.* rather than *Serveilius C. f.*; and that this inscription is also in *CIL* I², as no. 2954, might also have been mentioned).

In the sequel, the exposition proceeds thematically, but is interspersed with, and sometimes dominated by, a sequence of annotated inscriptions, all with their own number (some coins are also quoted) and meant to explain a certain phenomenon. Thus we have, in the beginning of "L'individu", a chapter on onomastics, where in the section on "gentilice" *CIL* IX 1016 (no. 13) is referred to, in the section on "prénom et filiation" (with a list of common praenomina and their abbreviations p. 84) *AE* 1980, 371, *AE* 1964, 179, *AE* 1980, 197, *ILLRP* 392c and *CIL* VIII 12300. All in all, 508 inscriptions quoted, all (as mentioned above) furnished with translations and commentaries and often with photos, in many cases with photos not to be found in other accessible publications. Those dealing with inscriptions included in this book will thus be advised to consult the individual entries here.

The number of various chapters or sections included in the book (for their enumeration, p. 1155ff., 13 pages are needed) is certainly remarkable and it seems clear that the author has been able to deal, often at some length, with all important aspects of epigraphy. For some instances of this book's sections, note, e.g., "La mention de l'origine" (128ff.), "Les voyages" (197ff., in the chapter on "les inscriptions à caractère biographique", including among others the remarkable Greek inscription *AE* 1981, 777), "Les épithaphes juives" (364ff.), "Les diverses catégories de cités" (306ff.), "Les noms de cités" (329ff.), "Les carrières des magistrats municipaux" (357ff.), "Marques sur les productions céramiques" (441ff.), "Les actes privés" (456ff.), "L'évergétisme" (513ff.), "Les titulatures impériaux" (591ff.), "La *damnatio memoriae*" (639ff.), "Les légions" (745ff.), "Les corps auxiliaires" (784ff.), "La garnison de Rome" (830ff.), "Les textes juridiques", "Les textes sacrés officiels" (876ff.), "Les calendriers locaux" (904ff., with, e.g., a list, p. 907, of the Egyptian months), "L'espace" (916ff., with milestones, etc.). There are also, e.g., very detailed chapters (642ff.) on senatorial and equestrian careers and their evolution.

All this followed by more than a hundred pages of most useful appendices with, e.g., a list of (ordinary) consuls from 509 BC to AD 541 (there is, however, new evidence not yet included here in the case of some consuls) arranged both chronologically and according to both their nomina and their cognomina (in the case of some *polyonymi*, the wrong nomen has, however, been chosen in some cases: e.g., Suetrius Sabinus cos. 214 and 240 and Salvius

Iulianus cos. 148 appear only under the Octavii); a list of all emperors with details on titulature and chronology; a list of all attested equestrian "procuratèles"; a most useful lexicon of Greek terms for Roman institutions; a list of abbreviations; etc. At the end, there are very detailed indices.

To conclude, this is an extremely useful book; well reflecting the fact that the author has been teaching epigraphy for decades (p. VII), it is the most solid exposition of Latin/Roman epigraphy and all its problems that I know to exist. The fact that the book concentrates on commenting upon individual inscriptions, as a result of which important phenomena are often introduced as parts of commentaries to individual texts, rather than as individual entries, may make the use of this book a bit difficult; on the other hand, the excellent indices can be used to locate what one needs, and reading the whole book might in fact be a good idea for any epigraphist. Here and there I observed details which seemed to me a bit dubious (e.g., p. 112, shouldn't the *signum* be *Thoracius* rather than *Thorax*, *Thoraci* in my opinion being a genitive rather than a dative?), but this is unavoidable in an *opus magnum* like this. Let me finish by pointing out that for a book of this importance and magnitude, the price is (as often happens in France) quite attractive.

Olli Salomies

Supplementa Italica. Imagines. Supplementi fotografici ai volumi italiani del CIL. Latium Vetus I (CIL, XIV; Eph. Epigr., VII e IX). Latium Vetus praeter Ostiam. A cura di MARIA GRAZIA GRANINO CECERE. Presentazione di ANNA MARIA REGGIANI. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-7140-283-9. 864 pp. 1090 ill. USD 555, EUR 420.

Supplementa Italica. Imagines. Supplementi fotografici ai volumi italiani del CIL. Roma (CIL, VI) 3. Collezioni Fiorentine. A cura di MARIA GRAZIA GRANINO CECERE. Presentazione di ANTONELLA ROMUALDI – HENNER VON HESBERG. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-7140-378-6. 540 pp., 702 ill. EUR 350.

La serie dei supplementi fotografici ideata da Silvio Panciera viene arricchita di due ponderosi volumi, uno dedicato alle iscrizioni del Latium vetus, l'altro alle iscrizioni urbane nelle collezioni epigrafiche fiorentine. I due tomi sono di struttura diversa: mentre il primo copre l'ambito geografico di un determinato volume del *CIL* (in questo caso quello relativo al Latium vetus cui è dedicato il volume XIV), il secondo si limita ad offrire l'album fotografico delle collezioni di una città, in questo caso la città dei Medici che eccelle di numerose grandi raccolte d'iscrizioni.

L'idea di questa nuova intrapresa si può salutare con grande soddisfazione. Come noto, tra i grandi della scienza epigrafica dell'Ottocento si era in buona parte smarrito il senso dell'inscindibilità del testo epigrafico e del monumento che fungeva da supporto. Noto è anche il verdetto che il Mommsen ha spesso espresso sugli archeologi. Oggi, la descrizione completa del monumento epigrafico, con una minuta analisi del supporto, dovrebbe essere verità lapalissiana. A questo scopo servono i volumi della nuova collana. La loro utilità si vede soprattutto nel primo. Infatti M. G. Granino Cecere, la curatrice del volume, ha potuto mettere insieme, con un lavoro paziente, una grande quantità di riproduzioni fotografiche di epigrafi provenienti dal Latium vetus e pubblicate nel XIV volume del Corpus berlinese e nei

volumi VII e IX dell'*Ephemeris epigraphica*. Molte di queste iscrizioni escono qui per la prima volta in riproduzione fotografica; così l'utilità di questo tomo è fuori discussione. Per quanto riguarda invece il volume fiorentino, alcune collezioni, quali quelle dei palazzi Medici Riccardi, Peruzzi e Rinuccini, hanno ricevuto recenti edizioni corredate da riproduzioni fotografiche da parte della compianta Ada Gunnella, ma anche questo volume mostra la sua utilità con fotografie di altre collezioni, qui per la prima volta pubblicate in modo sistematico.

Non è il caso di trattare in questa sede più dettagliatamente la consistenza dei volumi. Va detto che le foto sono accompagnate da brevi considerazioni di carattere archeologico-artistico. Invece manca il testo e un commento storico-filologico. Abbondanti sono i riferimenti bibliografici. In particolare nel volume dedicato alle raccolte fiorentine, si danno alle volte riferimenti bibliografici che non contribuiscono molto alla comprensione del monumento epigrafico. E vi sono alcune osservazioni ingannevoli, come nel lemma di 3960, a proposito dell'indicazione della datazione "183 d.C. (Gunnella)": la data non è una scoperta di Gunnella, ma un dato acquisito, registrato pure nel *CIL*. – Anche se non viene dato il testo dell'iscrizione, le nuove letture rispetto al *CIL* vengono notate, anche se non sempre. Una bella correzione si trova per es. a 428 dove va letto *Sillianus* invece di *Sittianus* nel nome del senatore C. Seius Calpurnius Quadratus S.

Un paio di osservazioni. 42 (= *CIL* XIV 2150): a proposito di 3 si dice "elementi onomastici più ampiamente leggibili rispetto a *CIL*", dove a me sembra potersi leggere *Asinia Synhesi*; cfr. grafie come *Synhetus -e*, spesso ricorrenti in iscrizioni urbane. – 46 (= *CIL* XIV 2114): la lettura *Lucilio*, benché non da escludersi, mi sembra un po' incerta. – 182: la v. l. si riferisce a 181! – 257 (= *CIL* XIV 2559): a proposito di 1 l'a. scrive "nomi chiaramente leggibili, non presenti in *CIL*". Sarebbe stato utile dare la lettura che è pacifica: *Onesimus, Iambus, Telesphorus*. Divertente che già un vecchio autore, Cozza, ne avesse dato una lettura quasi impeccabile che Dessau ritiene "male corrupta"! – 365 (= *CIL* XIV 2569): notevole la forma della *d* propria della scrittura minuscola, per cui daterei l'iscrizione senz'altro al III sec. Ora in 2 si trova dopo ANTIS un segno simile all'O finale della riga successiva, per cui ci si chiede se non si debba leggere, con un'abbreviazione contrattiva, *Antis(tio)* invece di *Antis(tio)* come in *CIL*; le contrazioni vennero d'uso comune nel III sec. – 806 (= *EE* IX 891): il luogo di ritrovamento, la contrada Zancati nel comune di Paliano, faceva in età romana parte piuttosto del territorio della romana Anagnina, dunque del Latium adiectum. – 1081 (= *EE* VII 1268): ci sarebbe un termine più adatto del "vaso"? – Ho trovato una sola lacuna: *CIL* XIV 4276 si trova a Sorrento. – Firenze: 3864 (= *CIL* VI 21593): il secondo riferimento a Chantraine è 281 nt. 1 invece di 278. – 3873 (= *CIL* VI 15200): come si fa notare giustamente, l'ultima lettera in 6 è O, e non Q, ma si sarebbe potuto aggiungere che è richiesta una Q. – 4020 (= *CIL* VI 23471): la terza lettera in 8 viene spiegata come una D retroversa; in realtà va letto LVCI. Vi si cela, ai due i lati di *fecit*, il nome del dedicante *Lucidus*, che è un'aggiunta posteriore, ma le lettere DVS non sono spurie come si afferma. – 4021 (*CIL* VI 9576): la lettura di *CIL* in 1 è esatta. – Ho notato solo pochi errori di stampa: 599 = *CIL* XIV 3331): "Martin-Luther" invece di "Marthin-Luther", e "Wittenberg", non "Wittemberg"; e che cosa fa qui un riferimento a Wittenberg?; p. 847 "tabella" invece di "tabela".

Alla fine due osservazioni di carattere generale. Soprattutto nel volume fiorentino s'incontra quasi sempre l'indicazione "Provenienza ignota" (manca quando si suppone sapere

il luogo dove il documento si trovava originariamente; per es. 3469, 3475, 3477, 3486). Infatti le iscrizioni arrivate a Firenze sono per la maggior parte di "provenienza ignota". Ora, si aggiunge alle volte, ma non sistematicamente, qualche notizia sul luogo di rinvenimento a Roma. Occorrerebbe però conservare sempre lo stesso *modus operandi*: data per un'epigrafe l'indicazione della sua primitiva collocazione romana, sarebbe necessario continuare a farlo anche per tutte le altre delle quali essa si conosce e non riportarne solo quella fiorentina, come nel caso di 3448, la cui collocazione romana nella casa di Giovanni Zampolini è nota fin dai tempi di Fra Giocondo. – Le fotografie sono in sostanza di buona qualità, anche se non ne mancano alcune meno nitide scattate senza luce radente richiesta. Spesso si danno di un solo reperto più foto di ottima qualità, ma non è un po' esagerato aggiungere anche quelle anche dei lati privi di qualsiasi decorazione o al massimo portanti semplici urcei e patere di ordinarie are o basi? – La Redazione di questa rivista non mi ha concesso spazio per un più ampio commento, ma spero di poter tornare su qualche questione inerente ad alcune iscrizioni oggetto dei due volumi in una delle prossime puntate dei miei *Analecta epigraphica*. [Mentre questa recensione era in stampa, mi sono accorto che il volume dedicato al Latium vetus era stato già recensito da O. Salomies in *Arctos* 40 (2006) 233–235. Non era più possibile intervenire sulla presente recensione che del resto può mantenere la sua utilità in virtù delle osservazioni fatte da una prospettiva un po' diversa rispetto a quella di Salomies.]

Heikki Solin

KARSTEN DAHMEN: *The Legend of Alexander the Great on Greek and Roman Coins*. Routledge, Abingdon – New York, 2007. ISBN 978-0-415-39452-9 (pb). XV, 179 pp. GBP 19.99.

An image of a young unbearded man with windblown hair we can all associate to Alexander the Great. The people in the Greek and Roman world did too because Alexander had become a great legend. However, in statues, reliefs, cameos, etc. there is really no secure evidence that these images actually depict Alexander. Dahmen (hereafter D.) brings us more secure evidence in the form of Greek and Roman coins and asks, if, in fact, some sculpted or painted prototypes have served as models for the images we find on coins. D. leaves the monetary economy and historical events of Alexander's life aside and focuses on the use of the image of Alexander on coins, as the title of the book indicates.

Coins issued by kings and rulers often carry political and ideological propaganda along with their imagery. In contrast, the coins issued by cities (usually always bronze) carried different kinds of messages about the self-representation and identity of the city. People, especially in the time of the second Sophistic, started to regard the shared Greek cultural identity as important, and thus a solid founder figure for a city (if not a god or a mythic hero) was Alexander. Therefore, he was often depicted on civic coins.

After a short Introduction, on imagery on coins, D. describes and discusses his material (Chapter 1: "Images of Alexander: A Survey of Alexander's Image on Ancient Coins"). This chapter forms the main part of this work, but much of the same information is given at the end of the book together with the plates. Moreover, because the text chapters are inconveniently provided with endnotes, not footnotes, the reader has to leaf through pages

back and forth as (s)he tries to read the text, view the plates at the end, and also follow the notes. The structure of the book seems to be better designed for a superficial reader, who can directly go to the plates, see the images and get an overview of the discussion there as well.

Chapter 2 ("Man, King, Hero and God: Alexander's Changing Portraits") presents a typology of different portraits representing Alexander. Alexander was presented in the guise of Herakles, wearing a lion's skin headdress, by cities that claimed Alexander as their founder. A short-lived type of Alexander wearing an elephant headdress was limited to Egypt. Another type of Egyptian motif was Alexander with ram's horn, connecting him with Zeus Ammon. This type was still used in Roman times. The most widespread image was the diademed Alexander. A few other, more rare types also existed.

Chapter 3 ("Making Good Use of a Legend") discusses what aspects of Alexander's legend were used in different connections. For example, the Diadochi, the kings ruling over lands that Alexander conquered, used Alexander's image to prove their legitimacy over the lands and strengthen their own position. Another emphasis was made on the grounds of Alexander's Macedonian origin. A very prominent and long-lived aspect was to present Alexander as the alleged founder of a large number of cities and communities. This was especially popular in the time of Caracalla, who admired Alexander. Many towns found a convenient way to show their loyalty to the emperor via using Alexander as their founder figure.

The short Chapter 4 ("Excursus: Alexander in Disguise"), mentions still further uses of Alexander's legend, where he is presented as a conqueror, explorer, even as a Christian knight or Muslim warrior.

In the conclusion, D. sums up the facts and notes that only in a few cases can there be found connections with other works of art as models for images of Alexander on coins. However, coins do give us important information on the different kinds of image types that present Alexander and for what purposes the image of this conqueror, who became a legend, was used.

A very important part of this work is the section of plates, covering c. 50 pages at the end. It collects the most important image types presenting Alexander on coins in good-quality black and white photographs. The book ends with technical descriptions of the coins illustrated, and the bibliography and index.

Marja Vierros

The Monetary Systems of the Greeks and Romans. Edited by WILLIAM V. HARRIS. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008. ISBN 978-0-19-923335-9. XIV, 330 pp. GBP 55.

It is always difficult to review books of this quality, since most of the contributions in the book would merit a review of their own. The contributions are based on the papers given at a conference at Columbia in 2005, except for the paper by J. Manning, which was included later. The conference gathered together many of the central figures working with money and economy of the Classical times, and the aim of the book is to bring forth recent research in the field, without aiming at a unitary explanation. As Harris in the Preface notes, "scholarly, as distinct from personal, harmony was nowhere to be seen".

In the Introduction, Harris does try to bring together the main themes of the conference, however, by briefly reviewing the contributions and providing his own comments. In addition, he ponders upon one major theme that he himself thinks might, and perhaps even should have been included, namely fiduciary money, but notes that the theme does appear in many of the contributions.

In his "Weighed Bullion in Archaic Greece", John H. Kroll investigates the transition from weighed bullion to coinage in Archaic Greece, including Asia Minor, Magna Graecia and Sicily. He traces the survival of the use of bullion beside the newly introduced coins, and also draws attention to the different usage contexts as explanatory factors when considering the use of different forms of money; for example, in religious contexts, the bullion seems to have been used longer, which Kroll sees as resulting from the general conservatism of religious practices. His overall conclusion is, however, that the introduction of coinage was not a prerequisite for exchange and trade, as bullion already performed these functions perfectly well, but its importance was in making exchange more efficient by removing the need of weighing, and also in emphasizing the role of the state in the provision of money. Kroll's paper is interesting especially to the extent it concentrates on the practical and cultural aspects of both bullion and coinage without seeing one as an obviously better choice than the other.

David M. Schaps' "What Was Money in Ancient Greece?" continues Kroll's discussion thematically, but does not deepen it in any meaningful way. Schaps' point, that the Greeks' concept of money was still more concrete than ours, and that this hindered both the operations of credit and banking, as well as being the reason for the rarity of token currency, is interesting, but would have needed a somewhat more thorough presentation. Schaps is not very successful in winning the reader over to his side and his ideas remain on the speculative level.

Richard Seaford, on the other hand, continues his work on the monetization of Greek society by studying the links between coinage, tyranny and tragedy as a form. He tells a story, in which the monetization of the society allowed for the emergence of tyranny in the first place. These tyrants were able to transform the old communal religious rituals into something more supportive of their own power, and in the end, the form and content of late tragedy became an expression of this "communal horror at the abusive control of ritual", that was typical of these historical tyrants. Seaford's argument is complex, and not always easy to follow, but his insights into the monetization of the ritual practices and their cultural implications are illuminating.

Edward E. Cohen's contribution takes the reader back to the hard core of economics in a concise and well-written refutation of the Finleyan thesis of the inelasticity of money-supply at Classical Athens. He starts by refuting the half-century-old misconception, that in Athenian law, a transaction was valid only when both the item and the payment were exchanged simultaneously. Cohen cites various sources to support his own thesis that a mere consensual agreement was also legally binding in Athenian law and thus, the creation of credit money through delayed or anticipated payments were possible. In addition to this, Cohen also demonstrates how the Athenian "banks" were also involved in funding commercial operations with money deposited in them. Cohen's paper is seminal, and makes its subject easily accessible to readers not too knowledgeable about modern day economic theory.

It is not immediately obvious what J. G. Manning is trying to demonstrate in his contribution on the importance of cash and coinage as a Ptolemaic institution. He does analyse the way in which the Ptolemaic administration tried to commoditize and standardize through the use of cash and coinage; however, immediately after this, he describes how cash had already been a known and utilized measure of value in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt. In addition, he has to admit that barter did remain an important form of exchange in the rural areas, and after this, he is only able to conclude that there was temporal, geographical and social variability in the use of cash – "private use of coinage appears to have been ... a matter of degree as well as a matter of taste, and was highly variable in time and space". One can hardly argue against this conclusion, but the desire remains that Manning had taken this rather unsurprising fact as a starting point of his investigation.

In his contribution, David Hollander analyses the demand for money. He includes in his analysis both cultural factors, dictating the needs people in different social positions had for money, as well as models of monetary theory in order to estimate the possibilities of economic growth during the late Roman Republic. As a reader well versed in these kinds of discussions might suspect in advance, Hollander is able to present potential scenarios, but cannot draw any solid conclusions: "Without much better data on coin circulation and economic conditions...", but he quite rightly asserts that coinage is not the only asset available, and the amounts of coinage may not reflect directly changes in economic prosperity.

David Kessler and Peter Temin embark on a challenging mission: they want to show that the economy of the Roman Empire was integrated, i.e., changes in one area had effect elsewhere, fluctuations in prices in one part of the realm affected people elsewhere. Based on the meagre price data available, they endeavour to show that there was a relation between the grain price and the distance from Rome, and when this proves to be the case, they conclude that the Empire in fact did form an integrated economic system, as people in all parts used the same monetary values to assess the prices of products. This is perhaps not as surprising as it might seem considering the extent of grain trade in the Empire, and one might ask whether the existence of an integrated grain trade actually meant an integrated economy on a larger scale.

Elio Lo Cascio traces the development of gold coinage from the time of Caesar to the late Empire, especially the contexts of its usage. Lo Cascio argues that the social status given to gold by some researchers is not justifiable. Gold coinage was not limited to the upper classes of the society, but was, for most of the period, received and used by all the populace, such as the urban plebs receiving it as part of the corn dole. Furthermore, Lo Cascio emphasizes the thorough monetarization of the early Imperial society, of which the extensive use of gold coinage is one example.

Perhaps the most general and summarizing account is fittingly that by the editor, W. V. Harris. He draws together recent research on the nature and meaning of money in the Roman world, by this meaning not only coinage and cash but also the money-creating institutions of lending and banking. Harris' main intention, as he himself writes, is "to demonstrate ... that shortage of money was not to any important extent a brake on growth", and in this he manages well.

Jean Andreau deepens then our understanding of the practicalities of property owning by analysing how and in what form valuable property was held, according to the Pompeian

evidence. His answer is threefold: property could be held as valuable items, as coinage or in bank accounts, and the selection between these different methods seems to have been a function of personal preference as well as for practical reasons of safety and security.

That the monetary practices were indeed very complex, and often functioned on an abstract level, is also very evident from Peter van Minnen's contribution on Late Antique Egypt, where we find numerous transactions on paper, and a fascinating interplay among inflation, grain prices and the changing value of money. In contrast to the Egyptian situation, where the monetization seems to affect all levels of society, Constantina Katsari concludes in her contribution that, in the North-Eastern parts of the Empire, it was mainly the civic administration and urbanization and to a lesser extent the military, that brought along the monetization of the local economy.

The book concludes with Walter Scheidel's comparison of the development of coinage within the Mediterranean region and China. Scheidel's intentions seem quite universalizing, as he tries through this comparison to develop an understanding of the birth of coinage in general. One can always criticize this kind of approach, but it cannot be denied that this makes an interesting read, and analogies do have the effect of widening the reader's mental horizons by introducing factors that one perhaps had not thought about before.

What is very evident in this book are two things: the thorough monetization of the Roman society, and the existence of abstract monetary institutions. This should not be taken to mean that the economy of the Roman world was anything like the current day world economy, but to remind us that it is not the institutions that make the modern Economy. Most of the Romans calculated prices in money, handled cash, bought and sold using money. If they had any extra, they could save it with a banker, and if they needed a loan, it might be available from the same source. The high level of sophistication of their financial institutions can hardly be doubted by someone who has read this book, and economic historians will have to look elsewhere when trying to explain the success of the modern Economy as compared to the Classical one. Moreover, the classical scholar reading this book might start to realize that money is more than just coins.

Harri Kiiskinen

ROSS BURNS: *Damascus: a History*. Routledge, Abingdon 2007. ISBN 978-0-415-41317-6. XX, 386 pp. EUR 27.

In his *Monuments of Syria: An Historical Guide* (I. B. Tauris, London 1993) Ross Burns gave a definitive and useful listing of the great variety of historical and archaeological sites in Syria, providing something of a cross between a travel guide and a reference work. Now the author revisits the land of his expertise, this time presenting a narrative of the millennia-spanning history of Damascus. The book in question has several aspects to recommend it even to a classical scholar in Finland – especially as the Finnish Institute in Damascus has opened in its renovated building in the south-eastern quarter of timeless Old Damascus.

The writing of urban history on a chronological scale demanded by a subject like this is a laborious undertaking, especially when there exists as convoluted a physical record of the past urban phases such as in Damascus, and it would be unreasonable to expect a historian to be a specialist on every era. These points considered, Burns has succeeded outstandingly in

providing a coherent and fascinating survey of Damascene history, interesting for the art historian, archaeologist and historian alike. In addition to being eminently useful and well-informed, the book is also highly readable; the style of the author is vivid and clear, though occasionally prone to colloquialisms. A few factual errors evident to a classical scholar remain, but all in all, *Damascus: a History* is an authoritative and reliable account of its subject. The book contains 83 in-text figures in the form of photographs, plans and maps that clarify both geographical, topographical and architectural features, as well as some aspects of historical development – the overall quality of these illustrations is very good.

Burns chooses to shed light on the less known urban phases of Damascus, a city so famously high-unexcavated, not "[...] by the careful shifting of ancient texts or inscriptions", but by scrutinising the city itself as the basic document of its own history. This examination of the building record and surviving structural remains as evidence for the historical development of the cityscape functions very well in the context of the later periods (ca. 12th century onwards), but in dealing with the earlier history of Damascus, the results may seem meagre at times. On the whole, the significance of the book lies much less in descriptions of any particular period than in being a concerted and informed general account of the whole wide sweep of Damascene urban history.

The introduction provides some geographical orientation and legendary material pertaining to the prerequisites of urban culture at the site of Damascus. From this, Burns moves on to examine the early stages of Damascene history (9000–1100 BC) from the first village communities to the disruptive upheavals of the Late Bronze Age. Chapter 2 deals with the rise of Damascus to a position of cultural, economic and political importance under the Aramaeans, as well as the uneasy relationship of the Aramaean states with the aggressive power of Assyria, while chapter 3 covers the period to the advent of Hellenism, with Damascus successively as an important local centre of Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Empires. It is in the latter chapter that one of the few factual errors of the book obvious to a classical scholar is encountered, namely on page 23 under the rubric *Neo-Babylonian rule* (572–532 BC), where the author writes as follows: "The Babylonians allied themselves with the Medes (sometimes known as "Neo-Babylonians"), another population wave from the north-east [...] In 612 BC, Nineveh fell to the Medes and the Babylonians [...] Under Nabopolassar (r. 625–609 BC), the Medes took over the full extent of the Assyrian Empire." This is unfortunately somewhat erroneous, for though the Babylonians indeed allied themselves with the Medes in toppling the Assyrian rump-state, the Medes are certainly not the same people as the Neo-Babylonians, the first king of whom (not of the Medes) was Nabopolassar. The contemporaneous king of the Medes was Cyaxares, and while there was a marriage alliance between the two monarchs, they most definitely ruled two distinct states.

Chapters 4 to 7 cover the time period most relevant to a classical scholar or historian of the Byzantine Empire, whereas chapter 8 narrates the transition of Syria from Roman to Muslim sovereignty. Though the visible remains in the city from this period are still far from substantial, the author manages to give a plausible and attractively written account of both the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Burns' prime source for the city's ancient topography seems to be the respectable, if slightly dated, survey of C. Watzinger and K. Wulzinger from 1921, but he manages to do much more than just reiterate their points. Of particular worth is the discussion concerning the successive building phases of the great temple of Damascene

Jupiter, preceded by a sanctuary of the storm-god Hadad and followed first by the Cathedral of Saint John and finally by the resplendent Umayyad Mosque. All phases are amply provided with illustrations and plans. Chapter 9, closing part 1, forms an epilogue of sorts to the history of ancient Damascus, much in the same way that the Umayyads formed the last stage of "Classical" tradition in Syria.

In part 2, Burns sets out to describe the more recent history of Damascus – the history that can even nowadays be read from the myriad Islamic monuments of the city. This he does with passion and an excellent eye for detail, not to mention a certain sly wit in describing the intricate policies of the Crusader Period or the machinations around the Ottoman-era *Hajj*. First, as a preface – or rather an interlude – the author examines the question of defining an end to "ancient" Damascus. Chapters 10 and 11 first narrate the confusing period of the early 'Abbasid dynasty, combined with the first inroads of Turkish elements into the power-structure of the city, and then the steady increase of Damascus' strategic and economic importance as it emerged as a focal point of resistance against the Crusaders. The great architectural florescence under Nur al-Din is treated at length and in depth. Chapter 12 discusses Damascus under Saladin and the later Ayyubids, as well as documenting the steady diminishing of architectural remains as the city again found itself on the periphery of political and cultural development.

Chapter 13 narrates the effect on Damascus of Mongol-Ayyubid campaigning in the 1200's and proceeds to give a generalized account of Mamluk rule. The focus is – as is suitable – mainly on the development of the cityscape, and the attitude of the Damascenes towards a Shi'a rule. During this period a new class of evidence appears in greater amount, namely, the westerners' descriptions of Damascus – these are used by the author skilfully to give flavour and substance to the text. Finally, chapters 14 and 15 recount the fortunes of Damascus under the Ottomans up to the creation of the French Mandate in Syria following the First World War. These centuries have, of course, left many structural remains in the city, and Burns uses this material to furnish a fluent and interesting account of the urban history right up to the brink of modern Syria.

The end of the book contains the endnotes, bibliography, a much needed glossary and a most illustrative appendix of maps – including a very detailed one of Old Damascus, which, for a travelling classicist, proved to be a far better guide to the architectural and historical gems of al-Sham than any commercially available fold-outs.

Antti Lampinen

Women's Influence on Classical Civilization. Edited by FIONA MCHARDY – EIREANN MARSHALL. Routledge, London – New York, 2004. ISBN 0-415-30957-3 (hb), ISBN 0-415-30958-1 (pb). XII, 196 pp. GBP 70 (hb), GBP 19.90 (pb).

During the past few decades scholars have begun discussing the lives and activities of women in antiquity. However, these studies have usually examined aspects outside public and political life, in contrast to "male historiography". This volume offers interesting insight into the world of women in Greek and Roman antiquity. It examines how and to what extent women influenced different traditionally male-dominated aspects of culture, such as economics, politics, science, law and art.

The contributors raise new and interesting and in some cases freshly provocative questions, such as misogynist features in the history of western culture, the female ability – but also the restriction – to wield public and political power through male relatives. The lack of written sources by women leaves us to form our view of the women of antiquity based on records by men, which can often idealise women according to the moral values of their age. This can also obscure what women really did, and what their world, and behaviour, was like in reality. This volume also notes the problem in modern scholarship that some scholars still do not accept women's influence in antiquity, inflicting present-day cultural gender views onto their interpretations.

In this volume some strongly male-dominated areas in cultural history are investigated. Gráinne McLaughlin discusses in her article ancient female philosophers and scientists. She notes the unfortunate misogynist features of these fields, but in spite of those, through the support of male relatives, women could make achievements in the fields of mathematics, physics and philosophy. I found Nancy S. Rabinowitz's article "Politics of inclusion/exclusion in Attic tragedy" to be very interesting, where she examines the public/private and culture/nature dichotomies in Classical Athens. She considers how the male anxiety towards (politically) powerful women is portrayed in Greek tragedies, such as in the figures of Aeschylus' *Klytaimestra* and Euripides' *Medeia*. Rabinowitz also brings into the discussion how re-readings of these plays can benefit modern feminist thinking. Judith P. Hallet discusses how women could use power through their male relatives, and in the case of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, through her son. A mother is in a special position to instruct her son, but as Hallet argues, for a Roman mother to intervene in the political world of men even through advising her own son, shows a radical political stance (p. 37–8). Whether the son listened to his mother's advice, is a different matter, for Hallet notes that Cornelia failed to influence her son (p. 32).

This volume is an interesting book to anyone interested in the life of women in antiquity. It provides an unconventional and wider perspective on the roles of women in the societies of the Greek and Roman world. Also, the extensive bibliography and careful index prove to be useful for further reading.

Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä

Religions orientales – culti misterici. Neue Perspektiven – nouvelles perspectives – prospettive nuove. Edited by CORINNE BONNET – JÖRG RÜPKE – PAOLO SCARPI. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 16. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2006. ISBN 3-515-08871-7. 269 S. EUR 56.

The book "Religions orientales – culti misterici" is published as a result of the joint inter-European research project "Les religions orientales dans le monde gréco-romain" (2005–2006). One crucial aim of the project was to re-evaluate and update the concept of "oriental religions" that has both inspired and haunted historians of ancient religions since the publication of Franz Cumont's classic *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* in 1906. Some of the book's eighteen articles deal with historiography and previous uses of the concept of "oriental religions" and related terminology. Some articles focus on a considerably narrower area, moving towards new interpretations of specific aspects of "oriental religions".

The edited volume is trilingual, reflecting the international research team behind it, i.e., French, German and Italian. The trilingual editing process has resulted in some minor illogicalities in the book's layout. The title of the book is in French (*religions orientales*) and Italian (*culti misterici*, cf. *religioni orientali*) but why not in German? The subtitle is in German (*Neue Perspektiven*), French (*nouvelles perspectives*) and Italian (*prospettive nuove*). The "table of contents" is first in German (*Inhaltsverzeichnis*), then Italian (*indice*) and last French (*table des matières*) etc.

The book has three parts. The first part is "Pratiques, agents", the second "Une "théologie" en images? Isis et les autres" and the third "Les cultes à mystères". The articles are not numbered. The book has both an *Index rerum* and an *Index locorum*, both in German.

In the following, I shall deal with the articles in the order they are in the book. In his article "Organisationsmuster religiöser Spezialisten im kultischen Spektrum Roms" (pp. 13–26), Jörg Rüpke asks whether the organizational structure and inner hierarchy of the so-called "oriental cults" separate them from all other cults including the Roman state cult. Rüpke compares material from the cults of Isis, Cybele, Jupiter Dolichenus, Jewish synagogues in Rome and Christianity with that of the *Ordo sacerdotum domus augustae* and, very briefly, of other Roman priestly colleges. His conclusion is that no typology emerges that would support the uniqueness of oriental cults in this respect. There were some similarities among these cults as to their cult terminology (*sacerdotes*, *scribae* and *-phoroi*) but their differences appear more compelling to Rüpke. He also makes an extremely interesting point when saying that, of all the oriental cults, Christianity seems to have come closest to the adaptation of the spirit of Roman priestly hierarchy: from the very early times of its existence, Christianity developed an organization that did not reward spiritual competence but more mundane ambitions with an ecclesiastical career.

Christopher Steimle also studies social patterns in a religious context in his article "Das Heiligtum der ägyptischen Götter in Thessaloniki und die Vereine in seinem Umfeld" (pp. 27–38). According to Steimle, the sanctuary of the Egyptian deities in Thessaloniki offered a forum for subtle social differentiation through its *thiasoi* or cult associations. In one and the same sanctuary, there were many *thiasoi* that were organized according to their members' social and cultic statuses. E.g., in *IG X 2.1, 58*, we find a group of *hieraphoroi*, carriers of sacred objects in cult processions, who were also *synklitai*, table companions of a respective social layer also possibly outside the cult community.

The article by Françoise Van Haeperen, "Fonctions des autorités politiques et religieuses romaines en matière de «cultes orientaux»" (pp. 39–51), excellently fulfils, for its part, the aim of this book – re-evaluation. Most of her arguments are not brand new but they are well composed and explicitly set in the context of oriental religions. According to Van Haeperen, Roman authorities intervened in the cultic life of oriental religions if they were "official" (i.e., their festivals were in the Roman calendar) and "public" (i.e., their sanctuary was built on public land). The authorities intervened because it was their job to do so: to participate in public festivals, manage cult sites and assign places for erecting statues and altars. Only on very rare occasions did Roman authorities get involved in the matters of private cults and, if they did so, it seems to have happened at these communities' own request. Van Haeperen's point is that there was no difference whether a cult was "oriental" or "non-oriental" but whether it was public (such as the cults of Magna Mater and Egyptian deities) or private (such as the cults of Mithras and Sol). Private cults could, on the other

hand, become more visible in Roman society through their voluntary involvement with the authorities: some *mithraea*, for example, were built on public land. Involvement with religious authorities brought further legitimacy to the cult socially.

Alfred Schäfer's article "L'associazionismo dionisiaco come fenomeno urbano dell'epoca imperiale romana" (pp. 53–63) discusses Dionysiac cult communities and their social organization in Ephesus and the Lower Danube. The article also describes rather recent excavations at the sanctuary of Liber Pater in Apulum in Dacia. Material findings from this sanctuary are rich in ceramics, which will enable forthcoming interpretations about the cult practices of this community.

Laurent Bricault poses an interesting research-historical question in his article "Du nom des images d'Isis polymorphe" (pp. 75–95): in what ways, if any, do the typological names attributed to a deity by researchers correspond to that deity's visual imagery and epigraphic names? Is there a logic to calling a representation of Isis Isis Boubastis or Isis Taposiris or Isis "à la voile"? For researchers, maybe, says Bricault, but ancient sources elude systematization.

Ennio Sanzi's article "Dèi ospitanti e dèi ospitati nel patrimonio iconografico dei culti orientali: Ancora riflessioni storico-religiose sul sincretismo religioso del secondo ellenismo" (pp. 97–112) discusses deities that appear in connection with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in the epigraphic material. Sanzi's conclusion is that each of the associated deities was invited to join the Dolichenian pantheon in order to emphasize a certain aspect of the ruling deity at a Dolichenum, e.g., Asklepios and Salus to enhance "salutary aspects" of the Dolichenian cult in question.

Francesca Prescendi's article "Riflessioni e ipotesi sulla tauroctonia mitraica e sacrificio romano" (pp. 113–122) makes an illuminating comparison between the Mithraic tauroctony and Roman sacrifice. According to Prescendi, the tauroctony, or the killing of the bull by Mithras, was not a sacrifice in the eyes of the Romans. First, the victim was not willing but recalcitrant. Secondly, the tauroctonic scene showed the god in action and the "victim" bleeding. In comparison to this, Roman sacrificial scenes encompassed an atmosphere of near serenity. Thus, the Romans had no choice but to interpret the tauroctony as a visual representation of a primordial myth, Mithras turning chaos to order by subjugating the bull.

Nicole Belayche's "Note sur l'imagerie des divinités «orientales» dans le Proche-Orient romain" (pp. 123–133) tries to trace "oriental" and other features in the imageries of "oriental deities" in the Near East. Belayche says that in this part of the Roman Empire, Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Jupiter Dolichenus were "Roman" by name but "oriental" by iconography. In the image of Mithras, local Near Eastern iconographies were mixed with Roman influences from some Western provinces. What possibly united oriental cult iconography was the strong Hellenistic undercurrent with its Greek and local oriental imprints, says Belayche.

Stéphanie Wyler studies the Dionysiac wall painting from Lanuvium and compares it with the frescoes in the Villa Farnesina in her "Images dionisiaques à Rome: à propos d'une fresque augustéenne de Lanuvium" (pp. 135–145). Using this material, she argues that Dionysiac imagery was accepted more unambiguously into the Augustan visual programme than Isiac/Egyptian themes were. She also notes that Egyptian themes had been part of Roman visual imagery for about a hundred years before Augustus and had probably, by the

time of Augustus, lost much of their religious – but none of their decorative – value in the context of artistically expressed exoticism.

In her article "Images et culte: pratiques «romaines» / influences «orientales»" (pp. 147–158), Sylvia Estienne compares the rite of *lavatio* (ritual washing) of the statues of Magna Mater and Venus Verticordia. One could hastily draw the conclusion that the *lavatio* of Magna Mater must have been an "oriental" ritual whereas that of Venus Verticordia must have been a "Roman" one. Estienne clearly shows that this was not the case. What then remains culturally distinguishably "oriental" in the ritual of Magna Mater, says Estienne, is the strong role played by priests in it. In Roman ritual, the actor was often a collective – as in the case of Venus Verticordia, the female population of Rome – or, if an individual, no mediator was needed between the worshipper and her god.

In her article "Il *Magos* e la *Pharmakis*: Excursus attraverso il lessico storico in ottica di genere" (pp. 163–179), Ileana Chirassi studies the various names (e.g., *magos*, *pharmakis*) used for practitioners of magic in ancient Greek and Roman sources and their magical practices. Greek sources speak more positively about magicians than the Roman ones whose attitude was more reserved and controlling. Chirassi's article also includes a discussion about Roman legislation against magic up to late antiquity. The gender aspect comes up in her handling of the "known practitioners" of this art starting from Greek mythology and Kirke and ending with the notion that, in late antique Christian legislation, it was only male *magi* who were explicitly condemned to the stake, not their female counterparts, *striges*.

Giulia Sfameni Gasparro's article "Misteri e culti orientali: un problema storico-religioso" (pp. 181–218) is as rich as her long academic career in the field of oriental religions. Sfameni Gasparro makes an important point when noting that some of the oriental gods were in fact Greek in their origin and that they had been "Orientalized" only as a consequence of their travels to Rome via the "Orient". This adds some flavour to the always topical discussion about the geographic origins of oriental religions.

When it comes to their "time of birth", the Hellenistic era seems to have been decisive for the development of oriental religions or "mysteries", as is well attested in the article "I misteri e la politica dei primi Tolemei" (pp. 211–218) by Alessandra Coppola. Coppola traces elements of Greek mysteries back in the religious reconstructions made during the reign of the first Ptolemies in Egypt. Cultic connections with Greece were *Realpolitik* as well as the adaptation of both Greek and Egyptian elements into the new cults fabricated by the Ptolemies. Religion played a crucial role in the establishment of Greek rule over Egypt in the 3rd century BC, in the process of which the rule itself also became "Egyptianized". Ptolemaic Egypt makes thus a prime example of what a challenging task it is to try to differentiate among cultural elements (Greek, Egyptian, "Oriental") even in such a case in which the intermingling of cultures and religions was sought after and favoured by the political establishment. We know the who, the what and the why of the story and yet we cannot separate cultural influences from each other when we apparently see them in Ptolemaic Egypt.

Anne-Françoise Jaccottet's article "Un dieu, plusieurs mystères? Les différents visages des mystères dionysiaques" (pp. 219–230) discusses enlighteningly the ancient uses of old research terminology about mysteries. First, she argues, there were many mysteries of Dionysus, all different in their cultic scope and social composition. Secondly, the Dionysiac associations did not necessarily express their ritual functions in the terminology most known

to us (μυστήρια, *mysteria*, "mysteries"). Before Hellenistic times, the cult of Dionysus was called *teletai* ("mystic rites"); in Hellenistic times, *teletai* or *teletè* ("initiation", literally "making perfect") and *orgia* ("secret rites", "orgies"); and, in imperial times, also *mysteria* ("secret rites", "mysteries" [my translations, based on Liddell & Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1994]). For example, the term μύστης, *mystes* or initiate is known in connection with the cult of Dionysus only from the 1st century AD onwards. That is when we can talk about the *mysteria* of Dionysus, says Jaccottet.

Giovanni Lanfranchi's article "Nuove prospettive sulla teologia e sul culto di Inanna/Ištar: la pervasività del modello mesopotamico nel I millennio a. C." (pp. 231–246) steps a few centuries back in time from Graeco-Roman period. Lanfranchi has studied the cult of Ištar that spread in the Near East during the first four centuries of the first millennium BC through the aggressive expansion of the Assyrian empire. Lanfranchi follows in his interpretation the "Finnish School" (Parpola, Lapinkivi) on Ištar as a "cosmic spirit" whose cult expressed a strong denial of material and bodily existence in favour of the spiritual; emasculation being the ritual perfection of this tendency. Lanfranchi connects the Mesopotamian cult with the Mediterranean world through the cult of Cybele. Due to Assyrian cultural influences, Lanfranchi argues, the Anatolian cult of Cybele absorbed the ritual act of emasculation – that did not exist in any Anatolian cult before – into its cultic repertoire.

The research project "Les religions orientales dans le monde gréco-romain" held three seminars in the years 2005–2006, this book being the fruit of the last of the three. The book well fulfils its given aim, the re-evaluation of "oriental religions" both in concept and content. It would be a great favour to the international research community to get the other two seminars published as well in the *Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge* that has proved an easily accessible and rather widely distributed publication series in its relatively short period of existence (since 1999).

Ulla Lehtonen

ANGELO MERIANI: *Sulla musica greca antica. Studi e ricerche*. Università degli Studi di Salerno, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità 28. Alfredo Guida Editori, Napoli 2003. ISBN 88-7188-794-8. 150 pp. EUR 16.30.

Angelo Meriani's *Sulla musica greca antica* is a short collection of his articles on ancient Greek music. It consists of three revised versions of his previously published studies and includes a preface written by Luigi Enrico Rossi. In these chapters Meriani has concentrated on analysing short passages about Greek music instead of dealing with larger themes and thus every little detail is given due attention.

The first chapter treats fr. 124 Wehrli, a paragraph from Σύμμικτα συμποτικά of Aristoxenus quoted by Athenaeus (632a–b), which deals with the "barbarisation" of culture in Posidonia where citizens, Greek in origin, were turning into Etruscans or Romans because they were changing their language and all their customs. Nevertheless, Posidonians were still celebrating one characteristically Greek festival, in which they came together and recalled ancient words and practices and lamented over them. In this passage the speaker (Aristoxenus himself or someone who shares his conservative views on music) compares the

case of Posidonia to the situation of his own day when theatres had become "utterly barbarised" and popular music had "advanced into the extremity of degeneration" and the occasion when he and his companions had gathered together and remembered what music used to be like.

Meriani analyses this short paragraph thoroughly and pays close attention not only to the literary but also to archaeological evidence. He suggests that Aristoxenus composed this work circa 320 BC and so he also dates the degeneration of Posidonian culture mentioned in the text to the fourth century BC, which means that it is not connected with the establishment of the Latin colony of Paestum in 273 BC. Meriani also examines Aristoxenus' conservative attitude toward "new music" and deals with this musical revolution itself which started during the later fifth century BC. After that Meriani concentrates on the festival which is mentioned in this passage and proposes a hypothesis that it may have been the cult of the founder hero of Greek Posidonia to which ritual lament was appropriate. That would mean that in this festival Posidonians were in fact lamenting their founder-hero instead of mourning the degeneration of their Greek customs. Meriani also analyses some epigraphic evidence from which we can see that in the beginning of the third century BC changes in official language can be confirmed but despite that the Posidonians were still using Greek at least in private contexts.

The second chapter leads us to Aristoxenian traces in the *De musica*, a treatise which is dated to the second century AD and falsely attributed to Plutarch. This work by an anonymous author gives us a great deal of valuable information on the history of Greek music and musical theory and includes many quotations and paraphrases mostly from writers of the fourth and the fifth centuries BC whose works are now lost. In this chapter Meriani concentrates on exploring the sources that the author of this text might have used in his quotations from Aristoxenus. He broadly agrees with François Lasserre's hypothesis that the author of the *De musica* did not know Aristoxenus' writings directly but through the intermediary of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (also known as "Dionysius the Musician") who also lived in the second century AD and wrote, according to the *Suda*, a history of music. Meriani examines lexical details, technical musical terms and themes which occur in the *De musica* and thinks that it can be confirmed that there is a lot of Aristoxenian material in the *De musica*, but still leaves open how much is taken directly from Aristoxenus.

The final chapter discusses theory of music and anti-empiricism in Plato's *Republic* (Plat. *resp.* 530b–531d). In this passage of the *Republic* Socrates and Glaucon have a conversation on astronomy and harmonics which they treat as sister sciences. During the discussion the two most important schools on the study of harmonics are mentioned, the Pythagoreans who believed that harmonic science, like everything else in the universe, is based on numerical ratios, and the ἄρμονικοί who sought ways to describe what was detected by the ear and were therefore distinctly empiricists. In this chapter Meriani concentrates on describing the methods which the Pythagoreans and the ἄρμονικοί used in their research on harmonics and Plato's attitude toward these main trends in Greek musical theory. The passage of the *Republic* shows that Plato's approach to harmonics is purely metaphysical and he leaves no space for empiricism. Otherwise his perspective on harmonic science is inspired by the Pythagorean mathematical approach and he criticises the Pythagoreans only for their way of searching numerical rations in heard concords instead of investigating which numbers are concordant and which are not. Plato's hostility to

empiricism is mainly vented against the ἄρμονικοί and he uses mocking expressions when he describes their methods. Meriani points out the interesting fact that Plato, when dealing with the ἄρμονία appropriate for the guardians of his ideal state (Plat. *resp.* 397b–401b), follows Damon's disciplines, which are empirical. However, there is no inconsistency in Plato having two different approaches to music in the *Republic* because they are in different contexts. Plato follows an empirical approach when he discusses what kind of music is suitable for the guardians and a metaphysical approach when he is dealing with disciplines appropriate for the philosopher-leaders of his state.

All in all, while this book does not offer a general introduction to ancient Greek music or its development, it does give comprehensive introductions on some essential topics in this field such as Aristoxenus' conservative views on "new music" and different approaches in ancient Greek harmonic science. For readers who would like more information on the latter, I suggest turning to Andrew Barker's *The Science of Harmonics in Classical Greece*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. However, Meriani examines these brief passages on music skilfully and he points out many interesting details in his analysis. I can recommend this book for all who are interested in ancient Greek music and especially for those who are interested in Aristoxenus' and Plato's writings on music.

Kimmo Kovanen

ROBIN MITCHELL-BOYASK: *Plague and the Athenian Imagination. Drama, History and the Cult of Asclepius*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008. XIV, 209 pp. ISBN 978-0-521-87345-1. GBP 50.

In 430, during the Peloponnesian war, Athens was hit by a devastating plague which killed perhaps a third of the population. Together with other suffering caused, e.g., by the evacuation of the rural population to the city of Athens, the experience of the pestilence must have been a tragedy beyond imagination. Hence, it is a reasonable supposition that a catastrophe of the magnitude of the plague may not have passed Greek drama without leaving any traces, and in this monograph Robin Mitchell-Boyask (M-B) discusses the impact of the plague on Greek drama, especially on tragedy which was at its artistic peak at this very time. Another relevant question in the present study is how the construction of the Asklepieion in 420 on the south slope of the Acropolis, adjacent to the theatre of Dionysus, was reflect in Athenian drama. The third episode of interest to the author is the oligarchic revolution in 411 and its effect on drama.

In the preliminary chapter, the author discusses the attitudes of earlier studies towards the subject "Athenian drama and the plague". As M-B points out, it has already been known that the language of tragedy was highly dependent on the language of Ionian medical writing. On the other hand, in the 1940's and 1950's, the idea of disease symbolism in Greek tragedy was largely dismissed because it was thought to be "too ordinary or common" in the Greek language; e.g., the expression νόσος was considered just an empty expression, a dead metaphor. As M-B interestingly observes, scholars of the earlier 20th century did not react to illness as scholars of today do and the apparent ignoring of the possible concreteness of "disease language" in tragedy in scholarship until the 1970's was partly due to the optimism of that age, caused, e.g., by the introduction of penicillin and vaccination.

Because of new threatening pandemics, however, I would consider the statement that the scholars of the 1950's and 1960's were less sensitive to the fragility of life through illnesses than we are today dangerously anachronistic.

One might, in fact, argue quite the reverse, namely that after the age of the world wars and atomic bombs, people might have been more responsive to human suffering. At this point, the proper question is, I think, how sensitive were the ancient authors themselves towards killing diseases, and the most likely answer is that this sensibility cannot be measured with modern concepts. The author's critique and discussion of the history of the interpretation of diseases is, however, intelligent and he is quite right in stating that studies in which, e.g., mental illnesses are not considered proper illnesses at all are not relevant today. In general discussion, M-B convinces the reader when he argues that the allusions to diseases and the word νόσος in a tragedy performed on stage actually were something more than "dead metaphors" to an audience who had recently been suffering from deadly epidemics.

The study looks into both linguistic and social aspects of the source material, and therefore language plays an important role. The author begins with two tables in which the Greek tragedies are arranged according to their probable dates and the numbers of mentions of νόσος. These tables show that the number of occurrences of the expression νόσος varies, and although the number is naturally dependent on the plot of the play, it seems that there are high frequency plays which were produced at the time of the plague (*Trachiniae*, *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Hippolytus* around 430), at the time of the construction of the Asklepieion (*Ion* around 420) and of the oligarchic revolution, (*Philoctetes* and *Orestes* around 411). These tables leave room for speculation (the numbers of words are not very informative as such), but as the author points out, the plays can be divided into those in which νόσος occurs describing a disease and those in which it has been used in metaphorical sense. M-B also discusses the occurrence of the greek word λοιμός, meaning the actual plague, and shows that the word was rarely used in the 5th century and that it almost completely disappeared during the time of the plague itself, the only extant occurrence in tragedy being in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (with the exception of the expression λοιμός καὶ λῆμος). The author concludes that the word was too ominous and became taboo, so that the more vague term νόσος was used both in tragedy and in the *History* of Thucydides.

In the textual analysis, M-B focusses on three plays (*Hippolytus*, *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Trachiniae*) and examines their relation to the plague of Athens. At first sight, the selection of the material might be considered perhaps a little bit too obvious: for example, one would expect a tragedy like Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (produced in 409) to contain a high amount of medical or rather nosological vocabulary, independent of the state of the community where it was performed. At a closer look, however, M-B manages to avoid self-evident points of view as well as to offer a fresh and interesting contribution to the study of Athenian drama and society in general.

In his discussion on *Hippolytus*, produced during the plague, M-B manages to show that there are more allusions to the plague than it seems at first glance. The play is situated in Troezen, a place of refugee for Athenians during the Persian wars, and probably also during the plague, and a place also connected with both the Hippolytus myth and Asclepius. If the reader considers the whole myth of Hippolytus, his later resurrection by Asclepius, which does not happen in the play but is clearly hinted at, there seems to be evidence enough for M-B to suggest that the tragedy was very much indeed involved with the disease raging in

Athens. Looking more deeply, *Hippolytus* is also much concerned with the apotropaic rites to avert catastrophes like famine and disease, especially the rite of scapegoating (φαρμακός) and ephebic initiations which all can be seen as reflections in the dithyrambic performances during the tragedy festivals.

In the chapter that discusses the *Trachiniae*, M-B suggests a new reading of the play, a reading that is based on an acceptance of the dating of the play to the time of the plague. In this light, the *Trachiniae* can actually be seen as a play about the plague and about the ongoing Peloponnesian war. This is most intriguing, because due to the lack of decisive allusions to the external world, theories about the date of the *Trachiniae* vary from 457 to 410. M-B argues that the scene with Strepsiades lying on the couch trying to get philosophical solutions to his financial problems and being eaten by bedbugs in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes can be seen as a parody of the painful death of Heracles in the *Trachiniae*. If this were the case, the dating within the years of the plague, 426 or 425, would be well established. Another important point in M-B's argumentation is the comparison of the description of Heracles' (who can be seen as representing Athens) symptoms caused by the poisonous cloth in the *Trachiniae* with that of the plague symptoms in Thucydides. M-B's argumentation is detailed and graphic to the point of unpleasantness, but as the author himself points out, so was the disease. We are told by Thucydides that one of the terrible symptoms of the plague was the loss of the genitals. In the *Trachiniae*, there is a scene in which the dying Heracles suddenly feels like a "parthenos" and asks his son to take a look under the bedcovers. This is convincing indeed, if we read the passage of the *Trachiniae* in the light of the plague. The author makes a suggestion that Sophocles, who himself was involved with the politics of the city, seems to hint that like Heracles, Athens, too, has been struck by plague because of her pleonexia, wanting to have too much.

In the middle part of the study, before discussing more dramas of Euripides and Sophocles, M-B investigates connections of the cult of Asclepius with drama and the god of theatre, Dionysus, on a more general level. He demonstrates that there were already in the archaic period associations between Dionysus and Asclepius, both on the level of myth and in practice, in the festival life of Athens. In the chapter entitled "uniqueness of the Athenian Asklepieion" (p. 115), M-B discusses the urban location of the shrine (traditionally the temples of Asclepius are situated in rural areas). According to the author, the location further supports the idea that the theatre is there not, as often suggested, for entertainment for those who await their cure but *is* an essential part of the healing process.

In the last chapters of his study, M-B discusses tragedies produced after the construction of the Asklepieion and asks what part the freshly built shrine of the healer god played in drama performances, especially in Euripides' *Heracles* and in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, in which the Asklepieion has an important part. In these plays, the nosological vocabulary should again, after the plague, be understood more metaphorically, *Philoctetes* particularly reflecting the turmoil of politics in Athens. This strikes me as a strange statement since *Philoctetes* is undeniably also very much about an illness, and since much of its language could be read quite literally as well. This last part of the book is, I think, the least successful on the level of argumentation: is the fact that the Asklepieion stood beside the theatre enough to draw conclusions about its role in the plays, if the conclusions are not solidly supported by the text of the plays? Despite my slight hesitation on this matter, the study shows how many aspects can be considered in the relationship between ancient tragedy

performances and their audience and us, contemporary readers of ancient plays and modern scholarship. In the concluding chapter, the author brings everything together, the tradition of scapegoating, the rites of transmission and ostracism, and, moreover, he does not disappoint the reader who is still waiting for the Aristotelian idea of tragic *κάθαρσις* to be connected to this study.

The main arguments in this well executed study are easy to accept: the introduction of the cult of Asclepius to Athens had surely a lot to do with the atrocious plague epidemic which was reflected in the dramas of the time, too. The collocation of the shrine of Asclepius next to the theatre of Dionysus was not a coincidence, but showed that the idea of the healer god's presence was an essential flavor in dramatic performances in times of *λοιμός* and *λίμος*, terrible escorts of the Peloponnesian War. In the dramas of the late 5th century, there seems to be a growing interest in disease imagery as well as in allusions to the cult of Asclepius. This probably has a connection to the plague that killed a great part of the population in Athens between the years 430–426. If Dionysus and Asclepius are compared, they do have a lot of common features and the cult of Asclepius (to which music and dancing always belonged) is well established in a dramatic context. As has long been acknowledged, there is a connection between drama and medicine. M-B successfully demonstrates that the slope of the Athenian Acropolis was a place of therapy for the whole polis: both Dionysus and Asclepius were worshipped there side by side.

Tiina Purola

SIMONA MARCHESINI: *Prosopographia Etrusca* II,1 *Studia. Gentium mobilitas*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, *Studia Archaeologica* 158, Roma 2007. ISBN 978-88-8265-448-1. 186 pp. EUR 110.

The massive project *Prosopographia Etrusca* introduces its *Studia* series with this study by Simona Marchesini. Looking only at the title of the work, the connection with prosopography remains unclear, but, to be sure, the study concerns archaic onomastics of Southern Etruria, which is naturally basic for prosopographical work in a culture where practically all biographical information is missing.

Marchesini's focus is on the *Vornamengentilizia* appearing in the archaic inscriptions of Southern Etruria; thus, she completes the gap left by H. Rix in *Das etruskische Cognomen*, concentrating on late Etruscan onomastics. Through her study of 65 name forms, the author then approaches the question of ethnic and social mobility in early Etruscan societies. As is well known, the Etruscan usage of individual name gentilicia is connected with families of either unfree origin or immigrants.

The material is very limited, and, as the author is well aware, the criteria for identifying an individual name gentilicium are not unambiguous. The author starts from the maximal corpus of names, and comes to her list by cutting from it all typically Etruscan gentilicium formations such as *-na*, *-ra* etc. (p. 35). This method is acceptable, probably even the only possible, but in a way presumes that the gentilicium formation of old Etruscan families was rather strictly regulated. Some expansion of the material comes from a list of praenomina of non-Etruscan origin and gentilicia with Etruscan formation, but non-Etruscan stem.

If the material is limited – with regard to the theme of ethnic mobility, so much studied and discussed in recent times – it is compensated by the author's methodological sharpness and wide knowledge of earlier literature, both linguistic and etruscological. Nevertheless, she can add rather little to our knowledge about mobility in archaic Central Italy, though clearly more to the onomastical studies – she considers that the existence of individual name gentilicia even in the earliest Etruscan inscriptions shows that the gentilicium system must be earlier than most scholars have thought. As thorough as the study on her material is, I would have liked her to discuss more deeply such questions as: when and how did an individual name gentilicium become hereditary? Was it chosen because an Etruscan formation was prohibited by a new-comer, or for some other reason?

Jorma Kaimio

DAVID ENGELS: *Das römische Vorzeichenwesen (753–27 v. Chr.). Quellen, Terminologie, Kommentar, historische Entwicklung*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 22. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2007. ISBN 978-3-515-09027-8. 877 pp. EUR 98.

The religious culture of prodigies in the Roman Republic has, undoubtedly parallel to a general growth of interest in ancient divination, attracted its share of recent attention (V. Rosenberger, *Gezähmte Götter. Das Prodigenwesen der römischen Republik*, Stuttgart 1998 and S.W. Rasmussen, *Public Portents in Republican Rome*, Roma 2003, to name the most prominent recent monographs). The present monograph of impressive scale by D. Engels (hereafter E.) begins by criticising the previous studies for operating with an excessively narrow and *a priori* definition of what constitutes a prodigy, and with incomplete lists of prodigies, based on a restricted number of sources. E. himself approaches his material with a general and open definition of what constitutes a prodigy (given on pp. 43–59), and sets out to map all (22) "historisch konkret verorteten Vorzeichen" between 753 and 27 BCE, between Aeneas and Augustus, connected with Roman history in ancient sources.

After thus explaining the frankly ambitious scope of his study, E. embarks on a consideration of the source material, beginning with the problems of the Pontifical record (pp. 60–86), and general questions on the transmission of information about prodigies in the extant texts. While J. Rüpke has argued for the beginning of reliable pontifical note-taking in 249 (J. Rüpke, *Fasti sacerdotum. Die Mitglieder der Priesterschaften und das sakrale Funktionspersonal römischer, griechischer, orientalischer und jüdisch-christlicher Kulte in der Stadt Rom von 300 v. Chr. bis 499 n. Chr. Teil 3: Beiträge zur Quellenkunde und Organisationsgeschichte; Bibliographie; Register*, Stuttgart 2005, e.g., 1490), E. argues that since we have records of prodigies, often attested to in more than one source, from long before this date, this information has to be based on some form of public or private record extending beyond the 3rd century BCE (p. 64). Having distanced himself from the *Annales maximi* debate (pp. 85–86), E. proposes that information on prodigies could be based on the senate archives, the archives of the pontifical colleges, or private archives (pp. 87–92). All of this is naturally plausible, even probable, but problematic as a judgement on the reliability of records on prodigies, as we ultimately lack sufficient information on the state of the survival of these archives at the point when their information first entered, say, the annalistic tradition,

as well as of the fortunes of this information in historiography before its adoption into texts that survive. The little of what can be known, however, is summed up by E., who proceeds to individually examine annalists and other authors as transmitters of reports on prodigies (pp. 93–258).

Following a brief discussion on the terminology of prodigies in antiquity and modern scholarship (pp. 259–282), the bulk of the book (pp. 283–723) is taken up by a chronological examination of each of the recorded prodigies themselves, numbered consecutively with a RVW (*römisches Vorzeichenwesen*) number, and accompanied by a historical commentary. Prodigies that cannot precisely be dated have been relegated to the end of the series. E. also compares the expiation of similar prodigies, producing fresh insight on individual cases (see, e.g., on the human sacrifices of 228, pp. 417). In his commentary, as elsewhere, E. shows a laudable command of the secondary sources. This section of the book should prove valuable to every student of Republican Rome interested in the meaning of individual prodigies.

The chronological commentary of reported prodigies is followed by a synthesis of the development of Roman observance of prodigies (pp. 724–797). E. traces an arc from the origins of these beliefs and practices through the flowering in the 3rd century and peak during the 2nd Punic War of public prodigies and their decline in favour of personal prodigies tied to individual leaders by the 1st century BCE. In his discussion on the Latin origins (divination from the flight of birds, entrails, and voices) of Roman belief in prodigies, and the Etruscan (divination from lightning, sophisticated "science" of entrails, and the detailed interpretation of signs) and Greek influences it received, Engels takes up the *libri Sibyllini*, and cautiously re-iterates the argument for their Etruscan origin (originally argued by R. Bloch, "Origines étrusques des Livres Sibyllins", in *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred Ernout*, Paris 1940, pp. 21–28), rehearsing the relevant discussions on this not implausible but (as even E. notes) problematic theory. In general E. distances himself equally from interpretations minimising or relativising Etruscan influence on Roman culture, as from those perhaps over-emphasising it, with mostly plausible results in identifying supposedly Etruscan influences on Roman divination. After the overthrow of the monarchy, E. sees a Italic-conservative turn in the Roman relationship to prodigies, although one could also ask to what extent our understanding of the state of affairs is dependent on how Livy and our other sources choose to depict it (e.g., A. Nice, *Divination and Roman Historiography*, Ph.D. Diss. Exeter, 1999). E. also observes that the use and meaning of prodigies in the culture of the early Republic was varied, and that the division in *prodigia publica*, to be acknowledged and expiated by the senate, and *prodigia privata*, was only developing from the 4th to the 3rd centuries (p. 749). E. follows the majority interpretation in seeing the Second Punic War as an extraordinary time of religious anxiety and the climax of the procuration of *prodigia publica*. After this, E. sees the beginning of a gradual decline in the importance of public prodigies, which he explains by the growing importance of Greek and Oriental cults to the populace and the spread of Greek philosophies critical of divination among the élites. Finally, from 133 BCE onwards the problems of the Republic and the rise of individual leaders brought a rise in the manipulation of prodigies for political purposes and the end of public prodigies in favour of personal prodigies connected with the fortunes of these leaders.

The final chapter of the volume (pp. 798–825) treats the psychohistory of Roman belief in prodigies, the usefulness of which is largely dependent on how much credibility the

reader is ready to accord to the theories of Freud and Jung. That the observation of prodigies could be used to justify the independent decisions of leaders in the face of the real authority of the senate and the imagined authority of the gods, through attribution of these choices to the will of the gods (p. 811–3), carries rather more explanatory power than E.'s attempt to explain belief in prodigies in terms of obsessive-compulsive behaviour caused by social neuroses stemming from strict patriarchy.

While this book is not without its problems, these are largely endemic to all investigations of older Roman history, and E. is conscious of this, transparent in his choices and preconceptions, and cautious in his conclusions. One final critical note concerns the omission of some items of literature mentioned in the footnotes from the bibliography. In conclusion, students of ancient religion should find the book comprehensive and impossible to bypass, and anyone interested in Republican Rome would do well to consult this on the prodigies he encounters.

Jesse Keskiäho

ARNOLD A. LELIS – WILLIAM A. PERCY – BEERT C. VERSTRAETE: *The Age of Marriage in Ancient Rome*. Studies in Classics, Vol. 26. The Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston – Queenston – Lampeter 2003. ISBN 0-7734-6625-8, 0-88946-684-X (series). X, 146 pp. USD 99.95.

In this book, the authors want to reconsider some aspects regarding the age at first marriage for males and females in ancient Rome. It is fluently and intelligibly written and thus accessible for a wider interested readership. It does not seem to have many new insights, but it is useful as a further addition to the discussion of this difficult subject. From the literary evidence on the families of senatorial rank, the authors have attempted to compile a systematic database of Roman age at first marriage (for which they use the abbreviation AAFM), which is a useful piece of work indeed. Their data amply confirm the postulate that Roman AAFMs were generally early. This should not be a surprise.

As for the documentation gathered from epigraphic sources, the authors seem to resort to secondary information; at least they do not quote a single inscription (add, e. g., H.S., *Ep. Unt. in Rom und Umg. 16 Lucretiae [- l. E]pigone fecit [M]estrius Euty[ch]es coniugi cum qua vixi annis XXXXV. Tulit an. LII*). – One is astonished to find that the bibliography almost exclusively consists of items written in English (and Friedländer's classic *Sittengeschichte* has also been quoted in English, despite the fact that the last English edition is older than the last German one). Of missing references to literature written in languages other than English, it is worth mentioning M. Durry, "Le mariage des filles impubères à Rome", *CRAI* 1955, 84–90. I also missed E. Eyben, *Latomus* 1972, 677–697. – A few misprints: p. 91 nt. 1 Antti Arjava; p. 129 Carletti.

Heikki Solin

Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen. Hrsg. von HUBERT CANKIK – KONRAD HITZL. J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 2003. ISBN 3-16-147895-9. X, 370 S. EUR 74.

Il presente volume nasce da una giornata di studi del 2002, organizzata nel quadro del programma di ricerche sulla "Römische Reichs- und Provinzialreligion". Il tema dell'incontro riguardava le prassi rituali, le liturgie e tutta l'organizzazione del culto imperiale a Roma e nelle provincie in vari periodi del dominio romano, anche sotto il cristianesimo. Come si svolgevano i rituali, quando e perché e chi erano i partecipanti? Che cosa significava il culto dell'imperatore dal punto di vista emozionale e da quello della lealtà dei provinciali verso l'amministrazione romana? Quali sono le differenze (pratiche) tra il culto delle divinità vere e proprie e quello degli imperatori (e dei membri della casa imperiale)? Come si integrano i rituali del culto imperiale nei rapporti politici fra i sudditi e il potere centrale?

Su tali domande i contributi degli autori danno importanti chiarimenti derivanti dalle letture di fonti di vario carattere: epigrafiche, letterarie, archeologiche, e altre. Assai pertinente, per esempio, il resoconto di Chaniotis del culto imperiale nel contesto delle prassi rituali contemporanee nel mondo ellenofono, come pure risulta ricco il lavoro di Peppel sul tema, da sempre molto discusso "Gott oder Mensch?", oppure quello di Hitzl sui luoghi di culto e sulle statue (l'autore affronta del resto anche il problema di come distinguere fra una statua di culto ed una onoraria, introducendo una terza categoria denominata "Verehrungsstatue").

Il contenuto del libro, di ottima qualità e di grande interesse, è il seguente: Prima sezione ("Die Herrscherverehrung als reichsweite Religion"). A. Chaniotis: Der Kaiserkult im Osten des römischen Reiches im Kontext der zeitgenössischen Ritualpraxis; H. Cancik: Der Kaiser-Eid. Zur Praxis der römischen Herrscherverehrung; P. Herz: Neue Forschungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit; M. Peppel: Gott oder Mensch? Kaiserverehrung und Herrschaftskontrolle; K. Hitzl: Kultstätten und Praxis des Kaiserkults anhand von Fallbeispielen. – Seconda sezione ("Die Stadt Rom"). J. Rüpke: Kaiserliche Religionspolitik und priesterliche Rekrutierungsmechanismen. Überlegungen zur Elitenformation am Beispiel der Sodalitäten des Herrscherkultes in Antoninischer Zeit; R. Stepper: Der Kaiser als Priester: Schwerpunkte und Reichweite seines oberpontificalen Handelns; B. Edelmann: Arvalbrüder und Kaiserkult. Zur Topographie des römischen Kaiserkultes. – Terza sezione ("Regionale Studien"). K. Harter-Uibopuu: Kaiserkult und Kaiserverehrung in den Koina des griechischen Mutterlandes; H. Kunz: Kaiserverehrung und Kaiserkult in der Provinz Sicilia. Traditionen – Formen – Organisation; J. Süß: Kaiserkult und Urbanistik. Kultbezirke für römische Kaiser in kleinasiatischen Städten. – Quarta sezione ("Christentum und Spätantike"). Chr. Auffarth: Herrscherkult und Christuskult; P. Barceló: Beobachtungen zur Verehrung des christlichen Kaisers in der Spätantike. – Il volume si conclude con indici realizzati con grande cura. In breve, un'ottima raccolta di articoli, sicuramente destinata a diventare lettura obbligatoria per chiunque si occupi del culto imperiale.

Mika Kajava

GÜNTHER SCHÖRNER: *Votive im römischen Griechenland. Untersuchungen zur späthellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Kunst- und Religionsgeschichte.* Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 7. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2003. ISBN 3-515-7688-3. XVIII, 638 S., 100 Taf. EUR 97.

Si tratta di un notevole contributo allo studio di un tema alquanto trascurato dalla ricerca precedente. Ciò sembrerebbe spiegabile, almeno in parte, per l'illusione che i rilievi votivi greci siano divenuti piuttosto rari in età imperiale. Il lavoro di Schörner mostra che ciò non è il caso. Infatti nel primo catalogo vengono registrate ben 1240 offerte votive iscritte e un altro catalogo ne elenca 100 anepigrafi. I materiali, databili dal II sec. a.C. al IV sec. d.C., provengono dal territorio corrispondente a quello della provincia (augustea) di Acaia.

Dopo un capitolo ("Sprachliche Auswertung", pp. 11–28) sull'onomastica dei dedicanti, sulla terminologia delle dediche nonché sui motivi delle stesse, l'autore studia, nella parte analitica, i monumenti: rilievi, altari, stele, pinakes, statue, busti, ecc. Definendo i materiali secondo vari criteri (cronologici, terminologici e tipologici), Schörner offre, tra l'altro, uno sguardo all'iconografia delle 21 divinità che appaiono nei rilievi votivi nonché sui 17 tipi di "Götterstatuen", tra cui vengono registrate anche le categorie di "Tiere", "Anikonische Darstellungen" e "Kaiser". Segue un'utile analisi dei dedicanti ("Die Stifter", pp. 141–160) e dei destinatari divini (tra cui, naturalmente, appaiono anche alcune personificazioni come pure "theoi" e imperatori romani).

I principali risultati dello studio sono presentati sinteticamente nei tre capitoli conclusivi (prima dei Cataloghi). In primo luogo, come osserva Schörner, i nuovi concetti di divinità e di mentalità venivano tipicamente rappresentati usando gli schemi antichi e classici. L'arcaismo, soprattutto del periodo romano, che è distinguibile non solo nello stile e nell'iconografia dei monumenti, ma anche nella lingua e nella paleografia delle epigrafi, si manifestava localmente nella produzione di numerose botteghe greche. Tuttavia l'arcaismo non significa pura imitazione, piuttosto si trattava di adottare schemi antichi in maniera creativa. Dappertutto, infatti, si osserva l'influenza delle antiche tradizioni locali sull'arte delle dediche votive. In tutto ciò il potere romano mostrava poca interferenza.

I due cataloghi sono abbondanti e pieni di materiali interessanti. Riguardo alle epigrafi citate, i riferimenti bibliografici andrebbero qua e là aggiornati e sono inoltre osservabili (non troppi) errori e sviste nella lingua greca. Le datazioni mi paiono per lo più attendibili, benché in alcuni casi esse rimangano discutibili. Gli indici e le concordanze sono molto utili, e lo stesso vale per le fotografie sulle tavole, tutte di ottima qualità.

Mika Kajava

RAYMOND VAN DAM: *The Roman Revolution of Constantine.* Cambridge University Press, New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-88209-5. XIV, 441 pp. GBP 45, USD 85.

The Emperor Constantine, often honoured with the epithet "Great", and his reign have been an object of fervent interest ever since antiquity. Constantine's figure looms large over the history of the later Roman Empire. As he was the first Christian emperor, studies of his reign

often emphasise the role of Christianity and its development. Raymond Van Dam takes part in the discussion on Constantine and his reign with this hefty book.

Van Dam begins with a comparison of Augustus and Constantine, seeing both reigns as having had a revolutionary impact on the Roman world. Van Dam has divided his work into three sections: "A Roman Empire without Rome", examining the rise of the frontier regions and the changing role of the city of Rome, "A Greek Roman Empire", considering the cultural and linguistic transitions, and "Emperor and God", reflecting on the interplay of imperial, mostly political, concerns and the development of Christian doctrine. He begins each part with an ancient text that provides the basis for the discussion and guides the reader deeper into the issue.

Van Dam succeeds in casting Constantine firmly in the role of heir and propagator of policies that were, in essence, tetrarchic. By showing imperial legitimacy and dynastic concerns as overriding religious considerations, refreshing light is shed on the development of Christianity. Van Dam succeeds in not presenting the emergence of a Christian Empire as inescapable – the future was not set on the Milvian Bridge and Christianity's rise as the dominant religion was not inevitable. The later third century had produced emperors who emphasized their own divinity as a source of legitimacy and power. Constantine built on these and other trends to become the first Christian emperor as part of a long process, influenced by more than just religious concerns. That process could have had a different result and the relationship between Constantine and Christianity, although important, was not the single defining feature of his reign. Indeed, the focus of the book is not so much on Emperor Constantine as on the era of change, especially as Van Dam frequently reflects on and considers Emperor Julian.

The book is well written and a welcome contribution to the study of the later Roman Empire. The high quality of the proofreading and copyediting do justice to the text itself.

Joonas Sipilä

Le città campane fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo, a cura di GIOVANNI VITOLO. Centro interuniversitario per la storia delle città campane nel Medioevo, Quaderni 2. Laveglia Editore, Salerno 2005. ISBN 88-88773-82-7. 453 pp. EUR 30.

Il volume raccoglie i risultati del seminario svoltosi a Napoli il 21–22 aprile 2004 su iniziativa del Centro interuniversitario per la storia delle città campane nel Medioevo, in collaborazione con la Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, l'Università di Napoli "Federico II", l'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale" e la Seconda Università di Napoli.

In apertura la "Premessa" (pp. 5–10) del curatore Giovanni Vitolo chiarisce la genesi e le finalità di quel seminario, organizzato per intrecciare un dialogo più ravvicinato tra storici ed archeologi su una tematica che, in Campania, si è andata arricchendo di nuovi elementi grazie alla documentazione fornita dai numerosi, recenti scavi. Vi viene ricordato come i lavori si siano iniziati partendo da alcune precise domande: una "scaletta" programmatica stesa dal Comitato scientifico del Centro, con la collaborazione di Giuseppe Camodeca, atta a creare un'ossatura di sostegno ai vari interventi. Analizzando, poi, lo sviluppo dei lavori, se ne sintetizzano le conclusioni, mettendo in risalto come questa fase di

transizione, condividendo con altre aree d'Italia i caratteri generali del suo manifestarsi, si sia diversificata nelle diverse nicchie geografiche per alcuni aspetti più peculiari in conseguenza del diverso vissuto storico. Si conclude osservando l'emergere, almeno per alcune città campane, di aspetti del tutto singolari, espressione di vitalità, spesso solo intraviste, che incuriosiscono per un approfondimento, stimolando la ricerca su percorsi meno scontati di quelli di cui finora si sia tenuto conto. In sostanza, non solo un'introduzione al volume, ma una partecipazione sentita e critica alla problematica evidenziata dal titolo.

Dopo il 'Ricordo di Stefania Adamo Muscettola', di Raffaella Pierobon (pp. 11–2, fig. 1), affettuoso omaggio alla studiosa, che di quel seminario fu partecipe senza poterne seguire gli sviluppi successivi e della cui produzione scientifica si è voluto cogliere in particolare il tema della ripresa e della continuità delle immagini, i diversi contributi si succedono indipendenti fra loro seppure in sequenza, ciascuno illustrato da foto in bianco e nero con numerazione a sé stante e concluso da abbreviazioni e bibliografia.

"Per la lettura della viabilità in Campania" (pp. 13–27, figg. 1–6) Stefania Quilici Gigli, offrendo un testo che, a detta dell'Autrice (p. 14, nt. 6) "rispecchia il carattere preliminare e interlocutorio del seminario", spiega in termini dotti come anche i collegamenti viari si siano dovuti adattare alle mutate condizioni, nello specifico quelle territoriali, modificando l'impianto stabilito dall'amministrazione romana.

In "Città e territorio in Campania" (pp. 29–60, figg. 1–10) Marcello Rotili, scansionando tutta la materia in 7 paragrafi senza titolo, introduce il discorso, ricordandoci in breve *excursus* storico le principali novità costituzionali messe in atto dall'autorità imperiale, per proseguire con la descrizione dei dati archeologici rilevati in alcune delle principali città campane. Ponendo dapprima l'accento su alcune conseguenze vantaggiose che tali iniziative ebbero per alcune di queste ultime, come fu, per *Capua*, l'averla eletta a sede del governatorato provinciale, vengono citati i benèfici effetti dell'impegno evergetico profuso dai potenti uomini di stato chiamati ad amministrare tali città, di cui furono spesso, perciò, anche *patroni*: *Claudius Petronius Probus* (AE 1972, 76 = AE 1985, 273), *Anicius Paulinus* (AE 1972, 75b), *Pontius Proserius Paulinus* (AE 1972, 143), *Nicomachus Flavianus* (ILS 8985), *Anicius Auchenius Bassus* (CIL IX 1568–9 = AE 1972, 77), *Valerius Publicola* (CIL IX 1591). Viene, quindi, parimenti messo in risalto l'effetto positivo che ebbe sulla popolazione, per la continuità della vita cittadina, la possibilità, dove questa ci fu, di raccogliersi intorno alle chiese cattedrali ed ai vescovi. Si procede, infine, con la rassegna per centri cittadini, dalla quale risulta la differenza di dinamica insediativa che investì, per esempio, l'area beneventana rispetto a quella irpina.

Nel descrivere le "Modalità insediative e strutture agrarie nella Campania settentrionale costiera" (pp. 61–129, figg. 1–21) Luigi Crimaco procede sul doppio binario di un inquadramento generale storico e della rassegna dei dati archeologici. La tesi sostenuta evidenzia nel *vicus* il punto di forza che, attraverso adattamenti e mutamenti sociali, fu l'unico in grado di garantire la necessaria coesione sociale e produttiva nel lento processo di dissolvimento del modello urbano romano.

"Calatia: città e territorio tra crisi e trasformazione", di Laura Petacco – Carlo Rescigno (pp. 131–66, figg. 1–19), documenta, utilizzando soprattutto materiale ceramico, una certa vitalità di questo sito, rilevante nella fase romana come snodo nella viabilità antica, per la presenza di una diocesi, con edificio di culto in un contesto rurale.

Domenico Camardo e Amedeo Rossi scrivono a due mani "Suessula: trasformazione e fine di una città" (pp. 167–92, figg. 1–9 a partire da p. 180), suddividendo l'articolo in parti distinte e complementari, l'una di presentazione e sintesi (A.R., "Inquadramento storico-topografico della città", pp. 167–73); l'altra (D.C., 'Le trasformazioni della città alla luce delle fonti e dei dati di scavo', pp. 173–9) con l'analisi documentaria che ha permesso la ricostruzione storica. Ne risulta un quadro, da cui si dedurrebbe che in tutti i centri urbani a forte presenza romana, compresi quelli minori o periferici, cioè a Roma come a *Suessula*, l'evidenza di scavo farebbe mergere una sequenza costante: insediamenti all'inizio del millennio, su cui s'impostano tra il IV ed il III sec. a.C. edifici di culto, trasformati, o inseriti, tra la fine del II e l'inizio del I sec. a.C. in strutture funzionali alla vita pubblica comunitaria; crisi del modello urbano tra il III ed il IV d.C., con restringimento dell'area d'uso; spoliazione dei monumenti tra l'VIII ed il IX secolo, con spopolamento del territorio e collasso delle infrastrutture (nel caso di *Suessula* soprattutto di quelle idrauliche); creazione di strutture difensive tra il IX ed il X ed infine una ripresa nel secolo XI, con ritorno al modello del villaggio a capanne con economia di sussistenza, stretto intorno alla sede dell'autorità, ora la curia vescovile, cui si riconoscono capacità di gestione e protezione. Epoca, quest'ultima, che per la città campana significò anche la fine di un'amministrazione autonoma.

Con l'articolo "Cuma: continuità e trasformazioni in età tardoantica" (pp. 193–218, figg. 1–11) Valentina Malpede aggiorna in merito all'attività del progetto *Kyme*, condotto a partire dal 1994 da parte dall'Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", in collaborazione con l'Università di Napoli "Federico II", il Centre Jean Bérard e la Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Napoli e Caserta. Dopo aver ricordato il precoce interesse degli studiosi per questo sito, di grande importanza in antico grazie alla sua posizione strategica, l'A. riferisce sugli scavi più recenti, incentrati su 5 saggi operati in altrettanti siti della cosiddetta città-bassa: 1. fondo Di Fraia, 2. mura nord, "porta mediana", 3. terme centrali, 4. masseria Di Fraia, 5. mura nord, fondo Ortolani. Ai dati così raccolti ne vengono poi accostati altri, scaturiti da campagne di scavo svolte precedentemente nell'ambito dello stesso progetto; gli uni e gli altri, infine, sono messi a confronto con ciò che era già noto grazie al materiale fin qui edito. Le conclusioni sono duplici. Da un lato si afferma una sostanziale continuità di fruizione dal III al VI secolo, con reale mutamento di destinazione d'uso a partire dal VII secolo, precisando che (p. 195) questa trasformazione testimonia "più che impoverimento e abbandono, un progressivo mutamento socio-politico che orienta sempre più le scelte edilizie verso nuovi interessi, probabilmente ecclesiastici". Dall'altro lato si puntualizza la difficoltà ad identificare luoghi cristiani, o quantomeno ad individuare, nella fase di trasformazione, il momento preciso che causò in alcune delle principali strutture la variazione d'uso a favore del culto cristiano.

Su "Napoli: trasformazioni edilizie e funzionali della fascia costiera" (pp. 219–47, figg. 1–14) hanno dato il loro contributo Daniela Giampaola, Vittoria Carsana, Stefania Febbraro, Beatrice Roncella. Il materiale presentato risulta distribuito in due paragrafi ("I Precedenti", pp. 220–6; "Trasformazioni tra tardoantico e altomedioevo", pp. 226–44), entrambi preceduti da una premessa di presentazione (D.G.), in cui si precisa che le nuove acquisizioni, da cui scaturisce un'ampia gamma di considerazioni e di riflessioni, si devono ai cantieri aperti dagli scavi per la costruzione della linea 1 della metropolitana, principalmente in piazza Municipio, piazza G. Bovio, piazza N. Amore. Seguono i vari interventi che si alternano in successione frammentata, per documentare nel dettaglio degli studi e degli scavi

la situazione della città dalle prime fondazioni greche alle soglie dell'XI secolo: "Paesaggio costiero e bacino portuale in età ellenistico-romana" (V.C., pp. 220–3); "Il segno della fortificazione di età greca nel versante sud-occidentale della città", D.G., p. 224); "Viabilità ed espansione edilizia a sud e ad ovest del perimetro urbano" (D.G., pp. 225–6); "L'insabbiamento del bacino portuale tra tardoantico e altomedioevo" (V.C., pp. 226–8); "La nuova viabilità" (V.C., pp. 228–31); "Ristrutturazioni del tratto sud-occidentale della fortificazione" (B.R., pp. 231–5); "Nuove forme di occupazione: il quartiere artigianale di piazza G. Bovio" (pp. S.F., 235–7); "I magazzini portuali di piazza G. Bovio" (B.R., pp. 238–41); "Le aree cimiteriali" (S.F., pp. 241–4). Dall'insieme delle notizie emerse sembra di poter dedurre che il progressivo interrimento del bacino portuale, con il conseguente avanzamento della linea di costa, abbia forzato il quadro del processo di trasformazione del tessuto cittadino napoletano, giocando un ruolo più rilevante rispetto ad altri fattori di tipo economico, come quelli che nella maggior parte di altri centri urbani provocarono il fenomeno di orti e sepolture intramurane; e ciò in considerazione del fatto che proprio la caratteristica di scalo commerciale dovette garantire, almeno in parte, le condizioni per salvare la coesione insediativa, mantenuta in vita, non solo ma anche, da una possibilità di scambio, che mancò altrove.

Antonietta Simonelli – Alfredo Balasco firmano insieme l'articolo: "Telesia: note di topografia e storia urbana" (pp. 249–81, figg. 1–11). Precede una nota di C.G. Franciosi coordinatore del PRIA (Programma di Ricerca sugli Insediamenti Antichi) dell'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale", che dal 1982 riunisce un gruppo di studiosi attivi in campagne di ricerca nelle valli Telesina, Caudina e del fiume Sabato. Conclude una *Nota documentaria* relativa a: Cartografia, chiesa di S. Felice, Telese medievale, abbazia e altri complessi medievali della Valle Telesina. Il nucleo del discorso mira ad individuare fasi di passaggio dalla tarda antichità al periodo medievale, analizzando i dati sia della Telese antica (*Telesia*), abitato sannita divenuto colonia graccana circondata da mura verso la fine dell'età repubblicana; sia della Telese moderna (Telese Terme), nata in età medievale, sfruttando strutture di alcune *villae* romane, a loro volta impiantate su insediamenti sanniti. Si osserva che, mentre nel primo caso, sia le evidenze di scavo che alcuni materiali sporadici di spoglio e riutilizzo non abbiano fornito elementi di datazione oltre il VII secolo; nel secondo, una prosecuzione di vita, accertata intorno a luoghi di culto cristiano e maggiormente protratta nel tempo, dovette essere stroncata dalle invasioni saracene, documentabili da tracce di distruzione per incendio.

Con "Città e centri demici dell'Hirpinia: Abellinum, Aeclanum, Aequum Tuticum, Compsa", Gabriella Pescatori (pp. 283–311, figg. 1–16), per rispondere al tema di riferimento, passa in rassegna i diversi siti enunciati, non solo esaminandone nel dettaglio i dati di scavo, ma anche valutando le fonti epigrafiche che, come ad *Abellinum*, hanno offerto una messe di nuove conoscenze. Il quadro che si delinea è quello di una certa continuità, pur nella trasformazione, in un'area in cui i frequenti, e violenti, sommovimenti sismici, costituirono certo motivo d'interruzione di ogni attività, ma non in quei centri che, come *Aequum Tuticum* e *Compsa*, furono sempre rilevanti per la loro posizione strategica, vuoi nei collegamenti viari, che nel controllo dei valichi appenninici e delle valli fluviali.

Carlo Ebanista tratta "Il ruolo del santuario di Cimitile nella trasformazione del tessuto urbano di Nola" (pp. 313–77, figg. 1–10), suddividendo la materia in 5 paragrafi. Nel primo, "Nola e il suo territorio nella tarda antichità" (pp. 313–27), dopo aver presentato il

santuario di San Felice con il relativo abitato di *Cimiterium*/Cimitile nel suburbio settentrionale della città di Nola, passa a delineare il quadro degli scavi più o meno recenti, descrivendo l'impianto della città romana, con i suoi monumenti, le necropoli e le *villae* residenziali, puntualizzando come, anche in questo caso, è evidente una flessione di frequenza nel corso del IV secolo, con trasformazione d'uso e riutilizzo degli edifici, mentre l'esistenza di una diocesi vi sarebbe documentata già dalla seconda metà del III secolo. Nel secondo, "Il santuario extraurbano di S. Felice e il vicus christianorum" (pp. 327–37), dopo aver ricordato la storia di Felice, traccia un quadro delle trasformazioni avvenute nella preesistente necropoli di IV secolo allorché quest'ultima ospitò il corpo del santo, provocando, insieme ad un'accelerazione della cristianizzazione dell'area, la conseguente espansione delle deposizioni per attrazione e la creazione di edifici di culto. Risalta la figura di Paolino di Nola, la cui attività fu determinante per la monumentalizzazione del suburbio nolano, caratterizzato da un'invasione cimiteriale, seguita dalla creazione di edifici sia monastici, che di alloggio per pellegrini, con conseguente nascita del toponimo *Cimiterium*, donde quello odierno di Cimitile. Nel terzo, "L'ubicazione della primitiva cattedrale di Nola" (pp. 337–44), analizza le tre principali ipotesi relative alla questione, non definitivamente risolta, ricordando che, per la definizione del problema, andrebbero prese in considerazione anche circostanze, quali l'eventualità di un trasferimento di reliquie, e la ri/costruzione di una chiesa urbana in concorrenza con il santuario cimiteriale. Nel quarto, "L'alluvione degli inizi del VI secolo: un momento di cesura nella vita della città di Nola e del suo territorio" (pp. 344–50), si fa riferimento all'esondazione che colpì l'area a seguito della cosiddetta eruzione di Pollena, cui seguì la devastazione dell'*ager* nolano, con concentrazione degli abitanti nel santuario suburbano di S. Felice, laddove nel centro cittadino si avviò il processo di destrutturazione e abbandono dei monumenti, ma senza interruzione definitiva della vita, che continuò intorno al doppio polo civile (Nola) e religioso (Cimitile). Nel quinto, "L'influenza della viabilità e dei pellegrinaggi sullo sviluppo di Cimitile" (pp. 350–7) si mette in luce la vitalità del complesso martiriale anche dopo l'alluvione, grazie ad una certa attività produttiva e di scambio dovuta alla mobilità creata dai pellegrinaggi al luogo santo, da cui discese la necessità di una almeno parziale efficienza delle principali connessioni viarie. Dopo aver osservato che neppure l'occupazione longobarda produsse una seria frattura nell'esistenza del centro, conclude con cenni agli avvenimenti successivi.

"Picentia: fenomenologia di una trasformazione" (pp. 379–92, figg. 3–4), di Marco Giglio, prende in considerazione l'*ager Picentinus*, e più precisamente il sito di *Picentia*, identificata con l'attuale Pontecagnano, suddividendo il materiale in tre paragrafi: 1) Quadro geomorfologico e topografico; 2) Inquadramento storico-archeologico: Picentia e l'*Ager Picentinus* in epoca imperiale; 3) Alcune considerazioni conclusive. Dopo una presentazione dell'area, che occupava una porzione settentrionale della Piana del Sele e che dovette gran parte della sua fortuna all'abbondanza di risorse naturali, specificatamente di quelle idriche, si delinea un quadro storico sulla base soprattutto dalle fonti letterarie, giungendo infine alla rassegna del dato archeologico, dal quale si conclude una precoce interruzione di vita nell'agglomerato cittadino, che non andrebbe oltre la fine del III-inizi del IV secolo, ma con aggregazioni, rivelate da necropoli, intorno a due poli, l'uno verso la costa, l'altro verso l'interno, nei pressi del sito antico, intorno ad una *mansio* o ad un *vicus*.

In "Paestum, proposte di lettura del paesaggio urbano tra IV e VI secolo" (pp. 393–410, figg. 1–8), Rosa De Bonis scandisce in tre successivi paragrafi un quadro della località,

suddividendone la presentazione in "La città tra età imperiale e tarda antichità" (pp. 393–6); "I secoli V e VI" (pp. 396–9) e "Conclusioni" (pp. 399–401). Dopo aver ricordato i principali studi ed aver lamentato l'insufficienza documentaria, passa a presentare la documentazione di scavo attualmente disponibile, non senza aver posto in risalto l'attività portuale del sito come elemento di continuità. Pur considerando quella di *Paestum* una situazione di strisciante difficoltà e di anticipata frattura della struttura urbana romana, conclude optando per una mutazione d'uso e per una diversità di modi di occupazione, piuttosto che per un abbandono completo.

Completa i lavori la "Tavola Rotonda" (pp. 411–27) con due interventi, l'uno di Eliodoro Savino, su "Continuità e trasformazione del tessuto urbano prima della conquista longobarda" (pp. 413–9); l'altro di Paolo Delogu, su "Ricerca archeologica e riflessione storica: una problematica esaurita?" (pp. 421–7), che coordinando i risultati, inquadrandoli in un contesto storico ed in una problematica più generali.

Teresa Strocchia ha curato "l'Indice dei nomi di persona e di luogo" (pp. 429–50).

Laura Chioffi

Ager Veleias. Tradizione, società e territorio sull'Appennino Piacentino (con nuova edizione e traduzione della Tabula Alimentaria di Veleia). A cura di NICOLA CRINITI. La Pilotta Editrice, Parma 2003. ISBN 88-7532-071-3. 387 pp. EUR 18.

Nicola Criniti, the author of *La tabula alimentaria di Veleia* (Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province Parmensi, Parma 1991), confesses in the introduction (Premessa) to this work that he never would have thought producing another book on Veleia, but the enthusiasm of others made him return to the subject, and the results are collected in this book. "The others" are mainly responsible for the new research on Veleia published in the book, whereas Criniti himself has used the occasion to publish a new critical edition and translation of the *tabula alimentaria*.

As seems natural in the Italian academic tradition, the works are detailed ad nauseam, but somewhat lacking in analytical depth. The chapter starting the book, Tiziana Albasi's and Lauretta Magnani's "Una storia infinita: scoperta, tradizione, fortuna di Veleia" is a detailed account of the archaeological history of the site of Veleia and the complicated history of the *tabula* itself. The data presented is very relevant to anyone wanting to study Veleia's antiquity, since it tells what has been done by whom and when, but the chapter itself is more interesting for anyone interested in the development of the attitudes towards the past in modern Italy.

Luca Lanza's "historical reading of an ancient site" is a fascinating read. In it, Lanza describes the urban form and the major structures of ancient Veleia, with an unashamedly narrative style, where the narrative is structured around the logical flow of the analysis in a spatially organized and socially interpreted city-space. In other words, Lanza's description follows a logic that is both natural and well structured, and by this logic, it betrays our assumptions of spatial relations and social order.

Ilaria di Cocco describes her research project where she is using GIS to analyse the material in the *tabula alimentaria*, trying to reconstruct land usage patterns, locations of the

pagi, etc. The research sounds promising, but in this book, di Cocco presents only a textual description of the analysis of the locations of the pagi with a crude map showing her new interpretations for the locations of the seven pagi. One would expect someone working with GIS to be able to produce a somewhat better map than this.

In his contribution, Marco Cavalieri studies the evidence of bronze items in the Veleian territory, and based on this, presents a model to explain the bronze production on a larger scale. In his model, production was itinerant in the sense that instead of transporting the final products, what moved around were the masters having the skills to work bronze, and thus, the sporadic appearance and disappearance of bronze production at various sites. The model is intriguing, and is comparable to later medieval practices.

Gianluca Mainino presents a socio-political analysis of the institution of the *alimenta* by introducing comparative material from a letter of Pliny the Younger and other relevant material. His contribution is part of a larger work, as he notes, but still manages to give a lucid image of an operation that was, in the end, profitable to all parties involved – the Emperor, the local land-owners and the recipients of the *alimenta*.

The next chapter, by Caterina Scopelliti, is actually an onomasticon of Veleia. In addition to the material present in the *tabula*, Scopelliti has also collected all local names from other inscriptional sources and literature, and also includes in the list also the names of the properties listed in the *tabula*, with owners and references to neighbouring properties. Most of the information is, of course, present in the *tabula* itself, but is here presented in a more accessible and usable form and this is an useful reference for anyone looking for persons active in this region.

Next in the book is the new, revised edition and translation of the *tabula alimentaria* by Nicola Criniti with an *apparatus criticus* at the end. Basically, Criniti just confirms his earlier work, but uses the occasion to correct some minor errors.

In the end, the three appendices by Cecilia Barbieri and Nicola Criniti contain a list of historical and epigraphical sources on the *ager Veleias*, a list of the editions and translations of the *tabula alimentaria*, and a bibliography of Veleian studies from 1900 to 2000. The book concludes with a collection of maps by Luca Lanza.

In addition to the onomasticon and the edition of the *tabula*, the main interest in the book lies in the few longer chapters in the beginning of the book, especially Lanza's. All close with a bibliographical note, providing the reader with ample references for further research. One can hardly call this study ground-breaking in any way, but it is a good introduction to the potentials of the *tabula alimentaria*, although the contributions stay clear of actually using the material in the *tabula* for anything.

One still has to wonder, though, how it has been possible to produce a book where the text looks so horrible. The layout itself is acceptable, although the pages are often crowded with too much text, too long lines and too small distance between the lines. The paper is of good quality, but the fonts look messy and unclean. It seems as if the whole book had first been printed with a bad printer, then photographed or scanned and sent to the press. Also, some of the images have been digitalized very unprofessionally, and the resolution has been much too low. The numerous maps of the site and the region really should have been redrawn. There is only one photograph of the whole *tabula*, on p. 360, but it is much too small, and even the detailed photo on the next page is only illustrative. Considering the very acceptable price of the book and the amount of visual material printed at the end of the book,

one wishes that the editor had decided to include a complete photographic record of the tabula in it, too, even with a slight increase in the price.

Harri Kiiskinen

The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World. Edited by WALTER SCHEIDEL – IAN MATTHEW MORRIS – RICHARD PAUL SALLER. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-78053-7. XVI, 942 pp. GBP 120.

It is impossible to approach a monument like this as an ordinary book. After all, this is a book with many of the biggest names working with the economic history of the Graeco-Roman world taking part in a joint effort to update the outdated views many general accounts still present of the level and nature of economic activity in the Classical World.

The book begins (Part I. Determinants of economic performance) by analyzing some central constituents of economic activity. Robert Sallares on Ecology, Walter Scheidel on Demography, Richard P. Saller on Household and gender, Bruce W. Frier and Dennis P. Kehoe on Law and economic institutions and Helmut Schneide on Technology set out to define the common characteristics defining economic activity in general in their particular instantiations of Graeco-Roman Antiquity. It is clearly their intention to provide the "big picture", the common framework the Classical World shared. There are two sides to this approach: on one hand, it is worthwhile for the reader to get an introduction to some of the very defining features of the Classical World, but on the other hand, this kind of approach often leaves little room for change and development – a problem tackled differently by different contributions. Saller has chosen to separate Greek and Roman cultures in his presentation, whereas Sallares' view of ecology is so static that one is left to wonder whether there was any environmental or climate change at all.

The rest of the book is organized around periods and temporal regions, with the exception of Classical Greece and the Early Roman Empire. The past is not a democratic thing, and whereas for most periods and regions, the texts are scarce, and archaeology provides the fullest material, these two places and periods are the traditional battle ground for scholars, since the interplay between literary sources, increasing analyses of the archaeological material and the very specialized evidence of the inscriptions provide ample grounds for varying interpretations.

In the second part (Part II. Early Mediterranean economies and the Near East) the contributions are divided according to a very traditional sequence: John Bennet on the Aegean Bronze Age, Ian Morris on Early Iron Age Greece, Michael Dietler's *The Iron Age in the western Mediterranean* and Robin Osborne on Archaic Greece follow the periods of a very traditional view of history, but the addition of Peter R. Bedford's *The Persian Near East* expands the view well into this often ignored Empire.

The third part (Part III. Classical Greece) is divided into three chapters, describing the patterns of production (John K. Davies), distribution (Astrid Möller) and consumption (Sitta von Reden) – a structured approach that is used also in the sixth part (Part VI. The Early Roman Empire), where in addition to production (Dennis P. Kehoe), distribution (Neville Morley) and consumption (Willem M. Jongman), there is also a chapter on the state and the

economy by Elio Lo Cascio. There are pros and cons to this approach. One of the major bonuses is that it has allowed for more people to participate in the book. The obvious negative side, that production, distribution and consumption cannot really be separated from each other as each has a strong effect on the others, is much alleviated by precisely this bonus, since instead of one presentation of the economy-minded practices, it gives the reader three slightly different views on the subject.

Between these two parts, we skim over the period between, even here following the very traditional division to the Hellenistic period (Part IV. The Hellenistic States), with Robartus J. van Spek on the Hellenistic Near East, Joseph G. Manning on Hellenistic Egypt and Gary Reger on Hellenistic Greece and western Asia Minor, and to Early Italy (Part V. Early Italy and the Roman Republic) with Jean-Paul Morel on the Early Rome and Italy and William V. Harris on the Late Republic.

In the second to last part (Part VII. Regional Development in the Roman Empire) the reader gets an overview of the developments in different parts of the Roman Empire, from Philippe Leveau's *The western provinces*, Susan E. Alcock's *The eastern Mediterranean*, Dominic Rathbone's *Roman Egypt* and David Cherry's *The frontier zones*. The book concludes with an epilogue (Part VIII. Epilogue) by Andrea Giardina: *The transition to late Antiquity*.

It is impossible to embark on a detailed review of a book this size, but some remarks perhaps can be made. First of all, the book is excellent. The authors have made an effort to produce contributions of very high quality which the reader will find well written, concise, and full of references to other research. The bibliography is immense, and is a valuable reference for anyone. Some minor editorial lapses can be found, however, like the entry in the bibliography for the work "Fine and Leopold 1993", which in note 1 on page 385 is cited as "Leopold and Fine 1993", leading to some confusion. Spelling errors are very rare, though, and the overall quality of the editing is high. In a book with this many contributions, it is also always nice to see the authors referring to each other's contributions in the same work, giving an impressions of a real joint effort.

The overall high quality of the book then leaves this reviewer the opportunity to offer some criticism, especially regarding some basic principles that seem to have governed the production process.

First of all, it seems to me that the book sidesteps the whole primitivist-modernist controversy by being so ashamedly modernist that no one would even dream of questioning whether the concepts used at least in the first part of the book had any existence in Antiquity, other than what our analysis gives them. In this sense, the book denies M.I. Finley's perhaps largest and most usable contribution: his relativism, and his scepticism towards our concepts.

In the same way, one can really question whether the major emphasis given to questions of economic growth really is a reasonable thing to do. From the point of view of a modern day economist, the question is intriguing, especially if one is trying to argue against some simplistic models leading from the stagnant, backward past to the glorious present. By showing that economic growth also existed in the past, before the industrial revolution, one can obviously call for some scepticism regarding the model-creation of modern day economists where once the curves go even slightly up, they never go down again. But what is the point of these discussions for the rest of us? Do we understand the Greek and Roman cultures any better after reading this book?

A striking omission is an almost complete lack of any environmental history. Sallares' chapter on the ecology of the Mediterranean informs the reader very well about the varied and variable climate of the Mediterranean region, the physical environment, the risks and hazards of the environment, and the endemic diseases affecting ancient populations. What seems to be lacking, however, is a general framework for the history of the region, meaning a description of the temporal changes in the environment affecting human populations over time. For example, the chapters by John Bennet and Ian Morris on the Aegean Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Greece (respectively) would greatly benefit from a more environmentally conscious approach, both internally and externally. The book does not provide any "big picture" of environmental and climate change to which the development described in these chapters could relate, although environmental factors are hinted at as possible causes in both chapters.

Mostly these criticisms are just differences in point of view, and should be taken as such, except perhaps for the lack of the environmental approach. They reflect more perhaps the way in which economic matters are seen in relation to other "parts" of the past. In the case of this book the economy is often given a position where it reacts to "hard" things, like disasters, wars and conquests, and in its turn, affects, also occasionally determines, the "soft" things, society, culture and so on. This perhaps explains why after reading many of the contributions, while learning so much more of the ancients' world, I still could not fathom any better why they did what they did and thought the way they thought. In this study, the ancient world is explained to us in words and concepts that make it understandable to us, but how the ancients understood their world and conceptualized their actions is still pretty much left in the dark.

After all the merits this book has, one is still tempted to conclude that it is a monumental achievement vividly demonstrating, why economic matters are 1) too complicated; 2) too important; and 3) too interesting to be left only to the economists.

Harri Kiiskinen

TAKESHI AMEMIYA: *Economy and Economics of Ancient Greece*. Routledge Explorations in Economic History, 33. Routledge, London – New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-415-70154-9. XXIV, 184 pp. GBP 70.

The author of this book, Takeshi Amemiya, is an econometrician of some renown, and one could say that this shows in the book. This relatively thin book, which appeared in a series of Economic history, is very unlike most of the other books on the same subject the reviewer has encountered before. It is divided into three main parts: 1. History, society, culture; 2. Economy; 3. Economics.

In the first part, A. provides the reader with "background" material: the part contains chapters on the history (chap. 1) and society and culture (chap. 2) of Athens, as well as a chapter dedicated to the particularities of the Athenian democracy (chap. 3), with a concluding chapter about the successfulness of the Athenian democracy (chap. 4). One can hardly call these chapters works of history, as they look and perform better as thematically organized collections of data. In the chapter on history, for example, the "Classical Age" and

the "Hellenistic Age" are presented as chronicles of important happenings, and appear as lists of years. The good thing is that this data is actually relevant to the discussions that appear later in the book. In the chapter on society and culture, A., with his dry and matter-of-fact style, describes some of the most relevant phenomena of Athenian society, and the Athenian democracy is described in the same vein. As to the chapter on the success of the Athenian democracy, I can hardly find any real assessment of this as A. omits to discuss what he actually means by "success". It seems to be defined by certain general assumptions of things that are generally assumed to be morally correct by a majority of westerners today, and the "success" is then measured by the number of decisions in accord with and in contrast to these values made by the Athenian assembly.

The second part of the book is without doubt the most interesting. There are two main reasons for this: first, the author has meticulously collected a large amount of references to various forms of economic activity taking place at Athens during the classical period. Probably none of these are new or previously unknown, but A's very concise style makes the catalogue of economic practices actually surprisingly interesting. Second, after a descriptive listing of various practices, the author suddenly starts to build a mathematical model of the Athenian slave imports, forcing the reader to reassess the probability and possibility of some earlier conclusions and estimates of the amounts of slaves needed in Athens. Moreover, A. prepares a model for the whole Athenian economy, getting in the end a resulting GDP of 4,430 talents.

In the third part of the book, A. analyses texts from Xenophon, Plato and Aristotle for any descriptions of the economy, especially from the moral point of view. What is good action? What is good governance? How is the economy good and bad? The third part of the book seems actually to be aimed against utilitarianism as an economic philosophy. A. speaks strongly against "utility maximization" as the principal concept in the analysis of human behaviour, so this part of the book finds its context more in the field of economics than within the classical studies. (Except perhaps for the "Well I've always known that" reaction, that most classicists perhaps might have when reading these pages.)

This book looks and feels like a set of lecture notes. It is structured exactly like what one would expect from a lecture, and even the writing style well suits oral expression, where the text is just used to support the teacher, who then formulates and explicates the ideas in his own words.

An economist trying to widen his historical vision might well find this book charming, and anyone working with the Athenian economy should probably have a look at it. The extremely bare and concise style is a welcome change from the often very elaborate narratives of the more traditional histories, and well reflects the starting point of this kind of economic approach: some things just are as they are, and are not difficult to be described as such.

Harri Kiiskinen

CORNELIS VAN TILBURG: *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*. Routledge, Abingdon – New York 2007. ISBN 0-415-40999-3. XXI, 237 pp. GBP 55.

The title of the book instantly evokes curiosity. As the author notes, our image of a Roman road involves a lonely rider on a donkey making his way in peace and tranquillity. Indeed, was there congestion in antiquity and if so, what did the Romans do to overcome it? How a big of a problem was it considered to be? Why and when was there congestion? For a reader interested in roads and mobility in the Roman world these issues come across as very important and a wider audience all-too familiar with the congestion of today might be curious to know if the Romans waited patiently in their carts for hours for a traffic jam to clear.

Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire does give answers to these questions. There was congestion but it was temporary and frequent in a few places rather than widespread and constant. It becomes clear that congestion is a problem that transcends time, as it relates to the relative amount of traffic and the carrying capacity of roads. The most congested places naturally were cities and city gates in particular.

Although the book does give answers it does not give an easily perceivable picture of traffic in the Roman Empire. Especially the first two chapters are frequently confusing. For instance, on p. 91 it is claimed that the Servian wall was built "by the Gauls" after sacking Rome in the 4th century BC. The topics in the book are not well connected but presented separately which makes the reader wonder what purpose they are meant to serve. E.g., the introduction of the army structure (p. 63–5) and the presentation of different gate forms (from p. 90) are not followed by a thorough discussion beyond a few lines on how they brought about and affected congestion. It would have been interesting indeed to compare how the Roman army might have had a different impact on traffic depending on different arrangements for travel and rest. After introducing the various gate forms the discussion could have contained an extensive comparison of their effects on traffic flow and their relative susceptibility to congestion. Furthermore, a discussion of the possible traffic arrangements when a gate allowed only one cart to pass at a time would have been interesting: were there fixed turns for traffic from different directions to proceed, did flexible alternating traffic take place or was strictly one way traffic flow only allowed? Now the reader is left with assumptions about differences between types of gate-ways without a discussion of their implications (p. 104).

Furthermore, in *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*, recreational travel, travel for healing and pilgrimage are mentioned (p. 47–8) but not bound to a wider context of people moved by ideologies and ideas rather than material needs. In addition, when talking about mobility it cannot be overstressed how fundamentally different travelling was in the ancient world, the pace of travelling having been revolutionized only in very recent times. A piece of news or a novelty could only spread as fast as a human being (aided by animals) could move. These two important aspects of traffic would have deserved a discussion of their own.

From the cities taken under discussion by van Tilburg, I am most familiar with the situation in Pompeii and thus most competent to evaluate his interpretation and presentation of that material. The discussion on traffic and congestion in Pompeii is not without problems. Van Tilburg seems to suggest that wheeled traffic moved through the Marine Gate (p. 94) although the slope along which the passage runs is too steep for carts and it lacks rut marks

as evidence for wheeled traffic. The sources van Tilburg draws on are for the most part outdated and conventional: Mau from 1899 is referred to instead of new research on Pompeian roads such as the recent works by Tsujimura (1990, Ruts in Pompeii, the traffic system in the Roman city. *Opuscula Pompeiana* 1) and Poehler (2001–6, on-line papers at http://www.pompeiana.org/Research/Streets_Research/Streets_Research.htm) that have added greatly to our knowledge of the traffic pattern within the city. This again reflects a problem that prevails throughout the book: its arbitrariness. Occasionally discussion is abundant and up-to-date, occasionally sparse, outdated and disconnected.

Maps should play an essential part in *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*, since most of the phenomena that pertain to traffic and congestion are important because of their relationship to the layout of the city. Unfortunately, however, the maps are often too general to be of much help and they occasionally lack an accompanying legend. For instance, one wonders which of the symbols signify which features mentioned in the caption of the map of Cologne (p. 43). In fact the issue of maps and their existence and use in antiquity, and more precisely their notorious absence, would have been a very interesting topic to add to the discussion of traffic and congestion since route choices greatly affect these matters. Ancient travellers did not plan their trip and foresee possible points of congestion with the aid of topographical maps in the same way we do. Even when the Peutinger map is mentioned (p. 48) there is no discussion of the use, purposes and commonness of maps in antiquity, nor on their projection and the perception of distances between places.

All in all we must acknowledge that van Tilburg has certainly taken up a challenging task, to describe traffic and congestion in the Roman Empire. He deals well with time, describing traffic within a time span of some 1000 years. When it comes to the spatial distribution of the evidence, he refreshingly brings cities in northern Gallia and Germania into discussion. In this way he also brings his personal familiarity with the region to enrich the debate. On the other hand he largely omits the Near East and North Africa although there ancient roads are especially well-preserved. Laudably, van Tilburg uses a variety of material from archaeological evidence to written sources and considers traffic from the point of view of the individual as well as society: those experiencing congestion, those in charge of roads, written laws indicating how things were – in theory – supposed to be running.

The parts I found most interesting were the sections where van Tilburg hypothesises and asks "what if?" (he calls them "rough estimations"). Playing with figures and numbers and proposing consequences for them brings about a scale and gives a better understanding of abstract issues, such as the scale of loads needed to be brought in for city maintenance (p. 74) or the magnitude of *cursus publicus* (p. 61–2) taking place in the Roman roads. The best part of the book, as a unit of its own and technically the best written part, is the end of chapter 3. Furthermore the entire chapter 4 brings refreshing aspects to the topics dwelled on before by other scholars, such as Chevallier (1972, *Les voies romaines*), Casson (1974, *Travel in the Ancient World*) and more recently Adams and Laurence (eds., 2001, *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*) and Morriss (2005, *Roads, Archaeology and Architecture*). Van Tilburg succeeds here in bringing something new to the discourse. For instance, he interestingly proposes that city infrastructure and supply were arranged only to meet the current need and beyond that authorities had no incentive for added efficiency. That is, if needed supplies could be taken in, even with great difficulty, there was no desire from the official side to improve the infrastructure. Complaints of individuals whose time was spent in

traffic jams were not heard. Van Tilburg introduces the idea of a circuit route circling the city following the *pomerium* borders ("a missed change: the *pomerium* as circular road", p. 160–167) as a solution for many traffic jams but presents several reasons why such roads were not build and notes that "circular roads were still an exception in early modern times" (p. 166).

All in all the book serves best as an introduction to traffic and congestion in the ancient world – evoking thoughts and inviting students to find out more. The summaries of chapters and their sections are valuable in presenting the main points. Several traffic-related terms are explained in chapter 1 and thus the book serves as a good handbook for concepts that are rarely explained elsewhere. In sum, the chapters work better alone as individual units; reading *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire* from cover to cover, one observes that it contains a lot of repetition.

Heini Ynnilä

Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World. Edited by ZAHRA NEWBY – RUTH LEADER-NEWBY. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 0-521-86851-3. XVII, 303 pp. GBP 65.

Images, things and text are common combinations in many ancient contexts such as buildings, burials, brick stamps, and pottery and many other material objects also feature writing as part of the whole. Traditionally, these two, the material and the text, are divided among different experts; the linguist studies the text and the archaeologist or the art historian the object or image. More rarely, the two are studied together, as integral parts of the same object, monument or building. The volume edited by Zahra Newby and Ruth Leader-Newby is an attempt to examine texts, images and objects together in order to see whether the whole is bigger than just the sum of its parts.

The volume consists of three parts. The first deals with juxtapositions of texts and images on document reliefs, ash chests, wall paintings and as part of a sculptural collection in a building. The second part combines images and texts as labels on pottery, reliefs and mosaics. The third section discusses statues and associated texts. The authors of the ten chapters are archaeologists, art historians and historians. The case studies come from various periods ranging from archaic Greek pottery to Late Antique mosaics and covering the extent of the entire Roman Empire.

In the first part, Alastair Blanshard discusses an Attic inscribed memorial relief erected in 403 BC to honor the loyalty of Samos towards Athens during the Peloponnesian war. The relief shows Athena (representing Athens, naturally) and Hera (representing Samos) shaking hands. It is noted that the image can be regarded as ambiguous – the deities, particularly Hera, could be interpreted in many ways, but the text clarifies the connections. The harmonious monument is in contradiction to the poor state Samos actually was in relation to Athens and it was perhaps more intended to be viewed by Athenians as a reminder of their past greatness and the possibilities of the new era. The content of the text is less harmonious, showing the Athenians' inability to fulfil the promises of friendship. Glenys Davies writes about Roman ash chests and the inscriptions on them, particularly about the identity of the deceased and others mentioned in the text. The connection between the two is often ambiguous and hard (if not impossible) to understand; e.g., why was a scene depicting

a woman chosen for a deceased male? Bettina Bergmann's topic is the paintings with Greek poems written on them in the exedra of the House of the Epigrams (V.1.18) in Pompeii. She connects the texts to the literary culture of the first century BC Pompeian society visible in many ways in the city. Bergmann is interested in the viewing process and possibilities in a small space, but does not discuss how the paintings and texts would have been visible to the users of the exedra. The modern visitor walks around the room and is able to appreciate the paintings in full daylight, but is this how the space might have been used in the past? The central panel in the back wall was the main picture but how would it have been possible to place, e.g., couches for reclining in such a way that the visitors would have been able to see the paintings and also the garden at the same time? Michael Squire writes about the villa of Tiberius in Sperlonga, particularly of its famous grotto with statues and a poem describing the scene inscribed on its walls. The inscription is much later than the time the grotto was built and decorated. Squire argues that its intention was to offer a literary interpretation of the statue group, but also to function as an incentive for discussion among viewers.

Robin Osborne and Alexandra Pappas examine writing on archaic Greek pottery with the intention of comparing Athenian and non-Athenian practices. The authors study the dates and types of inscribed pots in Athens, Corinth and Boeotia. Their findings indicate that the Corinthian pots were the ones mostly written on in the earliest periods and that most writings appear on sympotic vessels. The types of inscriptions also vary among the three towns: labels and tags are most common, but the Boeotians tended to sign their pots more often than the other two. Writing was used in varying ways in different communities from the beginning. Zahra Newby discusses the Archelaos relief, interpreted as depicting the apotheosis of Homer. The recognition of the figures in and interpretation of the content of the relief depends largely on inscriptions. Newby argues that the text was used to challenge the viewer to make an interpretation rather than to give a precise indication of what was depicted. In this way, the monument is in line with the Hellenistic cultural climate. Ruth Leader-Newby's topic is the inscribed mosaics from the late Roman Empire. The mosaic inscriptions appear in the third century AD and were used for various purposes. The most common of these are labels for motifs in the mosaics which vary in different regions of the Roman world.

In the last part on statues and inscriptions, John Ma writes about Hellenistic honorific statues of which usually only the bases have been preserved – texts and images without images. Ma's arguments concern more the grammar of the formulas used in the texts and how these were used to create community. Julia L. Shear studies the reuse of statues and inscriptions in Roman Athens. The old Greek statues were reused to honour important Romans. They were depicted as Athenians emphasizing the interest of the Romans in being connected to Athens, that they were citizens, not merely patrons without integral connections to the community and culture of the city. In the last chapter, Verity Platt discusses the rhetorical texts of three authors (Dio Chrysostom, Favorinus and Themistius) who referred to the reuse of honorific statues and inscriptions and how this practice changed the reading of the monument. The power of Rome is clearly present in the monuments and the author's attitude depended upon his own position in Roman society.

The individual chapters are interesting, but the variety is revealed both a blessing and a curse by the last section viewing similar subjects from different points of view. The mere scrape of the surface turns into a varied and detailed contemplation. Many of the topics are also related to relatively unique or rare objects and more common themes are perhaps not

explored as much as could have been done. The effort to promote interdisciplinary approaches can only be applauded and one can hope it will be continued in further work.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

DANIELA BALDONI: *Vasi a matrice di età imperiale a Iasos. Missione archeologica italiana di Iasos III*. *Archaeologica* 139. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2003. ISBN 88-7689-196-X. IX, 102 pp. EUR 146.

After an interval of several years this book resumes the publication of the results of the Italian fieldwork at Iasos, northeast of the Halikarnassos peninsula. This Carian city has a long history and some outstanding remains; it was uninterruptedly inhabited since the Early Bronze Age, and became much later, in 125 BC, a prosperous part of the Roman province of Asia.

The two previous volumes of the Italian archaeological mission at Iasos concentrated on monumental remains, and may be seen as fruits of different methodology and aims of research, while the current volume casts light on the city's life in an era of minor creativity. The object of the study is more than three hundred fragments of the fine mould-made ware, from the late first century through the early fourth century. The material, sometimes with hazy chronological contexts, comes from the old excavations, and consequently forms a rather fortuitous choice of this material at Iasos. The catalogue entries are supported either by drawings or photos of most items, and the material is conventionally divided into closed or open shapes and those with plastic decoration, the first group being by far the most numerous. The reader would have appreciated a clarifying word on the principles and the general parallels in the catalogue, and especially on the (former?) typologies, which are now taken for granted in p. 39 ff and p. 49 ff; otherwise the entry texts are quite sufficient.

In the introductory part of the book, the presentation of the Imperial mould-made ware in Asia Minor is very good indeed with all the technical details, different production centres and diffusion of the exports. On the concluding part, it appears that there circulated in Iasos both locally made moulded ware as well as Cnidian and Pergamene products. The very enlightening historical and economical review of fine wares in general in the eastern Mediterranean, pp. 85–90, should have been given at least a subtitle of its own; now it is inserted, somewhat unfortunately, under the general heading of conclusions. Putting it instead in the beginning, as a complementary part of the presentation of the moulded ware from Asia Minor, might have proved a better solution and given even more volume to the background of the Imperial fine wares in this part of the ancient world.

Despite the vacillating organization of the text, the material has been analyzed with skill, the text in general makes nice reading, and the conclusions are a new opening in the ceramic studies of the area. This volume is also number 139 of the meritorious series *Archaeologica*.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

GEORGIOS I. DESPINIS: *Hochrelieffriese des 2. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. aus Athen*. Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Athenische Abteilung. Hirmer Verlag, München 2003. 3-7774-9870-X. XXII, 217 S., 91 Taf. EUR 68.

This book is simultaneously an homage to Margarete Bieber, who started working on Athenian relief friezes of the mid-Imperial period in the early 20th century under difficult circumstances, and a proof of other researchers' perseverance in finalizing the task some ninety years later.

The central part of the material was formed by the familiar high relief slabs of the Theatre of Dionysos, taken from an earlier building and incorporated in the bema in the early 5th century by archon Phaidros. Corresponding fragments, many of which have been known since the late 19th century, were traced not only in the storerooms of Athenian museums, but also in European and even North American collections. Most of the material is only now being properly published; the catalogue is arranged according to the museums, and then according to the subject, naked or robed males, and clothed women forming the majority.

After detailed research, the material was divided into five different entities, two of which were of Dionysian subject and separated according to the slabs' measurements, technical features, iconography, and style; the fragments were thus connected to Hadrian's building activity. Another crucial problem was the attempt to identify the buildings once adorned with these series of high reliefs. In this, the original whereabouts of storing the fragments before their removal to the National Museum in 1875 was of great importance. Several candidates are presented, from temples to choregic monuments, mostly in the northern side of the Acropolis, but reaching a definite solution is hardly possible. The workshops are pondered over, including all those outside Athens and in the area of Corinth, taking into consideration, among others things, sarcophagi, statue bases, and altars.

It is a pleasure to hail an expert sculptural study, profoundly researched and well written, which enlarges considerably our knowledge of Attic art in the Roman period.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

GLORIA S. MERKER: *The Greek Tile Works at Corinth: The Site and the Finds*. With a Contribution by CHARLES K. WILLIAMS II. Hesperia Supplement 35. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens 2006. ISBN 978-0-87661-535-5. XIII, 185 pp. USD 55, GBP 35.

PHILIP B. BETANCOURT: *The Chrysokamino Metallurgy Workshop And Its Territory*. Hesperia Supplement 36. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens 2006. ISBN 978-0-87661-536-2. XXII, 462 pp. USD 65, GBP 40.

The excavation report is undoubtedly the most common archaeological publication. Sometimes the report comes long after the actual fieldwork has been completed; this is the case with Gloria S. Merker's book on the Tile Works at Corinth. The excavation took place in 1939, long before Merker herself even became an archaeologist. Sometimes the time gap is much shorter and the fieldwork at Chrysokamino on Crete, directed by Philip B. Betancourt,

is admirably published in a mere decade's time. The importance of a report should never be underestimated, but appreciated instead; the greatest archaeological sin having thus been successfully avoided.

Merker has also the thankless task of reporting someone else's work which is never easy, and she does it well. The emphasis of the volume is on publishing the finds, particularly those regarded as products of the Corinth tile works. The finds catalogue also includes other ceramic products of local manufacture as well as imports and covers ca. two thirds of the book. Merker's work has been augmented by a section on architectural terracottas by Charles K. Williams II. The introduction presents the research history and chapter one the structures and phasing of the Tile Works. Each find is described in detail and most are also depicted in black and white photographs. The volume will serve well its purpose as a research tool.

The Chrysokamino site is a metallurgical workshop in Eastern Crete, known for a long time, but has been properly studied only in the mid-nineties in a special project directed by Betancourt. The site was excavated and the finds related to metallurgy analyzed with scientific methods with good results. The work also included a survey in the territory surrounding the workshop in order to study its wider social and economic background. The results of most of the work are reported here, but for example the excavations of a settlement site nearby will be published separately.

The Chrysokamino volume also consists to a great extent of descriptions of various types of excavation and survey finds. The book is divided into two parts, one devoted to the metallurgy workshop and the other to the results of the survey. Approximately one third of the pages consist of appendixes. Each artifact category is described and discussed in a separate article in a rather traditional manner. The scientific analyses of slags and furnace chimney fragments are included as appendixes. Somewhat curiously, some of the survey finds have also been included as appendixes instead of giving them a place in the chapters discussing the sites. The chapters also include a lengthy discussion of early metallurgy in the Mediterranean as well as of the boundaries and land use around the Chrysokamino farmstead found in the survey work.

The structures and finds from Corinth come from an old excavation which probably means that most of them have been collected without much attention to context. There is, however, some contextual data in the descriptions and a simple table listing the finds from each recognized context would have been a useful addition to the information published. This could even have given some new insight into the material itself. Somewhat surprisingly, the same problem is present in the Chrysokamino volume representing data from recent work. Little attention is paid to the layers and structures excavated and few distribution maps have been included. There are few proper features in the workshop area and it would have taken only a little time and space to give them full descriptions. The finds from various contexts are separated into the various discussions and no aids are given to anyone who might be interested in trying to reconstruct find distributions. Even the context information is somewhat enigmatic – the letter and number codes are not fully explained, but comparison between the distributions maps and codes confirms that they signify the letter-number codes of grid squares and then excavation layers.

Both volumes represent the traditional excavation report well enough. Both could also have been at least slightly improved with a more contextual approach.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

J. THEODORE PEÑA: *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 987-0-521-86541-8. XVIII, 430 pp. GBP 55, USD 95.

Writing about pottery in classical archaeology means usually – even today – creating a catalogue of diagnostic pieces and little beyond. Although the catalogues are essential for further studies, they are relatively rarely used for trying to look at pottery or other types of finds from fresh perspectives. J. Theodore Peña's new book on Roman pottery is nothing like that; instead, the emphasis is on taking a look at the lifecycle of ceramics, allowing for varying kinds of approaches to objects beyond typology and chronology. The book has already attracted much attention among the scientific community, and even a special seminar was held in Athens in June 2008 on this subject.

The idea behind the approach is not new – Michael B. Schiffer already presented it in a 1972 article "Archaeological Context and Systemic Context" (*American Antiquity* 37, 156–165). The topic has been developed in many ways, particularly in the social life of artifacts, in the archaeological and anthropological literature of the 1980's and 1990's, but much of that remains outside of Peña's interests (and does not even get mentioned). His approach could be described as processual and it is summed up in a few flow diagrams tracking the life of pottery from raw materials (nature) through manufacture, use and discard (systemic context) to becoming part of the archaeological context. The main emphasis is on what happens during the use-life or the systemic context divided into 7–8 categories: manufacture, distribution, use/reuse, maintenance, recycling, discard and reclamation.

The volume is divided into 11 chapters, three of which are dedicated to developing and describing the model and the rest to the phases of pottery's lifecycle. The reuse of pottery is discussed in three chapters. The book makes an interesting reading, but sometimes Peña's aim at clear uses of terms and concepts results in repetition and even slightly amusing passages (e.g., pp. 121–123 on methods of amphora modification). The central part on amphorae is particularly heavy with detail which feels rather excessive. The images consist of black and white photographs and drawings. In many cases, the photographs look more than slightly out of focus and more than once a color photograph would have been necessary to fully grasp what is pictured. Inspection of the bibliography reveals that the manuscript might have been waiting for publication for a couple of years.

What is very important about this book is the way it charts all the evidence for each phase of the pottery lifecycle and shows the gaping holes in many of them. Surprisingly little is still known of each category. Previously, manufacturing processes and distribution patterns have been studied to some extent and this is evident from the synthetic manner in which the topic is approached. Prime use is already on a much less secure basis as shown by lack of references to specialist studies. Innovative use of all available evidence results in interesting discoveries, such as the charting of the use-life for amphorae used in Pompeii in AD 79 by starting from the dates mentioned in the *tituli picti*. As already stated above, the reuse of amphorae and other types of pottery take up a major part of the book, ca. one third of it. The list of uses for whole or fragments of amphorae is staggering and one has to wonder the ingenuity of the Roman users. Amphorae – the ancient equivalent of modern household tricks with a nylon pantyhose (a popular and amusing Finnish tradition at least)? The recycling chapter draws partly on similar material. The chapter on maintenance is also very interesting, showing how often and carefully the seemingly fairly easily replaceable pottery has been

repaired. The last chapter on the lifecycle is on discard and reclamation which approaches the subject through some contexts, such as pottery workshops, various storage and retail facilities as well as residences. Valuable additions are being made for reworking of this chapter by the new fieldwork conducted in Pompeii, where a great number of waste pits have been found and excavated in almost all outdoor areas, at least gardens, courtyards, and streets.

This is an innovative and exciting look into a topic which may appear boring and dry as dust. The book offers countless ideas for further research and discussion of the topics it has covered, but should also inspire work in fields that were not discussed. These include, e.g., many contexts where pottery is commonly found, such as burials, or the recovery and recording of pottery in classical archaeology. The same approach could also be applied to any type of material culture. In addition, the social life of pottery and other objects of material culture in the Roman context are also waiting for further studies.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

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