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**EXEMPLA STRATEGICI, SIMBOLI GEOGRAFICI ED AQVILAE
IN ALCUNI PASSI DI AMMIANO
MARCELLINO**

MAURIZIO COLOMBO

1. *Exempla strategici*

Amm. 23,5,17 *Traianus et Verus Seuerus hinc sunt digressi uictores et tropaeati, redissetque pari splendore iunior Gordianus, cuius monumentum nunc uidimus honorate, apud Resainan superato fugatoque rege Persarum, ni factione Philippi praefecti praetorio, scelestis iuuantibus paucis, in hoc ubi sepultus est loco uulnere impio cecidisset.* Nel solenne discorso che Giuliano tiene alle truppe subito prima di invadere la Mesopotamia meridionale,¹ appaiono giustapposti due *exempla*, uno triplice e l'altro singolo, dotati di un valore opposto (augurio volontario e fausto ~ *omen* involontario e nefasto), ma concordemente funzionali ad anticipare in maniera allusiva gli ambiziosi scopi e l'esito tragico della spedizione contro i Persiani.²

Le guerre partiche di Traiano, Lucio Vero e Settimio Severo qui hanno

¹ Amm. 23,5,16–23.

² Sugli *exempla* ammiani rimando alle osservazioni generali di R.C. Blockley, *Ammianus Marcellinus. A Study of his Historiography and Political Thought* (Coll. Latomus 141), Bruxelles 1975, 157–167 (elenco degli *exempla* a 191–194), e id., "Ammianus Marcellinus's Use of Exempla", *Florilegium* 13 (1994) 53–64, che però non dedica la minima attenzione al carattere speciale di questo passo. Rilevo la medesima lacuna anche in J. den Boeft, J.W. Drijvers, D. den Hengst, H.C. Teitler, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII*, Groningen 1998, 115–118, on 23, 5, 17; F. Wittchow, *Exemplarisches Erzählen bei Ammianus Marcellinus. Episode, Exemplum, Anekdote*, Leipzig 2001, 174; A. Pellizzari, "Haec ut antiquitatum peritus exposui (Amm. XXIII 5, 21). Le conoscenze e l'uso della storia romana antica in Ammiano", in A.M. Biraschi, P. Desideri, S. Roda e G. Zecchini (edd.), *L'uso dei documenti nella storiografia antica*, Napoli 2003, 645–658.

un duplice valore; i tre imperatori erano sia i precedenti illustri e antichi,³ che nell'armamentario retorico del discorso imperiale giustificavano autorevolmente la profonda offensiva e i piani grandiosi di Giuliano,⁴ sia i simboli storici delle prospettive strategiche che animavano effettivamente Giuliano, cioè la conquista di nuove province a danno dei Persiani, e la presa della stessa Ctesifonte. Il triplice *exemplum* di Giuliano per via di allusione storica preannuncia anche il teatro geografico della guerra persiana, che avrebbe investito appunto la Mesopotamia meridionale, cioè l'*Assyria/Āsūristān*;⁵ là sorgeva la capitale regia Ctesifonte, nuovamente meta finale delle armi romane, come era già accaduto appunto ai tempi gloriosi di Traiano, Lucio Vero e Settimio Severo.

Poi l'*omen* sottilmente allusivo di Gordiano III, un "presagio

³ Traiano: Eutr. 8,3; Ruf. Fest. 14,3–4 e 20,2–3. Lucio Vero: Eutr. 8,10,2 e Ruf. Fest. 21,1. Settimio Severo: Aur. Vict. 20,14–17; Eutr. 8,18,4; Ruf. Fest. 21,2. La memoria visibile del solo Traiano (Amm. 24,2,3), o di Traiano e di Settimio Severo (24,6,1 e 25,8,5), accompagna l'entusiasmante avanzata e chiude la drammatica ritirata dell'esercito romano attraverso la Mesopotamia meridionale; la significativa menzione di Traiano e di Settimio Severo in Amm. 25,8,5 è lo specchio esemplare e simbolico della crisi e dello sbandamento, che percorrevano le truppe sconfitte, esauste ed affamate del nuovo imperatore Gioviano dopo la vergognosa pace con Shapur II: *prope Hatram uenimus, uetus oppidum in media solitudine positum olimque desertum, quod eruendum adorti temporibus uariis Traianus et Seuerus principes bellicos cum exercitibus paene deleti sunt, ut in eorum actibus has quoque digessimus partes.*

⁴ Amm. 23,5,16 *contionari disposui, docturus ratione multiplici non nunc primum, ut maledici mussitant, Romanos penetrasse regna Persidis.* Un esercito romano aveva preso e saccheggiato Ctesifonte ottant'anni prima, un altro aveva raggiunto la *Media Atropatene* e attraversato l'*Adiabena* più di sessant'anni prima (v. nnt. 11–13 e 18); poi a cadenza annuale dal 338 al 350, e nuovamente nel biennio 359–360 d.C., le offensive dei Persiani si concentrarono contro la provincia romana di *Mesopotamia*. Verso il 343 d.C. Costanzo II aveva compiuto un felice contrattacco in *Adiabena*, dove aveva espugnato una città anonima, deportandone gli abitanti in Tracia (Lib. Or. 59,83 e *CIL* III, 3705); ma nel 360 d.C. il medesimo imperatore fallì la riconquista di Bezabde sulla riva destra del Tigri (Amm. 20,11,1–25 e 31–32): nella primavera 363 d.C. un esercito romano non calpestava il territorio persiano da vent'anni, e l'ultimo trionfo risaliva ai tempi lontani di Diocleziano.

⁵ Eutr. 10,16,1. Amm. 23,2,7. 3,1. 6,14–15 e 23 (cfr. Eutr. 8,10,2 *Seleuciam, Assyriae urbem nobilissimam*, e Ruf. Fest. 21,1 *Seleuciam, Assyriae urbem*); 24,1,1 (cfr. 2,6) e 8,4; 25,4,13 (cfr. 23,3,5). Sull'identificazione dell'*Assyria* con l'*Āsūristān* = Mesopotamia meridionale, cfr. E. Honigmann et A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, Bruxelles 1953, 41–63; A. Maricq, "Classica et Orientalia. 5. Res Gestae Divi Saporis", *Syria* 35 (1958) 304–305 e 349; id., "Classica et Orientalia. 6. La province d' 'Assyrie' créée par Trajan. À propos de la guerre parthique de Trajan", *Syria* 36 (1959) 254–261.

involontario" del discorso imperiale,⁶ integra i buoni propositi di Giuliano con un riferimento velato all'esito reale dell'impresa persiana; esso rappresenta un'alternativa ingegnosa ed originale al banale "oracolo di Ctesifonte", che fu fabbricato *ex euentu* dopo la morte improvvisa di Caro per un fulmine, mentre l'esercito romano avanzava a est di Ctesifonte.⁷ Menzionando l'*insidiosus interitus* di Gordiano III nella narrazione (Amm. 23,5,7) e soprattutto nella fittizia *contio*, Ammiano evoca la tragica fine dello stesso Giuliano, e getta un'ombra di sospetto sulle circostanze della sua morte; nella narrazione relativa all'ultima battaglia di Giuliano, lo storiografo registra debitamente la temerarietà eccessiva dell'imperatore, ma mira ad instillare dubbi, e suggerisce una possibilità inquietante piuttosto che lanciare un'accusa aperta: *Qua concitus clade, oblitus loricae, scuto inter tumultum adrepto [...] Quae dum sine respectu periculi sui redintegrare festinat [...] Verum principe uolitante inter prima discrimina proeliorum [...] cum Iulianus cauendi immemor [...] audenter effunderet semet in pugnam, clamabant hinc inde candidati (quos disiecerat terror), ut fugientium molem tamquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret, et incertum <unde> subita equestris hasta cute brachii eius praestricta, costis perfossis, haesit in ima iecoris fibra.*⁸

In termini crudi, si trattava di un'uccisione casuale a opera di un Persiano, o di un incidente ovvero assassinio volontario per mano di un soldato romano?

⁶ Io sono solito ritenere i discorsi imperiali delle *Res Gestae* rielaborazioni attendibili e fedeli *ad rem* (così anche P. de Jonge, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XVII*, Groningen 1977, 374, on 17, 13, 26: "He aims at a reliable rendering of the general tenor of what was really said, but language and style are Ammianus' own work"); però qui la menzione ominosa di Gordiano III è troppo bella per essere vera: sarebbe stato l'ennesimo presagio che consigliava a Giuliano di rinviare la spedizione! Si noti anche la perfetta corrispondenza tra le parole infauste e il triplice *exemplum* di Amm. 23,5,19 *At si fortuna uersabilis in pugna me usquam fuderit, mihi uero pro Romano orbe memet uouisse sufficet, ut Curtii Muciiue ueteres et clara prosapia Deciorum*; i nomi sono tratti dalla storia arcaica di Roma repubblicana, e bilanciano simmetricamente il trio di imperatori vittoriosi. Ciò sfugge a den Boeft, Drijvers, den Hengst, Teitler (sopra nt. 2) 121–122, on 23, 5, 19.

⁷ L'oracolo in Aur. Vict. 38,3–4; Hist. Aug. *Car.* 8,2 e 9,1. Il solo fulmine in Eutr. 9,18,1 *Et cum castra super Tigridem haberet, ui diuini fulminis periiit*; Ruf. Fest. 24,2 *ui fulminis ictus interiiit*.

⁸ Amm. 25,3,3–6. Cfr. il cenno cursorio di N. Baglivi, *Ammiana*, Catania 1995, 229 nt. 199, secondo cui la duplice menzione di Gordiano III "preannunciava forse la fine stessa di Giuliano provocata *incertum unde, subita equestris hasta*... (25,3,6)".

La terribile mischia in cui l'imperatore ricevè una ferita mortale,⁹ permette ad Ammiano di esprimere in modo implicito la seconda ipotesi (*incertum unde*), e di rilanciarla ulteriormente con un'insinuazione obliqua, attribuita sotto forma di insulti ai Persiani, che avevano raccolto un *rumor incertus* dei disertori romani.¹⁰ Gordiano III era stato proditoriamente ucciso da una *factio* dei suoi soldati durante la guerra persiana; il valore allusivo del suo nome appare coerente con il dubbio e l'accusa obliqua di Ammiano nella successiva narrazione.

Ritorniamo ai tre vincitori dei Parti, per comprendere quali criteri abbiano ispirato la scelta dei loro nomi, e perché lo storiografo per bocca di Giuliano li definisca sorprendentemente *recens memoria*; benché Giuliano/Ammiano ometta volontariamente tali dettagli, il III secolo d.C. aveva assistito anche a due grandi e memorabili vittorie dei Romani sul regno sasanide. Nel 283 e nel 297–298 d.C. i Persiani avevano subito due schiaccianti disfatte, prima ad opera dell'imperatore Caro,¹¹ poi per mano di Galerio *Caesar*;¹² la seconda vittoria aveva fruttato a Diocleziano addirittura la riconquista definitiva della Mesopotamia settentrionale (province romane di *Osdroena* e di *Mesopotamia*), il pieno recupero del protettorato sull'Armenia, e l'acquisizione eccezionale di cinque satrapie oltre il Tigri.¹³ Nella narrazione ammiana il *bellum Persicum* di Caro è forse menzionato una sola volta;¹⁴ invece le vittoriose imprese di Galerio contro i Persiani e le sue conquiste ai

⁹ Amm. 25,3,1–13.

¹⁰ Amm. 25,6,6 *e saltibus nos hostes diuersitate telorum et uerbis turpibus incesebant, ut perfidos et lectissimi principis peremptores: audierant enim ipsi quoque referentibus transfugis, rumore iactato incerto, Iulianum telo cecidisse Romano.*

¹¹ Aur. Vict. 38,2–3; Eutr. 9,18,1; Ruf. Fest. 24,2; Hist. Aug. *Car.* 8,1. Aurelio Vittore (*fusus hostibus*) ed Eutropio (*Ipsos proelio fudit*) contro Festo (*quasi nullo obsistente*) e la *Historia Augusta* (*nullo sibi occurrente [...] occupatisque Persis domestica seditione*) ricordano concordi almeno una vittoria campale di Caro sui Persiani, prima che Ctesifonte e Seleucia fossero prese.

¹² Aur. Vict. 39,33–37; Eutr. 9, 24, 1–25, 1; Ruf. Fest. 25,1–3.

¹³ Aur. Vict. 39,37; Ruf. Fest. 14,5 e 25,3; Amm. 25,7,9.

¹⁴ Amm. 24,5,3 *Coche (quam Seleuciam nominant) haud longius disparatur [...] ciuitatem desertam conlustrans, a Caro principe quondam excisam*; ma Caro è soltanto un'emendazione di Lindénbrog per la lezione corrotta *sacro* di V. Henri de Valois propose *Vero*, e Gardthausen stampò *Seuero*; entrambe le congetture possiedono un'alta verosimiglianza.

danni di Narseh sono ricordate spesso e volentieri.¹⁵ Nel discorso di Giuliano all'esercito non sorprende l'omissione di Caro, e brilla l'assenza di Galerio; ma entrambe le scelte possono essere chiarite e giustificate, l'una in relazione alle esigenze narrative, l'altra su basi storiche.

Caro era stato l'ultimo imperatore a raggiungere e saccheggiare Ctesifonte,¹⁶ percorrendo anch'egli la via dell'Eufrate come lo stesso Giuliano si apprestava a fare, ma Giuliano/Ammiano, proprio in apertura di una grande spedizione nei medesimi luoghi, non poteva menzionarlo come fausto precedente (soprattutto in abbinamento con Gordiano III!); infatti la trionfale campagna di Caro contro i Persiani aveva un valore evidentemente ominoso per il suo decesso nel corso dell'ulteriore avanzata a est di Ctesifonte, e le modalità singolari della sua morte non erano spendibili per alludere velatamente al ferimento sospetto di Giuliano.

Galerio è stato tralasciato per una ragione cogente sul piano storico, poiché il *Caesar* d'Oriente, dopo la sua devastante vittoria sullo stesso Narseh in Armenia,¹⁷ di là non raggiunse Ctesifonte, ma invase prima la *Media Atropatene*, poi l'*Adiabena*.¹⁸ La vittoriosa campagna di Galerio contro i Persiani ebbe uno scenario totalmente distinto in confronto alla massiccia offensiva di Giuliano nella Mesopotamia meridionale;¹⁹ quindi Giuliano/Ammiano per incompatibilità geografica non poteva nominare neppure Galerio come fausto precedente.

L'omissione tendenziosa di Caro e di Galerio aveva anche un'altra funzione tanto nel discorso imperiale,²⁰ quanto nell'esposizione ammiana delle

¹⁵ Amm. 16,10,3; 22,4,8; 23,5,11; 24,1,10; 25,7,9 (cfr. 17,5,6).

¹⁶ V. nt. 11.

¹⁷ Aur. Vict. 39,34–35; Eutr. 9,25,1; Ruf. Fest. 25,2.

¹⁸ I *cognomina deuictarum gentium* dei Tetrarchi dioclezianei (*CIL* III, 6151 e p. 824; *AE* 1961, 240 e 1973, 526a), cioè *Persicus Maximus II*, *Armeniacus Maximus*, *Medicus Maximus*, *Adiabenicus Maximus*, ed Eutr. 9,25,1 *Pulso Narseo [...] ipsum in ultimas regni solitudines egit*, autorizzano la seguente ricostruzione: Galerio inseguendo Narseh attraverso l'*Armenia* penetrò nella *Media Atropatene*, poi fece ritorno in territorio romano percorrendo l'*Adiabena* da oriente verso occidente.

¹⁹ Per quanto riguarda l'offensiva di Galerio in Armenia, cfr. il commento pregnante di Aur. Vict. 39,34 *quae ferme sola seu facilius uincendi uia est*; Giuliano conobbe personalmente e onorò lo storiografo africano (Amm. 21,10,6), ma non lesse il suo opuscolo, o non gli prestò sufficiente attenzione.

²⁰ Amm. 23,5,18 *Et illos quidem uoluntas ad altiora propensiores subire impulit facinora memoranda, nos uero miseranda strages [regens V recens EBG species Henricus Valesius strages Hadrianus Valesius miserandae preces Kellerbauer lac. Clark recens Seyfarth]*

nobili motivazioni che ispirarono l'ultima impresa di Giuliano;²¹ in entrambi i casi l'assenza fittizia di rivincite romane conferiva il massimo rilievo alla necessità morale ed alle giuste ragioni del *bellum Persicum*, che a Giuliano sembrava legittimo e opportuno tanto sul piano storico quanto per cause pragmatiche. La dolorosa storia delle guerre romano-persiane, nella versione personale dell'imperatore, forniva la giustificazione ideologica (che ovviamente coincide con l'opinione di Ammiano) alle proporzioni grandiose e alle ambizioni strategiche dell'impresa bellica; vendicare le disfatte militari e le devastazioni dei tempi presenti era una necessità pratica e un obbligo morale, come ribadisce il giudizio finale dell'*elogium*.²²

La distruzione di Amida e di Singara con le rispettive guarnigioni, così come la perdita di Bezabde con il suo presidio, e la fallita riconquista della medesima città a opera di Costanzo II, sicuramente imponevano a Giuliano di dare una risposta militare su grande scala (come già lo stesso Costanzo II si preparava a fare, prima che il cugino e *Caesar* gli si ribellasse),²³ ma il nuovo imperatore mirava molto più in alto rispetto alla semplice riconquista di una città-fortezza e ad una fortunata incursione in *Adiabena*; Ammiano sottolinea due volte i disastri presenti, proprio per difendere indirettamente le eccessive

captarum urbium et inultae caesorum exercituum umbrae et damnorum magnitudines castrorumque amissiones ad haec quae proposuimus hortantur. Un quadro analogo in Eutr. 10,10,1 *Diuersa Constantii fortuna fuit. A Persis enim multa et grauia perpeusus saepe captis oppidis, obsessis urbibus, caesis exercitibus* (maggiori dettagli in Ruf. Fest. 27,1-3).

²¹ Amm. 22,12,1 *Inter haec expeditionem parans in Persas, quam dudum animi robore conceperat celso, ad ultionem praeteritorum uehementer elatus est, sciens et audiens gentem asperrimam per sexaginta ferme annos* [dagli ultimi tempi di Massimino il Trace al regno di Diocleziano: le grandi vittorie di Caro e di Galerio sono disinvoltamente comprese nel computo cronologico!] *inussisse Orienti caedum et direptionum monumenta saeuissima, ad intermeccionem exercitibus nostris saepe deletis:* un'omissione analoga a quella del discorso giuliano.

²² Amm. 25,4,23-24 e 26 *Et quoniam obtrectatores nouos bellorum tumultus ad perniciem rei communis insimulant concitasse, sciant docente ueritate perspicue non Iulianum sed Constantinum ardores Parthicos succendisse, cum Metrodori mendacis audius adquiescit, ut dudum rettulimus plene. Vnde caesi ad indignationem exercitus nostri, capti militares aliquotiens numeri, urbes excisae, rapta munimenta uel diruta, prouinciae grauibus impensis exhaustae, et ad effectum tendentibus minis cuncta petebantur a Persis ad usque Bithynos et litora Propontidis [...]. Itaque ut Orientem pari studio recrearet, adortus est Persas, triumphum exinde relaturus et cognomentum, si consilii eius et factis illustribus decreta caelestia congruissent.* Cfr. anche G. Sabbah, *La méthode d'Ammien Marcellin. Recherches sur la construction du discours historique dans les Res Gestae*, Paris 1978, 484-485 e nt. 94.

²³ Amm. 20,4,1-2 e 8,1.

ambizioni e l'avventurismo militare di Giuliano, suffragando l'effettiva e stringente necessità di un'offensiva massiccia nella Mesopotamia meridionale.

2. Simboli geografici

Sotto i successori di Costantino l'ottica imperiale ha subito un radicale e definitivo mutamento, rispecchiando la divisione politica tra le due metà dell'impero romano.²⁴ Appare molto significativo che Ammiano Marcellino associ Eufrate e Reno una sola volta e al solo scopo di denigrare pesantemente l'*aduentus* di Costanzo II a Roma (16,10,6 *Et tamquam Euphraten armorum specie territorius aut Rhenum*); là i due fiumi simboleggiano in modo realistico i confini orientali e occidentali dell'impero romano nel 357 d.C., dato che dal 353 al 361 d.C. Costanzo II regnò effettivamente sull'intero impero in qualità di unico *Augustus*.²⁵

Se teniamo conto dei *Panegyrici Latini*, in età diocleziana l'Eufrate è nominato leggermente più spesso del Tigri;²⁶ sotto Costanzo II l'Eufrate costituiva il confine fisico dell'Oriente romano,²⁷ e offriva l'estremo baluardo alle province siriane e alle regioni sudorientali dell'Asia Minore contro le maggiori offensive dei Persiani:²⁸ anche le operazioni militari di Costanzo II in Mesopotamia settentrionale, o la grande spedizione di Giuliano nella

²⁴ Per l'età altoimperiale, cfr. invece Sen. *De breuit.* 4,5; Flor. *Epit.* 2,34; Iuv. 8,169–170; Stat. *Silu.* 4,4,61–64; 5,1,88–91 e 2,132–142. Cfr. anche la prosopopea di Roma in Claud. *De VI cons. Hon.* 413–416 *Segnius an ueteres Histrum Rhenumque tenebant, / qui nostram coluere domum? Leuiusue timebant / Tigris et Euphrates, cum foedera Medus et Indus / hinc peteret pacemque mea speraret ab arce?*, dove *ueteres* = Alto Impero.

²⁵ Ciò sfugge sia a Y.M. Duval, "La venue à Rome de l'empereur Constance II, d'après Ammien Marcellin (XVI, 10, 1–20)", *Caesarodunum* 5 (1970) 299–304, sia a P. de Jonge, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XVI*, Groningen 1972, 116, on 16, 10, 6.

²⁶ *Pan. Lat.* 10,2,6; 11,6,6; 8,3,3; Eumenio, *Pan. Lat.* 9,18,4. Cfr. anche 10,7,5 *Credo, itidem opimam illam fertilemque Syriam uelut amplexu suo tegebat Euphrates, antequam Diocletiano sponte se dederent regna Persarum* (numerazione e testo dei *Panegyrici Latini* sono sempre conformi all'edizione OCT di R.A.B. Mynors).

²⁷ *Amm.* 14,8,5 *Orientis uero limes in longum protentus et rectum ab Euphratis fluminis ripis ad usque supercilia porrigitur Nili*; 18,6,3; 21,1,1. 7,1. 13,2; 23,3,1. Dopo che Singara e Bezabde furono espugnate dai Persiani nel 360 d.C. (20,6,1–7,16), il confine politico ancora corrispondeva alla riva destra del Tigri superiore (cfr. 21,13,3).

²⁸ *Amm.* 18,7,4. 7,6. 7,9.

Mesopotamia meridionale, sono accomunate dal medesimo punto di partenza, cioè la riva destra dell'Eufrate superiore.²⁹

L'anonimo panegirista del 313 d.C., menzionando la sorte clemente dei soldati massenziani, nomina la coppia *Rhenus Danubiusque*, per alludere ai *limites* di Costantino sul continente europeo;³⁰ qui *Danubius* designa in realtà soltanto il tratto fluviale della *Raetia II*, visto che il *bellum Maxentianum* del 312 d.C. aveva fruttato a Costantino anche *Raetia I e II*, in quanto propaggini settentrionali della *diocesis Italiciana*. Disperdere i soldati superstiti del defunto Massenzio tra le guarnigioni delle province confinarie fu un provvedimento saggio e utile del trionfante Costantino; ma in un'orazione panegirica la sobria registrazione di tale dato rappresenta, per così dire, una promozione propagandistica rispetto alla consueta menzione del solo *Rhenus*.³¹

Auson. *Grat. act. 7 testis est uno pacatus anno et Danuuii limes et Rheni*, menziona associati i due fiumi principali dell'Europa romana, per riassumere in termini molto ottimistici le campagne militari di Graziano e dei suoi generali, condotte dal tardo autunno 377 alla medesima stagione del 378 d.C.;³² in questo passo *Rhenus* allude alla grande vittoria di Graziano sugli Alamanni Lentienses nella prima estate 378,³³ *Danuuius* agli splendidi successi del *comes Illyrici* Frigeridus e del *magister equitum praesentalis* Teodosio, dopo che l'uno nel tardo autunno 377 aveva sorpreso e distrutto nella *Dacia Mediterranea* l'orda mista di Greuthungi e di Taifali sotto il comando del principe ostrogoto Farnobius,³⁴ e l'altro nel tardo autunno 378 aveva appena sbaragliato i Sarmati

²⁹ Amm. 20,11,4 (cfr. 21,1,1) e 21,7,7; 23,2,7.

³⁰ *Pan. Lat.* 12,21,3 *Iam oblitī deliciarum Circi maximi et Pompeiani theatri et nobilium lauacrorum Rheno Danubioque praetendunt, excubias agunt, latrocinia compescunt, certant denique cum uictoribus ut ciuili bello uicti hostibus comparentur.*

³¹ *Pan. Lat.* 6,11,1. 11,3–4. 13,1–2. 18,2; 12,2,6. 3,2. 5,5. 21,5. 22,3. 22,6. Cfr. anche 7,4,2 e 8,4; 6,6,4. Questa notazione è assente in C.E.V. Nixon – B. Saylor Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini*. Introduction, Translation and Historical Commentary with the Latin Text of R.A.B. Mynors, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford 1994, 326.

³² La menzione congiunta di *Rhenus* e *Hister* appare topica già in età altoimperiale: Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 6,7,1; Mart. *Epigr.* 7,7,1–5 e 8,11,1–4; Stat. *Theb.* 1,17–20; *Silu.* 5,1,127–129; Plin. *Pan.* 63,4 e 82,4.

³³ Amm. 31,10,5–17; Hier. *Chron.* CCLXXXVIII Olymp., Valentiniani et Valentis XIII 1, 248 Helm; *Epit. de Caes.* 47,2.

³⁴ Amm. 31,9,3–4.

in *Valeria* e *Pannonia II* (forse anche in *Moesia I*).³⁵ Alle tre vittorie corrispondono appunto *Germanicus (Maximus)*, *Alamannicus (Maximus)* e *Sarmaticus (Maximus)* nel panegirico di Ausonio,³⁶ che rispetta perfettamente l'ordine cronologico: prima i Greuthungi e i Taifali, poi gli Alamanni Lentienses, infine i Sarmati.³⁷

La giustapposizione tendenziosa ed adulatoria delle due situazioni strategiche, e la presenza del vago e comune verbo *paco*, nascondono il carattere unicamente difensivo dei successi romani nella regione danubiana; infatti la sola guerra contro i Lentienses fu coronata da una spedizione punitiva *in barbarico*,³⁸ e Ausonio ha cura specifica di elogiare in modo allusivo la rinuncia di Graziano a muovere contro i Sarmati oltre il medio Danubio:³⁹ in sede di panegirico ovviamente non si poteva lasciar trasparire la causa principale di tale decisione, cioè la simultanea invasione della *dioecesis Daciae* a opera di Goti, Alani e Unni.

La disinvolta e sonora associazione dei due *limites* doveva suggerire implicitamente che fosse già avvenuta l'auspicata disfatta di Goti, Alani e Unni, che allora occupavano stabilmente le province tracicche, e avanzavano implacabili verso occidente attraverso la *dioecesis Daciae* e la Pannonia meridionale; Ausonio nella *Gratiarum actio* non menziona mai Goti, Alani e Unni, ma tutte e tre le tribù sono presenti nella *Precatio consulis designati*, dove il *grammaticus* e poeta aquitano ribadisce il medesimo punto di vista propagandistico e ottimista, ma adopera termini espliciti: t u t t i g l i *hostes* nominati erano g i à stati debellati su e n t r a m b i i fiumi.⁴⁰

Nella rielaborazione ammianea dell'*oratio contionaria*, che il 24 Agosto 367 d.C. Valentiniano I, imperatore d'Occidente, pronunciò per la nomina di suo figlio Graziano ad *Augustus* ed erede designato, compare ancora la coppia

³⁵ Them. Or. 14,182 C e 15,198 A; Pacato, *Pan. Lat.* 2,10,2–4; Auson. *Prec. cons. des.* 31; *Epigr.* 1,8–9 Schenkl.

³⁶ Auson. *Grat. act.* 8.

³⁷ Tali osservazioni stranamente mancano nel commento di R.P.H. Green, *The Works of Ausonius*, Oxford 1991, 540–541.

³⁸ Amm. 31,10,11–17.

³⁹ Auson. *Grat. act.* 8 *uocarem [...] uincendo et ignoscendo Sarmaticum*.

⁴⁰ Auson. *Prec. cons. des.* 29–33: il semplice confronto con i soprannomi trionfali di *Grat. act.* 8 non lascia la minima ombra di dubbio sulla manipolazione propagandistica dell'elenco da parte di Ausonio, che aggiunge abusivamente *Francia, Chunus, Getes e Alani* ai genuini *Suebi e Sauromates*. Tutto ciò sfugge a Green (sopra nt. 37) 535–536.

di idronimi *Hister et Rhenus*, e occupa il primo posto tra i futuri doveri del *princeps nouellus* in campo militare: Amm. 27,6,12 *adsuesce impavidus penetrare cum agminibus peditum gelu peruios Histrum et Rhenum*.⁴¹ Nell'ottica occidentale, e in relazione alle circostanze storiche del discorso, *Hister* rinviava alla *Raetia II* e alle province confinarie dell'*Illyricum*, soprattutto *Valeria*, *Pannonia II* e *Moesia I*; infatti sotto Costanzo II gli Alamanni Iuthungi erano stati battuti e respinti in *Raetia II*, mentre Quadi, Sarmati Liberi e Sarmati Limigantes avevano attaccato *Valeria*, *Pannonia II* e *Moesia I*, da cui poi erano partite le controffensive romane oltre il medio Danubio.⁴²

Rhenus richiamava alla memoria gli Alamanni e i Franchi, cioè tutti i protagonisti germanici delle vittorie romane sotto Giuliano *Caesar* e Valentiniano I. Lo stesso Ammiano aveva adoperato la personificazione del Reno come simbolo topico per le brillanti campagne di Giuliano contro i Germani transrenani, più precisamente le varie tribù degli Alamanni,⁴³ Franchi *Salii*,⁴⁴ *Chamavi*⁴⁵ e Franchi *Atthuarii*.⁴⁶ Amm. 16,1,5 *strata Germania pacatisque rigentis Rheni meatibus, cruenta spirantium regum hic sanguinem fudit, alibi manus catenis adflixit*.⁴⁷ Rispetto all'uso generico e ambiguo del verbo *paco* in Auson. *Grat. act.* 7, il ppp *pacatis* indica la pacificazione propria di una completa e decisiva disfatta militare (*strata*); tale condizione di *pax Romana* si concretizza nei metaforici ferimento (= sconfitta in battaglia campale o devastazione del territorio) e incatenamento (= sia sottomissione e stipula di un *foedus*, sia vera e propria cattura) dei re barbari.

Per quanto riguarda le guerre germaniche di Valentiniano, *Rhenus*

⁴¹ R. Seager, "Roman Policy on the Rhine and the Danube in Ammianus", *CQ* 93 (1999) 579–605, omette di trattare questo passo, e non ne riconosce il valore pregnante; rilevo la medesima lacuna in Ch. Vogler, "L'image de deux fleuves frontières de l'Empire romain au IV siècle: le Rhin et le Danube dans Ammien Marcellin", in F. Piquet (éd.), *Le fleuve et ses métamorphoses. Actes du Colloque International tenu à l'Université Lyon 3–Jean Moulin 13–15 mai 1992*, Paris 1993, 153–159. La menzione associata di *Hister et Rhenus* non merita neanche una sola parola nel commento di M.-A. Marié, *Ammien Marcellin. Histoire, tome V (livres XXVI–XXVIII)*, Paris 1984.

⁴² Amm. 16,10,20; 17,6,1–2 e 12, 1–13, 23.

⁴³ Amm. 16,2,4–13 e 11,1–12,66; 17,1 e 10; 18,2; 21,4,7–8.

⁴⁴ Amm. 17,8,3–4; Iul. *Epist. ad Athen.* 280 B.

⁴⁵ Amm. 17,8,5; Iul. *ibid.*; Zos. 3,6–7; Eunapio frg. 18, 6 Blockley.

⁴⁶ Amm. 20,10,1–2.

⁴⁷ Ciò sfugge a de Jonge (sopra nt. 25) 9, on 16, 1, 5.

evocava soprattutto gli Alamanni,⁴⁸ ma anche Franchi e Sassoni.⁴⁹ Nell'esortazione dell'imperatore a Graziano il nudo uso del verbo *penetro*, qui e in altri passi delle *Res Gestae* sinonimo poetico del comune *transeo*,⁵⁰ basta a determinare un'enorme differenza sul piano storico rispetto alle prospettive propagandistiche di Ausonio; tanto gli idronimi quanto la natura generale dell'azione bellica, piuttosto che rinviare alle future difficoltà di Graziano, sembrano rappresentare una sottile allusione di Ammiano proprio alle imprese belliche dell'*Augustus senior*,⁵¹ che alla fine del IV secolo d.C. era l'ultimo imperatore ad avere personalmente comandato una spedizione punitiva oltre entrambi i fiumi.⁵² Valentiniano varcò il Reno superiore certamente due volte,⁵³

⁴⁸ Gli Alamanni occupano il primo posto nel catalogo delle *gentes saeuissimae*, che *hoc tempore [...] limites sibi proximos persultabant* (Amm. 26,4,5); proprio gli *Alamannici excursus* e i principali successi di Valentiniano sugli Alamanni hanno un rilievo molto significativo nell'*elogium* dell'imperatore (30,7,5 e 7): i singoli episodi in 26,5,7 e 9 = 27,1,1–2,1; 27,2,1–9; 27,10; 28,5,8–15; 29,4,2–7; 30,3,1.

⁴⁹ Amm. 27,8,5 (entrambe le tribù attaccano i *Gallicani tractus*); 28,5,1–7 (i soli Sassoni invadono la *Germania II*).

⁵⁰ Ammiano per il passaggio dei fiumi adopera un consistente insieme di verbi sinonimici in entrambe le diatesi: *transeo*, che risulta essere il più frequente (16,11,8–9. 12,19. 12,59; 17,10,1; 18,6,19; 23,6,68; 27,10,6; 28,2,6 e 5,10; 30,5,13; 31,4,5. 5,1. 5,3. 9,3. 10,11), *supero* (14,10,7; 18,6,9; 21,4,8; 24,3,9), *transmitto* (17,1,2; 18,2,8; 19,11,6; 20,10,2; 23,5,9; 24,6,4; 27,5,6), *transgredior* (17,12,4; 21,4,3; 25,7,3; 27,5,2; 29,6,6), *permeo* (21,13,2: ma cfr. 28,5,1 *Oceani difficultatibus permeatis* e 31,11,6 *permeato Danubio*, dove *permeo* = *nauiigo*), *perrumpo* (31,7,4: cfr. 17,13,1 *limitem perrupere Romanum* e 26,5,7 *Alamanni enim perrupere Germaniae limites*) e appunto *penetro* (anche a 18,7,1 e 10; 21,13,2; 24,1,5; 25,6,13 e 8,2; 31,3,6).

⁵¹ Sabbah (sopra nt. 22) 515 e nt. 24, individua un'analogia allusione in Amm. 27,6,13 *rerum maximi defensores, quos rogo et obtestor ut ad crescentem imperatorem, fidei uestrae commissum, seruetis adfectione fundata*: il periodo di sedici anni tra la *nuncupatio Augusta* di Graziano e il suo assassinio "permet de supposer avec quelque vraisemblance qu'il y a euit dans la *contio* de 367 au moins quelques-uns des soldats qui devaient abandonner, sinon trahir, Gratien". Io scorgo un'allusione dello stesso genere a 27,6,9 *signis militaribus et aquilis adhaesurus [...] salutem pro periculis sociis obiectabit*, che sembra rinviare al comportamento valoroso di Graziano durante la spedizione a nord dell'alto Reno contro gli Alamanni Lentienses: 31,10,13 *ea re animorum aucta fiducia, quod uersari inter antesignanos uisebatur acriter princeps* e 16 *conuersus illuc cum exercitu imperator eadem qua antea fortitudine semitas ducentes ad ardua quaeritabat*.

⁵² Una campagna militare oltre il Reno o il Danubio aveva uno speciale prestigio, come dimostra l'esempio di Massimiano Erculio: *Pan. Lat.* 10,7,2; 11,5,3 (*Transrhenana uictoria* a 7,2 e *Transrhenanae expeditiones* a 16,1); 8,2,1 e 3,3; 7,8,4. Cfr. anche Amm. 21,5,3 *et uigore communi Romanis agminibus quotiens libet Rhenum peruium feci* (secondo discorso

una volta l'alto Reno,⁵⁴ e infine il medio Danubio ad Aquincum/Buda nel 375 d.C., per mettere a ferro e fuoco le terre dei Quadi;⁵⁵ nell'estate 368 d.C. il piccolo Graziano⁵⁶, a mo' di semplice spettatore, già accompagnava il padre:⁵⁷ qui Ammiano forse preannuncia allusivamente anche tale episodio.

In tutti e quattro i casi il passaggio fluviale avvenne sicuramente in piena estate,⁵⁸ ovvero nella tarda estate/primo autunno,⁵⁹ attraverso il ponte stabile di Mogontiacum, oppure su *pontes nauales*, esplicitamente attestati in due occasioni;⁶⁰ anche l'unica campagna di Graziano oltre uno dei due fiumi ebbe luogo durante la stagione estiva, più precisamente nella prima estate 378 d.C., quando il giovanissimo imperatore condusse la vittoriosa spedizione contro gli Alamanni Lentienses a nord dell'alto Reno.⁶¹ Il particolare ammianoo dei fiumi ghiacciati è soltanto una licenza retorica, che per bocca di Valentiniano presenta il futuro valore di Graziano in termini iperboliche di esemplare eroismo;⁶² la sottile allusione alle campagne militari dello stesso Valentiniano riproduce con grande fedeltà lo spirito militare degli anni 357–375 d.C., quando i grandi fiumi dell'Europa erano ancora varcati dalle truppe romane.

3. Le *aquilae* legionarie nella Tarda Antichità

A partire dalla riforma militare di Caio Mario le *aquilae* erano le tradizionali

di Giuliano alle truppe durante la sua ribellione a Costanzo II).

⁵³ Amm. 27,10,6 (grande offensiva da Mogontiacum/Mainz al Taunus orientale nel 368 d.C.) e 29,4,2 (massiccia incursione da Aquae Mattiacae/Wiesbaden al Wetterau meridionale nel 371).

⁵⁴ Amm. 30,3,1 (presso Basilia/Basel nel 374 d.C.).

⁵⁵ Amm. 30,5,13. Cfr. il mio articolo "Due note storiche e letterarie sui libri XXVIII–XXX di Ammiano Marcellino", *Philologus* 150 (2006) 169–171.

⁵⁶ Nell'estate 368 d.C. Graziano aveva soltanto nove anni: *Cons. Const.* ad a. 359, 1 = *Chron. Min.* I, 239 Mommsen; *Chron. Pasch.* I, 543 Dindorf.

⁵⁷ Amm. 27,10,6 e 10.

⁵⁸ Amm. 27,10,6; 29,4,2; 30,3,1.

⁵⁹ Amm. 30,5,13.

⁶⁰ Amm. 29,4,2 e 30,5,13.

⁶¹ Amm. 31,10,11–17.

⁶² Per la rappresentazione topica del Danubio ghiacciato, cfr. F. Hornstein, "Ἰστρος ἀμαξευόμενος", *Gymnasium* 64 (1957) 154–160.

insegne delle legioni romane; per quanto riguarda la Tarda Antichità, Robert Grosse istituì arbitrariamente una strana distinzione, sostenendo che soltanto le "Vollegionen" conservarono l'*aquila*, mentre i "Legionsdetachements" usavano il *draco*.⁶³ Un recente articolo di Andrea Babuin prova che Grosse commise un grave errore; infatti un'*aquila* tardoromana in bronzo, così come lo *Strategicon* di Maurizio (v. più avanti), attestano la sopravvivenza dell'antica insegna ancora verso la fine del VI secolo d.C.⁶⁴ L'*aquila* bronzea, datata al IV secolo d.C., è stata rinvenuta nel Basso Egitto, più precisamente sul sito dell'antica Babylon; là sorgevano i *castra*, che ancora in età teodosiana ospitavano u n d i s t a c c a m e n t o della *XIII Gemina* posto agli ordini del *dux* (poi *comes Aegypti*).⁶⁵

Due ὀρνιθόβορες, "Adlerträger" (secondo la traduzione di Gamillscheg e la proposta esegetica di Mihaescu), erano previsti per ogni μέρος della fanteria tardoromana negli anni 580 d.C.: Maurizio, *Strateg.* XII B, 7 Ἔχειν δὲ καὶ ὀρνιθόβορας [Dennis e uno dei manoscritti leggono appunto ὀρνιθόβορας, ma ὀρνίβορας cett. mss. Scheffer Mihaescu], ἐὼν ἀπαντῶ, καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος δύο τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστίν (essi sono nuovamente menzionati anche in *Strateg.* XII B, 11 e 17, dove la lezione concorde di tutti i mss. è ὀρνίβορες).⁶⁶

Un esercito di sedicimilatrecentottantaquattro fanti, il modello normale di Maurizio, si divideva in quattro μέρη, e ogni μέρος contava quattromilanoventasei uomini, cioè duemilanoventasei σκουτῆται (fanteria pesante) e duemila ψιλοί (fanteria leggera), che rappresentano l'equivalente numerico di *du e legiones comitatenses* o *palatinae* e di quattro *auxilia palatina* (*Strateg.* XII B, 8 fissa appunto a ottomila ψιλοί, cioè gli effettivi di sedici *auxilia palatina*, la forza numerica della fanteria leggera in un esercito di sedicimila fanti); quindi ogni μέρος comprendeva *du e* legioni e *du e* aquile. L'atteggiamento conservatore e tradizionalista dell'ambiente militare ha permesso alle *aquilae* tardoantiche di sopravvivere addirittura fino ai decenni finali del VI secolo d.C.; però Andrea Babuin giustamente osserva: "it is not

⁶³ R. Grosse, "Die Fahnen in der römisch-byzantinischen Armee", *ByzZ* 24 (1923–1924) 359–360 (così anche in id., *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Berlin 1920, 229–231).

⁶⁴ A. Babuin, "Standards and Insignia of Byzantium", *Byzantion* 71 (2001) 15–16.

⁶⁵ *Not. Dign. Or.* 28,15.

⁶⁶ Si noti il clamoroso abbaglio di Grosse, *Militärgeschichte* (sopra nt. 63) 310: "Dass daneben noch die Adler und Drachen existiert haben sollten, halt ich für ganz ausgeschlossen, so auffallende Zeichen müssten irgendwo einmal Erwähnung finden".

clear whether they had the form of the Roman imperial three-dimensional model or that of flags".⁶⁷

Gli autori latini del IV secolo d.C. menzionano saltuariamente le *aquilae*, fatta eccezione per Claudiano e Ammiano (v. più avanti): Symm. *Rel.* 3,14 *armis uestris, aquilis uestris amicas adplicare uirtutes*; Ambr. *fid.* 2,142 *Non hic aquilae militares neque uolatus auium exercitum ducunt* ed *Epist.* 24,7 *Quos ego tuos reuocauis exercitus? Quas de Italia reflexi aquilas?*; Avien. *orb. terr.* 311 *Romanas aquilas Rhodanus tremit* e 1372 *dux aquilas in bella rapit* (il secondo verso rappresenta un riferimento anacronistico alla mitica spedizione di Dioniso contro l'India). Le classiche *aquilae* figurano anche in *C. Theod.* 7,18,9, 396 d.C., *priusquam uictricibus aquilis sociarentur* (la *iunctura* sembra derivare direttamente da Lucan. 1,339 e 5,238), come sinonimo metonimico ed erudito di *legiones*, che durante il IV secolo d.C. era il sinonimo colto e solenne del comune *numeri* tanto nella prosa artistica,⁶⁸ quanto nel latino cancelleresco.⁶⁹

Tra il 456 e il 468 d.C. le *aquilae* compaiono nei componimenti poetici di Sidonio; ma questi passi sono privi di valore probativo, poiché egli le inserisce a mo' di τόπος letterario: *Carm.* 2,232–233 *Hic primum ut uestras aquilas prouincia uidit, / desiit hostiles confestim horrere dracones* (la campagna militare del futuro imperatore Anthemius contro gli Ostrogoti di Valamerus/Valamir nel 459 d.C.: si noti l'artificiosa antitesi *uestras aquilas ~ hostiles dracones*); 5,478 *post aquilas uenere tuas* (i mercenari barbarici dell'imperatore occidentale Maggioriano!); 7,344, *uictrices, i, prome aquilas* (Teodorico I, re dei Goti tolosani, accetta di unirsi ai Romani per affrontare gli Unni di Attila: sono evidenti tanto la menzione incongrua delle *aquilae* quanto il prestito linguistico da Lucano), e 592 *O quas tibi saepe iugabit / inflicis gentes aquilis* (augurio generico di vittoria per Avito, imperatore d'Occidente e suocero dello stesso Sidonio).

L'antica insegna raggiunge il massimo numero di occorrenze in Ammiano Marcellino e nei poemi di Claudiano (nove ciascuno); il poeta egizio almeno in due casi sembra essere testimone oculare di un'usanza ancora vigente: *In Ruf.* 2,237–238 *quid consanguineas acies, quid diuidis olim / concordas aquilas?*;

⁶⁷ Babuin (sopra nt. 64) 16.

⁶⁸ Sull'uso di *legio* in senso lato, cfr. *ThLL* VII 2, 1105, 73–1106, 77. *Aur. Vict.* 33,14 e 17; 35,11; 37,3 e 6; 39,42; 42,16; Claudio Mamertino, *Pan. Lat.* 3,11,2 e 24,6; Symm. *or.* 2,6 e 3,5; Auson. *Grat. act.* 77; Ambr. *Epist.* 24, 6; Amm. 17,10,7 e 13,28; 22,3,9; 29,5,9; 31,7,2; Pacato, *Pan. Lat.* 2,23,4. 30,5. 31,2. 35,3.

⁶⁹ *Cod. Theod.* 7,1,13, 391 d.C.; 1,17, 398; 20,12, 400.

De III cons. Hon. 16–17 *lustrauitque tuos aquilis uictricibus ortus / miles et in mediis cunabula praebuit hastis*, e **138–139 hi uolucres tollunt aquilas, hi picta draconum / colla leuant**; *De IV cons. Hon.* 9–10 *Lictori cedunt aquilae ridetque togatus / miles et in mediis effulget curia castris*; *In Eutr.* 2,225 *hos aquilae Romanae signa sequuntur*; **Epithal. de nupt. Hon. Aug. 193 stent bellatrices aquilae saeuique dracones**; *De cons. Stil.* 1,170 *Denique felices aquilas quocumque moueres*; 3,85–86 *Ipsa iubet signis bellaturoque togatus / imperat et spectant aquilae decreta senatus*; *De VI cons. Hon.* 320–321 *Haec memorans instante fugam Stilichone tetendit / expertas horrens aquilas*.

Ammiano associa le *aquilae* sei volte ai *signa*, due ai *uexilla*, una a entrambi: 15,8,4 *quod aquilae circumdederunt et signa*; 16,12,12 *triumphaturas aquilas et uexilla uictricia primo lucis moueamus exordio*; 17,13,25 *signisque ambitus et aquilis*; 18,2,17 *Et Macrianus quidem cum fratre inter aquilas admissus et signa*; 20,5,1 *signis aquilisque circumdatus et uexillis*; 26,2,11 *circumsaeptum aquilis et uexillis* e 7,17 *signorum apicibus aquilisque summissis*; 27,6,9 *signis militaribus et aquilis adhaesurus*; 28,5,3 *sed signorum aquilarumque fulgore praestricti*. Nella maggior parte dei casi esse caratterizzano l'assemblea generale dell'esercito prima di un discorso imperiale (Amm. 15,8,4; 17,13,25; 20,5,1; 26,2,11), o i *castra* romani durante il ricevimento di capi germanici (18,2,17); due volte compaiono nell'ambito di una *contio* imperiale (16,12,12 e 27,6,9), e altrettante figurano sul campo di battaglia (26,7,17 e 28,5,3).

Sul piano formale l'uso ammiano di *aquilae*, così come l'associazione frequente delle stesse ai *signa*, può essere giudicato una consapevole reminiscenza di Tacito (cfr. *Hist.* 2,29,3; 3,21,2. 31,3. 50,1. 52,1. 60,1; 5,16,3; *Ann.* 1,18,2 e 37,2; 15,11,3 e 29,2);⁷⁰ per quanto riguarda l'aspetto storico, io sono incline a pensare che le *aquilae* di Ammiano rappresentino un fedele riflesso della realtà contemporanea, talvolta espresso in termini letterari e allusivi: Amm. 15,8,4 e 20,5,1 ~ Tac. *Hist.* 2,29,3 *laudantes gratantesque circumdatum aquilis signisque in tribunal ferunt*; Amm. 28,5,3 ~ Tac. *Ann.* 15,29,2 *hinc agmina legionum stetero fulgentibus aquilis signisque*.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Il confronto meccanico con Tacito ha tratto in errore Grosse, "Fahnen" (sopra nt. 63) 360: "Tacitus nennt die Adler fortgesetzt im Zusammenhang mit bestimmten Legionen, Ammian dagegen meist so formelhaft, dass man an traditionelle Redensarten denken könnte".

⁷¹ Cfr. invece il secco giudizio di A. Müller, "Militaria aus Ammianus", *Philologus* 64 (1905) 609: "Auf die Stellen 15, 8, 4; 17, 13, 25; 20, 5, 1 ist als auf Reminiscenzen aus der Lectüre nichts zu geben".

Abbiamo una menzione topica delle *aquilae* soltanto in Amm. 26,7,17; esse là sono attribuite in maniera disinvolta a due *auxilia palatina*, gli *Iouii* e i *Victores*,⁷² benché le insegne proprie degli *auxilia* fossero i *dracones* dei singoli reggimenti,⁷³ e il *uexillum* che ciascuna coppia di *agmina bina* era solita condividere.⁷⁴ Perciò soprattutto sulla base dei passi ammianeî ritengo legittimo

⁷² Grosse, "Fahnen" (sopra nt. 63) 360 mostra di conoscere male il *sermo Ammianeus*, e travisa completamente il senso stilistico di 26,7,17: "Nur 26, 7, 17 ist von den aquilae der Jovii und Victores die Rede, auf den ersten Blick sehr auffällig, da beide Truppenteile zu den auxilia gehören. Aber 26, 7, 15 und noch deutlicher 25, 6, 3 nennt er sie irrümlich legiones. Vielleicht verwechselt er sie mit den Joviani und Herculiani". Ma cfr. ntt. 68–69 e il mio articolo "Alcune questioni ammianee", *RomBarb* 16 (1999) 53–54 e ntt. 133–136.

⁷³ Amm. 20,4,18. Cfr. anche Veg. *r. mil.* 2,7,5 *Signiferi, qui signa portant, quos nunc draconarios uocant*, e 13,1 *Dracones etiam per singulas cohortes a draconariis feruntur ad proelium*. Ammiano una sola volta ammette il termine tecnico *draconarius* (20,4,18), e usa due volte il lessema castrense *hastatus* (16,12,20 e 20,4,18), ma preferisce adoperare la parola classica *signifer* (15,8,13; 16,12,18 e 70; 24,1,3; 25,5,8); in modo analogo egli nomina quasi sempre generici *signa* (ad esempio, anche in 16,10,6; 18,2,17; 20,5,1; 21,4,5 e 12,2; 25,10,7; 26,1,1 e 6,16; 29,5,15–16; 30,3,5 e 5,13; 31,5,9), senza distinguere tra *auxilia* (20,4,10 *apud Petulantium signa* e 20 *signa Petulantum ingressus atque Celtarum*) e legioni (27,10,10 *apud signa Iouianorum*), e registra l'uso dei *dracones* soltanto tre volte: 15,5,16; 16,10,7 e 12,39. A questo proposito credo fondata l'osservazione di Grosse, "Fahnen" (sopra nt. 63) 360: "So wird auch der Jovianorum signifer (25, 5, 8) ein aquilifer gewesen sein, zumal da die Art, wie Ammian ihn erwähnt, auf einen wichtigen Posten schliessen lässt".

⁷⁴ Amm. 27,1,6.

ipotizzare che nella seconda metà del IV secolo d.C. i legionari *palatini* e *comitatenses* ancora adoperassero effettivamente le *aquilae*, visto che l'insegna bronzea di Babylon ne attesta il perdurante uso da parte dei legionari *limitanei*.

Ciò dovrebbe consigliare una maggiore prudenza agli studiosi moderni, prima di bollare frettolosamente i dati delle fonti letterarie come elementi topici o reminiscenze erudite; nel caso specifico delle *aquilae* tardoantiche possiamo parlare legittimamente di *τόπος* per il solo Sidonio, mentre almeno due autori, cioè Claudiano e soprattutto Ammiano, ci tramandano fortunatamente un dettaglio prezioso, che trova puntuale conferma tanto in un reperto archeologico del IV secolo d.C. quanto in un'opera tecnica del VI secolo d.C.: ancora oggi le *Res Gestae* sono una ricchissima miniera di notizie sottovalutate o erroneamente interpretate.

Roma

SPORT AND FESTIVAL IN *OD. 8. FROM SCHERIA TO BEIJING*¹

STEPHEN EVANS

The Australian Olympics of 2000 AD and the Greek Olympics of 2004 AD have given rise to a spate of books researching ancient sport, athletics and festivals in Homer and in the archaic and ancient worlds.² Finland has been no exception.³ In preparation for the Beijing Olympics for 2008, the Chinese claim that sports in Ancient China and Greece have common roots.⁴ There is even a trend to see social aspirations behind the organisation of games that culminate in the formation of the *polis* (city-state). It has also become fashionable to investigate homoeroticism, class differences and gender considerations in sports history. Most work has been done on the Funeral Games for Patroclus in *Il. 23* and on the archaeology of Olympia leaving a significant gap for the Phaeacian Games in *Od. 8*.⁵ One scholar has gone so far as to suggest that the Phaeacian

¹ This paper was written in the aftermath of the Fourth Biennial Meeting of the Celtic Conference in Classics, 30.8.–2.9.2006 held at the University of Wales, Lampeter. There I had the opportunity to hear Prof. N. Fisher and Dr. D. Pritchard debating live the egalitarianism versus elitism of ancient Greek sport. I wish to thank them as well as Prof. H. van Wees, who led the panel on competition, for inspiring discussion on archaic and ancient Greek society.

² See the review article by S. Evans, BMCR 2004.09.24 on M. B. Poliakoff, *Kampfsport in der Antike*, Düsseldorf 2004.

In this article I refer to the original English version *Combat Sports in the Ancient World*, New Haven and London 1987.

³ S. Koski, M. Rissanen, J. Tahvanainen, *Antiikin urheilu* (=Ancient Sport), Helsinki 2004. This book achieved extraordinarily rare acclaim for a classics book in 2005 by winning the coveted annual Finnish prize for non-fiction and textbooks (Tieto-Finlandia). They point out (p. 14) the curiosity of the root meaning of the Finnish word for sport (*urheilu*) as indicating "recklessness", "boldness", and is not connected to the Latin "*disportare*".

⁴ <http://arabic.china.org.cn/english/features/olympics/100651.htm>

⁵ Good earlier accounts of Homeric sport can be found in E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic*

Games deserve a special study while another researcher, though not pinpointing Phaeacian chorus-dancing, has called for new studies on the transition from archaic to classical chorus-dancing in Greece.⁶

Greek festivals have received growing scholarly attention over the past few decades, with an important theme of research being the roles of festivals in the formation of the Greek *polis* and the development and articulation of *polis* identity. Agonistic festivals in particular were an integral part of the *polis*, its discourses and its social relations, and Panhellenic festivals were fundamental to the notion of "Greekness" – an identity based especially upon language and religion. This article explores in detail the cultural, religious, political and social import of sport and festival in Scheria as a reflection of the Greek world of the archaic period, including the Olympic Games, taking into account the fantasy nature of the island and the possible contrasts to society adumbrated in the *Iliad* or in Hesiod. It investigates how athletics bore out and reinforced central aspects of Greek culture such as *arete* (manly excellence and bravery), *agon* (publicly adjudicated contest) and ideals like manly beauty. I also study how the Phaeacians staged this festival not just to ensure the *charis* (gratitude) of its city-protecting deities and heroes, but also as a way to articulate and broadcast civic ideology and the communal identity of its citizens and as a means to legitimate its political institutions and social structures, just as in a Greek *polis*. *Polis* in Homer, it is to be noted, means nothing more than a fortified site, a town.⁷ But some scholars see Scheria as having at least some of the appearance of the classical *polis*, certainly more than Ithaca.⁸ In particular the Phaeacian Games reveal how festivals, sporting and musical *agones* led the way, throughout the archaic period, in the crystallisation and development of the *polis* and in the creation of its juridical and political practices. To this we can add dance as it occurs after the games. Recent research underscores that dance is an activity through which society instills collective discipline in its members.

Sports and Festivals, London 1910, 17–18, 402–434; H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, London 1964, 97–101; N. Richardson, *The Iliad: a Commentary vol.6:books 21–24*, Cambridge 1993, 201–271.

⁶ B. Brown, "Homer, funeral contests and the origins of the Greek city", in D. Phillips and D. Pritchard (eds.), *Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World*, Swansea 2003, 149; B. Kowalzig, "Changing Choral Worlds" in P. Murray and P. Wilson (eds.), *Music and the Muses. The Culture of Mousike in the Classical Athenian city*, Oxford 2004, 41.

⁷ M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, 1965, 27.

⁸ J. Halversen, "Social Order in the Odyssey", *Hermes* 120 (1985) 129–145, repr. in *Homer: Readings and Images*, London 1992, 185.

The participant in the dance accepts the rules of the community. This provides a mean of internalising discipline in a period with no police, army or prisons. Discipline was thus obtained not through fear but through bodily activity, a form of group therapy.⁹

There are clear signs of cult and festival activity in Olympia from 2000 BC, a fact which suggests such activity may well have existed elsewhere on the mainland in Greece and in the Aegean islands.¹⁰ There is furthermore a clear link between archaic Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Minoan and Mycenaean sports that passed on in some degree to Geometric Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries. Homer is closer to Geometric sport than to Minoan or Mycenaean sport as bull-leaping or bull-fighting is no longer a central issue. It has become customary to divide this early history into three periods: 2000–1100 BC including the Middle Bronze and Mycenaean Ages; 1100–800 BC including the so called "Dorian Migration" and the Geometric period; and 800–476 BC, the early Archaic and Classical Periods.¹¹ The first two periods and part of the third are the most difficult to unravel due to a large amount of conflicting legends and scattered, mostly nonathletic archaeological evidence. Contradictions in stories may result from alternate versions by the citizens of nearby Elis and Pisa who vied for the sponsorship of the games. What happened between the Golden Age of Mycenae and the Homeric period that resulted in the athletic image of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the ultimate development of Greek athletics?¹² I attempt an answer in this article. There are, however, points of agreement between common tales and the archaeological monuments. Reference to ancient mythical chronology at least gives a sense of the relative sequence of events in the tradition, not of course, in historical time.

The large number and variety of Greek athletic festivals known in historical times, held both on the mainland and on the islands, prohibit a comprehensive list and a full litany of the gods and heroes with whom each festival was associated. We may, however, note that since the traditional founding of the Olympic Games in 776 BC and the establishment of the other three Panhellenic games, namely the Pythia, Isthmia and Nemea, between 586

⁹ Y. Garfinkel, *Dancing at the Dawn of Agriculture*, Austin 2003, 80

¹⁰ For the fundamental history of the Olympia excavations, see J. Whitley, *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 2001, 34–35 and references there.

¹¹ T. F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, Oxford 2002, 32.

¹² This question is posed by S. G. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics*, New Haven and London 2004, 26.

and 573 BC, there arose a popular tradition throughout the Greek world of including an agonistic element in the major local festivals of pre-established cults. In the epinician odes of Pindar (518–438 BC) there is mention of at least twenty, presumably regularly held, games in addition to the four Panhellenic festivals.¹³ In a comprehensive study of inscriptional evidence for games of the Greek mainland (excepting Athens) and the Aegean Islands (except Euboea), one scholar has catalogued some 140 different games, about one third of which are attested only in the Roman period. By the Roman imperial era, another estimate has it, the agonistic market gained such popularity as to offer at least 270 athletic festivals to athletes, who were then better organised in professional unions.¹⁴

Scheria has usually been identified with Corcyra (Corfu), but as that is within some 80 miles from Ithaca, whereas Scheria is a night's voyage away for one of the magical Phaeacian ships (*Od.* 13,81 f.), the identification is unlikely. It is the land of the Phaeacians at which Odysseus arrives after his shipwreck (*Od.* 5,451f). It is a fertile country, obviously an island (*Od.* 6,204), having an excellent, almost land-locked harbour (*Od.* 6,263f.) by which its city stands, at least one river (*Od.* 5,451) and a mild climate (*Od.* 7,117f.) where fruits grow all the year round. The population are enterprising and very skilful seafarers, great gossips, boastful and rather impudent, not very warlike or athletic, fond of pleasure, but kindly and willing to escort strangers in their wonderful ships. The Phaeacians function as an integral community and the advantages of communal life are many and obvious. Where the solitude of the Cyclopes keeps them at the level of crude improvisation, their Phaeacian cousins are craftsmen whose gardens, ships, palaces, dances and banquets abundantly reveal their creative élan.¹⁵ Despite their isolation the Phaeacians are thus well-informed about the customs of the rest of the world through their escort contacts and through listening to epic poetry.¹⁶ The phantom nature of the island does not prohibit us

¹³ These were held in Sicyon, Argos, Aegina, Megara, Tegea, Epidaurus, Cyrene (Sparta), Thebes, Pellene, Eleusis, Athens, Rhodes, Corinth, Cleitor, Arcadia, Orchomenus, Phylace, Pellene, Acragas, Delphi, Achaea, Marathon and Euboea. Cp. R. Stoneman (ed.), *Pindar, The Odes and Selected Fragments*, London 1997, introd. 50–51.

¹⁴ Scanlon (above n. 11) 29.

¹⁵ N. Austin, *Archery at the Dark of the Moon. Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey*, Los Angeles 1975, 162

¹⁶ A point made by R. Scodel, "Odysseus' ethnographic digressions", in R. J. Rabel, *Approaches to Homer, Ancient and Modern*, Swansea 2005, 151.

from investigating the very typically Greek sports practised there, not to mention the typically Mycenaean feasting and dancing exercised there.¹⁷

In fact, the whole of *Od.* 8 has been seen as a festival with μουσική and γυμναστική alternating in a Geometric structure.¹⁸ It may well be that the mere depiction of a festivity that combined athletic competition with musical performance would have been suggestive in the archaic age of the matching poetic and athletic contests where were the core of great festivals such as the one on Delos for Apollo.¹⁹ At the end of *Od.* 7, Alcinous had announced that the next day he would first entertain the stranger and then attend to his escort home. Book 8 brings in reverse order the fulfilment of this announcement: the stranger's escort is publicly announced in an assembly (*Od.* 8,1–47) and the initial preparations for the journey are made (*Od.* 8,48–55), followed by the entertainment, consisting of a meal and song (*Od.* 8,62–103), games and song (*Od.* 8,104–468) and another meal and song (*Od.* 8,469–586). The reverse order allows the entertainment to take on enormous dimensions, with Odysseus himself becoming the entertainer for the duration of four books (9–12) so that de Jong conjectures that we are in fact dealing here with a powerful instance of misdirection.²⁰ Throughout the narratees are given to understand that the "stranger" is to depart that evening. In *Od.* 8,26–45 Alcinous orders ships to be prepared; in *Od.* 8,51–55 we find the first elements of a "departure ship" type-scene; in *Od.* 8,150–151 Laodamas reassures Odysseus that "your return is not far away, for a ship is already lying ready"; in *Od.* 8,367–417 we have "farewell" speeches and the exchange of guest-gifts; and in *Od.* 8,536–586 Alcinous repeatedly mentions his *pompe*, but in the end Odysseus does not depart that evening, postponing his passionately desired voyage home himself.

Now is the time for "micro-textual" sports analysis on the basis of the text in *Od.* 8 and for comparison with what we know of the early Olympic Games. The announcement of the games is issued only to the sons of the nobles

¹⁷ See the bibliography on Scheria in A. Heubeck, S. West and J.B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, vol.1, Oxford 1990, 344–346; J. C. Wright (ed.), *The Mycenaean Feast*, Princeton 2004, *passim*.

¹⁸ C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Homeric Tradition*, Cambridge MA 1958, 288.

¹⁹ A. Ford, *Homer, the Poetry of the Past*, Ithaca and London 1992, 117.

²⁰ I. de Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey*, Cambridge 2001, 190. Similar analyses of the structure of *Od.* 8 can be found in A. F. Garvie, *Homer, Odyssey Books VI–VIII*, Cambridge 1994, 237–350, and in W. B. Stanford, *The Odyssey of Homer*, vol.1, 2nd ed. London 1967, 330–331.

(Φαιήκων οἱ ἄριστοι) as well as to πολλοί τε καὶ εσθλοί. This is to be distinguished from πούλλος ὄμιλος. The original summons (*Od.* 8,11,26 and 97) is to Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες. The elitism of Greek sport is a hotly contested issue. A long line of classicists, including Percy Gardner, E. Norman Gardiner and H.A. Harris, had elaborated how the golden age of Greek sport was the archaic period when athletes were drawn exclusively from the traditional landed elite and competed as amateurs for prizes of only symbolic value.²¹ These scholars also argued that the supposed introduction by fifth century Greek cities of valuable prizes at their own sporting competitions and cash bonuses for those of their citizens victorious at the international games, like the Olympics, attracted members of the lower class into athletics and encouraged them to train and specialise. Henri Pleket however pointed out that long before the classical age there already were prizes of great value for athletic victory, which "archaic nobles are not known to have rejected".²² Evidence in *Il.* 23 and Hesiod clearly shows how aristocrats of the eighth and seventh centuries competed for bullion, cauldrons and slave women at the funerals of fellow members of the upper class.²³ It must be admitted that the Phaeacian episode would seem on the surface to support amateur sporting, but in the Homeric world this is in fact the stark exception to the rule and seems to support elite participation as elsewhere in Homer.²⁴ In the games of *Il.* 23 there is much emphasis on the prizes awarded to the winners. Here, where the games are not important in themselves, no such prizes are awarded. Instead after the completion of the games, dancing and ball-games, Alcinous proposes that each of the βασιλῆες should present Odysseus with the gift that will formally mark his status as a guest-friend. From *Od.* 8,387f. there is great emphasis on the gifts to Odysseus proposed by Alcinous. The giving and receiving of gifts may in

²¹ D. Pritchard, "Athletics, Education and Participation in Classical Athens", in Phillips and Pritchard (above n. 6) 293.

²² H. W. Pleket, "Games, prizes, athletes and ideology: some aspects of the history of sport in the Greco-Roman world", *Stadion* 1 (1975) 59.

²³ *Il.* 23,259.261, 557–562; *Hes.Th.* 435–438; *Op.* 654–657. For Homeric poetry as an admittedly imperfect reflection of early archaic Greek society, see K. A. Raaflaub, "Homeric Society", in I. Morris and B. Powell (eds.), *A New Companion to Homer*, Leiden 1997, 624–648.

²⁴ It was Aristarchus who introduced the phrase Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν – to clarify Homer through Homer.

Homeric society mark the establishment of a friendly relationship.²⁵

Other scholars have noted parallels between the young men of the ruling class in Phaeacia and the easy-living suitors in Ithaca whose daily routine consists of a bit of sport (*Od.* 4,626, *Od.* 17,168) and a great deal of feasting and dancing. The celebration there of a *kleos* (fame) derived exclusively from sports (*Od.* 8,147–148), the self-conscious class character of their snobbery against people in trade (*Od.* 8,159–64) and the general emphasis upon a daily routine devoted to feasting, dancing, sports and sex (eg *Od.* 8,244–249) – all throw further light on the contemporary element in the poet's portrait of the suitors.²⁶ Nevertheless there have been ardent advocates for the participation of lower-class athletes in the classical and archaic periods. These claims are much facilitated from the fifth century onwards when one find scraps of evidence for cooks, goatherds, cowherds, farmers and a fish porter participating in athletic competitions or having victory epigrams written about them.²⁷ Personally I find little evidence in *Od.* 8 to support the idea that the ideological underpinnings of democracy, *isonomia* or legal equality and *isegoria*, equality of speech, if not *demokratia* itself developed out of athletics or that archaic Greeks first encountered equality in athletic competitions where winners were determined by reference, not to rank or class, but to absolute standards of distance, speed and strength.²⁸

Od. 8,103 succinctly outlines the four types of sports: πύξ τε

²⁵ M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, New York 1965, 70–76, 140–143; S. B. Pomeroy, S. B. Burstein, W. Donlan, J. T. Roberts, *A Brief History of Ancient Greece: Politics, Society and Culture*, Oxford 2004, 49 on guest-friendship. (Cp. reviews by T. Howe *BMCR* 2005.02.06 and S. Evans, *Scholia Reviews* n.s. 14 [2005] 7.)

²⁶ Noted by P. W. Rose, "Class ambivalence in the *Odyssey*", *Historia* 24 (1975) 129–149, repr. in C. Emilyn-Jones, L. Harwick and J. Purkis, *Homer: Readings and Images*, London 1992, 199–200.

²⁷ D. C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*, Chicago 1984, 163, where Young's actual words are: "I emphasise the case for non-noble participation in early Greek athletics; for others had badly overstated the argument for aristocratic exclusiveness, Lest I mislead, I hasten to reiterate the extensive participation of the nobility. No reliable proportion of nobles to non-nobles can be established at present." See also his article "Professionalism in archaic and classical Greek athletics", *AncW* 7 (1983) 45–51 and "How the amateurs won the Olympics", in W. Raschke (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics: The Olympics and other festivals in antiquity*, Madison 1988, 55–78. Fisher and Miller take their cue from Young.

²⁸ These are the views of S. Miller, "Naked Democracy" in P. Flensted-Jensen, T. H. Nielsen and L. Rubinstein (eds), *Polis and Politics: Studies in ancient Greek history: Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20th, Aarhus 2000*, 278

παλαισμοσύνη τε καὶ ἄλμασιν ἠδὲ πόδεσσιν. That is "boxing, wrestling, jumping and running". I wish to include the later dancing in a ring and ball-throwing display as part of this competition and display. Running or δρόμος has long been recognised as the first event to be introduced at Olympia. The omission of the *pancratation* is notable. The extraordinary list of names at *Od.* 8,111–117 has always been a bone of contention and source of amazement. The names remind us that these sports are exclusively male. When women play so prominent a role in the Phaeacian court it is not merely coincidence that there is no reference whatsoever to any feminine presence at the games, which are introduced by a catalogue of sixteen male names, of spectators and participants.²⁹ The majority of translators simply transliterate them but Fagles, following Fitzgerald, renders these lines thus:

Topsail and Riptide rose, the helmsman Rowhard too
and Seaman and Sternman, Surf-at-the-Beach and Swing-Aboard,
and Seagirt the son of greatfleet, Shipwrightson
and the son of Launcher, Broadsea, rose up too,
a match for murderous Ares, death to men –
in looks and build the best of all Phaeacians
after gallant Laodamas, the Captain of the People.³⁰

There is an element of parody and exaggeration in these names. The names are all to do with ships, with sailing the seas, surfing the waves and handling ships. The lines confirm the maritime background of these island athletes. The admiration for the physical beauty and form of the male body is typically Greek, but breeds no direct suspicions of rampant homosexuality in Phaeacia.³¹

In Dark Age Crete, by contrast, institutionalised pederasty actually existed, with the beloved enjoying certain honours at choral dances and at races

²⁹ Only when the men return to the palace in the evening do women reappear on the scene. This is noted by Austin (above n. 15) 160.

³⁰ Homer, *The Odyssey*, transl. by R. Fagles, Harmondsworth 1997, following the style of R. Fitzgerald, Aylesbury 1962, as opposed to the literal or transliterated renderings in the revised Penguin transl. by E. V. Rieu, D. C. H. Rieu & P. V. Jones, Harmondsworth 1991; M. Hammond, Trowbridge 2000; S. Lombardo, Indianapolis 2000.

³¹ Phaedrus is right in *Pl. Symp.* 180a in saying that Homer represents Achilles as younger than Patroclus (*Il.*11,786), yet he does not, according to Dover (K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, New York 1988,197,) discard the erotic interpretation of the story; for Phaedrus, Achilles is the *eromenos* who so honoured his *erastes* Patroclus that he was ready to die in avenging him.

(*dromois*) where they have the most honoured places. This was not however practised formally elsewhere until the seventh or sixth centuries, when it received a huge boost from naked sports.³² The number of events is increased in *Od.* 8,129 by throwing the discus. Clytoneus won the footrace "by the range of two mules in fallow-land", Euryalus or Broadsea won the wrestling bouts, "pinning" his opponent, Amphialus or Seagirt won the jumping and Elatreus or Rowhard won the discus throwing.

Running is placed first in this competition and it was the first event to be introduced into the Olympic Games in 776 BC.³³ Its description is messy. If Clytoneus outstrips the other competitors by the "range of two mules in fallow-land", the running distance is more likely to be a double lap (δίαυλος) rather than a straight sprint in one direction (στάδιον), so that the spectator crowd is waiting at what is both the starting- and finishing-line.³⁴ Running was a contest involving considerably less risk of personal injury than chariot-racing or the combat sports, but there is no evidence that it was therefore regarded with disdain. Achilles is usually described as "fleet-footed" and his swift efficiency as a killing-machine was in no small measure based upon his sprinting speed.

Wrestling (πάλη, παλαισμοσύνη) has received a vast amount of attention.³⁵ It was introduced into the Olympic programme in 708 BC. Most modern writers deplore the demise of wrestling in the modern world. Sports in Egypt included wrestling.³⁶ The oldest reliefs with wrestling scenes, dated from 2400 BC, decorated the tombs of Ptahotep and Akhetotep. There the wrestlers are depicted naked. By contrast, wrestling scenes from Mesopotamia, carved on seals and reliefs of all periods, show wrestlers wearing belts and grasping their

³² A. Stewart, *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 1997, 28–29.

³³ Koski et al. (above n. 3) 44–48; Miller (above n. 12) 11,31–34, 44, 46, 50, 57, 60, 83, 95, 99, 125, 126, 130, 134, 14, 146, 205, 210, 216, 217, 221, 225, 226. T. Perrottet, *The Naked Olympics: the True Story of the Ancient Games*, New York 2004, 138–148; N. Spivey, *The Ancient Olympics*, Oxford 2004, 111–117; J. Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games*, London 1999 2nd ed., 57–62; W. B. Tyrrell, *The Smell of Sweat: Greek Athletics, Olympics and Culture*, Illinois 2004, 59–74.

³⁴ I agree with Garvie 1994, 262, here and disagree with Stanford 1967, 334.

³⁵ Koski et al. (above n. 3) 58–61; Miller (above n. 12) 21–24, 46–50, figs.76–77, 68–69; Perrottet (above n. 33) 9, 12, 148, 162–165, 170–173; Poliakoff (above n. 2) 23–53; Spivey (above n. 33) 4, 10, 16–18, 23, 32, 99–101; Swaddling (above n. 33) 72–75; Tyrrell (above n. 33) 107–109.

³⁶ They also included stick fighting, boxing, acrobatics, archery, equestrian events, boating and ball games.

opponents by them. Cuneiform texts from Mesopotamia refer to different postures and holds on the limbs and belt. According to one view, belt wrestling was an essential part of a warrior's or hero's life. In the epic of Gilgamesh, the divine hero meets Enkidu in a wrestling match, whereby "they seized each other, they bent down like expert wrestlers." Likewise the Sumerian king Shulgi and the Jewish patriarch Jacob stand their ground as wrestlers.³⁷ On a seal, dated from 1800 BC, a hero and a bull man fight wearing belts.

Jumping (ἄλμα) must here mean the long jump. There is ample evidence that to increase their speed the ancient Greeks, if not archaic Greeks, used dumb-bells (*halteres*) which came in two basic types identified by modern scholars as the spherical and the long.³⁸ The Greeks frequently confused the long jump, the high jump and the triple jump. Of the five events included in the pentathlon, jumping, the discus throw and the javelin throw were not contested outside the pentathlon, whereas the stadion race and wrestling existed independently. Some modern scholars reconstruct the ancient jump as a triple jump on the basis of an alleged jump of 16.5 metres by Phayllus of Croton. But based on vase paintings the ancient jump can be satisfactorily reconstructed as similar to today's long jump, with the addition of the weights and accompanying flute music.³⁹

Boxing (πύξ, πυγμή, πυγμαχία) was regarded by the Greeks as even more dangerous than the *pancratation* as only blows to the head were accepted.⁴⁰ It was introduced into the Olympic Games in 688 BC, twenty years after the wrestling. Homer tells us simply that Laodomas won the boxing. There were no weight categories in ancient boxing so this was a sport which clearly favoured the hefty. Both the Greek and the Latin (*pugillare*) words for boxing imply use of the fists; and since no padded gloves were worn for a bout, only tightly wrapped leather thongs, serious damage might be inflicted, especially about the face and ears. Ancient boxing was not limited by timekeepers and bells, so it tested stamina.

³⁷ Poliakoff (above n. 2) 23.

³⁸ Koski et al. (above n. 3) 49–51; Miller (above n. 12) 63–68, figs. 103–104, 114–130; Perrottet (above n. 33) 10, 12, 15, 105, 111–113; Spivey (above n. 33) 91, 95, 96, 160; Swaddling (above n. 33) 68–71; Tyrrell (above n. 33) 210–213, esp. illustration 27.

³⁹ Miller (above n. 12) 68.

⁴⁰ Koski et al. (above n. 3) 61–64; Miller (above n. 12) 51–57, 236–237, figs. 80–95; Perrottet (above n. 33) 166–170; Spivey (above n. 33), 103–105, 153–156; Swaddling (above n. 33) 77–81; Tyrrell (above n. 33) 118–122.

In Egypt and Mesopotamia wrestling and boxing preserve their popularity from 3000 BC onwards as is witnessed in frescoes, vase-painting and texts. The pharaohs of Egypt and the kings of Mesopotamia have recorded their interest in athletic activities on the walls of their temples and tombs in the depictions of different sports such as wrestling, bull-leaping and boxing. In both sports the athletes had elaborate coiffures, rather as in Japan, they wore sandals and necklaces. Wrestlers wore a special kind of helmet with cheekpieces, whereas boxers had their heads uncovered. The winner is portrayed with raised left hand, a possible posture to demonstrate his triumph. The defeated is shown in various postures, whether on his knees or while trying to avoid his opponent's blows.⁴¹ In all the above-mentioned scenes, high-quality performance requires long periods of practice as well as developed athletic ability and coaching. The famous fresco from Thera (circa 1550 BC), depicting two boys boxing, proves that training was a dominant concern from an early age. Each of the boys is wearing a girdle and a boxing glove on their hand only. Bull-leaping scenes imply absolute precision in action and highly developed acquaintance with the dangers encountered by physical contact with the animal. Acrobatic exercises and wrestling scenes show exercised bodies with narrow waists and well trained bodies and rippling muscles. The consistency and precision of movement show that athletic events were organised activities of a repetitive nature in Minoan times.

The subsequent slanging match between Laodamas and Odysseus reveals a great deal about archaic Greek attitudes to and expectations from sport and sportsmen. First Laodamas wonders whether Odysseus knows the ropes of any sport, as if to confirm that a rudimentary knowledge of and skill in sport was expected of every single Greek man. Then Laodamas plays into the hands of the sports historian:

οὐ μὲν μείζον κλέος ἀνέρος ὄφρα κεν ἦσιν
ἢ ὅ τι ποσσὶν τε ρέξῃ καὶ χερσὶν ἐῆσιν. (*Od.* 8,147–148)

At this point it is perhaps worthwhile noting that the footrace is given no special treatment or prestige in *Od.* 8 or *Il.* 23. Neither are there age categories in Homeric athletics, and in fact older men are shown competing more often

⁴¹ K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Ägypten: Architektur, Plastik, Malerei in drei Jahrtausenden*, Munich 1967, 72 acrobatic dance, 84 wrestling from Beni-Hasan, 168 girls dancing, 210 and 211 lyre-playing.

than younger boys. Periodic cycles are not evident, and competitions, such as this designed to signal the departure of Odysseus and demonstrate the skills of the local Phaeacians to the guest-friend, are more often irregular occasions than in the context of recurring festivals. There are, then, serious doubts about placing athletics in contexts of "prehistoric initiation", as argued for either by those seeing connections with pederasty or by those detecting links with athletics in local rituals apart from pederasty. These doubts suggest a more cautious, alternative view that what some call "prehistoric initiation" can be more reliably described as a form of social formation or *paideia* which was widespread in many cities of ancient Greece but only after the eighth century BC.⁴² Male and female contests are clearly segregated in Scheria, but there are many practical reasons for that provision and the holding of a purely male athletics competition gives no grounds for suspecting homoeroticism between competitors, for example between Topsail and Riptide.

When finally Odysseus is goaded into participating in the games, he throws the discus, this time a heavier discus, farther than anybody else. About twenty ancient discuses have survived; most are bronze, a few are marble, and one is lead. They vary in diameter from about 17 to 35 cm. with an average thickness of 0.5 cm. The weights range from approximately 1.5 to 6.5 kg, 4 kg being the average, just half a kilo more than the minimum weight for a modern discus, which is usually made of wood with an inner metal plate and rim.⁴³

He seems to participate fully clothed. The rise of athletics in the seventh century BC is connected to athletic nudity and the founding of gymnasia over the same period. But since the Bronze Age, the athletes of Greece and of various Mediterranean cultures (Minoans, Mesopotamians, Egyptians) had

⁴² Scanlon (above n. 11) 69. See there references to Sergent, Bremmer and other scholars who see pederasty as an institution that evolved from Indo-European initiation rituals in the prehistoric period, in which an older male became the lover of the initiate and his mentor in hunting, sports and other aspects of adult life. Dover (above n. 31) 131–132 has refuted these views and maintains that homosexuality "came out of the closet" in the seventh century because once social approval has been given to an activity which is physically, emotionally and aesthetically gratifying to the adult males of a society, it is not easily suppressed.

⁴³ Koski et al. (above n. 3) 54–55; Miller (above n. 33) 60–63, "The degree to which the discus was standardised is not clear". Perrottet (above n. 33) 105–110; Swaddling (above n. 33) 63–66: "Myron's "discus thrower" (*discobolos*) may be the most famous of all Greek athletic statues today, reproduced on coffee cups in Greek diners around the world, while replica statuettes grace the mantelpieces of millions of tourists"; Tyrrell (above n. 33) 204–210, pointing out that "quoit" is a mistaken translation for discus.

worn little, as can be seen in contemporary drawings.⁴⁴ The boxer's loincloth (and gloves) are described at *Il.* 23,683: ζῶμα δὲ οἱ πρῶτον παρακάββαλεν and it is widely assumed, following Thucydides (*Thuc.*1,6,5–6), that in the eighth century athletes regularly wore something approximating to the Japanese Sumo-wrestler's loincloth. Writing in 420 BC Thucydides ascribes a Spartan origin to nude competition but states that it is "not many years since the custom began". Pausanias (1,44,1) attributes the "invention" of nude athletics to Orsippus of Megara who won the *stadion* at Olympia in 720 BC when his *perizoma* (loincloth) fell off during the race. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (7,72,2–3) also dates the custom to 720 BC but attributes it to a Spartan Acanthus. It seems then that the ancients themselves were uncertain about the beginning of athletic nudity.⁴⁵

The proliferation of games in the archaic and ancient periods resulted in a formal distinction between the so called stephanitic or "crown" games (*agones staphanitai*), the four sacred or Panhellenic games in which a crown was the only prize, and the "thematic games" (*agones thematikoi*), also called "prize" or "local" games, which were sometimes modelled on the crown games in their programmes, but which always awarded valuable prizes. The Phaeacian Games must surely be called "local games" but without the awarding of prizes, except for the guest-friend gifts that Odysseus receives after the games and prior to his departure.

Feasting, music, story-telling and athletics are the traditional entertainments of a civilised aristocratic society. Feasting and athletic contests were an important aspect of the warrior's life, an exemplification of his *arete* (prowess), which was consistently being put to the test in battle in times of war, and in the field of sport in a nonbelligerent situation. Thus, for the early hero athletics were in a sense the peacetime counterpart of war. This is Orwell's "War minus the shooting". Depictions in art show that athletics, especially boxing and wrestling, were already enjoyed in Minoan-Mycenaean times. It is of course uncertain whether Homer's description preserve a genuine memory of Mycenaean conditions or depicts those of his own day. The traditional date for the first Olympic Games is 776 BC and already at *Il.* 11,698–701 we hear of a chariot race at Elis.

Archaeological evidence for Mycenaean feasting is far more widespread

⁴⁴ Poliakoff (above n. 2) illustrations 1, 7–11, 15–18, 24, 41, 48–51, 64 and 69.

⁴⁵ Miller (above n. 11) 11.

than that for festivals and athletics, though together with singing and dancing, all were interconnected. Different archaeologists emphasise different aspects of feasting. Some have seen feasts as mechanisms for redistribution, others as means for demonstrating heritable holdings and status, while many claim they demonstrate and amplify prestige.⁴⁶ It is evident also that feasts and festivals were not merely performed for practical and social benefit, but also for theological and liturgical reasons – in order, for example to maintain the cosmic order and keep Poseidon, in the Phaeacians' case, happy. In any case, the result is practical, as Hayden has emphasised, and his list of nine benefits of feasting is a powerful statement about the degree to which this social practice permeates the many dimensions of human activities. According to Hayden, feasts

1. mobilise labour;
2. create cooperative relationships within groups, or converse, exclude other groups;
3. create cooperative alliances between social groups (including political support between households);
4. invest surpluses and generate profits;
5. attract desirable mates, labour, allies, or wealth exchanges by advertising the success of the group;
6. create political power (control over resources and labour) through the creation of a network of reciprocal debts;
7. extract surplus produce from the general populace for elite use;
8. solicit favours; and
9. compensate for transgressions.⁴⁷

The feast and the festival are part and parcel of the Phaeacian Games. To continue with the games: the four events listed at *Od.* 8,103 are all described, though in a different order, in what follows. Boxing, wrestling, and running but not jumping, are featured at *Il.* 23 which also describes events that do not appear here, and lays much stress on the prizes, which are not mentioned here at all. An archery contest is perhaps deliberately omitted (already at *Od.* 6,270 we have learnt that the Phaeacians are not archers), so as not to detract from the much more serious one in *Od.* 22. Instead, Homer will more subtly foreshadow that climax by letting Odysseus (*Od.* 8,215–228) boast of his prowess as an archer. The one event at which Odysseus will display his athletic prowess to the

⁴⁶ J. C. Wright, "The Mycenaean Feast: an Introduction", in J. C. Wright (ed.), *The Mycenaean Feast*, Princeton 2004, 6.

⁴⁷ B. Hayden, "Fabulous Feasts: A Prolegomenon to the Importance of Feasting", in M. Dietler and B. Hayden (eds), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*, Washington DC 2001, 29–30.

Phaeacians (*Od.* 8,186–198) is prepared for in a single line at 129. The treatment of these games is quite summary, and contrasts with the extended account at *Il.* 23. For the most part, Homer gives us merely the names of the winners, and only the footrace is allowed a slightly fuller description. *Od.* 8, 121, 122 and 125–125 are all based on lines found elsewhere in Homer. As with Demodocus' song, what matters is not much the contest itself, as the effect that it will have upon Odysseus. If behind these games lies a story in which the unknown stranger defeats the other competitors to win the hand of the princess, Euryalus may originally have been Odysseus' principal rival. So at *Od.* 21,68–79 Penelope herself is to be the prize in the contest with the bow.

The Homeric epics are likely to be something of a patchwork in their presentation of equestrian and athletic competition. Any reading of them by the sport historian must be literary as well as literal. After Schliemann's revolutionary discoveries, scholars jumped onto the Bronze Age historical band-waggon. This has been called "Homeric fundamentalism" that once saw the epics as a transmitted reflection of thirteenth century history retained (as far as the vagaries of transmission allowed) in a thirteenth century setting.⁴⁸ This was denied in the influential work of Moses Finley who thought that the world of Odysseus was set neither in the Mycenaean era nor in the time of the composition of the poems, but sometime in the intervening Dark Age, the tenth or ninth century.⁴⁹ A sharp break after the fall of the palaces became archaeological orthodoxy too. The wheel has now begun to turn full circle. The idea of a long prehistory of aoidic inheritance that ultimately fed into the epics, once uncritically championed (not to say exaggerated) and subsequently dismissed as wishful thinking, is becoming respectable once more.⁵⁰ Recently scholars, including specialists in sport history, have preferred to pick out elements of continuity between Mycenaean and later Greece.⁵¹ Funeral games are one, chariot racing and boxing and perhaps spear throwing and footraces others.⁵² But there are phenomena in epic for which Mycenaean parallels are

⁴⁸ V. Isaakidou, P. Halstead, J. Davis and S. Stocker, "Burnt Animal Sacrifice in Late Bronze Age Greece: New Evidence from the Mycenaean 'Palace of Nestor', Pylos", *Antiquity* 76 (2002) 90.

⁴⁹ See n. 25.

⁵⁰ S. Sherratt, "Feasting in Homeric epic", in J. C. Wright (ed.), *The Mycenaean Feast*, Princeton 2004, 212.

⁵¹ M. Golden, *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 1998, 93.

⁵² H. J. Evjen, "The origins and functions of formal athletic competition in the ancient

rare or lacking – three- and four-horse chariot, contests in archery, prize tripod vessels. Some features, such as armed combat and the provision of prizes for all participants, may be Mycenaean and Homeric but counter to later Greek custom.

The Phaeacian Games are far from funereal; nor is there any indication that those in Elis, where Neleus sent his chariot, or the the Theban games in which Tydeus excelled, are linked to death ritual. It was Karl Meurli who attempted to show the extent and inner necessity of the connection between funerals and competitive contests.⁵³ Burkert is quite happy to maintain that "the Greek agon of historical times was a sacrificial festival".⁵⁴ But in contrast Achilles' Myrmidons enjoy their discuses, throw javelins, shoot arrows much like the suitors waiting for Penelope. This may be recreation, not competition. Not all archaic sport, then, is related to sacrifice or funerals. Even, so the casual references to the lengths of a discus throw or a javelin cast which a man might make "in contest or in war" as measures of distance imply that Homeric competition was the stuff of everyday life as well as an important adjunct to funerary ritual. Public festival provided a unifying social backdrop to major aspects of athletics, poetry and rhetoric in classical Greece in terms of their performance and reception. All three activities could come under the rubric of *agon* (competition) – an element obviously essential to sport but also significant for Pindar's conception of himself as a poet, as well as later rhetorical concepts. We should bear in mind that athletics, poetic performances, rhetoric and philosophy were similarly competitive pursuits in the *polis* culture of Greece, and each could function as a metaphor for the other. In fact, Panhellenic and other festivals by the fifth century BC began to include poetry competitions, rhetorical displays and prose recitations in addition to athletics. We have, for instance, fragments of Gorgias' Olympic speeches (B7,8,8a D-K), evidence of his speech in the Pythian Games (B9 D-K) where we are told that Herodotus and sophists such as Prodicus and Hippias performed at Olympia.⁵⁵

world", in W. Coulson and H. Kyrieleis (eds.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games (5th–9th September 1988)*, Athens 1992, 99–100.

⁵³ K. Meurli, "Der Ursprung der Olympischen Spiele", *Antike* 17 (1941) 189–208; *Der griechische Agon: Kampf und Kampfspiel im Totenbrauch, Totentanz, Totenklage und Totenlob*, Basel 1968 (orig. Habilitationsschrift Basel, 1926).

⁵⁴ W. Burkert, (transl. P. Bing), *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, Los Angeles 1983 (orig. 1972).

⁵⁵ P. O'Sullivan, "Victory statue, victory song: Pindar's agonistic poetics and its legacy", in

It is possible to see that in archaic Greece athletic and dancing competitions and displays emerge out of practices central to the origin of the *polis* itself – the changing structure of elite relations, the emergence of standardised value, the power of adjudication and not least, the assuaging of disturbing fears about authenticity and legitimate claims. Athletic competition and dance display emerge in the *Odyssey* not simply as part of a colourful episode but as institutions cut from the same cloth as the poet's speech. Like the *Odyssey* itself, formal athletic and dancing contests and displays among an emerging aristocracy of birth belong to a mode of thought that is historically interstitial, oscillating at various points between an archaic and mythical mode of thought and the dialectical rationality of the *polis*.

As a "choral scholar" (to coin a new term) has recently remarked, what is only in its infancy is work on the precise relation between the archaic Greek and classical Athenian choral worlds.⁵⁶ I have elsewhere posited that the ring-dance in *Od.* 8 is a forerunner to the comic and tragic chorus.⁵⁷ That chorus singing is a form of social integration is both long acknowledged truth and a fashionable thing to say. There is evidence that the Greeks themselves were well aware of their choral *habitus*. The transition from archaic to classical Greece is puzzling and several proposals have been made to account for differences or similarities, but the question of how the dramatic chorus, I could add epic chorus, relates to the lyric one is essentially still unresolved. Again scholars guess that the change at stake is primarily socially motivated. What is clear is that relationship is to be sought in the political changes within the *polis* environment, and is deeply intertwined with early fifth century history: the move from elite chorus to the paid citizen chorus is a social, not a literary, one. And at its heart lie musical strategies to enhance participation.

To summarise the correspondence of sports events in the *Odyssey* with those in the *Iliad*, the historical era, evidence from the Bronze Age and evidence from Egypt, I append the following table which is adapted from Miller

Phillips and Pritchard (above n. 6) 78. Philostratus (*VS* 1,11); Lucian (*Herod.* 1–3); Aelian (*VH* 12,32) tells us of sophists dressing in the purple robes of rhapsodes at public festivals; and we know of painting competitions by the fifth century (Pliny, *NH* 35,58).

⁵⁶ See reference to Kowalzig in n. 6

⁵⁷ S. Evans, *Hymn and Epic. A Study of their Interplay in Homer and the Homeric Hymns*, Turku 2001, 76–106. The topics of dancing in *Od.* 8 and the function of the chorus there are to be dealt with in two forthcoming articles.

(x representing "present").⁵⁸ In Homer, in addition to the Funeral Games and Phaeacian Games, athletics games are briefly referred to three times (*Od.* 4,625–627, *Od.* 24,85–92; *Il.* 11,698–702). They may include boxing, wrestling, running, horse-racing, jumping, panoply fighting, discus throwing, spear throwing and archery. In *Od.* 8, the narrator deals quickly with a number of contests (running:*Od.* 8,120–125, wrestling 126–127, jumping, 128, discus throwing¹²⁹, boxing 130) before rushing on to the main event, the quarrel. The dancing involved in Demodocus' second song can be included as a display, likewise the ball-throwing and dancing after the song. This can be compared to the dancing in the Shield at *Il.* 18,590–606.

Event	Present in historical era (date at Olympia)	Present in <i>Od.</i>	Present in <i>Il.</i>	Evidence from Bronze Age ⁵⁹	Evidence from Egypt ⁶⁰
footrace	x 776 BC	x	x		x
wrestling	x 708 BC	x	x		x
pentathlon	x 708 BC				
javelin	x	x	x		
discus	x	x	x		
jump	x	x			
boxing	x 688 BC	x	x	x	x
chariot	x 680 BC		x	?	
archery		x	often mentioned	x	x
hoplomachia		x	x	x	stick fighting
dancing		x			x
singing		x	e.g. <i>Il.</i> 9	x	x
bull-leaping				x	
acrobatics		x		x	x

By the eighth and seventh centuries BC, by which time emergent city-states began to appear on the scene, Olympia had become a leading political and religious centre for all Greeks. The incorporation of an athletic festival and the participation of contestants from ever more distant reaches of the Greek world led, by the sixth century BC to an "athletic revolution" characterised by three significant events. First, some regions established their own Olympic-style Panhellenic games at the prominent sanctuaries of Delphi (from 582 BC), Isthmia (from 581 BC), and Nemea (from 573 BC). This happened alongside

⁵⁸ Miller (above n. 12) 23, with my Egyptian additions.

⁵⁹ E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, Harvard 1982, 43–44, 93.

⁶⁰ Lange and Hirmer (above n. 41) *passim*.

the widespread setting up of regularly held local athletic festivals, most prominent among which was the quadrennial Great Panathenaea of Athens, organised in 566 BC. Second, cities generally fostered participation in athletic contests by establishing local training centres, *gymnasia*, wrestling schools, or specially designated tracks (*dromoi*). With these came special trainers or coaches and training programmes, the earliest of which may be that of the philosopher Pythagoras in Croton in the last third of the sixth century. Moreover the custom of total nudity seems to have been widely adopted in this period, as the testimony of Theognis and other evidence seem to indicate. "Happy the lover who spends time in the gymnasium (or practises the gymnastic events = γυμνάζεται; Theog. *Eleg.* 2,1335)".⁶¹ While the term *gymnos* may at times have meant "lightly clad", its first appearance in the sixth and fifth centuries in athletic vocabulary suggests that a new terminology had been coined to describe the phenomenon of practising athletics stark naked

What is never overtly stated in *Od.* 8 is the enormous enthusiasm in and enjoyment of sports in Greek society of that time. The correspondencies to Olympic history are much closer than to earlier Minoan or Mycenaean history.⁶² Despite the peaceful ambience of Scheria, with possible echoes of Minoan Crete, physical working-out and hard, daily training could be linked to preparation for war, as in early Spartan society. Age-groups have not yet been introduced nor are pederasty, homoeroticism or initiation rites of passage noticeable. On the other hand Demodocus' erotic song on the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite is placed slap bang in the middle of choral dance and acrobatics. Since periodic cycles have not yet been introduced, this is a spontaneous show match for Odysseus. Archery is deliberately saved for *Od.* 22. Above all, in the festival games in *Od.* 8 there is something of the flavour of the early amateur Olympics in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries AD where landed gentry simply played games and had fun.⁶³

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⁶¹ See n. 32.

⁶² The writing of this article happened to coincide with a debate on the Aegean Archaeology List (Aegeanet) on the peacefulness of Minoan society. The picture we have of Minoan society closely resembles that of Scheria.

⁶³ I wish to thank Prof. O. Salomies and Prof. M. Kajava for encouragement in the writing of this article and Prof. T. Viljamaa for useful tips on approaching this topic.

THE OATHS IN EURIPIDES' *MEDEA*

BENJAMIN GARSTAD

Readers have long appreciated the importance of oaths in Euripides' *Medea*,¹ but it is open to question whether or not they have always understood the significance of those oaths. Modern readers may assume that these oaths are marriage vows, such as would be exchanged by a married couple in the modern West, and broken in the case of infidelity or divorce. This reading, in my experience, loses none of the sting of betrayal felt by Medea, or the faithlessness exhibited by Jason, but it is patently not the reading intended by Euripides or understood by his first audience. The oaths that Medea speaks of are not marriage vows. No vows were exchanged by the bride and groom at an ancient Athenian wedding. So, what sort of oaths are these in the *Medea*? Euripides does not specify, but his imprecision is not an oversight. The oaths are left open to a number of different interpretations which underscore important aspects of the characterization of Medea and Jason, incidents of the

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¹ D. Page, *Euripides, Medea*, Oxford 1938, x, xix–xx (nevertheless, Page's comments on specific verses dealing with oaths concentrate on lexical and grammatical matters); A. Burnett, "Medea and the Tragedy of Revenge", *CPh* 68 (1973) 13–5, 20–1; P. Easterling, "The infanticide in Euripides' *Medea*", *YClS* 25 (1977) 181 n.13; G. Rickert, "Akrasia and Euripides' *Medea*", *HSPH* 91 (1987) 106–13; D. Boedeker, "Euripides' *Medea* and the Vanity of ΑΟΓΟΙ", *CPh* 86 (1991) 95–6, 98; R. Rehm, *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*, Princeton 1994, 99. J. Fletcher, "Women and Oaths in Euripides", *Theatre Journal* 55 (2003) 29–44, concentrates on the very interesting problem of how, by eliciting oaths from men, women assume power and direct the action of drama.

drama, and its legendary background. As illicit lovers' oaths they recall and foreshadow the destruction of the household. As an imitation of a betrothal they show Medea adopting a man's role, and making an enemy out of Creon. They can offer some justification for Medea's great crime of infanticide. And they give a deeper significance to Medea's encounter with Aegeus.

Mention of oaths (ὄρκοι) and 'good faith' (πίστις) recurs throughout the tragedy. At the opening of the play the Nurse explains that, dishonoured and abandoned, Medea shouts her oaths aloud, and calls upon the great pledge of faith vouched for by the clasping of the right hands, and calls upon the gods to witness the promise.² Medea claims that she suffers despite the fact that she bound her husband with great oaths.³ The Chorus observes Medea, grieving and betrayed, calling upon the oath-justice of Zeus (τὸν Ζηνὸς ὀρκίαν Θέμιν), which brought her across the sea to Greece.⁴ Medea claims that the broken faith of men upsets the order of the world, and the Chorus responds by saying that 'the grace of oaths' (ὄρκων χάρις) has fled from Greece, and shame (αἰδώς) along with it.⁵ Just as faith is departed from Greece, Medea's faith in oaths (ὄρκων πίστις) is gone, and she accuses Jason of thinking the gods (by whom he swore) no longer rule and new laws have been set up, since he is conscious of not swearing to her in good faith (εἰς ἔμ' οὐκ εὖορκος).⁶ And in the closing of the drama she asks Jason what god or *daimon* would listen to the prayers of a man who swears falsely and cheats strangers (τοῦ ψευδόρκου καὶ ξιναπάτου).⁷

Page explained Medea's concern with oaths with reference to the old *topos* of honest barbarians and mendacious Greeks: "The contrast of truthful barbarian and lying Greek had long been a commonplace."⁸ But Knox has argued that Page dismissed far too much of Medea's character and behaviour simply by saying she is a witch and a barbarian.⁹ Knox showed that Euripides presents Medea not as a barbarian witch, but as a woman whose predicament

² *Med.* 20–22.

³ *Med.* 161–3.

⁴ *Med.* 208–12.

⁵ *Med.* 410–5, 439–40.

⁶ *Med.* 492–5.

⁷ *Med.* 1391–2.

⁸ Page (above n. 1) xix–xx. Cf. Hdt. 1,136, 138.

⁹ B. Knox, "The Medea of Euripides", *YCS* 25 (1977) 211–8.

and responses are not at all irrelevant to Athenian society. Medea is not a stereotype like the Phrygian slave in the *Orestes*. Medea's complaints about broken oaths are personal, not the product of a childish and simplistic culture, and when they are repeated by the Chorus of Corinthian women they are appropriated and reinforced by Greek society, tragedian and audience included.

If, however, we are to see the significance of the oaths to the character and story of Medea, we must first determine what kind of oaths have been broken. Apollonius and Apollodorus are quite clear about the oaths exchanged by Jason and Medea. In Colchis before Jason undertook his trials, Medea vowed to help Jason harness the fire-breathing oxen, overcome the men who sprang from the dragon's teeth, and steal the Golden Fleece, if Jason would in exchange give her his oath to take her back to Greece and marry her.¹⁰ Euripides is not so explicit. He does not specify just what oaths Medea and the Chorus are referring to in his tragedy. So his audience is left to cast about in the literature and practice familiar to their society in order to determine the nature of these oaths.

Medea complains of broken oaths because she has been abandoned by her husband, and so the audience might look to the marriage relationship for some insight into the oaths that have been broken. For moderns who insist on reading the play on their own terms, such an enquiry yields the eminently satisfactory result of the marriage vows as oaths. A fifth-century Athenian audience might also have looked to marriage for insight, but would have been faced with a more complex and challenging answer. There was no established place for an exchange of vows or oaths in the Athenian wedding or the institution of marriage.¹¹ The closest the two parties came to such an exchange

¹⁰ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4,87–91, 95–8, 356–9, 1083–5; cf. 3,1122; 4,194–7, 1042. At 4,89, where Medea demands that Jason call on the gods to witness vows in the presence of his men, she refers to his words as *τεῶν μύθων*, presaging the events which will prove them untrustworthy. Apollonius affirms the connection between oaths and marriage in the story of Jason and Medea by having Jason call on Zeus Orkios (the oath-god) and Hera Zygia (the goddess of marriage) witness his promise to take Medea to Greece and marry her; 4,95–6. R. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica, Book III*, Cambridge 1989, 221, associates Jason's promise of marriage to Medea with such Homeric examples as Odysseus' promise to Nausicaa (*Od.* 8,467–8) and the Achaeans' offer to Achilles (*Il.* 9,297, 603). Apollod. *Bibl.* 1,9,23. Apollodorus refers to the oath with forms of the verb ὄμνυμι.

¹¹ On Greek, and especially Athenian, weddings and marriage, see M. Nilsson, "Wedding Rites in Ancient Greece", in *Opuscula Selecta* 3, Lund 1960, 243–50; J. Redfield, "Notes on the Greek Wedding", *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 181–201; E. Craik, "Marriage in Ancient Greece", in E. Craik (ed.), *Marriage and Property*, Aberdeen 1984, 6–29; L. Bruit Zaidman, "Pandora's Daughters and Rituals in Grecian Cities", in P. Schmitt Pantel (ed.), trans. A. A.

was with the *enguê* (ἐγγύη) or betrothal.¹² In the *enguê* the bride's legal guardian pledges her to the groom or his representative: "It is a transaction between men, ideally between father-in-law and son-in-law".¹³ In Herodotus' classic example of an *enguê*, Cleisthenes declares, "To Megacles, the son of Alcmeon, I pledge (ἐγγυῶ) my child Agariste by the laws of the Athenians", Megacles indicated his assent, and the formal arrangements of the marriage were completed.¹⁴ Mention of oaths is suggestive of the *enguê*, but is not a clear reference. As Herodotus presents it, the *enguê* seems more like a mutual declaration than an exchange of solemn promises or oaths. The bride, moreover, was not party to this contract, but was rather its passive object. The *gamos* (γάμος), or marriage itself, was an exchange between the bride herself and the groom, but it was a sexual act, and despite its elaborate ornamentation, legally required no ceremony, words, or even indication of consent.¹⁵ We shall return to the oaths as *enguê*, but we must look elsewhere for what was probably the audience's first understanding of the significance of the oaths.

Goldhammer, *A History of Women in the West: I. From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*, Cambridge, Mass. 1992, 361–5; J. Oakley and R. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, Madison 1993.

Aeschylus, *Eum.* 213–4, speaks of the pledges (πιστώματα) of Zeus and Hera being dishonoured by the Eumenides, who value only blood relations, so the pledges must unite them in marriage. This does not necessarily mean that pledges between man and wife were a regular part of the Athenian marriage. Aeschylus' usage may be idiosyncratic, or refer to the peculiar circumstances of the wedding of Zeus and Hera, in which Cronos was prevented from acting as Hera's *kyrios*, just as Aeëtes was prevented from acting as Medea's *kyrios*. In the same passage (*Eum.* 217–8), Aeschylus refers to marriage not as bound by oaths, but greater than an oath. See A. Sommerstein, *Aeschylus, Eumenides*, Cambridge 1989, 119–20.

¹² On the *enguê*, see H. Wolff, "Marriage Law and Family Organization in Ancient Athens: A Study in the Interrelation of Public and Private Law in the Greek City", *Traditio* 2 (1944) 51–3; R. Sealey, *Women and Law in Classical Greece*, Chapel Hill 1990, 25–6; C. Patterson, "Marriage and the Married Woman in Athenian Law", in S. Pomeroy (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History*, Chapel Hill 1991, 49–53; C. Leduc, "Marriage in Ancient Greece", in Schmitt Pantel (above n. 11) 272–4; Oakley and Sinos (above n. 11) 9–10.

¹³ Redfield (above n. 11) 186.

¹⁴ Hdt. 6,130,2.

¹⁵ Redfield (above n. 11) 188.

Lovers' oaths

What is indicated when a man and a woman exchange oaths in ancient Greece? In short, that they are lovers. Not betrothed, or married, but engaged in the sort of illicit affair that led to anti-social behaviour like elopement or adultery. This is common, much later, in the novels.¹⁶ But a fifth-century audience might have found a particularly germane precedent in a Homeric example of lovers' oaths. Eumaeus, the swineherd, tells his story, and relates that he was a prince on the island of Syria until his Sidonian nurse was seduced by a Phoenician sailor, kidnapped him, and escaped his father's island.¹⁷ Before she agrees to go with them, the nurse insists on an oath from her lover and his shipmates promising that they will take her home safely.¹⁸ Once she has extracted her oath, she steals three gold goblets and leads the infant Eumaeus down to the ship, intending to sell him as a slave. There are striking similarities here to the legend of Medea and how she helped Jason and the Argonauts to steal the Golden Fleece and brought about the destruction of her brother. In both cases a woman falls in love with a man who came by sea and, after exchanging oaths with her lover, betrays for his sake the household of which she is a part, stealing its precious goods and causing the undoing of its son and heir. The oaths of Jason and Medea lead to the theft of Aeëtes' treasure and the dismemberment of his son, Apsyrtus, just as the oaths of the nurse and the Phoenician pirates lead to the theft of the goblets and the enslavement of Eumaeus.¹⁹ Lovers' oaths result in the destruction of the

¹⁶ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 2,39; Xenophon of Ephesus, v.1; Achilles Tatius, 2,19; cf. Chariton, 3,2.

¹⁷ Hom. *Od.* 15,403–84.

¹⁸ Hom. *Od.* 15,434–7:

τὸν δ' ἀντε προσέειπε γυνὴ καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ·
 εἴη κεν καὶ τοῦτ', εἴ μοι ἐθέλοιτέ γε, ναῦται,
 ὄρκῳ πιστωθῆναι ἀπήμονά μ' οἴκαδ' ἀπάξειν.
 ὡς ἔφαθ'· οἷ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπώμνουον, ὡς ἐκέλευεν.

And the woman spoke to him in turn and replied,
 "This would be done, if you sailors would be willing
 To pledge yourselves to me with an oath to take me back home safe and sound."
 Thus she spoke; and then they all swore, as she bid.

¹⁹ The parallels are even closer if Apollonius depended on a well-known legend when he had not only Jason, but all of the Argonauts bound to Medea by oaths (*Argon.* 4,1042), just as Eumaeus' nurse has the whole Phoenician crew swear to take her safe home.

household. This is also true of the oaths by which Clytemnestra and Aegisthus bound themselves to kill Agamemnon.²⁰

So, when Euripides has Medea and the Chorus complain of broken oaths, he is not only expounding on the betrayal of Jason, he is also implicitly reminding his audience of Medea's past crimes, for which she takes only an ambivalent responsibility in his play.²¹ Furthermore, mention of oaths undercuts Medea's portrayal of herself as a wronged wife just when it should be strongest. Medea pleads the breach of solemn vows, and the audience remembers the context of those vows, and puts her in the place of Homer's treacherous slave girl. But the oaths do not serve simply to remind the audience of Medea's past actions, they also foreshadow her future actions. Just as the oaths of Jason and Medea lead to the downfall of Aeëtes' house, the theft of his treasure, and the death of his heir, so those same oaths, in the retribution for Jason breaking them, will lead to the downfall of Jason's own house, the shattering of his fondest hopes and dreams, and the death of his sons. Lovers' oaths do indeed bring about the destruction of the household.

Medea as her own *kyrios*

Euripides' audience may have first appreciated Jason and Medea's vows as lovers' oaths because they are, after all, between a man and a woman and because of the allusion to the *Odyssey*, but that is not all they are. As lovers' oaths alone they might be considered "no oaths at all",²² and far from being the heart of Medea's just case against Jason, they would seem the ridiculous evidence of her deluded state. These are oaths which promise and lead to lawful marriage. Otherwise, the union whose sundering Medea bewails is nothing more than a sordid love affair. And that is manifestly not the case. Until her awful decision to kill her children, Medea retains the sympathy of the Chorus who can only share her feelings as wives; Medea's marriage must, therefore, be as lawful as theirs. Amidst all of the specious arguments with which he tries to

²⁰ Aesch. *Chor.* 973–9.

²¹ Although Medea does admit killing her brother (166–7), at lines 475–98, where she catalogues the things she has done for Jason including her crimes and treacheries, she does not mention the murder of her brother. And earlier, filled with self-pity, she had bewailed the fact that she has no brother to whom she can turn in her troubles (257).

²² Plat. *Symp.* 183B.

soothe the anger of Medea ('Aphrodite helped me, not you', 'You owe me, I brought you to Greece', 'I've left you and allowed you to be sent into exile for the good of our family'), Jason does not attempt to suggest that they are not really married.²³ In his eyes they must, in fact, be married. Jason himself attests that he married Medea, in the extremity of his grief when prevarication is beyond him, saying that she was 'given to him in marriage' (νυμφευθεῖσα) and that he chose her 'to marry' (γῆμαι) before all the women of Greece.²⁴ Finally, Jason mourns for the death of his sons as the failure of his aspirations to a posterity and full heroic status, as he would not do if they were illegitimate. The union of Jason and Medea, therefore, may begin as an illicit love affair, and it may have been contracted in an irregular fashion,²⁵ but it is a lawful marriage, and its illicitness and irregularity do not make it invalid.²⁶ Since Jason and Medea's marriage is valid their oaths cannot be discussed only as lovers' oaths.

The oaths of the *Medea* also have to be understood in the context of Jason and Medea's marriage. The first step toward their marriage is Jason's vow to marry Medea. As an arrangement of the marital relationship and as an assertion by the groom that he takes the bride as his betrothed, the closest analogy in Athenian marriage to the oaths which Jason and Medea exchange is the *enguê*. We have already seen that it is not a perfect analogy, and for this very reason the attention of the first audience would have been drawn to the important points of difference between the arrangement of Jason and Medea's marriage and the *enguê* to which they were accustomed. The most striking difference is, of course, that Medea's *kyrios* does not arrange the marriage for her.²⁷ Aeëtes, her father, is violently opposed to the match, once he finds out

²³ *Med.* 522–75.

²⁴ *Med.* 1336–41.

²⁵ A further irregularity in the marriage as found in the legend seems to have been that Jason and Medea's wedding was conducted by Arete, the wife of Alcinous, and not Alcinous himself; see Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4,1110–69; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1,9,25. Medea also weds without her father's consent, a point indicated by Apollonius, *Argon.* 4,745–6, and Seneca, *Med.* 106.

²⁶ Burnett (above n. 1) 10, 13, in contrast, characterizes Creon's daughter as a legitimate wife and Medea as a concubine, who has not been properly transferred. She sees Jason and Medea as most like members of a secret conspiratorial society who are joined by their oaths and shared crimes. According to Easterling (above n. 1) 180–1, Euripides imposes a silence on the legal relationship of Jason and Medea, but presents them as "permanently pledged".

²⁷ The usual dependence of a fifth-century Athenian woman on her *kyrios* is nicely presented in J. Gould, "Law, Custom, and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens", *JHS* 100 (1980) 43–6 = *Myth, Ritual, Memory, and Exchange: Essays in Greek*

about it. Medea kills her brother, who might have served as her *kyrios* in the absence of her father. Medea in demanding an oath from Jason and arranging her own marriage acts as her own *kyrios*.²⁸ It was a legal impossibility for a woman to be her own guardian in fifth-century Athens,²⁹ but the actions – irregular and illegal – implicit in Medea's repeated mention of oaths are consistent with the character Euripides creates for her. Medea acting as her own *kyrios* emphasizes the fact that she rejects the confines of a conventional female role, and has assumed a male role. As her own *kyrios*, Medea herself must safeguard her own rights and represent her own interests in the public sphere, which is precisely what we see her doing. The audience in fifth-century Athens would have found this a most unusual undertaking for a woman, but they would have anticipated it and understood it once they comprehended the import of the oaths.

That Medea takes on the role of her own *kyrios* is further indicated by the discussion which surrounds her right hand.³⁰ At the opening of the play Medea calls upon oaths and the faith affirmed by right hands.³¹ The arrangements of the *enguê* were apparently confirmed by a handshake on the part of the groom and the bride's *kyrios*.³² The bride and the groom also shared a handclasp in the

Literature and Culture, Oxford 2001, 122–9.

²⁸ Seneca, *Med.* 486–9, also presents Medea as acting as her own *kyrios*, since he has her declare that she provided her own dowry (usually the responsibility of the *kyrios*) — her brother's limbs, her fatherland, father, brother, and her chastity: *nil exul tuli / nisi fratris artus. hos quoque impendi tibi, / tibi patria cessit, tibi pater, frater, pudor — / hac dote nupsi.*

²⁹ Although foreign women may have enjoyed greater freedom than citizen women, and Medea does identify herself as a foreigner, the audience is not called upon to view her as such in regard to her marriage. This is so for the same reasons that the chorus of citizen women sympathize with her: because her marriage is considered valid and her children legitimate. If she were a foreign woman in the context of latter fifth-century Athens, none of this would be true.

Later, in Egypt, we have evidence that a woman could give herself away, that is, perform her own *ekdosis*, but this would have been unheard of in Euripides' Athens; U. Yiftach-Firanko, *Marriage and Marital Arrangements: A History of the Greek Marriage Document in Egypt. 4th century BCE – 4th century CE*, München 2003, 43–4.

³⁰ S. Flory, "Medea's Right Hand: Promises and Revenge", *TAPhA* 108 (1978) 69–74; M. Kaimio, *Physical Contact in Greek Tragedy: A Study of Stage Conventions*, Helsinki 1988, 28–9; Rehm (above n. 1) 105.

³¹ *Med.* 21–2.

³² Ἐγγύη means '[a pledge] put in one's hand', and so L. Gernet, "Hypothèses sur le contrat

marriage ceremony, when, during the wedding procession, the groom grasped the wrist of the bride and led her along.³³ But in the depictions of this act, with very few exceptions, the groom grasps the left wrist of the bride with his right hand. Medea's right hand makes her an active party to her wedding contract, unlike the typically passive Athenian bride. This adds even more significance to Medea's exhortation to her right hand: "Come, o my wretched hand, take the sword, take it!" (ἄγ', ὦ τάλαίνα χεῖρ ἐμή, λαβὲ ξίφος, / λάβ', ...).³⁴ With her right hand Medea actively made a marriage for herself, and with this same right hand Medea will also take an active role in upholding her marriage, defending her rights, and maintaining her dignity.

One very important implication of Medea acting as her own *kyrios* is that Creon, not his daughter, is identified as her principal rival. We are naturally inclined to think of 'the other woman' as the rival of an abandoned wife, and Euripides does not dissuade us from this, since he has Medea murder Creon's daughter.³⁵ But there is something dissatisfactory about the rivalry between Medea and Creon's daughter in Euripides' tragedy. Creon's daughter, who never appears on the stage and is never even named, is a phantom, or rather she is obedient to Athenian society's prescription for a respectable woman: she is never seen in public and has no reputation.³⁶ Creon's daughter is, moreover, not the equal of Medea. Medea is active like a man, Creon's daughter is passive as a woman was expected to be. The naïve and adolescently petulant girl described for us in the messenger speech³⁷ is no match for an intelligent and powerful woman capable of destroying her enemies. But Euripides does not insist that his audience content themselves with this unfair fight. Medea faces a worthy foe in Creon.

Medea has made herself her own *kyrios*, so her rival is not Jason's new

primitif en Grèce", *REG* 30 (1917) 249–93, 363–83, took the name '*enguê*' to refer to the handshake which concluded the arrangement of the betrothal. Wolff (above n. 12) 51–3, however, defines *enguê* as the act by which the bride was 'handed over' by one *kyrios* and 'received into the hand' of the other. Oakley and Sinos (above n. 11) 9 and n. 3, follow Gernet on the basis of the visual representations. See also Kaimio (above n. 30) 33 n. 29, 34 n. 31.

³³ Oakley and Sinos (above n. 11) 32.

³⁴ *Med.* 1244–5.

³⁵ Burnett (above n. 1) 10, 14, insists that Medea does set out to avenge a fresh act of sexual betrayal, but that this is not the only, or even the most important crime for which she seeks revenge.

³⁶ See, for instance, Pericles' funeral speech; Thuc. 2.46.

³⁷ *Med.* 1144–66

wife, so much as it is the *kyrios* of the new wife who has arranged this new marriage. Creon's daughter has not seduced Jason, nor pursued him, nor extracted promises of marriage from him.³⁸ Her relationship to Jason has been determined entirely by the decisions of her father.³⁹ Creon has had an active role – as opposed to his daughter's passive role – in contracting a new marriage for Jason, which harms Medea and undoes the marriage she contracted for herself. Jason breaks his oaths to Medea not by making new oaths to another woman, but by making new marriage arrangements, possibly new oaths, with Creon.⁴⁰ Euripides has us infer the gravest reasons for Medea's enmity against Creon by weighing the implications of the oaths brought up so often. Seneca, in contrast, is explicit that Medea blames Creon for breaking up her marriage and sundering the oaths which secured it,⁴¹ but Seneca takes his cue from Euripides.

So Medea confronts her real rival on stage in her dialogue with Creon. When Creon orders her into exile, he reenacts his crime of driving her from her husband. In response, Medea dissembles to allay his fears when she tells Creon she bears no grudge against him for his role as *kyrios* of Jason's new bride:

σὺ γὰρ τί μ' ἠδίκηκας; ἐξέδου κόρην
 ὄτῳ σε θυμὸς ἤγεν. ἀλλ' ἐμὸν πόσιν
 μισῶ· σὺ δ', οἶμαι, σωφρονῶν ἔδρας τάδε.⁴²

In what have you treated me unjustly? You gave your daughter in marriage
 To the man your sense thought best. But my husband
 I hate; you rather, I think, accomplished these things wisely.

It is in this very act that Creon has done most harm to Medea, ruined her

³⁸ This is true of Creon's daughter, but it was not necessarily true of all Greek women. There are curse tablets from Cnidos, dated between 300 and 100 B.C., on which a wife damns the woman who stole away her husband; see C. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidos, and Branchidae*, London 1863, vol. ii, part 2, 719–45, esp. 739, 743–4 (Nos. 87, 93). I am indebted to Prof. Bonnie MacLachlan of the University of Western Ontario for bringing these tablets to my attention.

³⁹ See Sealey (above n. 12) 33.

⁴⁰ Cf. Burnett (above n. 1) 14.

⁴¹ Sen. *Med.* 143–6: *culpa est Creontis tota, qui sceptro impotens / coniugia solvit quique gentricem abstrahit / natis et arto pignore astrictam fidem / dirimit*; (The whole fault is Creon's, who with his scepter's power dissolves marriages, and who drags a mother from her children and puts an end to the trust bound by strict pledge). Cf. 517–9, where Medea sets herself up as rival to Creon in a contest over Jason.

⁴² *Med.* 309–11.

marriage, and caused the oaths she and her husband swore to be broken. She may lie and say she does not resent it, but she cannot keep from mentioning the action which makes Creon her enemy. Once he leaves the stage Medea forthrightly counts Creon amongst her enemies.⁴³ As she pleads with Creon at the end of their encounter, Medea calls on Zeus to remember who is the cause of the evils she suffers.⁴⁴ This might seem like vituperation aimed at Jason, since they have just been speaking of the misfortunes of love, but the audience, understanding their rivalry, can read it as an aside against Creon himself, an accusation to his face which he himself does not recognize.

Medea acting as her own *kyrios*, her rivalry with Creon, and her concern over the oaths all remind us that the alienation of Jason's loyalty, not his affection, is at issue. Jason's affection is largely immaterial in Euripides' play. Medea does not demand it; she expects every husband's affection to be dissipated.⁴⁵ Jason, in defending his actions to Medea, does not plead his love for Creon's daughter. Nevertheless, the men around her assume Medea to be consumed by sexual jealousy as befits a woman, rather than the sense of outrage over betrayal and indignity appropriate to a man. Jason expects that Medea is upset over 'the bed',⁴⁶ but insists that his new marriage is an advantageous arrangement, rather than a love affair.⁴⁷ Creon, once again, is not only the broker of the new marriage, but the one offering advantages in competition with the advantages Medea conferred on Jason, setting himself, not his daughter, up as her rival. Aegeus assumes that Jason's new marriage is a matter of love, but Medea is under no illusions and tells him that Jason's love was for "a marriage alliance with rulers" (ἀνδρῶν τυράννων κῆδος).⁴⁸ Jason needed to secure the aid of Medea in Colchis, in Greece he must secure the help of Creon. Even if she plans to murder the princess, Medea is less sentimental than these men think she is, and considers Creon her enemy. The conflict of the *Medea* stems not from a transfer of affection (as we might expect in the story of a divorce), but a transaction of interests, as the Athenian audience would expect between *kyrioi* arranging a marriage, from which Medea is excluded. For this reason, in their

⁴³ *Med.* 374–5.

⁴⁴ *Med.* 332.

⁴⁵ *Med.* 244–6.

⁴⁶ *Med.* 555–6, 568–73.

⁴⁷ *Med.* 545–75.

⁴⁸ *Med.* 697–700.

argument, Medea insists on all that she has done for Jason, and Jason is concerned with the pragmatic benefits to be accrued from his new marriage.

The punishment of perjury

It has been suggested that Medea's concern with oaths helps to explain her most atrocious crime and the climactic event of Euripides' tragedy: the killing of her children. Rickert has compellingly argued that the utter destruction of one's household, his children, and his posterity was understood to be the appropriate punishment for perjury, and that Medea exacts this penalty from Jason by killing their sons.⁴⁹ If Rickert implies that Medea's actions were therefore condoned by Euripides and his audience, she may overstate her case, but Rehm's objection that the offended party was not responsible for exacting vengeance is hardly sustainable.⁵⁰ Medea has long since become habituated to taking care of her own interests, and not leaving the task to the proper authority. She acts as her own *kyrios* in her marriage, and pleads her own case to Creon when Jason's appeal for her proves unavailing. We have noted the active role Medea has assumed in regard to her oaths especially. Altogether, the punishment of perjury as a contributing justification for the murder of her sons indicates the value Medea sets on oaths: she would rather uphold the sanctity of oaths than spare her own children.

Aegeus

The scene of Medea's conversation with Aegeus has been criticized by scholars ancient and modern alike as an unnecessary and overlong episode which serves only to provide Medea with a safe haven once she has perpetrated her crimes.⁵¹ But twentieth-century critics have come to appreciate the great dramatic power and pivotal importance of this scene.⁵² It is after speaking to Aegeus, who is

⁴⁹ Rickert (above n. 1) 106–13. Cf. J. Plescia, *The Oath and Perjury in Ancient Greece*, Tallahassee 1970, 11–2; Burnett (above n. 1) 20.

⁵⁰ Rehm (above n. 1) 147–8.

⁵¹ Arist., *Poet.* 1461B; see Page (above n. 1) xxix n.2; G. Else, *Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument*, Cambridge, Mass. 1957, 469–70.

⁵² H. Naylor, "The Aegeus Episode, *Medea* 663–763", *CR* 23 (1909) 189–90; Page (above n.

attempting drastic remedies to end his childlessness, that Medea determines to commit the dire and unnatural crime of killing her children. She knows that she can truly have her revenge on Jason if she can reduce him to the same desperation that Aegeus suffers being without children. Medea's conversation with Aegeus, however, does more than merely suggest to her an appropriate method of exacting revenge. As the context for the only oath sworn in the course of the play (by Aegeus), it demands our attention if we are to understand the oaths in the *Medea*. The contrast between Jason and Aegeus which this exchange brings out is, moreover, the final indictment against Jason's conduct and character.

Aegeus, like Jason, is a married man whose marriage has not provided him with all of the advantages it might have. His marriage is childless, and he is anxious to have an heir. In such cases divorce was not only permitted to the husband, it was the expected course of action. Herodotus considered the devotion of the Spartan king, Anaxandrides, to his wife remarkable, since, despite her barrenness and the insistent demands of the Ephors, he refused to divorce her and took the unprecedented expedient of bigamy in order to preserve his original marriage and produce an heir.⁵³ Even Medea concedes that if she had not given him children Jason would have an excuse for making a second marriage.⁵⁴ In this situation, Euripides has Aegeus display signal fidelity to his wife. He might easily have taken another wife, a fertile one, but instead he pursues the difficult and costly alternative of going to Delphi and procuring oracles to help him have children with his wedded wife.⁵⁵ Euripides scrupulously avoids any mention of Aegeus' dalliance with Aethra in Troezen, which was supposed to produce Theseus, or those versions of the legend in which Medea kept her bargain with Aegeus by marrying him herself and bearing children for him.⁵⁶ It is, in the *Medea*, Aegeus' love – presumably for

1) xxix–xxx; R. Dunkle, "The Aegeus Episode and the Theme of Euripides' *Medea*", *TAPhA* 100 (1969) 97–107; Burnett (above n. 1) 13, notes the importance of the Aegeus scene in regard to oaths; Easterling (above n. 1) 184–5; Rickert (above n. 1) 109; P. Sfyroeras, "The Ironies of Salvation: The Aegeus Scene in Euripides' *Medea*", *CJ* 90 (1994–5) 125–42.

⁵³ Hdt. 5,39–40.

⁵⁴ *Med.* 490–1. Jason responds that he wants no more children than the ones Medea has given him, and that he is trying to assure the comfort and eminence of the sons she has given him; *Med.* 557–60.

⁵⁵ *Med.* 667–73.

⁵⁶ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1,9,28; Plut. *Thes.* 3,3–4; Knox (above n. 9) 194–5 and n. 7. Sfyroeras (above n. 52) 126–30, finds, on the contrary, strong allusions to both the conception of

his current wife – and Medea's drugs which will produce children for him.⁵⁷ Aegeus remains a model of the faithful husband. Jason, in contrast, abandons his wife in spite of the fact that she has not only borne him children, but in addition done far more toward furthering his ambition than any wife might be expected to do. He abandons her because immediate advantages might be more easily procured by another marriage. The faithlessness of Jason stands in sharp contrast to the fidelity of Aegeus.

Aegeus' faithfulness to his wife apparently has nothing to do with oaths, but his attitude to oaths provides the most damning contrast with Jason. Aegeus is a man of his word. He tells Medea that if she can make it unaided to his country, he for his part will protect her from all her enemies, and that is what he intends to do. Despite Jason's perjury and the broken oaths that grieve her so sorely, however, Medea still sets great stock in oaths, and she asks for a pledge from Aegeus. Aegeus' response to this request shows just what kind of a man he is. It does not occur to him that an oath would bind him more securely to his word. His oath is for the benefit of others:

ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ σοι, δρᾶν τάδ' οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι.
 ἐμοί τε γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀσφαλέστατα,
 σκῆψίν τιν' ἐχθροῖς σοῖς ἔχοντα δεικνύναι,
 τὸ σὸν τ' ἄραρε μᾶλλον· ἐξηγοῦ θεοῦς.⁵⁸

But, if it seems good to you, I will not refrain from doing these things.
 For these [sworn oaths] are most safe for me,
 Having some pretence [of obligation] to set before your enemies,
 And your affairs are more firmly fixed; dictate the gods [for the oath].

The oaths give Aegeus a plausible excuse for refusing Medea's enemies (his friends), and help her to feel more secure, but they make no difference to him.⁵⁹ He will keep his word, oath or no oath. Aegeus does not hesitate to swear an oath because his word is his bond. Jason has readily sworn oaths for precisely the opposite reason: because he does not feel obligated by them.

In regard to oaths, Euripides' Aegeus is not only a mirror in which Jason reflects badly, he also embodies the ideal of the oath-taker in the philosophy of

Theseus as well as the whole story of Medea's future cohabitation with Aegeus in Athens.

⁵⁷ *Med.* 714–5, 718.

⁵⁸ *Med.* 742–5.

⁵⁹ Dunkle (above n. 52) 98, however, suggests that it is Aegeus' self-interested desire for security, rather than his inherent honesty, which provokes this assertion.

the playwright's day. Greek philosophers were, on the whole, critical of the habit of swearing oaths.⁶⁰ Pythagoras urged his followers to speak words which were trustworthy without oaths, and cautioned them against taking oaths, but told them to keep, by all means, the ones they swore, and advised them that it was preferable to lose a suit than to win it by means of an oath.⁶¹ Several philosophers swore by inconsequential creatures – Socrates by the dog or beech tree, Lampon by the goose, Zeno by the goat – in order to avoid what they wished to be seen as the awesome undertaking of swearing by the gods.⁶² Plato criticized the Athenian habits of swearing oaths in the haggling of the marketplace, and of having each party in a court case swear oaths as to the truth of his accusation or defense. The latter practice, he said, inevitably made half of the litigants perjurers.⁶³ The swearing of oaths which was so ingrained in the custom of society made casual blasphemy and disregard of the gods a very real danger. Medea accuses Jason of this very crime, of thinking the gods no longer rule, or a novel justice has been established, since he knowingly swore in bad faith.⁶⁴ Only a man like Aegeus whose word is trustworthy without an oath is fit to take an oath, and able to do so without endangering himself and reviling the gods. These characters represent various current perspectives on oaths. Medea represents the traditional respect and demand for oaths as the necessary guarantee of truth. Jason represents the resulting devaluation of oaths by men willing to engage in an easy and thoughtless blasphemy. Aegeus represents the radical notion that there can be — must be — truth-telling without oaths. His attitude to oaths as external show not touching his inherent honesty is an example of philosophical virtue, and seems to anticipate the Christian injunction against swearing oaths: "But I say unto you, Swear not at all; ... But let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."⁶⁵

⁶⁰ J. Fitzgerald, "The Problem of Perjury in Greek Context: Prolegomena to an Exegesis of Matthew 5:33; 1 Timothy 1:10; and Didache 2.3", in L. White and O. Yarbrough (ed.), *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks*, Minneapolis 1995, 171–3.

⁶¹ Iambl. *VP* 47, 144, 150; Diod. Sic. 10,9,2; cf. Isoc. *Demonicus* 23.

⁶² See Plescia (above n. 49) 88; Suidas: Λάμπων (Λ 23).

⁶³ Plat. *Leg.* 11 (917B), 12 (948D–E).

⁶⁴ *Med.* 492–5.

⁶⁵ Matt. 5.33–37; Jas. 5.12. See J. Ropes, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James*, Edinburgh 1916, 300–303, for the context of the verses and a

It no doubt gratified the civic pride of the Athenian audience to have their ancestral king opposed as a paragon of honesty and good faith to an Argive scoundrel. It is consistent with the Chorus' hymn to the Erechtheids and the pure and holy land of Attica.⁶⁶ The Athenians prided themselves on an 'Attic faith' (ἀττική πίστις) which was distinctly reliable and trustworthy compared to the *pistis* of other Greeks.⁶⁷ Euripides' depiction of Aegeus as a man of his word obviously struck a chord, not only with his audience, but with his colleagues as well. Some thirty years after the *Medea* was produced in 431, in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* (produced posthumously in 401) Aegeus' son, Theseus, appeared as a character whose word was similarly so reliable that it made oaths unnecessary. Once Theseus agrees to protect Oedipus, just as Aegeus had agreed to protect Medea, Oedipus says to him, "I shall indeed not bind you under an oath, as if you were a bad man." And Theseus replies, "You would by this means gain nothing more than by my word."⁶⁸ Theseus proves as good as his word and protects Oedipus from the assaults of Creon, and when he does give his oath to care for Oedipus' children, the audience may be confident he will not fail in his undertaking.⁶⁹ In a nice intertextual balance, whereas the broken oaths of Jason brought about the destruction of his children, the faithfulness of Theseus serves to protect the children of Oedipus.

Scholars agree that oaths are important in the *Medea*, but little work has been done on how and why they are important. We have seen that an Athenian audience would identify these oaths in different ways. First, perhaps, as lovers' oaths, making Jason and Medea's union suspicious and a flagrant defiance of social convention, recalling the damage they have done to Aeëtes' household, and portending the destruction of Jason's household. Then as a variant on the customary Athenian betrothal, the *enguê*, emphasizing that Medea adopts a

compilation of ancient opinions, Jewish, Gentile, and Christian, on swearing oaths, as well as Fitzgerald (above n. 60) 156–77.

⁶⁶ *Med.* 824–45.

⁶⁷ Plescia (above n. 49) 87.

⁶⁸ Soph. *OC* 650–1: οὔτοι σ' ὑφ' ὄρκου γ' ὡς κακὸν πιστώσομαι. / οὔκουν πέρα γ' ἄν οὐδὲν ἢ λόγῳ φέροις. E. McDermott, *Euripides' Medea: The Incarnation of Disorder*, University Park, PA 1989, 102–3, also posits a possible connection between this passage and the Aegeus scene in the *Medea*, but, on account of her far dimmer view of Medea's intentions in her exchange with Aegeus she reads the two passages in terms of contrast rather than correspondence.

⁶⁹ Soph. *OC* 1636–7.

masculine role, and showing her confronting Creon as her real rival. Broken oaths provide an important justification for Medea's infanticide which cannot be ignored. And the stress on oaths makes Aegeus stand out as a model of fidelity and honesty in glaring contrast to Jason. Oaths are not merely important to Medea, and so mentioned time and again; oaths propel the plot, and reflection on them allows us to deepen our assessment of character.

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**C. SALVIUS LIBERALIS NONIUS BASSUS
UN MONUMENTO EQUESTRE AD URBS SALVIA?***

LUCA MAURIZI

1. Le premesse

Murata nella facciata del palazzo comunale di Urbisaglia, è visibile la grande iscrizione *CIL IX 5533 (=ILS 1011)* con il *cursus honorum* di *C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus*, eminente cittadino urbisalviense e console, probabilmente, nell'86. Se la carriera e le vicende della vita del senatore sono conosciute con sufficiente chiarezza, ci si propone con questo contributo di fornire una nuova interpretazione del carattere e del significato dell'insieme monumento/iscrizione, nel contesto topografico della città di *Urbs Salvia*. Nel contempo si è ritenuto utile, per motivi di completezza, ripercorrere brevemente le tappe della carriera di *Salvius Liberalis*, cogliendo l'occasione anche per fornire una panoramica bibliografica comprendente gli ultimi contributi e ricerche sul senatore in questione.

* Al Prof. Olli Salomies e al Prof. Heikki Solin, che hanno letto e commentato questo testo nelle diverse fasi della sua redazione, desidero esprimere loro la mia più sincera gratitudine per le numerose ed utili osservazioni. Ringrazio anche il Prof. Gianfranco Paci, editore della rivista *Picus*, per avermi gentilmente consentito di utilizzare la fotografia che compare in questo articolo. Esprimo, inoltre, i miei più cordiali ringraziamenti all'editore della *PIR*², Dr. Matthäus Heil, ed ai suoi collaboratori per la cortesia riservatami nel consentirmi di prendere visione dell'articolo su *C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus* in anticipo sulla pubblicazione.



Urbisaglia, Palazzo Comunale.¹ L'iscrizione di *C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus*. Il testo trascritto suona:

*[C(aio) Salv]io C(ai) f(ilio) Vel(ina) Liberali
 [Nonio] Basso co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli) provin-
 [ciae Ma]cedoniae, legato Augustorum
 [iuridi]c(o) Britann(iae), legato leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae)
 [fratri A]rvali, allecto ab divo Vespasiano
 [et divo Ti]to inter tribunicios, ab isdem
 [promoto] inter praetorios, quinq(uennali) IIII, p(atrono) c(oloniae). Hic sorte
 [proco(n)s(ul) fac]tus provinciae Asiae se excusavit.*

2. Il personaggio e la sua carriera

C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus rappresenta un importante esempio di esponente dell'ordine senatorio che, oltre ad aver raggiunto il consolato e la nomina a proconsole d'Asia, e quindi ad aver percorso con successo i gradini della carriera urbana,² ha mantenuto uno stretto rapporto con la sua patria

¹ Fotografia da Ch. Delplace, "La colonia augustea di Urbs Salvia", in L. Bacchielli – Ch. Delplace – W. Eck – L. Gasperini – G. Paci, *Studi su Urbisaglia romana* (Picus – Studi e ricerche sulle Marche nell'antichità Supplementi 5), Tivoli 1995, 43. La stessa foto compare, sempre nello stesso volume, in W. Eck, "Urbs Salvia e le sue più illustri famiglie senatorie in età romana", 71 (Pubblicazione originale: W. Eck, "Urbs Salvia und seine führenden Familien in der römischen Zeit", *Picus* 12–13 (1992–1993) 79–108).

² I governatorati consolari in Asia e Africa rappresentavano praticamente l'obiettivo massimo

d'origine, come testimoniato dal fatto che il suo *cursus* mostra la carica locale di *quinquennalis*,³ ricoperta per quattro volte,⁴ ed il patronato della colonia.⁵ I diversi passi della carriera⁶ di *Salvius Liberalis*, dagli inizi legati alla sua educazione retorica con i conseguenti successi giudiziari⁷ fino alla rinuncia al proconsolato d'Asia menzionata nel testo,⁸ passando per l'iniziale favore di Vespasiano e per i successivi contrasti con la dinastia flavia, sono descritti soprattutto dal *cursus honorum* dell'iscrizione urbisalviense, ma anche da altre fonti, sia letterarie⁹ sia epigrafiche.¹⁰ *CIL IX 5533* rappresenta il documento più

nelle aspettative di carriera di un senatore. Si trattava di una sorta di "premio di fine carriera". Cfr. W. Eck, "Criteri di avanzamento nella carriera senatoria (69–138 d.C.)", in *Tra epigrafia prosopografia ed archeologia*, Roma 1996, 53 (Publicazione originale in *ANRW* 2 1, Berlin, 1974 158–228).

³ Per il significato della carica di *quinquennalis* oppure *praetor quinquennalis* ad *Urbs Salvia*, cfr. Ch. Delplace (sopra nt. 1), 39–46. Per il ruolo delle famiglie senatorie nella loro città d'origine cfr. W. Eck, "La presenza delle famiglie senatorie nelle città dell'impero romano fino al tardo III secolo", in *Tra epigrafia prosopografia ed archeologia*, Roma 1996, 175–212 (pubblicazione originale *Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff*, Köln–Wien 1980, 283–322) e "I senatori e la loro provincia d'origine" nello stesso volume, 213–226. Sullo stesso argomento cfr. anche A. M. Andermahr, *Totus in praediis. Senatorischer Grundbesitz in Italien in der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1998. Per quanto riguarda *Salvius Liberalis* e *Urbs Salvia* cfr. 420–421.

⁴ Secondo A. R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, Oxford 2005, 268, quindici anni almeno separano il primo dall'ultimo di questi onori municipali.

⁵ Cfr. sopra nota 1.

⁶ Per la carriera di C. *Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus* cfr., soprattutto, W. Eck (sopra nt. 1), 71–75 e id., *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, München 1970, 133 n. 97. Cfr. anche E. Groag in *RE s.v. Salvius* nr. 15 coll. 2026–2027. Sull'incarico di *iuridicus Britanniae*, cfr. adesso A. R. Birley (sopra nt. 4), 268–270. Sulla promozione dal proconsolato in Macedonia al consolato cfr. P. M. M. Leunissen, "Direct promotions from proconsul to consul" *ZPE* 89 (1991) 227. Occorre inoltre segnalare, per completezza, l'ultimo volume, di prossima uscita, della *PIR*² con l'articolo di Klaus Wachtel su *Salvius Liberalis* (*PIR*² S 138), in cui l'autore ripercorre i passi della carriera del senatore.

⁷ Cfr. O. Salomies, "Redner und Senatoren. Eloquenz als Standeskultur (1.–3. Jh. N. Chr.)", in W. Eck – M. Heil (eds.), *Senatores populi Romani*, Stuttgart 2005, 237 n. 36 e p. 258.

⁸ Cfr. sopra nt. 1.

⁹ Sull'educazione retorica cfr. Suet., *Vesp.* 13 e Plin. *epist.* II, 11, 17 e III, 9, 33 e 36.

¹⁰ Per l'appartenenza di *Salvius Liberalis* al collegio degli Arvali cfr. J. Scheid, *Le collège des frères Arvales. Étude prosopographique du recrutement (69–304)*, Roma 1990, 11–12 e 330 sg. e R. Syme, *Some Arval Brethren*, Oxford 1980, 31. Il nome di *Salvius Liberalis* è attestato, epigraficamente, anche in *CIL IX 5534=ILS 1012* (l'iscrizione della moglie), nel verbale di processo *CIL VI 2074* (peraltro il prenome viene in due occasioni erroneamente

importante sul *cursus honorum* di *Salvius Liberalis* che viene esposto in ordine discendente in modo regolare, se non per l'inversione delle due *adlectiones inter tribunicios* e *inter praetorios*, per opera di Vespasiano e Tito.¹¹ Il testo registra, in chiusura e separati dalla carriera urbana, la magistratura locale con l'iterazione,¹² di cui si è detto prima, ed il patronato della colonia.¹³ Alla fine

indicato come *P(ublius)* e negli Atti degli Arvali, cfr. J. Scheid [sopra nt. 10], 11–12 con la lista dei frammenti dove *Salvius Liberalis* è attestato). Per le benemerenze evergetiche di *Salvius Liberalis* nei confronti della città di *Urbs Salvia*, cfr. l'iscrizione *AE* 1993, 594, su cui cfr. anche Ch. Delplace, *La romanisation du Picenum. L'exemple d'Urbs Salvia*, Roma 1993 (*Collection de l'école française de Rome* 177), 283–284 e W. Eck, in L. Bacchielli – Ch. Delplace – W. Eck – L. Gasperini – G. Paci, *Studi su Urbisaglia romana*, Tivoli 1995, 77–79 (con foto fig. 7). Il testo rende conto dei rifacimenti ed abbellimenti del teatro cittadino per opera di *Salvius Liberalis* e del figlio *Salvius Vitellianus*.

¹¹ Cfr. A. R. Birley (sopra nt. 4), 268 e J. Scheid, *op. cit.*, 331–332. Secondo quest'ultimo, il fatto che le *adlectiones* siano indicate in ordine diretto, mentre l'ordine generale del *cursus* è inverso, segue "une habitude qui n'a rien d'étonnant". Vale la pena di considerare un'altra possibilità: il *cursus honorum* di *Salvius Liberalis* potrebbe essere visto come un esempio di carriera strutturata, cioè composto da due blocchi, ciascuno dei quali ordinato al suo interno in maniera indipendente più un blocco iniziale con le cariche più prestigiose. La struttura sarebbe, in tal caso:

Cos.	Consueto blocco iniziale con il consolato
<i>Procos. provin[ciae Ma]cedoniae</i> <i>Legatus Augustorum [iuridi]c. Britann.</i> <i>Legatus leg. V Maced.</i>	Blocco con gli incarichi pretorii <u>in direzione discendente</u>
<i>[Fratr A]rvalis</i>	Sacerdozio
<i>Allectus ab divo Vespasiano et [divo Ti]to inter tribunicios, ab isdem [promoto] inter praetorios</i>	Adlectiones anteriori alle cariche pretorie <u>in direzione ascendente</u>
<i>Quinq. IIII</i>	Carica locale con iterazione
<i>P(atronus) c(oloniae)</i>	Patronato

Ringrazio il Prof. Olli Salomies per aver cortesemente fornito lo spunto per quest'interpretazione della carriera come strutturata. Sul concetto di *cursus honorum* in ordine strutturato, cfr. G. Di Vita-Evrard, "Des Calvisii Rusones à Licinius Sura", *MEFRA* 99 (1987) 291sg. e idem, "Sur les charges africaines des frères Cn. Domitii Afri Titii Marcelli Curvii Lucanus et Tullus", *L'Africa romana* 4 (1986) 509–527.

¹² A favore dell'interpretazione della carica locale come posta alla fine della carriera statale cfr. E. Groag in *RE* coll. 2028 sg. A sostegno dell'ordine cronologico cfr. S. Gsell, *MEFR* 74 (1888) e idem, *Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Domitien*, Paris 1884, 140 n. 9 (ristampato in *Studia Historica* 46, Roma 1967).

¹³ Rientra perfettamente nella norma che queste due menzioni siano indicate in chiusura, dopo gli onori urbani. Confrontando sistematicamente tutte le testimonianze d'iscrizioni di

compare il ricordo della rinuncia al proconsolato d'Asia, probabilmente per motivi d'età. Se lo sviluppo della carriera di *Salvius Liberalis* e la successione degli onori sono chiari, tuttavia in discussione è la cronologia da assegnare alle diverse cariche da lui ricoperte, da accordare con gli anni in cui *Salvius Liberalis* si trovava a Roma, ricordati nelle testimonianze degli atti degli Arvali. Su questa cronologia, le opinioni degli studiosi si dividono. Per comodità, nella figura 1 alla p. 5 alla fine del paragrafo, si riassumono le diverse cronologie del *cursus* del nostro senatore nella letteratura scientifica, mentre, di seguito, ripercorriamo le tappe della sua carriera seguendo, fondamentalmente, la ricostruzione di Scheid.¹⁴ Sia che la sua entrata in senato vada attribuita ai successi come oratore,¹⁵ o all'influenza del suo importante parente *L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus*,¹⁶ oppure al fatto di essersi schierato dalla parte giusta durante le vicende del 69,¹⁷ il nostro personaggio fu ammesso nell'*ordo senatorius* prima con il rango di tribunizio e poi promosso a quello pretorio. Il *cursus* dell'iscrizione mostra, subito dopo le due *adlectiones* datate al 73/74, l'appartenenza al collegio degli Arvali, in cui era stato cooptato il 1 marzo del 78 e, nelle liste del quale, risulta attestato anche l'11 ed il 29 marzo dello stesso anno. Il fatto che il sacerdozio non sia spostato in posizione iniziale, a formare un blocco con il consolato, deve significare che la posizione è cronologica.¹⁸ L'appartenenza al collegio è un fattore illuminante a proposito delle fortune politiche di *Salvius*. Infatti, il senatore urbisalviense compare nelle liste dei

senatori che presentano un *cursus honorum*, datate tra il regno di Augusto e quello di Traiano, si è potuto verificare come questa sia la posizione più normale per questo tipo d'indicazione. Su 7 iscrizioni di senatori con *cursus* in cui il senatore rappresentato ha ricoperto una carica locale, tutte presentano la menzione di questa alla fine della carriera statale o comunque isolata del resto del *cursus*. Lo stesso dicasi per le menzioni del patronato: nello stesso periodo, su 58 menzioni di patronato di un senatore in un'iscrizione con un *cursus*, in tutti i casi tale menzione è posta in posizione finale tranne in tre esempi in cui il patronato è posto all'inizio o in combinazione con il sacerdozio ma comunque staccato dal resto della carriera: si tratta di *CIL* XI 4772=*ILS* 925; *CIL* IX 731 e *CIL* III 384=*ILS* 1018 (vedi, in fondo, tabella 2).

¹⁴ Cfr. J. Scheid (sopra nt. 10), 333–334.

¹⁵ Cfr. W. C. Mc Dermott, "Flavius Silva and Salvius Liberalis", *CW* 66 (1973) 335 sg.

¹⁶ Cfr. W. Eck (sopra nt. 1), 72.

¹⁷ Cfr. A. R. Birley (sopra nt. 4), 268.

¹⁸ Cfr. W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, München 1970, 29 n. 4 e J. Scheid (sopra nt. 10), 332.

fratres Arvales nel 78 (cooptazione), 81, 84, 86, 87 e 101.¹⁹ L'assenza dalle liste degli Arvali dopo l'87 è stata interpretata come un raffreddamento dei rapporti con la dinastia flavia o, più probabilmente, con l'esilio.²⁰ Dopo *frater Arvalis*, il testo enumera gli incarichi pretorici e menziona il comando della *legio V Macedonica*, di stanza in Mesia, nel 78–81. *Salvius Liberalis* ricompare poi a Roma, presente nelle liste degli atti degli Arvali, dopo questo incarico, il 30 settembre e il primo ottobre proprio dell'81. Dopo essere tornato a Roma il senatore verrà ancora trasferito in provincia, ed il *cursus* urbisalviense ricorda il posto di *iuridicus* in *Britannia*, ottenuto per il periodo 81–83. *Salvius Liberalis* farà, in seguito, nuovamente ritorno a Roma, partecipando alle cerimonie degli Arvali il 29 maggio dell'84. Seguono il proconsolato in Macedonia e il consolato, rispettivamente nell'84–85 e, probabilmente, 86. Tornato a Roma per ottenere il consolato, partecipò alle riunioni degli Arvali tre volte nel gennaio e febbraio dell'86 e, in seguito, sei volte ancora dal 3 gennaio al 20 maggio dell'87, anno durante il quale fu oltretutto *promagister* e *vice magister* del collegio. A questo punto, durante l'ultimo periodo della dinastia flavia, le fortune politiche di *Salvius Liberalis*, devono essersi interrotte e poi riprese sotto Traiano con il ritorno dal probabile esilio nel 96²¹ e l'assegnazione dell'ambito governatorato senatorio della provincia d'Asia nel 100, rispettando quindi l'intervallo di circa 15 anni che intercorreva tra il consolato e uno dei due proconsolati consolari.²² Gli atti degli Arvali lo vedono ancora presente quattro volte tra il gennaio e il maggio del 101. Lo stretto legame della famiglia di *Salvius Liberalis* con l'amministrazione della colonia di *Urbs Salvia* è dimostrato, oltre che dalla carica locale che il nostro personaggio non aveva esitato a ricoprire per quattro volte e dal patronato della comunità, anche dalle benemerienze evergetiche di cui *Salvius Liberalis* e suo figlio *C. Salvius Vitellianus* si erano resi protagonisti a favore della cittadinanza, cioè una serie di rifacimenti ed abbellimenti del teatro cittadino.²³ *L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus*, sicuramente in qualche grado parente²⁴ di *Salvius Liberalis*, era stato

¹⁹ Cfr. J. Scheid (sopra nt. 10), 11–12.

²⁰ Cfr. Plin. *epist.*, III, 9, 33 e R. Syme (sopra nt. 10), 31, che pensa alla congiura del settembre dell'87 oppure ad un processo *de repetundis* per giustificare l'esilio.

²¹ Sulla durata dell'esilio, cfr. J. Scheid (sopra nt. 10), 333 n. 74.

²² Cfr. W. Eck (sopra nt.2), 53 e n. 315

²³ Cfr. *AE* 1993, 594 e, sopra, nota 11.

²⁴ Sulla parentela tra i due personaggi cfr. O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire*, Helsinki 1992, 132–133.

anch'egli un generoso evergete nei confronti della comunità cittadina, con la costruzione dell'anfiteatro urbisalviense²⁵ che si trova circa 120 m fuori della cinta muraria cittadina in direzione sud-est.

Lo stesso *nomen* di C. *Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus* è collegato probabilmente alla città stessa.²⁶ Il profilo generale che abbiamo di *Salvius Liberalis* è quello di un senatore il cui *cursus honorum* urbano, nonostante la lunga pausa successiva al consolato, ha raggiunto alti livelli, senza trascurare di svolgere un ruolo di primo piano nell'amministrazione della comunità cittadina da cui proveniva, sia come *praetor quinquennalis* che come patrono della stessa.

²⁵ Cfr. sull'anfiteatro e sul suo costruttore, Ch. Delplace (sopra nt. 10), 47 e 296 sg.; F. Cancrini – Ch. Delplace, *L'evergetismo nella regio V (Picenum)*, Roma 2001, 112–115 e W. Eck (sopra nt. 1), 71. Cfr. anche M. F. Fenati, *Lucio Flavio Silva Nonio Basso e la città di Urbisaglia*, Macerata 1995. Per le iscrizioni dell'anfiteatro cfr. *CIL IX 5536* più altri frammenti di cui in Ch. Delplace (sopra nt. 1) 40 n. 62 e fig. 8 e W. Eck (sopra nt. 1), 57 n. 26 e p. 69 n. 65. Notare che lo stesso *Flavius Silva* fu attivo nell'amministrazione della colonia come *praetor quinquennalis*.

²⁶ Sull'ipotesi di un antenato di *Salvius Liberalis* che assunse il nome di *Salvius* in quanto schiavo pubblico della colonia cfr. W. Eck (sopra nt. 1), 72. Cfr. anche id., "Ordo equitum Romanorum, ordo libertorum – Freigelassene und ihre Nachkommen im römischen Ritterstand", in *L'ordre équestre – Histoire d'une aristocratie* (ColLEFR 257), Rome 1999.

Tabella 1: Cronologia della carriera di C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus

Onore	E. Groag , in <i>RE</i> s.v. <i>Salvius</i> nr. 15 coll. 2026–2027.	W. C. McDermott , <i>Flavius Silva and Salvius Liberalis</i> , <i>CW</i> 1973, 335–351.	W. Eck , <i>Urbs Salvia e le sue più illustri famiglie senatorie in età romana</i> , 49–82.	J. Scheid , <i>Le collèges des frères Arvales: étude prosopographique du recrutement (69–304)</i> , 330–334.	A. R. Birley , <i>The Roman Government of Britain</i> , Oxford 2005, 268.
<i>Adlectus inter trib. et praet.</i>	73/74	73/74		73/74	73/74
<i>Frater Arvalis (adlectio)</i>	78	78	78	<i>Adlectus</i> 1.03. e attestato 11.03 e 29.05 del 78	1. 03. 78
<i>Legatus leg. V Maced.</i>	78	Ca. 74		78/81	74/77 ²⁷
				Di ritorno a Roma, attestato nel collegio degli Arvali il 30.09 e 01.10 dell'81	
<i>Legatus Augustorum iuridicus Britanniae</i>	81	78	81–82	81/83	78/81
				Di ritorno a Roma, attestato nel collegio degli Arvali il 29.05 dell'84	
<i>Procos. prov. Macedoniae</i>	Ca. 84	81	83/84 ²⁸	84/85	83/84
<i>Cos. suffectus</i>	Ca. 88		85	85/86	85
				Di ritorno a Roma, attestato nel collegio degli Arvali 3 volte nel gennaio e febbraio dell'86 e 6 volte dal gennaio al maggio dell'87 (<i>promagister e vice magister</i>)	
<i>Nomina a procos. Asiae</i>				Ca. 100	
				Attestato nel collegio degli Arvali nel gennaio, marzo e maggio (?) del 101	

²⁷ Secondo Birley, la cooptazione nel collegio degli Arvali sarebbe da vedere come una ricompensa per il servizio svolto come legato di legione. Dello stesso avviso Th. Franke, *Die Legionslegaten der römischen Armee in der Zeit von Augustus bis Traian*, Bochum 1991, 114 sg.

²⁸ Cfr. W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, München 1970, 133 n. 97.

3. La tipologia dell'iscrizione

Un particolare fondamentale, per l'interpretazione del monumento del quale la grande iscrizione di *C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus* faceva parte, è la tipologia alla quale l'epigrafe va assegnata. Tra gli studiosi che si sono occupati di questo problema, il primo a prendere posizione sulla questione è stato Groag, il quale parla del testo ". . . *in der man wahrscheinlich seine Grabinschrift zu erblicken hat*".²⁹ L'ipotesi funeraria viene ripresa da Syme³⁰ e da Eck.³¹ A favore, invece, di un'interpretazione del monumento in chiave onoraria si è mostrato Salomies, che, d'altro canto, non esclude del tutto la possibilità che il carattere del testo possa, comunque, essere funerario.³² Per quello che ho potuto verificare, altri pareri sul problema non sono stati formulati e lo scopo principale di questo contributo è proprio di tornare su questo aspetto, alla luce di una serie di considerazioni riguardanti il formulario della nostra iscrizione. Il *cursus honorum* dell'iscrizione urbisalviense di *Salvius Liberalis* riporta in posizione finale, come detto, il patronato della colonia di *Urbs Salvia* e proprio questa menzione mal si adatta, secondo me, ad un'interpretazione dell'epigrafe come funeraria.

Confrontando sistematicamente tutti i casi d'iscrizioni di senatori che presentano un *cursus honorum*, completo o meno,³³ nel periodo compreso tra il regno di Augusto (considerando il 31 a.C. come punto di partenza) e la fine del regno di Traiano (117 d.C.) e provenienti da ogni parte dell'impero, questo sarebbe, infatti, l'unico esempio di iscrizione funeraria a contemplare, oltre alle

²⁹ Cfr. E. Groag (sopra nt. 6).

³⁰ Cfr. R. Syme, "Antonius Saturninus", *Roman Papers* 3, 1079 (Pubblicazione originale *JRS* 68 (1978) 12–21).

³¹ Cfr. W. Eck (sopra nt. 1), 74 e 78 n. 94: "Anche *CIL IX 5533=ILS 1011* è un'iscrizione funeraria, ma non vi è menzionato alcun dedicante: la cosa non era – e da presumere – strettamente necessaria, poiché certamente l'edicola era collocata in una tomba di famiglia. . . ." e, ancora, 79 n. 96: "Non si è tuttavia riusciti, fino ad oggi, ad identificare questo monumento funerario: se i nuclei interni di edifici in muratura visibili davanti alle antiche mura della città abbiano per caso a che fare con questo monumento funerario sfugge alla nostra conoscenza".

³² Cfr., ancora, O. Salomies (sopra nt. 24), 132 ". . . *the partly fragmentary honorary (or funerary?) inscription . . .*"

³³ Con questa espressione si intende, in questo contesto, un'iscrizione che riporti almeno due cariche riferite al senatore onorato/defunto oppure autore della dedica nel caso si tratti di un'epigrafe di opera pubblica.

cariche del senatore rappresentato, il patronato di una città. Il materiale di cui si parla ammonta ad un totale di 58 documenti epigrafici per 51 senatori attestati conosciuti (cfr. Tabella 2) e da esso si osserva che le iscrizioni che ricordano i nostri patroni sono esclusivamente dediche onorarie oppure, nel caso il patrono abbia donato un edificio di uso pubblico alla città-cliente, iscrizioni di opere pubbliche.³⁴ L'unico esempio d'iscrizione di carattere funerario a menzionare il patronato in coda ad un *cursus honorum* sarebbe, come detto, proprio quella di *C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus*. Oltre alla possibilità che si tratti di un *unicum*, occorre, tuttavia, riconsiderare l'interpretazione per diverse ragioni. Il formulario del testo non presenta alcuna espressione tale da ricondurre la tipologia all'ambito sepolcrale, in particolare nessun altro familiare viene nominato come curatore della sepoltura. *Salvius Liberalis* doveva chiaramente essere un eminente cittadino di quella comunità, per cui il fatto che gli fosse dedicato un monumento onorario per iniziativa pubblica non è difficile da postulare. Nessun dedicante viene menzionato esplicitamente il che, nella situazione di una dedica posta in un municipio o colonia, presuppone il fatto che debba essere proprio il corpo cittadino dove la dedica è ospitata.³⁵ In effetti, la menzione del patronato appare come un'informazione, in un certo senso, poco coerente nell'ambito di un testo sepolcrale. La costruzione di un sepolcro e la redazione della relativa iscrizione fanno riferimento, di norma, alla famiglia del defunto ed è normale che un accenno proprio ai legami familiari sia presente nel testo. Al contrario, il patronato è un rapporto che trova il suo sviluppo in ambito pubblico, cioè mette in relazione un senatore con una clientela. È normale quindi aspettarsi la menzione del patronato in iscrizioni che sono state poste, come dimostrato dalla maggioranza degli esempi nel materiale, da una città

³⁴ Nel materiale elencato in fondo alla tabella 2, la menzione del patronato compare infatti solo su iscrizioni onorarie tranne che in due casi di epigrafi di opere pubbliche dove il senatore ha invece dedicato un edificio: *IRT 521, L. Caninius Gallus* cos. 2 a.C. da *Lepcis Magna* e, da *Larinum*, *CIL IX 731, [- - -]s Capito*, senatore dell'età di Domiziano ricordato per la costruzione di un anfiteatro, cfr. M. Buonocore, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano* 3, Roma 1992, 114. C. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, Oxford 2002, 170 n. 34 ricorda peraltro che proprio nelle iscrizioni africane spesso i patroni compaiono come dedicanti di opere pubbliche: "In North Africa a senatorial patron is often not the honorand of the inscription in which he appears but the dedicator of some honour for the emperor".

³⁵ G. Alföldy, *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaft in der Gallia Cisalpina. Epigraphisch-historische Untersuchungen* (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 30), Stuttgart 1999, 130 n. 6; cfr. R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum: Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz am Rhein 1997, 423.

proprio perchè quel tipo di dedicante deve senz'altro avere maggiore interesse a menzionare chiaramente il proprio rapporto con l'onorato.³⁶ Queste osservazioni portano, a mio avviso, a considerare come estremamente improbabile la possibilità che il testo in questione sia di carattere sepolcrale, portando a preferire, invece, l'interpretazione come iscrizione onoraria. In tale prospettiva, deve trattarsi di un monumento posto dalla colonia di *Urbs Salvia* in onore di *Salvius Liberalis* e, proprio in questo contesto, la menzione sia dell'onore locale che del patronato sono dettagli importanti per identificare proprio la colonia come dedicante.

4. La forma del monumento

Lo sviluppo che gli studi sulla rappresentazione senatoria hanno registrato,³⁷ ha mostrato come sia necessario inquadrare un'iscrizione onoraria in un contesto di fattori che concorrono, tutti insieme, a rappresentare in pubblico il personaggio che viene ricordato. Se si considera l'iscrizione di *Salvius Liberalis* come pertinente ad un monumento onorario occorre definirne quindi la tipologia, la forma, le dimensioni ed il contesto della collocazione. Ogni iscrizione atta a rappresentare pubblicamente un personaggio deve, infatti, considerarsi in relazione all'ambiente nel quale questa era posta ed ai possibili lettori che potevano usufruirne. Le caratteristiche del monumento al quale il testo era applicato svolgevano poi un ruolo fondamentale nella percezione che il pubblico aveva dell'importanza del senatore onorato e del *cursus honorum* di cui questi poteva fregiarsi.

³⁶ Un'indiretta conferma all'esclusività delle dediche onorarie pubbliche come fonti epigrafiche per la menzione del patronato, viene dall'osservazione dei testi delle due iscrizioni da Thamugadi che ricordano *A. Larcus Priscus* (*AE* 1908, 237 e *CIL* VIII 17891). Il primo testo, una dedica sacra posta dal senatore stesso a Giove Ottimo Massimo non menziona il patronato, mentre il secondo, dedica onoraria posta dalla cittadinanza a *Larcus Priscus* comprende la menzione *patronus coloniae*.

³⁷ Cfr., per i riferimenti fondamentali, W. Eck, *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia*, Roma 1996, in particolare "Autorappresentazione senatoria ed epigrafia imperiale" 271 (Pubblicazione originale in F. Millar – E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus*, Oxford 1984, 129–167); e "Tituli honorarii, curriculum vitae e autorappresentazione nell'alto impero" 319 (Pubblicazione originale in *Acta colloqui epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3–6 Sept. 1991 habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 211–237); G. Alföldy – S. Panciera (eds.), *Inscriptliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung in der römischen Welt*, Stuttgart 2001; D. Erkelens, *Optimo praesidi*, Bonn 2003; Eck – Heil (supra nt. 7).

Le informazioni che mi è riuscito di reperire sull'iscrizione, nella letteratura scientifica, sono la fotografia, di cui si è detto,³⁸ e il fatto che l'epigrafe sia di grandi dimensioni.³⁹ Per il resto, non mi è stato possibile risalire alle misure della lastra, delle quali il lemma di *CIL IX 5533* non rende conto. Tuttavia, procedendo ad una ricerca per altri canali, sono potuto giungere alle dimensioni della lastra consultando il sito del comune di Urbisaglia alla pagina web <http://www.urbisaglia.com/PAESE/municipio.htm#lapidi>. Il sito mostra, infatti, corredate di foto, le lapidi inserite nella muratura del palazzo municipale, tra cui la nostra. Dell'iscrizione vengono fornite le misure che sarebbero, secondo la fonte, di 92x130 cm.

Tenendo presente che l'affidabilità di tale informazione va presa con la dovuta cautela, vista la fonte, si tratta certamente di un'iscrizione di una certa grandezza. Bisogna, a questo punto, provare a figurarsi quella che poteva essere la tipologia del monumento. La lunghezza delle righe, e le dimensioni della lastra farebbero pensare che non si dovesse trattare di una semplice *statua pedestris*⁴⁰ quanto di qualcosa di più grande, forse di un monumento equestre.⁴¹ Studi sulle forme della rappresentazione pubblica,⁴² hanno portato a riconsiderare l'idea secondo la quale i monumenti equestri erano un privilegio esclusivo degli imperatori, a Roma, e degli esponenti dell'*ordo equestris*, nelle province. Statue equestri dedicate a senatori a Roma e in altre città sono state, infatti, identificate da Eck⁴³ e Alföldy.⁴⁴ Monumenti equestri dovevano essere

³⁸ Cfr. sopra p. 1 e nota 1.

³⁹ Cfr. Ch. Delplace (sopra nt. 10), 72 n. 210 che ricorda che "*La grande incription (IX, 5533) est également murée dans la façade du palais communal d'Urbisaglia*".

⁴⁰ Secondo D. Erkelenz (sopra nt. 37), 97 sg. ". . . normalerweise Basen mit einer Breite von nicht weniger als 50 cm erforderlich gewesen sein" e ". . . sind auch für statuae pedestres Standflächen von 80 cm und mehr nicht ausgeschlossen".

⁴¹ Sono debitore al Prof. Olli Salomies per il gentile suggerimento dell'ipotesi dell'interpretazione come *statua equestris*.

⁴² G. Alföldy, "Bildprogramme in den Städten des Conventus Tarraconensis. Das Zeugnis des Statuepostamente", *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* 118 (1979) 177 sg.; idem, *Römische Statuen in Venetia et Histria*, Heidelberg 1984, 58–68.

⁴³ Cfr. W. Eck, "La famiglia dei Volusii Saturnini in nuove iscrizioni di Lucus Feroniae", in *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia*, Roma 1996, 141 n. 68 (Pubblicazione originale *Hermes* 100 (1972) 471 n. 3) e, nello stesso volume, "I senatori e la loro provincia d'origine" 218; "Autorappresentazione senatoria ed epigrafia imperiale", 279–280 e 294 n. 127. Cfr. anche J. Bergemann, *Römische Reiterstatuen. Ehrendenkmäler im öffentlichen Bereich*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, Kat. Nr. E2. Sui monumenti equestri in ambito privato, cfr. W. Eck,

posti anche ad appartenenti delle élite locali e i decurioni risultano un gruppo frequentemente attestato tra i personaggi a cui veniva dedicato questo particolare tipo di rappresentazioni.⁴⁵ Per quanto riguarda la forma e le dimensioni delle basi, il fattore decisivo per considerare una base come pertinente ad un monumento equestre è la profondità della stessa.⁴⁶ Nel nostro caso non abbiamo a disposizione una base ma una lastra. Ciò deve quindi significare, secondo la nostra ricostruzione, che la base non doveva essere un blocco direttamente iscritto, ma che la nostra lapide era applicata su un basamento. L'iscrizione risulta fratturata sul suo lato sinistro, di conseguenza la larghezza originale doveva essere leggermente superiore a quella attuale. Le dimensioni delle lettere diminuiscono, a mano a mano che si scende verso le ultime righe del testo. La riga 2, a giudicare dalla foto, sfrutta fino in fondo l'estensione in larghezza del campo epigrafico, visto che la "n" di *provin-* arriva quasi a toccare la modanatura della lastra. In un monumento importante, come era senz'altro quello di cui stiamo parlando, l'impaginazione doveva con tutta probabilità essere accurata, per cui la riga doveva estendersi per tutto il campo epigrafico, fino alla cornice, anche a sinistra. La modanatura sembra leggermente più larga di una lettera, ma se consideriamo che nel testo è presente una I di *provin-*, possiamo calcolarla come una lettera, compensando la I che è ovviamente più stretta. Considerando la larghezza totale di 130 cm, la larghezza delle lettere della riga 2 dovrebbe essere di circa 6,1 cm. Di conseguenza, integrando dal lato sinistro *Nonio* e l'altra modanatura, la larghezza originale della lastra poteva essere di circa 165 cm. Secondo Bergemann,⁴⁷ le dimensioni

"Der Senator und die Öffentlichkeit – oder: Wie beeindruckt man das Publikum", in Eck – Heil (sopra nt. 7) 1–18.

⁴⁴ Cfr. sopra nt. 40.

⁴⁵ Cfr. J. Bergemann (sopra nt. 43), 14.

⁴⁶ Cfr., per le caratteristiche e le dimensioni dei monumenti equestri, D. Erkelenz (sopra nt. 37), 103–107 secondo cui "*Vornehmlich gilt dies für langrechtige Basen mit einer Tiefe, die mehr als 100 cm beträgt bzw. die Breite deutlich übersteigt*" e dopo "*Die Breite allein ist zwar kein distinktives Indiz*". Ancora sulle dimensioni "*Für die Frontseite lassen sich Breiten von 50 bis zu 130 cm feststellen, die Tiefenerstreckung war dementsprechend größer, etwa in Verhältnis von 2:1 zur Breite*" e 109 n. 406 "*Die Tiefe einer lebensgroßer Reiterstatue betrug wohl ca. 150–200 cm*". Cfr. Anche G. Zimmer, *Locus datus decreto decurionum. Zu Statuenaufstellung zweier Forumsanlagen in römischen Afrika*, München 1989, 28 n. 76. Sui monumenti equestri ad Ostia antica, si segnala M. E. Marchese, "Monumenti equestri ad Ostia Antica", *MDAI(R)* 110 (2003) 319–328.

⁴⁷ J. Bergemann (sopra nt. 43) 119. Cfr. anche nota precedente.

delle basi di statue equestri sono, nella norma, comprese tra 50 e 130 cm, per la larghezza della base, mentre tra 160 e 200 cm, per la profondità. Le dimensioni dell'iscrizione di *Salvius Liberalis* si adatterebbero, quindi, alle misure di un basamento di una statua equestre. Per giudicare la verosimiglianza di quest'ipotesi, occorre verificare le informazioni relative alla collocazione del monumento che ospitava l'iscrizione. Le notizie sul ritrovamento della lapide, fornite nel lemma di *CIL IX 5533* sono problematiche in quanto fanno riferimento ad un toponimo che, nella topografia di *Urbs Salvia* romana, non è immediatamente rintracciabile. Nel commento leggiamo, infatti: "prope Urbisagliam rep., in un terreno dei Sig. Palazzetti sotto le rovine dell'antica porta a S. Cristoforo della parte di nord in Marzo del 1823". L'iscrizione proviene quindi dalle immediate vicinanze di *Urbs Salvia*, un'ubicazione che senz'altro deve aver contribuito all'interpretazione del testo come epigrafe sepolcrale, visto che, solitamente, gli immediati dintorni di una città erano la sede destinata ai monumenti funerari. Dov'è stata ritrovata esattamente l'iscrizione? Secondo Delplace,⁴⁸ "du côté ouest, d'informes vestiges d'une quatrième porte auraient été vus au début de ce siècle, près d'une chapelle de Saint-Cristophe qui donne son nom à une contrada située entre l'Entogge et Urbisaglia".⁴⁹ L'iscrizione proviene quindi, con grande probabilità da una zona in prossimità di una porta cittadina e, conseguentemente, dalla strada che per quella porta passava. La posizione è sicuramente insolita per un monumento equestre. Per comprensibili ragioni d'efficacia rappresentativa, le statue equestri provengono da luoghi che erano molto frequentati, ciò significa, principalmente, fori, agorà e zone adiacenti a teatri e basiliche. In Oriente anche i santuari potevano ospitare monumenti di questo tipo.⁵⁰ Per quanto riguarda i luoghi in prossimità di strade, ubicazione tradizionale dei sepolcri, un solo esempio di statua equestre proveniente, peraltro, da contesto sepolcrale sembra attestato.⁵¹ Per il resto, secondo Bergemann,⁵² "Wer auf Strassenbrücken mit Statuen geehrt wurde, kann nicht mit Sicherheit gesagt werden." Nel nostro caso siamo, in realtà, in un contesto che è a metà tra il potersi definire urbano

⁴⁸ Cfr. Ch. Delplace (sopra nt. 10), 258 n. 7.

⁴⁹ Cfr. anche l'opera di uno storico locale B. Belloni, *Urbisaglia. Raccolte di memorie storiche e statistiche*, Macerata 1950, 4–5 secondo il quale "i ruderi nel sito di San Cristoforo potrebbero indicare una terza porta, perché fin lassù arrivavano le mura a nord della città. "

⁵⁰ Cfr. J. Bergemann (sopra nt. 43), 16–17 n. 140–141.

⁵¹ Cfr. J. Bergemann (sopra nt. 43), 117 e Kat. Nr. P. 53 Taf. 82.

⁵² Cfr. J. Bergemann (sopra nt. 43), 17.

oppure extra-urbano. Le vicinanze di una porta, sia che la statua si trovasse al suo interno che al suo esterno, sono comunque una sede che può considerarsi facente parte già dell'ambiente cittadino. Anche se l'ubicazione è sicuramente poco usuale per un monumento onorario, si tratta, in ogni caso, di una situazione rappresentativa che doveva assicurare un certo livello di visibilità alla statua. Il passaggio di veicoli e persone che possiamo immaginare nei pressi di una porta cittadina doveva garantire sicuramente un certo numero di persone che, quotidianamente, dovevano ammirare il monumento in uno dei luoghi di passaggio obbligati per entrare nella città. Una collocazione di questo tipo rappresenta quindi un fattore che garantiva attenzione e visibilità alla statua e alla sua iscrizione. Come poteva essere collocato il basamento della statua e, di conseguenza l'iscrizione posta sopra di esso? Si considera come posizione più naturale per l'iscrizione posta sul basamento di una statua equestre – o una statua che rappresenta una biga o un carro in generale – il lato frontale corto. Ciò non esclude, tuttavia, che in alcuni casi la dedica potesse essere ospitata sul lato lungo.⁵³ Questo dipende chiaramente dalla posizione naturale dell'osservatore rispetto al monumento nel contesto topografico in cui il monumento stesso si trovava.⁵⁴ Quale delle due possibilità meglio si adatta alla nostra lastra? Se la statua si trovava lungo la strada immediatamente all'esterno della porta, ipotesi che ritengo più plausibile, mi pare di poter affermare che la collocazione più naturale dovesse essere sul lato lungo. Ciò a mio avviso dipende dal fatto che, percorrendo un tragitto con una direzione definita, il lettore non aveva, teoricamente, la possibilità di girare intorno al monumento potendo osservarne i diversi lati, se non allontanandosi dal percorso che stava seguendo. In questa prospettiva, mi sembrerebbe più naturale che il basamento fosse accostato con il lato lungo verso la strada. In tal modo, approssimandosi

⁵³ Cfr. Cfr. W. Eck, "Autorappresentazione senatoria ed epigrafia imperiale", in *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia*, Roma 1996, 294 n. 128 (Pubblicazione originale in F. Millar – E. Segal, *Caesar Augustus*, Oxford 1984, 129–167); D. Erkelenz (sopra nt. 37), 104 ". . . die Inschrift stand also in der Regel auf der Stirnseite " ma 104 n. 381 "*In Einzelfällen kann die Inschrift auch auf der Langseite stehen* "; J. Bergemann (sopra nt. 43), 119 e H. B. Siedentopf, *Das hellenistisches Reiterdenkmal*, Waldsassen 1968, 34 sg.

⁵⁴ Un esempio sicuro di monumento equestre con iscrizione sul lato lungo è quello delle due statue di *Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemeanus* da Efeso (*I. Ephesos* 5102–5103). Queste fiancheggiavano la scalinata che portava alla biblioteca, per cui la posizione dell'iscrizione doveva essere legata alla prospettiva da cui il lettore, salendo o scendendo le scale, poteva, più comodamente, leggere il testo. Cfr. W. Eck, "*CIL VI 1508 (Moretti, IGUR 71) und die Gestaltung senatorischer Ehrenmonumente*", *Chiron* 14 (1984) 211 n. 34.

alla città, il viaggiatore poteva osservare prima il lato frontale della statua, continuando, poteva ammirare il monumento nella sua lunghezza e, comodamente, leggerne l'iscrizione annessa senza dover deviare dal percorso.⁵⁵ Se, invece, si pensa che la statua era stata eretta immediatamente all'interno delle mura cittadine, non essendoci una direzione stabilita come su una via extra-urbana, si può pensare che doveva essere possibile per il lettore muoversi in un altro modo intorno al monumento e, a questo punto, anche la collocazione del testo sul lato frontale poteva essere possibile. Detto questo, quale poteva essere l'aspetto del monumento? Non abbiamo, nella nostra situazione, l'intero basamento (che forse poteva essere in muratura?), ma solamente la lastra ad esso applicata, quindi si entra nel campo delle pure ipotesi. Seguendo l'interpretazione in chiave onoraria, sicuramente il modello della *statua pedestris* può essere escluso, viste le dimensioni dell'iscrizione. La possibilità della *statua equestris* con l'iscrizione posta sul lato lungo sembra la più probabile e rientrerebbe perfettamente nelle misure "normali" di questa tipologia di monumento onorario.⁵⁶ Esiste una seconda eventualità che vale la pena di prendere in considerazione. La differenza tra la base di una statua equestre semplice e quella, invece, che rappresentava il personaggio su una *biga* può essere, in molti casi, molto piccola, tanto che, a giudicare solamente dai basamenti, spesso, è difficile stabilire di quale delle due si tratti.⁵⁷ Se consideriamo che il testo si trovava sul lato corto frontale della base, allora è possibile che la statua potesse rappresentare *Salvius Liberalis* su una *biga* delle dimensioni inferiori della grandezza naturale, vista la larghezza dell'epigrafe.⁵⁸ Se l'iscrizione si trovava, invece, sul lato lungo, allora non ci è dato avere un'idea della larghezza della base, ma, sempre a partire dalle dimensioni della

⁵⁵ Cfr. J. Bergemann (sopra nt. 43), 119 "*Doch sind einige Reiterbasen erhalten geblieben, deren Inschrift auf der Langenseite angebracht ist, und Reiterstatuen, die auf Seitenansicht hin konzipiert sind*". Esempi alle note 7 e 8 della stessa pagina con riferimento al catalogo del libro.

⁵⁶ Cfr. nt. 46.

⁵⁷ Cfr. J. Bergemann (sopra nt. 43), 119 "*Anderseits ist es schwierig, Reiterbasen von Gespannbasen, insbesondere von Bigabasen zu unterscheiden*".

⁵⁸ Cfr. J. Bergemann (sopra nt. 43), 119 "*Man hat angenommen, bei einer Reiterbasis stehe die Inschrift grundsätzlich auf der vorderen Schmalseite, Texte mit besonders langen Zeilen gehörten daher zu Gespannbasen*" e D. Erkelenz (sopra nt. 37), 109, secondo il quale la larghezza della base di una *biga* a grandezza naturale poteva essere di circa 200 cm. Cfr. anche D. Erkelenz, "Ehrenmonumente des L. Minicius Natalis in Rom und Africa", *ZPE* 123 (1998) 257–269, specialmente 264.

lastra, questa non sarebbe stata sufficientemente profonda per una statua che rappresentava un carro e doveva trattarsi, preferibilmente, di una statua equestre di tipo semplice.⁵⁹

5. Riepilogo e conclusioni

Le diverse problematiche, che sono state affrontate in questa trattazione, portano, a mio avviso, ad una riconsiderazione generale dell'interpretazione e del significato dell'iscrizione da *Urbs Salvia* con il *cursus honorum* di C. *Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus* e del monumento di cui questa faceva parte. Secondo considerazioni legate al contenuto e al formulario del testo, si propone di interpretarlo non come l'iscrizione pertinente al monumento funerario del senatore quanto piuttosto ad un monumento onorario dedicato dalla città di *Urbs Salvia* a *Salvius Liberalis*. Le dimensioni dell'iscrizione, e l'originaria collocazione di questa, portano a credere che essa fosse pertinente alla base di una statua a cavallo, dedicata al senatore in questione, presso una delle porte della città, immediatamente fuori o immediatamente dentro la cinta muraria. Va inoltre tenuta in considerazione la possibilità che la statua posta sul basamento potesse essere stata o una semplice *statua equestris* oppure una *biga*. Si tratterebbe, sulla scorta di queste ipotesi, di un monumento di carattere particolare, sia per la forma statuaria, visto che i ritratti di senatori a cavallo sono sicuramente un tipo di rappresentazione meno comune rispetto alle *statuae pedestres*, sia perché la stessa ubicazione è inusuale per monumenti di questo genere. L'eccezionalità delle due circostanze farebbe pensare, a mio avviso, che si sia trattato di una dedica postuma,⁶⁰ avente come dedicante la città di *Urbs Salvia*, ma, anche in questo caso, il monumento deve essere pur sempre considerato come onorario e non funerario. Ricapitolando, dopo la morte di C. *Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus*, e quindi negli anni del regno di Traiano, la comunità di *Urbs Salvia* avrebbe deciso di dedicare, nei pressi di una delle porte d'accesso alla città, un monumento onorario, nella forma probabilmente di una statua equestre oppure di una *biga*, ad un eminente esponente della propria

⁵⁹ Cfr. D. Erkelenz (sopra nt. 37) 109, secondo cui la profondità della base di un monumento di un carro poteva essere di circa 3–4 m.

⁶⁰ La menzione del proconsolato d'Asia che fu rifiutato da *Salvius Liberalis* è un ulteriore dettaglio poco comune normalmente nelle iscrizioni onorarie che farebbe propendere a considerare la dedica come postuma.

cittadinanza che, oltre ad aver percorso i passi del *cursus* senatorio fino all'ambito e prestigioso traguardo di fine carriera del proconsolato d'Asia, era stato attivo nella stessa comunità cittadina come *praetor quinquennalis*, patrono ed evergete. Non si possono negare i rapporti, particolarmente stretti, di *C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus* con *Urbs Salvia* e ciò, in un certo modo, può essere una spiegazione al fatto che gli *Urbisalvienses* abbiano pensato di onorarlo con un monumento fuori del comune, per tipologia e posizione, alla fine della sua vita.

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Tabella 2. I patroni in iscrizioni onorarie e pubbliche con *cursus* tra Augusto e Traiano

<i>CIL</i>	Senatore	Provenienza	Cronologia	Patronato
XI 4772	<i>C. Calvisius Sabinus</i>	Spoletium	Cos. 39 a.C.	<i>Patronus</i>
II 3556	<i>T. Statilius Taurus</i>	Tarraconensis	Imp. III 28 a.C.	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>AE</i> 1972, 162	<i>M. Plautius Silvanus</i>	Trebula Suffenas	Inizio età augustea	<i>Patronus</i>
IX 2637	<i>Sex. Appuleius</i>	Aesernia	Cos. 29 a.C.	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>AE</i> 1985, 771	<i>L. Domitius Ahenobarbus</i>	Buthrotum	Cos. 16 a.C.	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>I. Ephesos</i> 659°	<i>Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur</i>	Ephesus	Cos. 14 a.C.	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>ILS</i> 919	<i>Paullus Fabius Maximus</i>	Hadria	Cos. 11 a. C.	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
X 5396	<i>C. Marcius Censorinus</i>	Aquinum	Cos. 8 a.C.	<i>Patronus</i>
VI 1390	<i>L. Cornelius Sulla</i>	Roma	Cos. 5 a.C.	<i>Clientes posuerunt</i>
<i>ZPE</i> 143 (2003) 261	<i>C. Calvisius Sabinus</i>	Segobriga	Cos. 4 a.C.	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>IRT</i> 521	<i>L. Caninius Gallus</i>	Lepcis Magna	Cos. 2 a.C.	<i>Patronus</i>
III 2975	<i>L. Volusius Saturninus</i>	Aenona, Dalmatia	Cos. 3	<i>Patronus</i>
III 2976	<i>L. Volusius Saturninus</i>	Aenona, Dalmatia	Cos. 3	<i>Patronus</i>
IX 331	<i>Q. Articleuius Regulus</i>	Canusium	4-6	<i>Patronus</i>
VI 41045	<i>L. Cassius Longinus</i>	Roma	Cos. 11	<i>Patronus</i>
X 5060	<i>P. Tettius Rufus Tontianus</i>	Atina	Età augustea	<i>Patronus</i>
VIII 9247	<i>Ignoto</i>	Rusguniae	Età augustea	<i>Patronus</i>
XI 6165	<i>An. Satr[- -]</i>	Suasa	Età augusteo-tiberiana	<i>Patronus municipii</i>
XIV 4447	<i>Q. Asinius Marcellus</i>	Ostia	Età giulio-claudia	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
<i>AE</i> 1984, 368	<i>Cn. Pomponius Saturninus</i>	Saepinum	Età giulio-claudia	<i>Patronus</i>
IX 3305	<i>Q. Varius Geminus</i>	Superaequum	Dopo il 14	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>ZPE</i> 143 (2003) 265	<i>M. Licinius Crassus Frugi</i>	Segobriga	Cos. 27	<i>Patronus</i>

XIV 5815	<i>C. Fufius Geminus</i>	Urbs Salvia	Cos. 29	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
IX 2342	<i>Ignoto</i>	Allifae	Cos. 36	<i>Patronus</i>
II ^o /14 329	<i>Paulus Aemilius Regillus</i>	Saguntum	Età tiberiana	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>AE</i> 1981, 233	<i>P. Catienus Sabinus</i>	Abellinum	Età tiberiana	<i>Patronus</i>
VI 41034 – 41041	<i>L. Aelius Lamia</i>	Roma	Età tiberiana	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>AE</i> 1914, 26	<i>P. Memmius Regulus</i>	Ruscino	Dopo il 31	<i>Patronus</i>
I. Pergamon 636	<i>P. Memmius Regulus</i>	Pergamo	48–49	<i>Patronus</i>
VI 41058	<i>T. Sextius Africanus</i>	Roma	Età giulio-claudia	<i>Dedicante: cliens</i>
<i>AE</i> 1981, 828	<i>Ignoto</i>	Xanthus	Età neroniana	<i>Patronus</i>
V 5812	<i>P. Galerius Trachalus</i>	Mediolanum	Cos. 68	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>ILS</i> 9484	<i>A. Ducentius Geminus</i>	Narona	Procos. Asiae 73/74	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>IRT</i> 346	<i>L. Nonius Asprenas</i>	Lepcis Magna	Cos. 70–71	<i>Patronus municipii</i>
V 531	<i>C. Valerius Festus</i>	Tergeste	Cos. 71	<i>Patronus</i>
III 335+6991+ 14188	<i>[- -]tilius Lol[- -]us</i>	Colonia Iulia Concordia Apamea	Vespasiano	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>AE</i> 1973, 500	<i>T. Iunius Montanus</i>	Alessandria in Troade	Cos. 81	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
<i>AE</i> 1969–70, 183b	<i>L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus</i>	Urbs Salvia	Cos. 81	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
XI 5210	<i>Cn. Domitius Lucanus</i>	Fulginiae	Domiziano	<i>Patronus optimus</i>
XI 5211	<i>Cn. Domitius Tullus</i>	Fulginiae	Domiziano	<i>Patronus optimus</i>
IX 2454	<i>L. Neratius Priscus</i>	Saepinum	Cos. 87	<i>Patronus</i>
III 4013	<i>L. Funisulanus Vettonianus</i>	Andautonia	88	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>AE</i> 1925, 116	<i>L. Antistius Rusticus</i>	Antiochia in Pisidia	Cos. 90	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
<i>ILS</i> 9485	<i>C. Caristianus Fronto</i>	Antiochia in Pisidia	Cos. 90	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
IX 731	<i>[- -]s Capito</i>	Larinum	Domiziano	<i>Patronus municipii</i>
IX 5533	<i>C. Salvius Liberalis</i>	Urbs Salvia	Domiziano	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
X 135	<i>[- -]atrius Sep[- -]us</i>	Potentia	Domiziano	<i>Patronus municipii</i>
VIII 17891	<i>A. Larcus Priscus</i>	Thamugadi	Tra I e II sec.	<i>Patronus col.</i>
X 7344	<i>L. Acilius Rufus</i>	Thermae Himerae	Cos. 105/106	<i>Patronus</i>
X 6658	<i>C. Iulius Proculus</i>	Antium	Cos. 109	<i>Patronus</i>
XII 3167	<i>T. Iulius Maximus</i>	Nemausus	cos. 112	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>AE</i> 1914, 267	<i>P. Calvisius Ruso Frontinus</i>	Antiochia in Pisidia	Età traianea	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
III 384	<i>Sex. Quinctilius Valerius Maximus</i>	Alessandria in Troade	Età traianea	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
III 18804	<i>Ignoto</i>	Neviodunum	Età traianea	<i>Patronus</i>
VIII 7069	<i>Ignoto</i>	Cirta	Età traianea	<i>Patronus IIII col.</i>
VIII 175=5089	<i>Ignoto</i>	Aventicum	Età traianea	<i>Patronus</i>
<i>ILS</i> 9486= ILAlg. II, 3, 7910	<i>Q. Planius Sardus Ambibulus</i>	Numidia (Cuicul)	Età traianea	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>
<i>AE</i> 1939, 59	<i>T. Statilius Maximus Severus</i>	Heliopolis	Datazione incerta	<i>Patronus coloniae</i>

UNE INSCRIPTION LATINE INÉDITE D'AUCH (AQUITAINE)

FABRICE POLI*

Il y a à présent un assez long temps que la ville d'Auch n'a plus livré d'inscriptions latines d'une certaine ampleur, comparables à celles éditées dans le *CIL* XIII.¹ De ce fait, l'inscription ci-dessous, pour le moins méconnue, est un complément intéressant au corpus épigraphique déjà fort riche de la *ciuitas Auscorum*.

* J'ai plaisir à remercier M. Fabien Ferrer-Joly, conservateur en chef du Musée d'Auch, qui m'a fort obligeamment autorisé à publier cette inscription, ainsi que Mme Marie-Jeanne Dubois, assistante de conservation au Musée d'Auch, pour son inlassable aide documentaire, sa disponibilité de tous les moments et son infinie gentillesse; mes remerciements vont aussi aux Prof. O. Salomies et H. Solin, pour leurs conseils précieux, et qui ont accueilli avec leur bienveillance coutumière cet article dans les colonnes d'*Arctos*.

¹ Les inscriptions latines découvertes à Auch sont regroupées dans le *CIL* XIII, 432–500. Les découvertes postérieures aux textes publiés dans le *CIL* sont peu nombreuses et d'un intérêt linguistique limité, en raison de leur état très fragmentaire; sauf erreur ou omission de notre part, et sans compter le texte présenté ici, les autres inscriptions – non chrétiennes – sont: d'une part, un texte publié par M. Labrousse (= *AE* 1955, 261 = P. Wuillemier, *Inscriptions latines des trois Gaules (ILTG)*, Paris, 1963, n. 135); d'autre part, celles de la collection Victor Bérot de Cologne (1795–1853), antiquaire à Auch; après la mort de l'érudit, les fragments d'inscriptions et de sculptures qu'il avait rassemblés, avaient été réutilisés, comme remplois, vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, pour construire un mur au sein même de l'hôtel particulier du collectionneur. Ses objets ont été publiés, en même temps que d'autres documents mineurs provenant du territoire de la commune d'Auch, par J. Lapart, "Inscriptions et sculptures romaines récemment découvertes à Auch (Gers)", *Aquitania. Une revue inter-régionale d'Archéologie* VI (1988) 125–140 (= *AE*, 1989, 510 à 518) et Id., "Inscriptions et sculptures romaines récemment découvertes à Auch (Gers). Ancienne collection Bérot-de-Cologne", *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France* LI (1991) 97–110 (= *AE*, 1991, 1214 à 1217 et *AE*, 1992, 1231 à 1234). L'on signalera que certains textes de la collection *Bérot-de-Cologne*, publiés par J. Lapart, figuraient déjà dans le *CIL* XIII. Enfin, il est à noter, au sujet de cette même collection, que l'*Année Épigraphique* n'a retenu chaque fois que les textes les moins mutilés et que d'autres textes très lacunaires se trouvent dans les publications ci-avant mentionnées de J. Lapart.

L'építaphe funéraire, dont il est question ici, a été découverte, il y a désormais plus de trente ans, au début des années 1970, mais sans que l'on puisse être plus précis, dans la basse ville d'Auch, route de Pessan, lors de travaux de construction. L'objet a, durant une vingtaine d'années, été entreposé chez M. Pinos,² l'entrepreneur de maçonnerie qui l'avait mise à jour, avant de rejoindre les collections du Musée des Jacobins d'Auch (inv. 992.1.1), au début des années 1990. L'inscription est depuis lors conservée dans les réserves du Musée où j'ai pu la voir le 31 juillet 2006. C'est naturellement ce long sommeil de vingt ans chez un particulier qui explique que la stèle soit passée presque inaperçue de la communauté scientifique.³

La stèle se présente sous la forme d'un bloc parallélépipédique (hauteur: 48 cm; largeur: 27 cm; épaisseur: 21 cm), relativement bien conservé, à l'exception des angles supérieur et inférieur gauches qui ont été gravement altérés par des fractures. Néanmoins l'état global de conservation est plutôt bon.

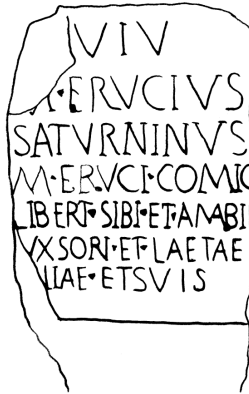
La stèle présente une inscription gravée sur sept lignes en belles lettres (hauteur 2.5 à 4 cm), régulières et encore fort bien lisibles. La fracture a endommagé les premières lettres des lignes 2, 5, 6⁴ et 7, cette dernière ligne étant plus particulièrement affectée dans la mesure où la première syllabe du premier mot est perdue. La restitution de ladite syllabe perdue (ligne 7), ainsi que la lecture des lettres altérées (lignes 2, 5 et 6), ne posent cependant aucun problème, de sorte que nous avons la chance de pouvoir étudier une inscription dans un état plus que satisfaisant de conservation. Le lapicide a usé de signes de ponctuation, placés après des mots soit abrégés, soit simplement privés de leurs désinences casuelles, ou même complets; mais cet usage est irrégulier (*uiu(us)* par exemple n'est pas suivi d'un point). L'on notera enfin que le lapicide a eu pour souci constant de ne pas couper les mots; cela l'a contraint, à certaines lignes, à réduire la taille des lettres et même, à la ligne 5, à user d'une ligature pour la syllabe *ma* de l'anthroponyme *Amabilis*.

² M. Denis Pinos, ingénieur et entrepreneur de maçonnerie à Jégun (32), ainsi que son père Louis Pinos, lui aussi entrepreneur de maçonnerie, sont décédés à ce jour et il ne nous a donc pas été possible de mieux connaître les circonstances de la découverte.

³ Cf. pour une brève notice préliminaire: J. Lapart, "Une nouvelle inscription romaine d'Auch", in *Société Archéologique et Historique du Gers*, 1991, 377–378.

⁴ Ligne 2: le *m* n'est conservé que dans sa partie inférieure; ligne 5: le *l* a perdu sa hampe verticale, ne subsistant que le petit trait horizontal; ligne 6: le premier trait oblique du *u* a été masqué par la fracture du bord du support.

La transcription interprétative du texte est la suivante:



Viu(us)

M. Erucius

Saturninus

M. Eruci Comic(i)

5 *libert(us) sibi et Amabil(i)*

uxsori et Laetae

[fi]liae et suis.

La compréhension de cette inscription est aisée et nous en proposons la traduction suivante: "De son vivant, Marcus Erucius Saturninus, affranchi de Marcus Erucius Comicus [a fait élever ce tombeau] pour lui, pour Amabilis son épouse, pour Laeta sa fille et pour les siens."

Cette inscription appelle les commentaires suivants:

L'absence de la formule *Dis Manibus*, en même temps que la présence de l'adjectif *uiuus*,⁵ constituent des indices précieux de datation. L'hypothèse la plus économique consiste à voir dans cette inscription un texte évidemment postérieur à l'époque où les Romains, après la Guerre des Gaules, s'installèrent en Aquitaine et fondèrent dans la basse-ville la *ciuitas Auscorum* (56 av. J.-C.)

⁵ La présence de *uiuus* en tête d'inscriptions est l'indice de textes non tardifs; l'on trouve cette construction sur un peu moins de deux cents textes (presque tous funéraires), dont une partie notable (environ 40 occurrences) sont localisés en Gaule, et plus précisément en Gaule Narbonnaise (Narbonne majoritairement; cf. *CIL* XII,4356, 4358, 4376, 4379, 4412, 4413, 4422, 4456, 4465, 4541, 4695, 4807, 4850, 4960, 5226, 5968, 6014, etc.). Quelques attestations sont également présentes à Auch même (cf. *CIL* XIII, 449, 474, 475).

et antérieur à l'époque où apparaît sur les inscriptions funéraires la dédicace aux Mânes: si cette dernière formule se généralise à Rome sous les Julio-Claudiens, il faut attendre en revanche les Flaviens pour la voir se répandre en province. De ce fait, on peut envisager comme arc chronologique une période allant de la fin du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'à la moitié du I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C. Par ailleurs, la graphie *uxsori*, qui est très fréquente dans les inscriptions républicaines et julio-claudiennes, permet par ailleurs de confirmer la période envisagée.⁶

Le "*paterfamilias*" se nomme *Marcus Erucius Saturninus*: son origine servile est explicite en raison de l'emploi du lexème *libertus*. L'histoire a conservé la trace de quelques personnages célèbres ayant porté ce gentilice; l'on pense notamment au procureur *C. Erucius* (dont on se sait rien par ailleurs) qui tint le rôle de l'accusation et s'opposa à Cicéron dans le *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino*, ainsi qu'à des consuls du II^e siècle ap. J.-C. (notamment *Sex. Erucius Clarus*, consul en 146).⁷ En épigraphie, le gentilice *Erucius*, bien attesté, est jusqu'à présent documenté sur une petite centaine d'inscriptions, majoritairement distribuées en Italie et en Afrique. En revanche, les attestations dans les Gaules sont fort rares: l'on en dénombre six en Gaule Narbonnaise,⁸ mais aucune en Gaule Lyonnaise ou en Aquitaine jusqu'à présent, dont c'est donc ici la première attestation. Les *cognomina* des deux individus appellent les remarques suivantes: le *cognomen* théophore *Saturninus*, documenté par

⁶ Pour la graphie *uxsori*, l'on se reportera notamment à l'index du *CIL* I² (II, 2, p. 789: l'on y relève 16 exemples de nominatifs *uxsor* et 4 de datifs *uxsor(e)i*), ainsi qu'aux ouvrages suivants: Wachter R., *Altlateinische Inschriften: sprachliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Dokumenten bis etwa 150 v. Chr.*, Bern, Frankfurt a. Main, Paris 1987, § 94a, 94e, 95s, 98f; Leumann M., *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, § 16.

⁷ Pline le Jeune (*Ep.* II, 9) évoque avec affection le consul de l'année 146, dont il fut un ami très cher (cf. aussi *Ep.* I, 16 qui lui est adressée) et dont il favorisa la carrière politique.

⁸ Cf. *CIL* XII, 336 (Saint-Zacharie): *Ioui / Frugifero / M(arcus) Erucius / [N]atalis*; XII, 1066 (Apt): *Ioui / Conseruatori / omnium rerum / M(arcus) [E]rucius Na[tal]is / u(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*; XII, 1298 (Vaison-la-Romaine): *Marti u(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / Sex(tus) Eruci[us] / Maxu[m]u[s]!*, 1313 (*Ibid.*): *Erucia Prisca [...]*, 1321 (*Ibid.*): *Mineruae / Erucia Alliola / u(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*; XII, 3879 (Nîmes): *Saturnino/Eruci f(ilio)*. L'on notera que dans deux des inscriptions précitées (*CIL* XII, 336 et 1066), l'on relève deux Marcus Erucius qui peuvent avoir un rapport avec le personnage ici considéré. L'inscription nîmoise est d'ailleurs particulièrement intéressante parce qu'elle mentionne un Saturninus, fils d'Erucius (*Saturnino/ Eruci f*) et qui porte donc le même gentilice et le même *cognomen* que ceux de l'individu de notre inscription.

plusieurs dizaines d'attestations, est des plus courants,⁹ tandis que le *cognomen* du *patronus*, *Comicus*, plus rare, est surtout attesté à Rome.¹⁰ Il s'agit d'ailleurs de la deuxième attestation de ce *cognomen* en Gaule, la première provenant de Lyon.¹¹ L'on fera enfin remarquer, non sans humour, que le *cognomen* le plus noble, *Saturninus*, est porté, non par le maître, mais par son ancien esclave, alors que le maître porte, lui, le *cognomen* *Comicus* dont la connotation est servile.

Le nom de l'épouse peut, quant à lui, selon toute vraisemblance, être restitué en *Amabilis*, anthroponyme dont on possède un certain nombre d'attestations. Cette forme peut d'ailleurs, tout à la fois, être employée comme *cognomen* masculin,¹² *cognomen* féminin,¹³ ou encore, comme c'est le cas ici, comme nom féminin dans le cadre d'une désignation anthroponymique par nom unique.¹⁴ L'on notera que cet anthroponyme, rare jusqu'à présent en Aquitaine¹⁵, est, dans les trois emplois décrits plus haut, davantage représenté en Gaule et en Narbonnaise.¹⁶

Le nom de la fille, *Laeta*, est également documenté sur un assez grand nombre d'inscriptions; on le trouve employé aussi bien comme nom¹⁷ que

⁹ Les attestations en Aquitaine sont jusqu'à présent rares et la présente est donc la bienvenue (cf. *CIL* XIII, 762; *ILTG*, 184). D'autres attestations d'Aquitaine ne relèvent pas d'un emploi comme *cognomen*.

¹⁰ Cf. notamment: *CIL* V, 4288; VI, 7389 (p 3852); IX, 2876; XIV, 2864. On signalera aussi l'inscription *CIL* VI, 16010 où *Comicus* est un nom unique dans le cadre d'une désignation servile. Pour l'ensemble des quatorze attestations à Rome, l'on se reportera à H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch*, Berlin, New York 2003², 1102.

¹¹ Cf. *AE*, 1976, 437.

¹² Cf. à titre d'exemple: *AE*, 1974, 456 (Cologne): *D(is) [M(anibus)] / et memor[iae] / Secundini Ama[bi]llis mil(itis) coh(ortis) I F[l(aviae)] / qu[i] vixit annis XVIII / mensib(us) X dieb(us) XXV / patres ei f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)*.

¹³ Cf. à titre d'exemple: *AE*, 1959, 36 (Casteggio): *Lari[a] / Amabil[is] / sibi et / Petroniae / Secundae f(iliae) / meae / M(arco) Petronio I/VOTVR decurion(i) / Augusta Placent(ia) / viro meo / in front(e) p(edes) L / in agr(o) p(edes) L*.

¹⁴ Cf. à titre d'exemple: *CIL* II, 501 (Merida): *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Aventinus Maximae / lib(ertus) Ammaiensis / an(norum) LXX h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) / Amabilis Successae lib(erta) / marito optumo(!) / fecit*.

¹⁵ Cf. *CIL* XIII, 649 (Bordeaux): emploi comme nom féminin; 692 (Bordeaux): emploi comme *cognomen* masculin; 1073 (Saintes): emploi comme *cognomen* masculin.

¹⁶ Cf. *CIL* XII, 817, 820, 1817, 2015, 3512, 3954, 4030, 5157, 6035, etc.; *CIL* XIII, 649, 692, 1073, 1897, 3267, etc.

¹⁷ Cf. *CIL* II, 1681, 3494; *CIL* VI, 9125, 16746, 21054, etc.

comme *cognomen* féminin.¹⁸ Il s'agit de la première occurrence de cet anthroponyme en Aquitaine; de la même façon et dans les deux emplois décrits plus haut, les occurrences en Gaule et en Narbonnaise sont également et jusqu'à présent fort rares.¹⁹

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¹⁸ Cf. *CIL* V, 1269, 1470, 7043; *CIL* VI, 13236, 17900, 17901, 23722, etc.

¹⁹ Cf. *CIL* XII, 412 (Marseille) et *AE*, 1998, 882 (Cabasse): emplois comme *cognomen*; *CIL* XIII, 2625 (Châlons-sur-Saône): emploi comme *cognomen*.

ROMAN NAMES IN PISIDIAN ANTIOCH. SOME OBSERVATIONS

OLLI SALOMIES

During the last ten years or so, the Pisidian city of Antioch has been in the centre of a remarkable amount of scholarly attention. In addition to articles, the city has been the subject of a monograph (S. Mitchell & M. Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch: the Site and its Monuments*, London 1998) and of a congress in 1997, the acts of which were published in 2002 (T. Drew-Bear, M. Taslialan & C. M. Thomas, *Actes du 1er Congrès international sur Antioche de Pisidie*, Lyon 2002; referred to in the following as '*Antioche de Pisidie*'). The city was apparently founded by one of the Seleucids in the third century BC, but it is the Roman period which is of interest to scholars since the foundation there of a Roman colony by Augustus in apparently 25 BC¹ changed the city's fortunes. Antioch then rose to great prominence, becoming a city which produced Roman knights and, not much later, Roman senators. St. Paul's visit and activities there secured the interest not only of historical but also of theological scholars. The wide range of approaches taken in scholarly discussions dealing with Antioch is well reflected in the papers published in the congress acts mentioned above.

Antioche de Pisidie also includes a section "Épigraphie"; not surprisingly, as there are hundreds of inscriptions from the city's Roman period, in the earlier period mainly in Latin, later mainly in Greek.² It is, however, not very easy to familiarize oneself with the epigraphic material, as this material is scattered in various publications; one can only hope a publication covering all the material will be published some day.

¹ B. Levick, in *RE* Suppl. XI (1968) 50. For some useful observations on the founding of the colony see M. Christol & T. Drew-Bear, in G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica* (Pisa 1998) 303–7.

² For a description of the use of Latin and Greek in Antioch see B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967) 130–144.

More than 200 previously unknown inscriptions were added to the corpus of Antioch by another recent publication, that of M.A. Byrne and G. Labarre, *Nouvelles inscriptions d'Antioche de Pisidie d'après les Note-books de W. M. Ramsay (Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 67, 2006; referred to in the following as 'Nouvelles inscriptions')*. Ramsay was a British epigraphical scholar who visited Antioch many times in the late 19th and the early 20th century. During his visits, he copied a very large number of inscriptions, many of which were published in various publications.³ However, much of the material was left unpublished. Material relating to the cult of *Men*, as practised above all in the sanctuary of *Men Askaenos* close to the city,⁴ was used by E.N. Lane in his *Corpus monumentorum dei Menis*, vol. IV, *Supplementary Men-inscriptions from Pisidia* (Leiden 1978);⁵ the rest had to wait until the publication of the book by Byrne and Labarre referred to above. It is this book which has furnished the inspiration for this article. It is good to know that, although this is an edition of Ramsay's notebooks, with photographs only of the notebooks, at least some of the inscriptions seem to have been seen by the editors. E.g., in the case of no. 176, it is said that "cette base de statue a été revue en 1996/97 au même endroit". Incidentally, this inscription reminds me of the fact that, although this is a most useful presentation of the material, the Latin texts, in contrast to the Greek ones (the majority), seem to have in some cases been dealt with rather cursorily, for I observe small errors here and there. In no. 176, for instance, one has surely to read *Sp(urii)* (not *Sp(urius)*) *f(ilius)*, and later *L(unae)* (rather than *L(una)*) *l(ibens) m(erito)*. Moreover, if Ramsay's reading is *PRAECO* (with no point in the middle), it is not clear to me why the editors wish to read *prae(fectus) co(hortis)*, for several reasons an undesirable reading, instead of *praeco* which is what Ramsay read and which is just the kind of title one would expect in the case of someone called *M. Oppius Sp. f. Col. Gemellus*.⁶

³ See, e.g., the bibliography *Nouvelles inscriptions*, p. 124.

⁴ On which see S. Mitchell and M. Waelkens, *op. cit.*, 37–96; S. Mitchell, in *Antioche de Pisidie* 313–322; cf. G. Labarre and M. Taslalian, *ibid.* 257–312.

⁵ The Greek inscriptions published there were collected in *SEG* 31 whereas the Latin inscriptions were ignored by the editors of *AE* 1978 and may thus not be widely known in epigraphical circles. This volume is quoted here as 'Lane IV'; the first volume (of 1971), in which the relevant inscriptions published earlier (e.g., in early 20th-century volumes of the *JHS* or the *JRS*) were collected, is quoted as 'Lane I'.

⁶ Note also, e.g., *L. Iulio ... Turro dec(urio) eq(uites)*, no. 190 or *[op]tio Leg XII Ful(minata)*

As for the epigraphy of Antioch, it presents some unfamiliar and interesting features. It is striking how often cognomina are left unmentioned in inscriptions even in a period when everyone had a cognomen; e.g., [Τί]τος Λαιτώριος Τίτου υἱός in *Studies in the History* (n. 55) 335 no. 15, line 37 (after AD 212).⁷ One also finds cognomina surprisingly often collocated before (not after) nomina, as, e.g., Μάξιμος Πετρώνιος (Lane IV no. 32).⁸ However, my aim in this article is to make some observations not on the structure of the Roman names but on the Roman names themselves, and I shall proceed to that at this point. I shall concentrate on the nomina, although there are also interesting cognomina; note, e.g., Πάπυλος (i. e., *Papulus*) in *AS* 17 (1967) 114 no. 33, a name otherwise known only from a passage of the poet Venantius Fortunatus,⁹ but which has recently acquired an identity also as an Oscan praenomen.¹⁰ Here, then, we have another instance of an Italic praenomen later being used as a cognomen (cf. *Nero*, etc.).

There seem to be around 500 persons with a Roman noman (not counting the Aurelii), this number consisting of those appearing in inscriptions in Antioch (obviously excluding provincial governors, etc.), of those for whom an origin from Antioch is attested in some other way,¹¹ and of those senators and equestrians for whom an origin in Antioch can be assigned (or suspected with some plausibility) on other grounds.¹² The number of different nomina seems to

(sic), no. 192. I am also wondering about some things said in the commentaries to, e.g., nos. 161, 188 and 240.

⁷ Cf. Lane I no. 176, 187, 197, 208, 227, 232; IV no. 25, 38, 61, 84, 104, 113, 150; SEG 6, 556; *Studies in the History* (below n. 55) 332 no. 9; 335 no. 14; 335 no. 15, line 18 (note how this fellow becomes "[Αὐ]ρ. Γάιος Λόλλιος Μά[ρκου υἱός]" in *ibid.* 337 no. 16, line 16, of AD 238). One can, by the way, find similar things in other places in this area; cf., e.g., Λούκιος Μάλλιος near Lystra (*I. Konya Museum* 117). One wonders whether this phenomenon might have something to do with the fact that some people, who do not have a praenomen, instead have a cognomen identical with a praenomen (e.g., Φούλβ(ιος) Λούκιος *Nouvelles inscriptions* 90; cf. Lane IV no. 6; *Studies in the History* 319ff. no. 2, lines 26, 29, 80, 98, 114; *JRS* 2 [1912] 91 no. 12).

⁸ Cf. Lane I no. 215, IV no. 31, 36 (for this Tertius Antistius cf. below n. 21), 53; *Wolfe Expedition* (below n. 52) 224 no. 364. Note that this habit may illustrate the structure of the nomenclature of the equestrian Maximus Eveius Domitius Valerianus Gaius (*SEG* 6, 588).

⁹ I. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* (1965) 176.

¹⁰ G. Platz-Horster, 'Der Silberschatz von Paternò', *JbI* 118 (2003) 211f. no. 2, 217–20 no. 5, 220–4 no. 6, Πάπυλος Κασίν(ν)ιος (cf. *ibid.* 233–5; C. De Simone, *ibid.* 240).

¹¹ Thus *Sex. Iulius Sex. f. Serg. Quint[---] Anti(ochia)*, *CIL* III 14358, 20.

¹² See H. Halfmann, *Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende*

be around 160; to those known from previously published inscriptions, the *Nouvelles inscriptions* add at least the following: *Amnius* (no. 82), *Appius* (no. 113, a much improved version of *CIG* 3980), *Betitius* (no. 28), *Caetranus* (no. 89, used as a cognomen), *Curtius* (no. 193 and 218), *Fulvius* (no. 90), *Furius* (no. 104), *Livius* (no. 79), *Lutatius* (no. 191), *Plotius* (no. 74), *Publicius* (no. 199), *Rupilius* (no. 112), *Siri(us)* (?) (no. 89), *Verginius* (no. 87).¹³

The explanation for this remarkable number of nomina, many of them uncommon or even unique, is of course the fact that Antioch was a Roman colony founded under Augustus, meaning an influx of colonists with (normally) a background somewhere in Italy outside the larger cities. There must have been some immigration (and the corresponding introduction of new nomina) from Italy and from other romanized parts of the Empire even after the early period of colonization;¹⁴ imperial nomina (not very prominent in Antioch) were introduced by citizenship grants from emperors. Again, as in many cities in the East, there are also nomina of Roman governors taken over, especially in the early period, instead of those of the emperors by locals when receiving Roman citizenship; the nomina of the two first governors of Galatia, M. Lollius and L. Calpurnius Piso, are in fact well represented here (as they are in many cities in this region).

I have arrived at the number of around 160 nomina in Antioch by taking into account (a) all names attested as nomina; (b) all cognomina derived from nomina, some nomina being attested only as cognomina ending in *-ianus* (thus *Pompeius*, *Staius*, *Umbricius*, *Vipsanius*);¹⁵ (c) cognomina which are nomina in

des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (Göttingen 1979), p. 69 (excluding senators from the third century); Id., in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (Tituli 5, 1982), 647f., with a list of 13 senators representing 6 *gentes*. Equestrians from Antioch can be found in the *Prosopographia militarium equestrium* (*PME*) by H. Devijver (1976-2001). Not all of the individual senators or equestrians are attested in Antioch (e.g., Anicius Maximus, Halfmann, *Senatoren* no. 35; [C]aristan[ius] Iustianu[s], *PME* C 83).

¹³ It also seems that nomina beginning with *He-* (thus *Nouvelles inscriptions* no. 211) and *Sti-* (no. 179) were not known previously.

¹⁴ Note, e.g., the introduction to Antioch of the nomen *Rupilius* by people immigrating from Prymnessos (*Nouvelles inscriptions* no. 112). The Rubrii (*CIL* III 6859) may have come from Laodicea Combusta, where one observes an early Rubrius (*CIL* III 6778 = *IGR* 3, 6778 = *MAMA* VII 14a = *ILLRP* 341); cf. *Rubria uxor* in *MAMA* VIII 14b.

¹⁵ *Pompeianus*: Lane I no. 206, 251 (cf. IV p. 4 no. 7, p. 6f. no. 19); *Staius*: Lane I no. 168, 170; *Umbricius*: Lane I no. 191; *Vipsanius*: Lane IV no. 155. In the case of *Tatianus* (*IGR* III 299), we may be dealing with a local name rather than with something derived from *Tatius* (cf. L. Zgusta, *Die kleinasiatischen Personennamen* [1964] 494–506 no. 1517, who,

origin, this being attested above all in the case of women (thus *Utilia*);¹⁶ and (d) single names identical with nomina (thus *Trebonius* in Lane I no. 225), this normally implying the existence of the same name also as a real nomen.¹⁷ There are also some instances of the Eastern custom of furnishing a nomen ending *-ius* with the ending *-ianus*, namely *Caecilianus*, *Geminianus*, *Hortensianus*.¹⁸ As mentioned above, many of the nomina are extremely rare, this inviting speculation as to their origins. A study on these lines is in fact included in Levick (above n. 2) 56–67, the result being (p. 66) that "the colonists came from central and northern Italy, chiefly from Etruria, with an admixture possibly from Cisalpine Gaul (cf. now a veteran saying he is from Parma, *AE* 1998, 1388) and certainly from Campania". This may be about right (although my impression is that Umbria is much more prominent than Etruria, cf. below), but the method used seems a bit dubious to me in places, for questions such as this can only be solved by the study of the distribution, not that of the etymology (which is only of linguistic interest), of particular names (not to speak of the use of "cognate forms" of particular nomina – e.g., *Flavius* and *Flavenus* cognate forms of *Flavonius*, p. 64 – as evidence). The use of Schulze's *Lateinische Eigennamen* should also be avoided, for example because Schulze thinks that most nomina are in any case Etruscan and often misleadingly quotes, in order to corroborate his thesis, attestations of a particular name only from Etruria. In Levick (p. 64) we find, e.g., the origin of the Flavonii assigned to Etruria, where not a single Flavonius is attested, only because *Flavonius* is taken to be

however, thinks, p. 506 no. 1517–38, that *Tatianus*, unlike the other names derived from the same root, is "griech.-lat.", but bases this view only on the suffix *-ianus*. However, names like *Diogenianus* *Hermogenianus*, etc. cannot be defined as Latin names simply because of the Latin suffix, and *Plancianus* (the cognomen of Cn. Dottius Plancianus, a local magnate attested in *ILS* 5081 and elsewhere) should (I think) be connected with *Plancus* rather than with *Plancius* (note the existence of [*Dot?*] *ius Plancus*, a duovir, etc., in *AE* 1967, 502), although it is true that Plancii of a high status are attested in places not too far from Antioch. As for *Pansinianus* (*JRS* 2 [1912] 103 no. 37 and M.A. Byrne, in *Antioche de Pisidie* 195 [the same man], not mentioned in Kajanto, *op. cit.*; cf. *Pasinianus*, no doubt the same name with the nasal omitted, in Lane I no. 290), I think this comes from *Pansa* (via *Pansinus*) rather than from **Pansinius*.

¹⁶ *Sentia Uteilia*, Lane I no. 222. As *Utilius* is attested (cf. below at n. 28), there seems to be no reason to take *Uteilia* as a (mistaken) form of *utilis*.

¹⁷ Cf., e.g., my remarks in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* (Athens 1996) 113 (with n. 6).

¹⁸ *Caecilianus*: Lane IV no. 101; *Geminianus*: *ibid.* 148; *Hortensianus*: *AE* 2000, 1449. For this type, see my article in *Arctos* 18 (1984) 97–104.

Etruscan (a dubious claim). The fact is, however, that the etymology of the name of a certain person does not have necessarily anything to do with this person's origins, for one can find people with names of (possibly) remote Etruscan origin all over Italy.

My point is, in any case, that trying to assign a certain name to a certain place is a tricky business. In spite of this, let me add a few suggestions for the origins of certain names to those instances dealt with by Levick:

Anicius, a name typical of Antioch and attested early there. The earliest *Anicius* may well be St. *Anicius Ter. f. Ser., decurio*, a recent acquaintance (*AE* 2002, 1454) who clearly must have been one of the first colonists at the time of Augustus,¹⁹ and who no doubt was one of the first, if not *the* first, *Anicius* in town. I have not been able to locate many suggestions regarding the origin of these *Anicii*, but the Republican senatorial *Anicii* came from Praeneste,²⁰ and an origin from Praeneste seems in fact to be suggested also for the *Anicii* from Antioch by F. Chausson, see *CCG* 12 (2001) 293. However, by the late Republic, people called *Anicius* were no doubt spread all over Italy. This new *Anicius* is himself a *Stadius* and his father a *Tertius*; this combination of praenomina points very clearly to only one area, namely N. Italy.²¹ I would, then, suggest that the *Anicii* in Antioch came from this part of Italy.

Numisius: this nomen is now attested, I think for the first time, in Antioch by *AE* 2002, 1452 (a *praefectus* of an emperor and a woman, possibly the prefect's freedwoman). Now this man has the rare praenomen *Numerius*. There are only two further instances of this combination of praenomen and nomen, namely *Numisia N. fil. Marcella* in *CIL* IX 2614 from Terventum in Samnium, and *N. Numisius N. f. Vol. Labeo* in *CIL* VI 23116a from Rome – who has the

¹⁹ Thus correctly the editor of this inscription, C. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, in *Antioche de Pisidie* 154f.

²⁰ A. Licordari, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (Tituli 5, Rome 1982) 38.

²¹ *Tertius* as praenomen is rarely found outside N. Italy (see my *Die römischen Vornamen* [1987] 116–8; add, e.g., *AE* 1988, 654; 1991, 737; 1992, 767; 1994, 642; L. Mercado & G. Paci, *Stele romane in Piemonte* [1998] 57 no. 1; G. Cresci Marrone & E. Culasso Gastaldi, *Torino romana fra Orco e Stura* [1988] 38 no. 32), and N. Italy offers more than 20 instances of *Stadius* (ibid. 91; add. *AE* 1996, 780; 2001, 985; *Suppl. It.* 16 Bergomum 14; Cresci Marrone & Culasso Gastaldi, op. cit. 27 no. 17), more than any other region. – In the case of Τέρτιος Ἀνθέστιος (Lane IV no. 36) we are no doubt dealing with the combination cognomen + nomen (for the order, see above at n. 8), not with the combination praenomen + nomen.

tribe *Voltinia* of Terventum. A case could be made, then, for assigning the Numisii of Antioch to Terventum.

Vettiarius (SEG 31, 1192): this name is also attested in Smyrna (*I. Smyrna* 200 cf. W. Appel, *EA* 25 [2003] 59–61), but otherwise (considering the whole of the Roman Empire) apparently only in Aquileia (*CIL* V 1451 = *I. Aquileia* 1614) – and in some inscriptions from Iguvium in Umbria (*AE* 2001, 947–950). Perhaps, then, Iguvium was the *origo ultima* of the Vettiarii.²²

Speaking of Iguvium, an origin from Umbria (rather than, say, from Etruria) may appear plausible in the case of some other nomina in Antioch. For instance *Vaternius*: the Vaternii are claimed for Etruria by Levick, op. cit., 64, but there seem to be no Vaternii in Etruria whereas *CIL* XI produces Vaternii in Pisaurum (6390) and Fanum (8095), and there are other Vaternii just north of Umbria in Aemilia in Bononia (*ILJug.* 2819).²³ Furthermore, two Vaternii attested in Rome (*CIL* VI 32518) and Africa (*CIL* VIII 11880) have the tribe *Stellatina* which is that of some towns in Umbria (and in Aemilia), but (one has to admit) also that of some other places.²⁴ Also in the case of *Cissonius*, discussed by Levick p. 61f., and attested in Antioch for very early soldiers but also later,²⁵ much seems to point in the direction of Umbria. In Italy, this name is found outside Rome in Trebiae (*CIL* XI 5001), Aesis (*CIL* XI 6205, *Cisonius*), Pisaurum (*AE* 1974, 317 = *Suppl. It.* I Pisaurum 9), Fanum (*CIL* XI 6253). In Fanum one also finds the form *Cisso* (fem. *Cissonia*; *CIL* XI 6229), this form of the name being also attested for an equestrian officer with the tribe *Stellatina* (*CIL* XVI 31, AD 85; for the tribe, see above). In Puteoli, one observes a Q. *Cissonius* with the tribe *Horatia* (*CIL* X 1757 = *ILS* 2057) which might indicate Spolegium. Otherwise, there is not much of use.²⁶

²² As for the Vettiarius in Aquileia, it is easier to assume that someone moved from Iguvium to Aquileia than vice versa.

²³ Note also Vaternii in Vicetia, *CIL* V 3118 and 3204 (the only Vaternii in *CIL* V).

²⁴ Cf. W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum* (1889) 272 (in the case of Aemilia, add Forum Popili, cf. A. Donati, *Aemilia tributim discripta* [1967] 51–3, a work to be consulted, p. 86–8, also on Forum Livi, furnished by Kubitschek with a questionmark).

²⁵ Cf. Levick (above n. 2) 61 with nn. 6–8. Add *AS* 17 (1967) 116 no. 42. For reeditions of *CIL* III 6826 and 6825, cf. Christol & Drew-Bear (above n. 1) 307–9 no. 1 and 318–21 no. 6.

²⁶ The other Cissonii in Puteoli (*CIL* X 2516) have the same praenomen Q. as the man mentioned above and may well be his freedmen. There is also the wife of a soldier of the Legion II Parthica at Alba (*AE* 1975, 163) and a certain Cissonius in Pompeii, the recipient of many salutations (P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus* [1975] 154 no. 117; *Atti Acc. Pontaniana* 39 [1990] 296 no. 94), but not otherwise attested in the city. From the rest of

Another rare nomen attested in Antioch is *Salinus* (Σαλίνα Σατουρνίν[α]).²⁷ As far as I know, there exists no other instance of this spelling, but we must be dealing with a variant of *Salenus*, a nomen with an ending pointing certainly not to Etruria but to somewhere between northern Samnium and Umbria, an area where, in fact, practically all the instances of *Salenus* have been found (*AE* 2002, 397, b, col. iv, Trebula Mutuesca; *CIL* IX 5843, Auximum; *CIL* XI 6281 and 6350, a woman attested both in Fanum and in Pisaurum).

One also wonders about *Utilius*, attested as the cognomen of a Sentia Utilia (Lane I no. 222; cf. n. 16). Again, there is nothing pointing to Etruria; instead, this is another name attested in Fanum (*CIL* VI 32526, ii, 34, an *urbanicianus* in AD 197) and not too far from Fanum in Ariminum (*CIL* XI 528). On the other hand, there are also some occurrences of this name in Latium, namely in Ulubrae (*CIL* X 6491; 6502) and in an earlyish text from nearby Cora (*CIL* I² 1510 = X 6514).²⁸ And speaking of Latium, possibly one should look for the origin of the Dottii there, rather than somewhere else: this nomen is attested only in Antioch²⁹ and once in Ostia (*CIL* XIV 4594; also a Cn.). But if one extends the search to include the form *Dotius* (surely just a variant), one finds, in addition to a brick stamp from Utica (*CIL* VIII 22632, 57; the interpretation is perhaps not altogether certain), two Dotii in a inscription from Rocca d'Arce near Arpinum (*CIL* X 5673). At this point, it could also be noted that the nomen *Derecius* is found only in Antioch (Lane IV no. 124 = *SEG* 31, 1246) and in Pompeii.³⁰

Thus the bottom line seems to be that, if there is a chance of suggesting an origin in Italy for a certain name attested in Antioch, places in the area between Umbria and Latium, rather than in Etruria, would be the result. It could be noted here that the praenomen *Salvius* of Sal. Vinnicius Q. f. (*TAPhA* 57

Italy, there are *AE* 1997, 637 = *Suppl. It.* 15 Ateste 75 (*Cisonius*) and *CIL* V 5869 = *ILS* 6730 (Mediolanum; by the way, the tribe *Claud(ia)* of a *Cisoni(u)s* attested in Rome, *CIL* VI 14836, may also point to N. Italy).

²⁷ J. R. S. Sterrett, *An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor* (1888) 158 no. 144.

²⁸ With Cora, the list of the attested Utilii has more or less reached its end, for, in addition to the Utilii mentioned above, there are only a few in Rome (*Epigraphica* 21 [1959] 106; *AE* 2001, 414) and one in Germany (*CIL* XIII 4261, Treviri).

²⁹ A new Dottia in *Nouvelles inscriptions* no. 71. Otherwise, in addition to Cn. Dottius Plancianus, an eminent figure in Antioch, the name is found in Lane I no. 166 (also Cn.) and *JRS* 3 (1913) 282, no. 10.

³⁰ *Un impegno per Pompeii* (1983) 42/EN.

[1926] 236 no. 73) also very clearly points to somewhere in the Sabellic country (Paeligni, etc.) or in Umbria.³¹ However, it is only in a few cases where one can speculate, with some plausibility, about the origin of a certain nomen. Instead, let us have a look at the nomina attested in Antioch from the point of view of their distribution in general, and (in those cases where this is relevant) in Asia Minor and the Greek East in particular, as this approach can be useful in illustrating the names of Antioch. Now, looking at the material as a whole, at the same time constantly keeping an eye on the world outside Antioch, one can divide the nomina there into the following groups:

A. Nomina more or less common everywhere, already attested on Delos:³² *Allius* (*AE* 1914, 133), *Annius* (Lane IV no. 44), *Antonius*, *Arellius*,³³ *Arrius* (*TAPhA* 57 [1926] 237 no. 75), *Aufidius* (*SEG* 6, 552), *Caecilius*, *Calpurnius*, *Calvius* (*AS* 17 [1967] 115 no. 37), *Carvilius* (Lane IV no. 5), *Cornelius*, *Crepereius*, *Egnatius* (*JRS* 2 [1912] 103 no. 39), *Fulvius* (cf. above at n. 13), *Furius* (cf. above at n. 13), *Hostilius* (Lane I no. 189), *Licinius* (Lane I no. 261), *Lollius*, *Lucretius*,³⁴ *Marcus*, *Memmius*,³⁵ *Naevius*,³⁶ *Nonius* (*CIL* III 6856), *Novius*, *Oppius* (cf. above at n. 6; also in *JRS* 14 [1924] 188 no. 8), *Petilius* (*CIL* III 303 = *IGR* III 307), *Plotius* (cf. above at n. 13), *Pomponius*, *Quintius*,³⁷ *Servilius*, *Umbricius* (cf. above at n. 15), *Verginius* (cf. above at n. 13), *Veturius*, *Vibius* (with *Vivius*), *Visellius*.³⁸ There is also a nomen which seems to be attested only on Delos and in Antioch, namely *Ammius* (*AE* 2001, 1798, Delos; *Nouvelles inscriptions* 82).

³¹ Cf. my *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 88f.

³² In the case of Delos, I have used the list of nomina in C. Müller & C. Hasenohr (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec* (*BCH* Suppl. 41, 2002). Obviously, I am not saying the Allii or Arellii, etc. in Antioch must have something to do with Delos; the fact that these names are attested on Delos only gives an indication of the diffusion of these names in the East during the Republic. The same goes for names not attested on Delos, but registered by Hatzfeld (below, 'B'). – In the following lists, I normally give references only for those nomina which are attested only once or twice.

³³ *SEG* VI 564; *JRS* 14 (1924) 199 no. 31.

³⁴ Three instances in *Studies in the History* (below n. 55) 319ff. no. 2 (with the cognomina *Lucius*, *Quintus* and *Titus*, cf. above n. 7).

³⁵ *Wolfe Expedition* (below n. 52) 219 no. 353; *JRS* 14 (1924) 188 no. 8.

³⁶ Lane I no. 261; *Nouvelles inscriptions* 78.

³⁷ *AE* 2002, 1461; probably also *Nouvelles inscriptions* 161, and perhaps also in *SEG* 6, 573 and *Studies in the History* (below n. 55) 332 no. 9.

³⁸ Antioch: Lane I no. 279. Cf. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 173f.

B. Nomina more or less common everywhere, not attested on Delos but registered (as the names of early Roman *negotiatores*, etc., in the East) in J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique* (1919): *Appuleius*, *Aquillius* (*SEG* 6, 551), *Attius*, *Baebius*, *Coelius*,³⁹ *Curtius* (cf. above at n. 13), *Gavius* (Lane IV no. 83), *Hortensius*, *Iunius* (*AE* 1960, 35), *Livius* (cf. above at n. 13), *Lutatius* (cf. above at n. 13), *Magius* (Lane I no. 172; *AE* 1967, 512), *Malius* / *Manlius*, *Marius*, *Rupilius* (cf. above at n. 13), *Sempronius* (Lane I no. 253), *Septimius*,⁴⁰ *Terentius*, *Trebonius* (cf. above at n. 17), *Valerius*, *Vettius*.

C. Nomina more or less common everywhere but not appearing in Hatzfeld:⁴¹ *Antistius*, *Caesius*, *Cominius* (Lane IV no. 64), *Domitius* (*SEG* 6, 588), *Gellius*,⁴² *Geminus* (Lane IV no. 148), *Mettius* (*JRS* 2 [1912] 91 no. 15), *Mucius* (*TAPhA* 57 [1926] 237 no. 74), *Numisius* (cf. above at n. 21f.), *Papius* (Lane I no. 168), *Pompeius* (see n. 15), *Pontius* (*CIL* III 6861), *Publicius* (cf. above at n. 13), *Sentius*, *Sergius*,⁴³ *Titius*, *Vipsanius* (cf. above n. 15). To this category, one might add *Sestul(l)ius*, a nomen not common in general, but remarkably common in Asia Minor (also written as Συστούλιος, etc.).⁴⁴

D. Imperial nomina: *Iulius*, *Claudius*, *Flavius*, *Ulpius*, *Aelius*. What is notable is that one finds all these nomina (except *Aelius*) also combined with non-imperial praenomina; one thus finds not only C. and Ti. Iulii but also L., M.

³⁹ *CIL* III 6827 cf. *AE* 1998, 1386 (but this man, a soldier, has the tribe *Ani.*; cf. Christol & Drew-Bear [above n. 1] 309–11).

⁴⁰ The Septimii in Antioch start early (*CIL* III 6845; *TAPhA* 57 [1926] 236 no. 73; praenomina attested in these inscriptions: C. M. Q.) and even the later ones (there are some new ones in *Nouvelles inscriptions*, nos. 11, 94, 115 [?]) should perhaps be connected with the early ones rather than with the emperor.

⁴¹ But some of the names in this group are in fact attested fairly early in the East, e.g., *Sergius* (cf. S. Follet, in *Les italiens* [above n. 32] 83) and *Titius* (Chr. Müller, *ibid.* 92).

⁴² For the inscriptions of L. Gellius Maximus from Antioch, Caracalla's personal physician, see now M. Christol & T. Drew-Bear, in S. Golvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East* (*YCS*, vol. xxxi, 2004) 92–118. His son became a senator (*PIR*² G 130). *Gellius* is now also attested in the nomenclature of T. Caesennius Septimius Gellius Flavonianus Lollius (*Nouvelles inscriptions* 11).

⁴³ On the Sergii of Antioch, see now M. Christol & T. Drew-Bear, in *Antioche de Pisidie* 177–191 (firm, p. 186, on the Sergii being from, not just connected with, Antioch, and identifying at least four generations of Sergii during the first century, p. 184). – There is another Sergius (not of any social status) in *Nouvelles inscriptions* 19.

⁴⁴ Antioch: Lane IV no. 31 = *SEG* 31, 1163. For this nomen, see S. Mitchell, *AS* 29 (1979) 13–22.

and Sex. Iulii.⁴⁵ In addition to Ti. Claudii, there are also P., M. and T. Claudii;⁴⁶ added to the usual T. Flavii there are also C. and L. Flavii;⁴⁷ and among the Ulprii, there is also the augur (etc.) C. Ulprius Baebianus.⁴⁸ One would like to know how to explain this; in the case of the Iulii, the Claudii and the Flavii one must, of course, take into account that there were already Republican consuls using these nomina, so that that people with these names in the provinces may not necessarily have anything to do with the Julio-Claudian or Flavian emperors. On the other hand, at least in the earliest imperial period, new citizens could apparently take the emperor's nomen without taking his praenomen.⁴⁹ The earliest known L. Flavius leaves the impression of being not a descendant of (say) Italian settlers but a new citizen, as he is called *L. Flavius Paulus Ser(gia)* in the inscription in which his son calls himself *L. Flavius L. f. Ser. Longus* (CIL III 6839 = ILS 7200). Possibly, then, there were Flavian new citizens who preferred to take some praenomen other than *Titus*. As for C. Ulprius Baebianus, the only thing that can be said with some confidence is that C. Ulprii are extremely rare.⁵⁰

Let us now move on to the less common names which are of more interest from the point of view of determining the onomastic profile (if I am allowed to use this expression) of Antioch. I shall begin with the rarest names, i.e., names attested only in Antioch, and go on to names also attested somewhere in the vicinity, etc. In any case, the rest of the nomina in Antioch can be divided into the following groups:

E. Names attested, in the whole of the Roman Empire, only in Antioch: *Allaeus*,⁵¹ *Carbo* (AE 1998, 1386), *Mannaeus* (AE 1998, 1389), *Munetius*,⁵²

⁴⁵ L.: SEG VI 572 (cf. also L. Iulius L. f. Gal. Turrus, JRS 2 [1912] 103 no. 38; *Nouvelles inscriptions* 190, although this man's tribe is not the local one); M.: Lane I no. 209; Sex.: CIL III 14358, 20.

⁴⁶ P.: Lane I no. 293; M.: Lane I no. 256f.; T.: Lane I no. 290 (but possibly this stands for *Tiberius*).

⁴⁷ C. Flavii: Lane I no. 254; C. Flavius Baebianus (an equestrian of about Severan date appearing in many inscriptions, Lane I no. 168ff., etc.). L.: L. Flavius Paulus and his son L. Flavius L. f. Ser. Longus and his grandson L. Flavius L. f. Ser. Crispinus (ILS 7200–7200a, etc.).

⁴⁸ Lane I no. 164ff.; IV 81; *Nouvelles inscriptions* 12, 169 (?).

⁴⁹ Cf. my *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 247f.

⁵⁰ See M. Väisänen, *Su una gens romana: gli Ulprii* (Helsinki 1979) 96 (add SEG 31, 1008, Saittai, AD 150/151).

⁵¹ Lane IV no. 102 = SEG 31, 1227. Note, however, that a nomen 'Αλλα[---]ς seems to be

Netrius (?) (Lane I no. 234), *Pepius* (*AE* 1926, 76, an *aed(ilis)*), *Salgurius* (*AE* 2002, 1459),⁵³ *Satranius* (Lane IV no. 5), *Ultonius* (?) (Lane I no. 216),⁵⁴ *Vacarnius* (Lane I no. 235), *Vesseius* (?).⁵⁵

F. Names attested in the East, that is outside Italy and the western provinces, only in Antioch: *Caesidius* (*JHS* 32 [1912] 131 no. 21), *Campusius* (*CIL* III 6824 = *ILS* 2237 cf. *AE* 1998, 1386), *Ceius* (*AE* 1998, 1387), *Cipius*,⁵⁶ *Cissonius* (cf. above at n. 25), *Derecius* (cf. above at n. 30), *Dottius* (cf. above at n. 29), *Gargilius*,⁵⁷ *Mantius* (*AS* 17 [1967] 115 no. 37), *Passennius* (Lane IV no. 4), *Siri(us)* (?) (*Nouvelles inscriptions* 89), *Sti[---]* (*Nouvelles inscriptions* 179), *Tillius* (Lane I no. 248),⁵⁸ *Utilius* (cf. above at n. 28), *Vehilius*,⁵⁹ *Vinnicius* (*TAPH A* 57 [1926] 236 no. 73).

G. Names attested in the East only in Antioch and in one other city:⁶⁰

attested in an earlyish inscription from Chalcis (*IG* XII 9, 916 line 36). *IG* reads Ἀλλά[ριος], but *Allarius* does not seem to be attested (though cf. perhaps *Hispania Epigraphica* 1, 655 from Caesaraugusta).

⁵² Attested a few times in Antioch: *IGR* III 306; J. R. S. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor* (1888) 219 no. 353; Lane I no. 288 (cf. p. 168; cf. *Nouvelles inscriptions* 78); Lane IV no. 113 = *SEG* 31, 1235. Some assume that this is the same name as *Munatius*, but the suffix *-etius* is not identical with *-atius*. The only parallel one could adduce might be *Monetius*, a nomen attested in Rome (*CIL* VI 9953; 22953) and, interestingly, in Athens in the later second century AD (S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens* [2003] 368f. no. 1–4).

⁵³ The second nomen of T. Fla. Serg(ia) Salgurius Maximianus. This name is correctly identified as a nomen by the original editor of the text, M.D. Campanile, in *Antioche de Pisidie* 217f.

⁵⁴ Γάιος Οὐλτόνιος Μάξιμος. The inscription was already published in *JHS* 31 (1911) 135 no. 38. Possibly this could be a rendering of something like **Voltonius* / **Vultonius*.

⁵⁵ This is a possible interpretation of the nomen of Ουέσσμιος Μάξιμος in W.M. Ramsay, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* (1906) 319ff. no. 2, line 19; reading η instead of μ, one could arrive at the reading Ουέσσηός (cf. *Vessius*, *Vessedius*, *Vessonius*, etc.).

⁵⁶ *Epigraphical Journey* (above n. 27) 151 no. 136; Lane I no. 247; IV no. 121.

⁵⁷ *Studies in the History* (above n. 55) 335 no. 14.

⁵⁸ The Republican Tillius attested in Delphi (Hatzfeld, *Trafiquants* [above at n. 39] 67 n. 1) belongs to another category.

⁵⁹ *JRS* 14 (1924) 199 no. 36; Lane IV no. 30; *Nouvelles inscriptions* 50 (?).

⁶⁰ One could add *Atticius*, if the cognomen of Vettiarius Atticianus (Lane IV no. 62) is derived from the nomen, and not (what is perhaps more likely) from the cognomen *Atticus*. The nomen *Atticius* is attested somewhere in the area between Archelais, Nazianzus and Tyana (W.M. Calder, in 'A Note on *A Classical Map of Asia Minor*', London 1958).

Albucius (also in Athens);⁶¹ *Aufustus* (also in Thessalonica),⁶² *Carrinas* (also in Athens),⁶³ *Catonius* (also in Pompeiopolis),⁶⁴ *Laetorius* (also in Tyana),⁶⁵ *Lartius* (also on Thasos),⁶⁶ *Lut(t)ius* (?) (also in Cassandreia),⁶⁷ *Nerutius* (also Pompeiopolis),⁶⁸ *Pollenius*,⁶⁹ *Verrius*,⁷⁰ *Vettiarius* (see above at n. 22).

H. Names attested in the East only in Antioch and iys environs, or at least with a heavy concentration in this area: *Ancharenius* (attested also in Iconium, Laodicea Combusta, Laranda, Lystra and Savatra; otherwise there are some attestations in western Asia Minor and, in the form *Acharienus*, in Macedonia);⁷¹ *Anicius* (a name attested here and there in the East, but typical of Antioch),⁷² *Aponius* (attested also in Iconium and Lystra; otherwise there is not

⁶¹ Antioch: Lane I no. 178 (*CIL* III 6829 = *ILS* 5070), 249, 250. Athens: Byrne (above n. 52) 49 no. 1–2.

⁶² Antioch: Lane I no. 215; Thessalonica: *IG* X 2, 1, 864.

⁶³ Antioch: *JRS* 2 (1912) 103 no. 38; *Nouvelles inscriptions* 190 (the same man). Athens: Byrne (above n. 52) 90–100 no. 1–6 (the praenomen always being C., as in Antioch).

⁶⁴ Antioch: *Studies in the History* (above no. 55) 319ff. no. 2, line 17; 337ff. no. 16, line 66 (both earlier third century). Pompeiopolis: C. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia* (Tübingen 1993) 143 no. 24.

⁶⁵ Antioch: *Studies in the History* (above no. 55) 335 no. 15, line 37. Tyana: *CIL* III 6775 = *ILS* 2148 = *I. Tyana* 54.

⁶⁶ Antioch: *AE* 1967, 510. Thasos: *IG* XII 8, 506.

⁶⁷ Antioch: Lane IV 150 (Κόιντος Λούτι(ο)ς); Cassandreia: *AE* 2002, 1292 (Λούτετος).

⁶⁸ Antioch: *CIL* III 6855; *AE* 2002, 1461 = *SEG* 52, 1391. Pompeiopolis: Marek (above n. 64) 135 no. 1, ii line 17. The fact that *Nerutius* is also found in Pompeiopolis is duly noted by the editor of *AE* 2002, 1461, V. Blondeau in *Antioche de Pisidie* p. 225 (the name is assigned to either Etruria or Umbria on p. 226).

⁶⁹ Antioch: *CIL* III 6858. Possibly one might consider identifying this nomen with Πολλείνιος attested in Thyatira (*TAM* V 2, 1004).

⁷⁰ *Verrius* seems to be attested only in Antioch (*JRS* 14 [1924] 199 no. 31) and in the area of Ephesus (Ephesus: see the index to *I. Ephesos*, p. 153; Darmara, 30 km E of Ephesus: *AM* 20 [1895] 242).

⁷¹ Antioch: *JRS* 2 (1912) 102 no. 35; 14 (1924) 197 no. 28 (?). Iconium: *SEG* VI 431 = *I. Konya Museum* 61; Laodicea Combusta: *MAMA* I 141, Laranda: *ILS* 2252; *AE* 1999, 1230; Lystra: *MAMA* VIII 32; *JHS* 24 (1904) 116; Savatra: *JHS* 22 (1902) 144. Western Asia Minor: *Milet* VI 2, 515, 613; *I. Didyma* 269 (and 271, 403); *JÖAI* 8 (1905) 163 (Claros). Macedonia: *I. Beroea* 135 (cf. *BE* 2000, 451); *IG* X 2, 2, 9. There are also some instances in Cyrene.

⁷² Cf. Levick (above n. 1) 117; C. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, in *Antioche de Pisidie* 162f.

very much),⁷³ *Caesennius*,⁷⁴ *Caetranus* (attested also in Laodicea Combusta, Lystra and Attaleia),⁷⁵ *Caristanus* (a name typical of Antioch),⁷⁶ *Eveius* (attested only in Antioch and nearby Neapolis and in Rome),⁷⁷ *Pupilius*,⁷⁸ *Rubrius*,⁷⁹ *Tiberius*,⁸⁰ *Vaternius*.⁸¹

⁷³ Antioch: Lane IV no. 114 = *SEG* 31, 1236 (?); *ibid.* 133 = *SEG* 31, 1255; cf. *JRS* 2 (1912) 91 no. 15. Iconium: *MAMA* VIII 327; *JRS* 18 (1928) 187; *SEG* 34, 1401; Lystra: *MAMA* VIII 94 = *I. Lykaonien* 288. In other parts of the East, there are stray instances from Hierapolis Castabala, Acmonēia, Aezani, Athens, Patrai and Dyrachium.

⁷⁴ There are scattered occurrences of this nomen throughout the East, but at Antioch there are about ten Caesen(n)ii (the most recent being T. Caesennius Septimius Gellius Flavonianus Lollius in *Nouvelles inscriptions* 11). The praenomina one finds here are C., L., T.; this fact does not seem to indicate that the Caesennii in Antioch should necessarily be connected with governors of Galatia of the same name (L. Caesennius Paetus in 61–63 [B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* I (1984) 263 no. 4]; A. Caesennius Gallus in 80–82 [*ibid.* 265 no. 9], L. Caesennius Sospes in c. 113 [*ibid.* 256 no. 18]).

⁷⁵ Antioch: *Nouvelles inscriptions* 89. Laodicea: *AM* 13 (1888) 246 no. 38. Lystra: *CIL* III 6798. Attaleia: *SEG* 17, 576. There do not seem to be other attestations of this nomen in the East.

⁷⁶ See G.L. Cheesman, 'The family of Caristanii at Antioch in Pisidia', *JRS* 3 (1913) 253–66; on the correct nomenclature of C. Caristanus Fronto Caesianus Iullus cf. M. Christol, T. Drew-Bear & M. Taslialan, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 1–20. Outside Antioch, the nomen *Caristanus* seems to be attested only in Sidyma in Lycia (*TAM* II 176 and in Ancyra (Bosch, *Quellen* 94 no. 98). The Caristanii in Ephesus (R.A. Kearley, *Greeks and Roman in Imperial Asia* [IK 59, 2001] no. 16) should, in my view, be connected with those from Antioch.

⁷⁷ Antioch: *SEG* VI 588 (the same man in *Nouvelles inscriptions* 169); Lane I no. 271; IV no. 140 = *SEG* 31, 1261. Neapolis: *MAMA* VIII 352, 376 = *I. Sultan Dagi* 507, 605 (in the case of the latter text, note that the reading in *Wolfe Expedition* (above n. 52) 202 no. 331 is Ἡουή[ιουζ], not Ἡο[υήιουζ] as in *MAMA* (L. Jonnes in *I. Sultan Dagi* turns this into Ἡο[ύβιουζ]). Rome: *CIL* VI 33655 cf. H. Solin, *Arctos* 32 (1998) 255; *AE* 1984, 140. No further attestations are known to me.

⁷⁸ Attested in the East in Antioch (*Epigraphical Journey* [above n. 27] 133 no. 106), somewhere in Pisidia near Lake Burdur (W.M. Ramsay, *The cities and bishoprics of Phrygia* [1895] 338 no. 183) and at Lystra (*JHS* 24 [1904] 116 no. 160). Otherwise, there are attestations in Larisa in Thessalia (*AD* 11 [1927–28] 64f. no. 7) and in Amphipolis (Demitsas 888).

⁷⁹ Cf. above n. 14. There is an additional attestation only in Cyzicus (*CIG* 3664, line 3), and a Claudius Capito Rubrianus at Oenoanda in Lycia (M. Wörrle, *Stadt und Fest* [1988] 4ff. line 6).

⁸⁰ Attested in Antioch (*CIL* III 6828 = Mitchell & Waelkens [above n. 1] 316–8 no. 5), Isinda (*JHS* 8 [1887] 228 no. 8) and Lystra (*MAMA* VIII 59). Elsewhere, there are attestations only at Anazarbos (*I. Anazarbos* 163 – note that this man's wife is a Malia, which

I. Names attested a few times here and there in the East, with no concentration in Antioch and the area: *Agusius*,⁸² *Appius*,⁸³ *Autronius*,⁸⁴ *Betitius* *Betutius*,⁸⁵ *Cordius*,⁸⁶ *Fannius*,⁸⁷ *Genucius*,⁸⁸ *Liburnius*,⁸⁹ *Murdius* / *Mordius*,⁹⁰ *Neratius*,⁹¹ *Numerius*,⁹² *Pescennius*,⁹³ *Staius*,⁹⁴ *Sullius* (?),⁹⁵ *Ven(n)ius*,⁹⁶ *Vir(r)ius*,⁹⁷ *Voconius*,⁹⁸ *Volumnius*.⁹⁹

is another nomen found in Antioch) and (in the form *Tiberianus*) in Dion in Macedonia (*CIG* 1951; Oikonomos no. 17). By the way, as the man from Antioch is an early soldier (the attestation in Lystra also refers to a military man), it might be that this is not a genuine nomen at all, but a "Soldatename", a nomen invented by early soldiers at the time of their recruitment. But it is true that *Tiberius* also exists as a genuine nomen attested all around Italy (and not only in Etruria, as implied by Levick [n. 2] 62).

⁸¹ Attested in Antioch (*SEG* 6, 574; 31, 1269 [Lane IV no. 148]) and in Misthia in Lykaonia (*IGR* 3, 275). For a possible attestation at Athens, see *IG* II/III² 4245.

⁸² Antioch: *JRS* 3 (1913) 282 no. 9 (and *ibid.* 282 no. 10?). Otherwise: cf. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 145–7.

⁸³ Antioch: *Nouvelles inscriptions* 113. There are a number of attestations of this nomen from all around the East.

⁸⁴ Antioch: Lane I no. 286 = *AS* 20 (1970) 43 no. 15. Elsewhere this nomen is attested at least in Ephesus, Philadelphia (*I. Manisa Museum* 48), Corinth, and in a few places in Macedonia.

⁸⁵ Antioch: *Nouvelles inscriptions* 28; perhaps also Lane I no. 203. There are also attestations at least in Rhodes (*IG* XII 1, 645) and Patrae (*I. Patras* 89).

⁸⁶ Antioch: Lane I no. 167; possibly also *JRS* 3 (1913) 282 no. 10. Other attestations of this nomen in the East, e.g., in Appia and Prymnessus in Phrygia (*MAMA* X 43; *CIG* 3878b), at Clazomenae (*I. Erythrai und Klazomenai* 529), Magnesia on the Maeander (*I. Magnesia* 178f.) and Ephesus (*I. Ephesos* 2240A).

⁸⁷ Antioch: Lane IV no. 108. Otherwise there are attestations, e.g., on Rhodes (*Archaeological Reports* for 2003–04 [2004] p. 74), Cos (*SEG* 50, 767 quater) and in Dion (Oikonomos no. 9).

⁸⁸ Antioch: Lane I no. 177. There are attestations also, e.g., in Pessinus (*I. Pessinous* T71), Methymna on Lesbos (*IG* XII Suppl. 119), Perinthos (*I. Perinthos* 148f.) and Corinth (*Corinth* 8, 1, 14).

⁸⁹ Antioch: *AE* 1967, 511; *Nouvelles inscriptions* 177. Other places where this nomen is attested include Ancyra, Philippi and Edessa in Macedonia. Possibly also in *IG* V 2, 55 line 79 (Ζώστμιος Λιβυρνί?ου).

⁹⁰ Antioch: *SEG* VI 587 (Μόρ{ε}δοϋς); *TAPhA* 57 (1926) 237 no. 75f.; *Studies in the History* (above n. 55) 319ff. no. 2, line 17; perhaps also in *JRS* 3 (1913) 282 no. 10. Other attestations in Apamea in Phrygia (*MAMA* VI 147 no. 135) and in Smyrna (*I. Smyrna* 459; 697).

⁹¹ Antioch: Lane I no. 179. This nomen is fairly common in Hierapolis (cf. T. Ritti, in *Libitina e dintorni* [2004] 574f.), and there are attestations also in Ephesus, Hadrianoutherae and Citium on Cyprus (*GIBM* II p. 156 no. 398d).

To conclude, the collection of Roman nomina attested for the inhabitants of Pisidian Antioch represents pretty much the normal mix one would expect to find in an Eastern city with a background as a Roman colony. We thus find, in addition to the imperial nomina and to the more common nomina which one finds almost everywhere (*Annius*, *Caecilius*, etc.), instances of rare Roman nomina which illustrate the composition of the population of Antioch in an interesting way. It is quite normal to find nomina in an eastern colony which are not attested anywhere else – in Iconium, one finds the Ebureni and the Portorii (a new instance in *AE* 2003, 1330), and there is much of this also in Philippi (e.g., the Atiarii, the Fideii, the Libucii and the Mofii). However, I very much

⁹² Antioch: Lane I no. 248. This nomen is not particularly rare, and there are attestations all over the East from Corcyra to Cilicia, starting with an earlyish Μάαρκος Νεμέριος in Athens, *IG* II/III² 2461, line 97. One observes some concentration in Pisidia and southern Galatia, for there are attestations also at Andeda, Colbasa and Lystra (*SEG* 19, 847; *ibid.* 824; *MAMA* VIII 14). Note also the name *Numerius* or *Numerianus* being used as a cognomen of sorts in Laertes and Syedra in Cilicia (S. Hagel – K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften* [1998] Laertes 35a, Syedra 10; *ibid.* 32; *TAM* II 1165).

⁹³ Antioch: *CIL* III 6843 = *ILS* 7201. Also attested at least in Smyrna, Cyzicus and a few times in Macedonia.

⁹⁴ Antioch: Lane I no. 168 and 170. This nomen is often attested on Delos, but otherwise it seems to be attested only in Nicaea (*Museum Iznik* 81) and perhaps in Appia in Phrygia (*MAMA* X 43).

⁹⁵ The nomen of *M. Syl[--]* in Lane IV no. 161 (Latin). This cannot be *Sulpicius*, for *Syl-* is clearly a rendering of Greek Συλ-, and *Sulpicius* is never transcribed *Συλπίκιος but always Σουλπίκιος. On the other hand, *Sullius* is rendered as Σύλλιος, and this nomen is in fact attested at least in Nicomedia (*CIL* X 3553 – but this is a sailor and he is called *Suillius* in *ibid.* 3406), Tegea (*IG* V 2, 52) and Sparta (*IG* V 1, 600).

⁹⁶ Antioch: *CIL* III 6861; perhaps *AE* 1967, 505. Also attested in Ephesus (*I. Ephesos* 2219) and Larisa (*IG* IX 2, 832, earlyish).

⁹⁷ Antioch: Lane I no. 174 (Ουείρειος) and 177 (Ούιρριος; the praenomen is in both cases *M.*); *Epigraphical Journey* (above n. 27) 159 no. 145 (Ούιρία). Other attestations, e.g., in Olbasa, Corinth, Patrae and Philippi.

⁹⁸ Antioch: Lane 4, 61 (*A.*; the same praenomen is used by a Voconius in Ephesus, *I. Ephesos* 2890). There are several attestations of this nomen at both Dorylaeum and Ephesus, and an uncertain one from somewhere in W. Cilicia (*AE* 1998, 1411). Note also *AE* 1966, 398 (Dyrrachium) and the earlyish *trafiquant* registered by Hatzfeld p. 67 n. 1 in Delphi.

⁹⁹ Antioch: *AE* 1941, 142f. (an equestrian, *PME* V 130). There are also other attestations in the area near Dalisandus (*MAMA* VIII 188) and in Vasada (H. Swoboda & al., *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien* etc. [1935] 66). There are additional more or less scattered attestations all around the East.

doubt whether another Roman colony, even one with abundant epigraphical material, could offer more than ten nomina for which there are attestations in no other place in the whole of the Roman Empire, and, in addition to that, more than fifteen nomina for which there are no other attestations west of Italy (above, 'E' and 'F'). This seems to imply that many of the colonists came from rather obscure places in the Italian countryside. On the other hand, there are other names which show that Antioch was by no means an isolated place, but one which had various contacts – including the movement of population – with the surrounding larger area (i.e., Southern Galatia, Lycaonia, etc.), and also with Asia Minor in general. We thus find names which are attested not only in Antioch but also in places such as Laodicea Combusta, Lystra and Savatra (above, 'H'). It is good to observe in Antioch also the presence of persons representing *gentes* which are more widely attested in Asia, such *gentes* as the Sestullii and, on a minor scale, the Agusii (for which see n. 82) – not to speak of larger *gentes*, the members of which we find operating all around Asia Minor and the the East in general.

It is also of interest to have a look at those rare names which are attested only in Antioch and somewhere else in the East (above, 'G'). I am not quite sure what to do, e.g., with *Albucius* and *Carrinas*, names attested (as far as I know) in the East only in Athens and in Antioch. But in the case of extremely rare names such as *Vettiarius*, attested in Smyrna and Antioch, or *Nerutius*, attested in Pompeiopolis and Antioch, one can be quite sure that there is a connection of sorts. The fact that we find *Nerutius* in Pompeiopolis and Antioch and nowhere else is interesting because the same thing can also be said of *Catonius*. There must, then, have been at least some movement between the two cities; the direction of this movement must, however, remain unclear, but the same must, of course, be said of the exact significance of most observations regarding the diffusion of Roman nomina in Asia Minor.

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MINORA LATINO-SABELLICA II. UN TROFEO IN OSCO DA POGGIO CINOLFO (AQ)

TIMO SIRONEN

Filippo Coarelli 9.6.2006 septuagenario

La storia del monumento

Accade spesso che scoperte eccezionali siano del tutto fortuite. A metà marzo del 1989 a Poggio Cinolfo (mt 713 s.l.m.), che è una frazione del comune di Carsoli in provincia dell'Aquila, a un paio di chilometri dal punto dove s'incrociano anche i confini della provincia di Rieti e di quella di Roma, cioè nell'antico territorio degli Equi, vicini dei Sabini, quattro chilometri a nord della colonia latina di *Carsioli*, furono scoperti due blocchi di pietra arenaria locale grigio-giallastra, con un bassorilievo nonché un'epigrafe in osco sulla facciata di ciascun blocco. Dalla forma del blocco A si capisce che erano piantati in terra a profondità di almeno una trentina di centimetri. Già in sé i resti del monumento, ovviamente un trofeo, come si vede subito dagli *spolia* a sinistra del pannello A, sono interessanti, ma l'uso dell'alfabeto epicorio campano-sannita avrà suscitato dubbi sull'autenticità dell'iscrizione tra alcuni studiosi di epigrafia che ne avevano visto solo una trascrizione o magari anche fotografie; hanno quindi preferito non pubblicare qualcosa che ritenevano potesse essere un falso.

Questa diffidenza deplorabile ha fatto sí che il nostro monumento non comparisse fra i reperti esposti nella recente mostra sugli Equi¹ con sede ad Oricola (AQ) nell'autunno 2004 e a Roma nel maggio 2005. Non vedo, però, un

¹ *Gli Equi tra Abruzzo e Lazio. Veteres hostes. Catalogo della Mostra*, a cura di Sandra Lapenna, Synapsi edizioni 2004, *sine loco* (=Sulmona?). Gli Equi recentemente sono stati anche oggetto di ricerca: A. De Luigi, "L'immagine degli Equi nelle fonti letterarie", *SE* 69 (2003) 145–179.

qualsiasi motivo capace di giustificare complesse laboriose operazioni (anche piuttosto inusitate) per eseguire questo eventuale falso: già il fatto del suo ritrovamento durante lavori di aratura, a un centinaio di metri dalla frazione di Poggio Cinolfo, di giorno e con quattro poggesi testimoni parla da solo, e possiamo tranquillamente supporre che sul luogo non vi sia mai stato qualcuno capace di produrre il nostro monumento, che reca epigrafi in osco. Anzi, la qualità dell'oggetto, che si potrebbe quasi definire 'rozza', andrebbe letta in altro modo: in parte sarà risultata dalla qualità della pietra (arenaria locale, eccezionalmente friabile e perciò difficile da lavorare), in parte dalla mediocre perizia dei locali scalpellini italic (più praticanti che professionisti), ma, soprattutto – vorrei sottolineare – da una presumibile fretta nell'esecuzione del trofeo.

Comunque sia, se il nostro dovesse rivelarsi un caso ambiguo, ben sappiamo che un falsificatore tipo Pirro Ligorio (con tante scuse postume nei suoi riguardi) non sarebbe mai passato inosservato a Poggio Cinolfo, e proprio non arriverei a sospettare Mommsen, Pfeiffer, Ashby o Wonterghem, che sono transitati nel Carsolano e vi hanno anche lavorato. Si dice che, almeno negli anni '60 del secolo appena trascorso, in area abruzzese fosse di moda fare dei falsi, tuttavia nel caso presente pare impossibile trovarne un motivo (Cfr. come già accennato sopra). Può darsi che le iscrizioni osche in alfabeto epicorio campano-sannita² provenienti da *Nersae/Nesce*³ (in provincia di Rieti), a soli 14 km in linea d'aria a nordest di Poggio Cinolfo (che riporterebbero il titolo di *meddix tuticus*), trovate già a metà dell' Ottocento⁴ e poi scomparse, abbiano fatto aumentare la diffidenza per quanto riguarda testi in alfabeto epicorio dal territorio degli Equi e/o degli Equicoli. Personalmente sono venuto a conoscenza dell'esistenza del monumento per puro caso a Roma, tramite il prof.

² Con il concetto dell'alfabeto 'epicorio', cioè 'indigeno', nell'epigrafia osca s'intende l'alfabeto cd. nazionale, sviluppato da quello etrusco nel V secolo a.C. e usato quasi esclusivamente nella Campania e nel Sannio: H. Rix, *Sabellische Texte. Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen* (Handbuch der italischen Dialekte 5) Heidelberg 2002, 6–8.

³ E' in corso un'indagine archeologica a Civitella di Nesce, a cura della Soprintendenza d'Abruzzo (CH) che ha portato in luce un imponente muro difensivo risalente al secolo II a.C. Ho potuto visitarlo nel maggio 2005, con la guida di don Fulvio Amici, di Pietrasecca (AQ). "Bollettino Archeologico Napolitano", Nuova Serie n° 162 del febbraio 1859.

⁴ Vedi "Bollettino Archeologico Napolitano", nuova serie n° 162, del febbraio 1859, con tutta la descrizione del ritrovamento.

Carmine Taraborrelli che aveva sua figlia nella stessa classe (prima elementare) di mia figlia.

Ho potuto studiare e documentare i blocchi in un'autopsia del 27 febbraio 2005 con il prof. Terenzio Flamini – uno dei testimoni oculari della scoperta del monumento –, il prof. Carmine Taraborrelli e il sig. Sergio Maialetti, davanti allo scantinato della villa dei dott. Domenico e Roberto Valletta a Poggio Cinolfo, dove si conservano, almeno per il momento, i resti del monumento.⁵ La notizia del ritrovamento è stata regolarmente comunicata a suo tempo alla Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Abruzzo, a Chieti.⁶ Il monumento si è conservato in condizioni discrete, nonostante la friabilità della pietra arenaria e nonostante i danni (uno o due solchi su entrambi i blocchi) provocati dall'aratro del trattore nel momento del ritrovamento in un campo coltivato. Purtroppo negli ultimi sedici anni la figura umana nel pannello A si è consumata, come si può verificare nella foto risalente al marzo 1989. Tuttavia, sono evidenti ed anche facili da spiegare i danni che il nostro monumento ha subito già poco dopo la sua erezione: è ovvio che sia stato volutamente danneggiato e poi gettato forse dalla sommità di Monte Calvario (m 730–740 s.l.m.), noto anche con un toponimo meno macabro, Colle S. Rocco, per finire, dopo essere precipitato per ca. m 200–300, sul versante sud-orientale del colle nella vallata, ad un'altezza di ca. m 700. Come si vedrà appresso, è logico supporre che siano stati Romani a danneggiare e abbattere giù il nostro testimone, di chiarissima

⁵ Ringrazio i sigg. Valletta per la disponibilità offerta e le persone qui menzionate per l'aiuto tecnico prestato.

⁶ La prima segnalazione e tentativo d'interpretazione del nostro monumento è a cura di T. Flamini, "Le iscrizioni di Carsioli alla luce di una epigrafe inedita in lettere non latine rinvenuta a Poggio Cinolfo", in *Il foglio di Lumen* 2 (dicembre 2001) 2–3; Cfr. anche id., "Epigrafi osche a *Nersae*" *ibid.* nro 4 (dicembre 2002) 2. Intanto è uscito il mio articolo, "Le epigrafi in lingua osca con bassorilievi di trofeo provenienti da Poggio Cinolfo (AQ)" *ibid. miscellanea* 12 (luglio 2005), con intenti divulgativi (senza dettagli quali le misure dell'epigrafe e, ovviamente, privo di approfondimenti esegetici): pertanto l'*editio princeps* esce in questa sede. Ho presentato la mia interpretazione nell'occasione di una conferenza pubblica "*Sannis vagans*. Tracce di presenza effimera di Sanniti nel territorio degli Equi e degli Equicoli", tenuta presso l'*Institutum Romanum Finlandiae* il 26 ottobre 2005. Nella discussione che è seguita ho potuto apprezzare costruttivi interventi da parte dei professori Rosalba Antonini, Marco Buonocore, Terenzio Flamini, Mika Kajava, Adriano La Regina, Silvio Panciera e Heikki Solin che ringrazio vivamente. Inoltre voglio esprimere qui la mia gratitudine ai professori Paavo Castrén, Fabrizio Pesando e Eva Margareta Steinby per scambi di idee e valutazioni in merito all'autenticità del monumento, dietro proposta di riproduzioni fotografiche a fine maggio 2005.

propaganda italica e cioè antiromana. Dato che il monumento non è stato trovato *in situ*, rimane difficile ricostruire la sua giacitura originale, se poggiasse su una base, se appartenesse su un lato di un'architettura più grande, oppure se al monumento stesso attualmente manchino dei blocchi.⁷

Oltre a interpretare le due iscrizioni, ho rivisto e precisato la lettura iconografica del pannello A e, soprattutto, ne propongo una per il pannello B, purtroppo frantumato, ma più rilevante per l'interpretazione del significato generale del monumento. Finora infatti mancava, per quanto sappia, non solo la segnalazione, ma anche la lettura e l'interpretazione della scritta nel pannello B. L'interpretazione del monumento in tutti i suoi aspetti è stata facilitata dall'uso di metodo combinato fra interdisciplinarietà e contestualità.⁸ Ho associato all'esegesi epigrafica ed iconografica la contestualizzazione storica e topografica del monumento stesso.

Un fatto assai significativo è che le epigrafi siano state incise in lettere epicoriche osche, cioè quelle usate esclusivamente da Campani e da Sanniti.⁹ Quindi, l'alfabeto usato nelle epigrafi del nostro trofeo in teoria sarebbe una rarità assoluta, cioè perché anomalo, ma il contesto storico, come si vedrà appresso, parla per l'uso propagandistico non solo dell'alfabeto, bensì anche dell'iconografia dei pannelli. La scelta dell'alfabeto significa che i committenti del trofeo erano estranei all'*ethnos* degli Equi, annientati del resto, secondo la storiografia romana, già ai primi del III secolo a.C., e quindi potevano essere o dei Sanniti o dei Campani. L'anomalia nella scelta dell'alfabeto può essere spiegata in due modi. O nella colonia latina di *Carsioli* vi erano infiltrati dei

⁷ Come si spera di chiarire in scavi archeologici italo-finlandesi che si effettueranno sul luogo nei prossimi anni.

⁸ Cfr. T. Sironen, *Interdisciplinarity and Contextuality in Studying Fragmentarily Documented Languages. New Approaches to Sabellian Linguistic Materials*, Diss. Oulu 2001. Più comodo sarebbe esaminare/pubblicare anche la nostra epigrafe come un mero testo, senza toccare l'aspetto iconografico, cioè senza un qualsiasi contesto storico, topografico e archeologico; forse non vale più la pena di tenere distinti questi due elementi, come si soleva per secoli e decenni e come si suole ancor oggi.

⁹ Finora conoscevamo epigrafi in alfabeto osco epicorico oltre che in Campania e nell'antico Sannio, solo ad *Aquinum* (FR) nonché nel territorio frentano in provincia di Chieti, in diverse località del Larinate in provincia di Campobasso e della Daunia in provincia di Foggia. Nei territori sabellici a nord e ad ovest dei Sanniti, cioè in quelli dei Volsci, degli Equi, dei Marsi, dei Peligni, dei Vestini e dei Marrucini era stato adottato l'alfabeto latino, un fatto ovvio per la romanizzazione precoce in atto nelle rispettive aree già dal III o, al più tardi, dal II secolo a.C. in poi.

Sanniti emigrati nel corso del II secolo a.C., come sappiamo della colonia latina di *Fregellae* nel 177 a.C. da Livio¹⁰ e di quella di *Aesernia* nella seconda metà del II secolo a.C.¹¹, oppure – oserei dire, più probabilmente – i committenti del monumento saranno stati, forse, ufficiali di un contingente sannita (se non campano), operativo nei pressi di *Carsioli* nel corso del *Bellum Marsicum*, precisamente nella famosa battaglia sul fiume *Tolenus*, l'11 giugno 90 a.C., come si vedrà appresso.

Le misure fisiche dei blocchi, dei pannelli e delle iscrizioni

Blocco A. Spessore cm 15, altezza cm 65, larghezza cm 58. Campo del pannello A: altezza cm 23, larghezza cm 42, profondità cm 2,5. Lo specchio epigrafico sotto il pannello si estende per una larghezza di cm 50. L'altezza delle lettere varia tra cm 4,0 (**G** e **A**) e cm 4,9 (**S**), la larghezza tra cm 1,3 (**Í**) e cm 4,5 (**M**). Le lettere sono abbastanza regolari, ad es. la larghezza delle **L** varia tra cm 1,7 e cm 1,8.

Blocco B. Spessore cm 15, altezza + cm 35, larghezza cm 68. Campo del pannello B: altezza + cm 31, larghezza cm 44, profondità cm 2,5. L'epigrafe nell'angolo sinistro del pannello è larga cm 5, l'altezza varia tra cm 1,4 (**U**) e cm 1,7 (**M** e **Í**). L'esecuzione dell'epigrafe B è di abbastanza buona qualità, come anche quella dell'epigrafe A.

Lettura dell'iscrizione sul pannello A

Le lettere sono molto ben conservate e si può leggere senza problemi **.m.gallius.p**, ma vi sono alcuni problemi per quanto riguarda l'esegesi.

¹⁰ Liv. 41,8,6–12. Cfr. per le tracce della presenza dei Sanniti a *Fregellae* F. Coarelli, "I Sanniti a *Fregellae*", *La romanisation du Samnium aux Iie et Ier siècles av. J.C. Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre Jean Bérard* (Naples 1991) 177–185. Si ricordi, però, che vi erano anche dei Peligni tra le ben 4000 famiglie immigrate a *Fregellae*.

¹¹ *CIL* I² 3201 *Samnites iniquolae*, epigrafe segnalata da A. La Regina, "Contributo dell'archeologia alla storia sociale: i territori sabellici e sannitici", *DdA* 4–5 (1970–71) 452–453. Sappiamo da iscrizioni e da monete che Sanniti erano immigrati anche in altre direzioni e in città come *Bantia*, *Sentinum* (*CIL* XI 5778), *Luceria*, *Saticula*, *Venusia* e *Beneventum*: cfr. E.T. Salmon, *Il Sannio e i Sanniti*, Torino 1985 (trad. dall'orig. in inglese, Cambridge 1967), 327–330 e le note 351–352.

Ovviamente si tratta di una formula onomastica con delle abbreviazioni. L'unico elemento chiaro nella formula è il *nomen gentilicium*, non perché ci fosse precedentemente noto, ma perché scritto per esteso. *Gallius*, qui in nominativo plurale¹², è un buon gentilizio in latino e non da scartare in osco.¹³ Non potrà trattarsi di un *ethnikon*, cioè 'Galli', anche perché ci si aspetterebbe ***gallús**. La presenza dei Galli non sarebbe, però, in teoria escluso: sappiamo da Appiano che nell'89 a.C., nella seconda fase della battaglia contro Silla, nei pressi di Pompei, il comandante delle truppe italiche, L. Cluenzio, ricevette rinforzi di Galli, dei quali uno, enorme, sfidò in duello un qualsiasi soldato dei Romani; un mauritano, peraltro basso, accettò la sfida e lo uccise.¹⁴ La stessa fonte ci informa che l'anno precedente anche i Romani abbiano avuti Galli a disposizione, addirittura 10.000 fanti, nei contingenti di Sesto Cesare, e guardacaso, sempre nella Campania interna, nei dintorni di *Acerrae*.¹⁵

Leggere per forza *Gellius* anziché *Gallius* è tanto inutile quanto assurdo inventarci (sarebbe una lettura inventata / una forzatura), nonostante il fatto che conosciamo un *Gellius*, un valoroso generale dei Sanniti del 305 a.C.¹⁶

Lo scioglimento dell'abbreviazione del *praenomen* (**m**) e di quella per il termine che indica la filiazione (**p**) rimane per il momento irrisolto, ma abbiamo

¹² Nell'osco conosciamo diversi gentilizi ed appellativi in nominativo plurale della seconda declinazione, documentati, naturalmente, esclusivamente in epigrafi: $\delta\tau\iota\omicron\sigma$, **stai{}**iús, **bivus**, **trstus**, **akkatus**, **sullus**, **menerevius**, **deketsiús**, **abellanús**, **nuvlanús** e **statús**. La grafia della desinenza **-iús**, anziché **-iús** potrebbe parlare, se non si dovesse trattare di una svista (grafia involontaria / errore) in favore di una eventuale origine campana dei committenti, dello scriba o del lapicida: cfr. H. Rix, "Variazioni locali nell'osco", *La tavola di Agnone nel contesto italico. Convegno di Studi Agnone, 13–15 aprile 1994*, Firenze 1996, 243–261, in particolare 252–256.

¹³ H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1994², 85 s.v. *Gallius*, con riferimento a W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischen Eigennamen*, Göttingen 1904, 424. Finora *Gallius* era documentato esclusivamente in iscrizioni latine, cfr. *CIL IX 1455, 3, 62 (Ligures Baebiani): fundus Gallianus, AE 1988, 229 (Minturnae), CIL IX 4818 (Forum Novum, Sabini)*, ben sei volte nel *CIL XI*, nell'Etruria a *Nepet* e a *Clusium*, nell'Umbria ad *Asisium* e a *Tuder* nonché nell'*Aemilia* e nella *Gallia Cisalpina* a *Ravenna* e a *Veleia*, inoltre a *Tusculum* (*CIL XIV 2605*). Sulla formula onomastica in oggetto ho potuto consultare il prof. Olli Salomies per posta elettronica nel gennaio 2005, a cui vanno i miei ringraziamenti.

¹⁴ App. B.C. 1,50.

¹⁵ App. B.C. 1,42.

¹⁶ Γέλλιος Γάτιος, Diod. 20,90,4 = *Staius Gellius* (Liv. 9,44,13).

dei paralleli per entrambe le sigle.¹⁷ Un altro problema è la mancanza del secondo prenome, che ci attenderemmo testualizzato paratatticamente (*asyndeton*), senza particella paratattica.¹⁸ Dunque, in teoria dovremmo avere due prenomi (da riferire a due fratelli), dei quali il primo purtroppo ci rimane ignoto (non ve n'è traccia), però abbiamo come prova della sua esistenza il punto separativo. Sarebbero diverse le spiegazioni: o il monumento non era del tutto ultimato quando fu eretto, o non si conosceva (più) il prenome dell'altro fratello, forse nel frattempo caduto. Escluderei tuttavia una *damnatio memoriae*: non vi sono tracce di erasione nell'epigrafe ed altrettanto impensabile sarebbe ipotizzare al limite una *damnatio* passiva, cioè di non aver fatto incidere il prenome dell'altro fratello. Sciogliere l'ultima abbreviazione **p(uklús)**, cioè '*fili/iuniores*', sembrerebbe poco fondato, visto che i paralleli sarebbero scarsissimi.¹⁹

Comunque sia, abbiamo persino un paio di paralleli strutturali interessanti della formula onomastica incompleta a sostenere la nostra interpretazione per il nominativo plurale ed oltre: l'epigrafe sul frammento di lamina bronzea ex-voto di Vastogirardi (IS), Poccetti n° 33, nonché il blocco di pietra incastonato nella parete di un pozzo, parte centrale di un'epigrafe, di Atena Lucana, Poccetti n° 148. La prima, 'con grafia aberrante rispetto all'atteso

¹⁷ Nell'elenco parzialmente aggiornato di Rix (sopra nt. 2) 5. "Onomastikon", 5.1.3. "Oskische Gruppe", a p. 141 abbiamo sedici casi paralleli di **m** come prenome in Campania, Sannio e in territori sabellici e a p. 143 undici casi paralleli di **p** come prenome nelle medesime regioni già menzionate per il **m**; l'unico caso poco chiaro è **Po 60, p(ublis?) kuiirinis**, prenome di origine nettamente latina, cioè di un romano chiamato *P(ublius) Quirinius*, il che, invece, non vale per il nostro caso, visto che non possiamo essere del tutto sicuri al cento per cento che si tratti di un romano o latino; lo scioglimento dell'abbreviazione **p(ublis?)** è di chi scrive, non del Rix. – Ho potuto consultare anche un articolo in corso di stampa del prof. Salomies, "Les pré-noms italiques: un bilan de presque vingt ans après la publication de *Vornamen*", in stampa per uscire negli atti del colloquio tenuto nel 2004 a Lione.

¹⁸ Paralleli per *asyndeton* sembrano essere piuttosto regola che eccezione in tutte le regioni, sia in iscrizioni edilizie, dedicatorie, di *terminatio* che nelle *defixiones*: cfr. Rix (sopra nt. 2) e **Pg 1, 2 e 5, V 2, 11 e 12, Sa 24, Po 1 e 2, Cm 2, 6, 14, 15, 47 e 48, Cp 36, ZO 2, Lu 45, 46 e 63, Me 1, 2 e 3**, ventitre casi in tutto. Inoltre si hanno venti casi identici in iscrizioni latine di età repubblicana (si veda il rispettivo indice grammaticale dell'*ILLRP*, p. 497) nonché diversi paralleli in leggende monetarie, ad es. Crawford, *RRC I* 363 n. 349 (87 a. C.): *L. C. Memies L. f. Gal.*

¹⁹ Cfr. J. Untermann, *Wörterbuch des Oskischen-Umbrischen* (Handbuch der italischen Dialekte 3) Heidelberg 2000, 599–600.

*STAIÍŪS, con il nom. pl. del gentilizio dei dedicanti di cui sono perduti i *praenomina*; sembra mancare il patronimico.²⁰ Nella seconda si legge Δτριος, 'un nom. pl. del gentilizio dei due fratelli associati nella carica di cui sono perduti i *praenomina*.'²¹ Bisogna ammettere, però, che spesso è lo spazio ristretto del campo epigrafico che può influire sull'incompletezza della formula onomastica.

È difficilissimo interpretare **gallius** come nominativo singolare, cioè 'alla latina', anche in base alla possibile presenza di un unico prenome sull'epigrafe. Ne emergerebbero due difficoltà praticamente insuperabili: la difficoltà di spiegare il riscontro del punto che precede il prenome **m** e, d'altra parte, non esiste in osco, almeno finora, un nominativo singolare di questo tipo (anomalo/romanizzato), bensì solo in due *defixiones* latine/semilatine scritte esclusivamente in alfabeto latino, provenienti da *Cumae* e in una lamina d'ignota provenienza (al Museo di Bari), anch'essa in alfabeto latino.²² Se così fosse, e volendo interpretare le sigle **m**, **p**, in chiave latina/romana (allora attribuendole rispettivamente al prenome *Marcus* e a *Publius*, quest'ultimo a indicare l'ascendenza patrilineare), si potrebbe avanzare l'ipotesi di un romano, *Marcus Gallius Publi filius*, magari residente in una colonia latina vicino al Sannio o alla Campania, (p.e. *Carsioli*, *Alba Fucens*, *Sora*, *Aesernia*, *Beneventum*, *Saticula*, *Cales* o *Suessa Aurunca*), il quale si fosse sannitizzato al punto di (far) usare (per testamento) alfabeto campano-sannita nel nostro monumento. Quindi, in teoria, il nostro testo potrebbe recare la traslitterazione in osco di una formula onomastica latina, ma sottolineo che sarebbe il primo caso in assoluto e quindi improbabile. Ancora meno probabile una traslitterazione al cento per cento, cioè interpretare **gallius** come un gentilizio (lat.) '*Gallius*'. Si potrebbe trattare anche, al limite, di un sabello romanizzatosi in una colonia latina, come appunto i *Samnites iniquolae* di *Aesernia*, i quali poi, allo scoppio del conflitto, avrebbero riassunto la originaria identità sabellica.

²⁰ P. Poccetti, *Nuovi documenti italici a complemento del manuale di E. Vetter* (Pisa 1979), 47–48. Rix, invece, (sopra nt. 2) **Sa 26** legge: [-?-]. stai{i}iús. / [-?-tr]iinnianúi / [b]rateis / [datas].

²¹ Poccetti (sopra nt. 20) 109–111. Poccetti nota che 'la grafia è continua tranne al primo rigo dove la parola Μαρὰδ (secondo il Lejeune possibilmente un patronimico) appare insolitamente tra due tratti orizzontali.' Il Rix (sopra nt. 2) **Lu 2** dà una lettura della per noi rilevante prima riga [-14 -]σ. δτριος. μαρὰδ(ητ). v, con riferimenti bibliografici.

²² Rix (sopra nt. 2) e **Cm 15** *andripius* e *caedicius* nonché **Lu 53** *platorius*, in (semi)latino secondo il nostro compianto maestro di Freiburg.

Comunque sia, avremmo qui documentato il primo caso in assoluto di trasposizione ripensata.

In ogni caso, dobbiamo essere cauti riflettendo su elementi d'influsso reciproco in generale: non erano solo le colonie latine ad influenzare gli indigeni sabellici, ma anche l'esercito romano, dove erano arruolati per anni numerosi sabelli, ad esempio Q. Ennio.²³

Lettura dell'iscrizione sul pannello B

Il testo che si legge sul pannello B, **muí(nikúm)**²⁴, 'commune', parlerebbe anch'esso in favore dell'ipotesi che il pannello A menzioni due fratelli. Infatti, nella documentazione dell'epigrafia osca, l'aggettivo **múinik**^o figura con **fratr**^o, così almeno nelle **iúvilas** di Capua.²⁵ Quindi, nel nostro documento, **múí** potrebbe alludere a un monumento comune ai due fratelli committenti, oppure, meno probabilmente, designare che i due blocchi con i rispettivi pannelli erano parti di una struttura comune, cioè di un unico monumento, seppure non si riferisca, infine, all'indicazione dell'unità strategica dei contingenti 'Marsi' e

²³ Cfr. R. Wachter, *Allateinische Inschriften. Sprachliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Dokumenten bis etwa 150 v. Chr.* (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe XV. Klassische Sprachen und Literaturen 38) Bern – Frankfurt am Main – New York – Paris 1987, 366–367.

²⁴ Cfr. Untermann (sopra nt. 19) 481–482. Si noti la imprecisione nella grafia sia delle vocali da apicare che della vocale labiale: normalmente si scriveva **múí-** anziché **muí-**.

²⁵ Cfr. A. Franchi De Bellis, *Le iovile capuane*, Firenze 1981, nro 22 e 23 **sp(urieís) kaluvieís iním fratrúm múinik(ú) est**; cfr. anche 10: **diuvilam tirentium magiium sulum muinikam** e 20: **úpil(eís) vi(bieís) pak(vieís) tantrnnaiúm iúvilas sakrannas** nonché 21: **úpil(eís) vi(bieís) pak(vieís) tantrnnaiúm iúvil(ú) sakrann(ú)**. Si noti che nei due ultimi casi i nomi dei fratelli erano stati espressi con *asyndeton*. Altri casi di **múinik-** sono finora documentati nel *Cippus Abellanus* con **teerúm**, **tanginúm** e **fruktatiuf**, distribuzione che escluderei nel nostro documento, nonché in un bollo figulino da Pompei, dove ricorre abbreviato esattamente come nel nostro documento, **múí**, Rix (sopra nt. 2) **tPo 43** – l'ultima lettera, però, in parziale lacuna: Cfr. R. Antonini in *REI* 53 (1989), 269, nonché la sua n. 13 a p. 262 su definizione di bolli. Per quanto riguarda **fratr**^o in umbro, ricorre ben ventiquattro volte nelle Tavole Iguvine, sempre in plurale, cioè in nom. pl., gen. pl., dat. pl. e abl. pl., inoltre compaiono anche derivati *fratre cate*, *fratrexs*, **fratreks** e *fratre ci* – sappiamo comunque che a Gubbio si tratta di una confraternita. Cfr. Untermann (sopra nt. 19) 293 – 295.

'Sanniti' degli insorti Italici, per così dire "la comune/alleata lancia sabellica" (come si vedrà appresso nella lettura iconografica del pannello B).

Un'altra possibilità, forse meno probabile delle precedenti (dato che purtroppo è finora senza paralleli in osco), nonostante l'adeguatezza semantica, sarebbe sciogliere l'abbreviazione come ***múí(niklúm)**, attestato in umbro nelle *Tabulae Iguvinae* nella forma **muneklu** < ***moin-i-tlo-**, 'colletta'/'contribuzione' (per il sacrificio rituale), corrispondente semantico a lat. *stips*. Il significato originale, però, sarebbe 'Mittel oder Akt der Erfüllung einer gemeinsamen Pflicht', 'Leistungspflicht für das Gemeinwohl', quest'ultimo, (in italiano 'obbligo d'impegno per il bene comune'), andrebbe benissimo per il contesto storico appresso, essendo la parola che corrisponde formalmente a lat. *moenia*, da *munire*, ***moini-om**.²⁶

Osservazioni storiografiche

Comunque sia, non vorrei affrontare un ulteriore problema, quello storiografico, ma dovrò farlo per completezza, seppure senza adeguata competenza. Dalle fonti letterarie sappiamo che l'eroe della battaglia di *Tolenus*, l'11 giugno 90 a.C. era il generale dei Marsi *P. Vettius Scato*: come mai non viene menzionato nel trofeo? Direi che Vettio e i suoi Marsi – in realtà Scatone era *praetor* dei Peligni – non abbiano voluto provocare i Romani esponendo il trofeo di una battaglia, benché questa abbia dato la prima vittoria ai ribelli Italici (anzi, vi perse la vita il console *P. Rutilius Lupus*).²⁷ Nonostante che l'*argumentum* sia ex

²⁶ Cfr. Untermann (sopra nt. 19) 484–485.

²⁷ Ov. *fast.* 6,563–566: *Hanc tibi, "Quo properas?" memorant dixisse, Rutili, "luce mea Marso consul ab hoste cades." Exitus accessit verbis, flumenque Toleni/purpureum mixtis sanguine fluxit aquis.* Cfr. App. *B.C.* 1,43 che pure confonde il fiume *Tolenus* con *Liris*. La colonia di *Carsioli* fu gravemente colpita da parte degli Italici, Flor. 2,6,11: *ecce Carsioli...ferro et igne vastantur.* Cfr. Liv. *per.* 73: *L. Iulius Caesar consul male adversus Samnites pugnavit. Nola colonia in potestatem Samnitium venit cum L. Postumio praetore, qui ab his interfectus est. Complures populi ad hostes defecerunt. Cum P. Rutilius consul parum prospere adversus Marsos pugnasset et in eo proelio cecidisset, C. Marius legatus eius meliore eventu cum hostibus acie conflixit.* Anche il legato consolare (e successore) di Rutilio, *Q. Caepio*, perse la vita in un agguato tesogli da *Q. Popaedi*: *Q. Caepio legatus Rutili cum obsessus prospere in hostes inrupisset et ob eum successum aequatum ei cum C. Mario esset imperium, temerarius factus et circumventus insidiis fuso exercitu cecidit.* (Per un resoconto più dettagliato: App. *B.C.* 1, 44.) Cfr. inoltre Oros. 5,18,12 e Salmon (sopra nt. 11) 367–370 (con rispettive note) sulla scarsa credibilità di Orosio. Cfr. il minuzioso

silentio, nel nostro sema vedrei, dato il contesto storico, più probabile un trofeo dei Sanniti piuttosto che dei Marsi, su un console romano caduto e sulle sue legioni, soprattutto per l'alfabeto usato: i Marsi e i Peligni avrebbero infatti impiegato quello latino; l'impiego dell'alfabeto campano-sannita epicorio doveva avere infatti anche un forte valore propagandistico per gli Italici, e in particolare per i Sanniti, comparando in un trofeo eretto in linea di aria a soli 52 km dal centro di Roma. Non crederei fuori luogo una successiva ipotesi: individuare un ulteriore messaggio propagandistico nel pannello B, dove, benché assai mal conservato, si potrebbe ancora ricostruire la figura del toro italico che calpesta la lupa romana. Il messaggio dei committenti, infatti, varrebbe in due sensi: a quello generico, come nella famosa moneta dei ribelli, se ne aggiungerebbe infatti uno specifico, dato che il console deceduto al *Tolenus* (sopra) portava il cognome *Lupus*.²⁸

Lo storico Appiano fa intendere come la morte in battaglia del console Rutilio e dei suoi commilitoni, tra i quali vi erano molti patrizî, sia stata significativa per l'esito della lotta e per i Romani abbia costituito, appena agli inizi del conflitto, un durissimo colpo, tanto da indurli a decidere che i caduti ormai fossero sepolti non a Roma, bensì sul campo di battaglia; analoga risoluzione fu adottata anche dagli avversari.²⁹ Bisogna ricordarsi anche che l'11 giugno era pure un *dies religiosus*, di *Mater Matuta* e di *Fortuna*.³⁰ Inoltre, non va dimenticato il fatto che esattamente a distanza di un anno dalla disfatta di Rutilio sul Toleno, una fatalità identica e letale si ripeté in Campania, per il legato consolare *T. Didius*, console del 98 a.C. (e celebre trionfatore del 93 a.C. sulla Spagna), nell'assedio di Pompei, dopo la presa di Ercolano con l'aiuto di *Minatus Magius*.³¹

commentario, fresco di stampa, di R. J. Littlewood, *A Commentary on Ovid: Fasti Book VI*, Oxford 2006, 168–169.

²⁸ Prima dell'età imperiale è abbastanza raro, ma oltre ad alcuni *Rutilii* conosciamo anche il console del 16 a.C., *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*. Cfr. Schulze (sopra nt. 13) 115 e I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 327.

²⁹ App. *B.C.* 1,43.

³⁰ Su *Mater Matuta*, cfr. Littlewood (sopra nt. 27) 148, dove cita un importante articolo di C.J. Smith, del 2000, "Worshipping Mater Matuta: Ritual and Context", in E. Bispham & C. Smith (edd.), *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy* Edinburgh 2000, 136–155; ancor su *Mater Matuta* e *Fortuna*, ead. *ibid.*, 169: "That Mater Matuta might be considered, even peripherally, as a deity associated with war, like Juno, Iuventas, Bellona, Mars and Fortuna, is obviously highly pertinent to the war theme in *Fasti* 6".

³¹ *Ov. fast.* 6,567–568: *proximus annus erat: Pallantide caesus eadem/Didius hostiles*

Lettura iconografica del pannello A

Nella parte sinistra del pannello si vede chiaramente un trofeo/*spolia* su un tronco d'albero³², con appese armi romane, cioè una lorica romana sovrapposta a tunica, due scudi ornati, sicuramente non italici – e quindi romani – nonché due spade o lance, inoltre un elmo. Nella parte destra il riquadro purtroppo mostra danni piuttosto gravi a causa dell'urto dell'aratro al momento della scoperta del monumento, anche perché questo, in pietra arenaria locale, è assai più friabile di quanto lo sarebbe stato, ad esempio, in travertino. Comunque, si può distinguere una figura a carattere militare in atto di attacco o di difesa

ingeminavit opes. Quindi, per Ovidio, le forze nemiche degli Italici simbolicamente si raddoppiarono a causa di quest'altra sconfitta, sempre l'11 giugno. Sulla presa di Ercolano, Vell. Pat. 2,16,2–3: *Neque ego verecundia domestici sanguinis gloriae quidquam, dum verum refero, subtraham. Quippe multum Minati Magii, atavi mei, Aeculanensis,tribuendum est memoriae; qui, nepos Decii Magii, Campanorum principis, celeberrimi et fidelissimi viri, tantam hoc bello Romanis fidem praestitit ut, cum legione quam ipse in Hirpinis conscripserat, Herculaneum simul cum T. Didio caperet, Pompeios cum L. Sulla oppugnaret Compsamque occuparet; cuius de virtutibus cum alii, tum maxime dilucide Q. Hortensius in annalibus suis rettulit*. Non meno interessante è il contenuto del suo capitolo successivo 4: *Tam varia atque atrox fortuna Italici belli fuit ut per biennium continuo duo Romani consules, Rutilius ac deinde Cato Porcius, ab hostibus occiderentur, exercitus populi Romani multis in locis funderentur, utque ad saga iretur diuque in eo habitu maneretur*. Non sarà casuale, però, che Velleio qui taccia sulla morte di Didio, come anche abbia possibilmente depennato il nome di Vettio Scatone dalla lista dei capi più celebri degli Italici nel capitolo 1, nonostante *Insteius Cato* potesse esser stato confuso con *Vettius Scato*: *Italicorum autem fuerunt celeberrimi duces Silo Popaedi, Herius Asinius, Insteius Cato, C. Pontidius, Telesinus Pontius, Marius Egnatius, Papius Mutilus*. Il console *L. Porcius Cato* cadde presso il Fucino nell'89. E' da notare che Velleio non fa neanche un accenno ai dettagli atroci, cioè ai luoghi – nel territorio marso – dove caddero i consoli, evitando soprattutto di menzionare la fatidica data, l'11 giugno, della morte sia di Rutilio che di Didio. – Da Plut. *Luc.* 1,7–8 sappiamo che la storia della Guerra Sociale (conosciuto anche come Guerra Marsica) era materia piuttosto favorita tra storici e persino tra poeti dei decenni successivi: Lucullo promise ai suoi amici Hortensio e Sisenna di comporla, o in greco o in latino, o in prosa o in forma poetica; nell'estrazione uscì prosa in greco e, infatti, esisteva una storia della Guerra Marsica, composta da Lucullo in greco. Oltre ad Hortensio (vd. sopra, citato da Velleio) anche Sisenna scrisse una storia di Roma, di almeno dodici libri, dallo scoppio della guerra fino alla fine dell'età sillana, cioè dal 91 fino al 79 a.c.; se ne sono conservati ben oltre cento frammenti. Tutte le storie di quest'epoca, a cura di storici romani, tendono essere, naturalmente, relativamente faziose e filoromane.

³² *Carsioli* con i suoi dintorni era noto per le sue abbondanti risorse di legno, ancora durante età imperiale: in iscrizioni (*CIL IX 4067* e *4068*) vengono menzionati falegnami e boscaioli.

contro il trofeo/*spolia* del nemico romano vinto. Benché la folta capigliatura – più o meno simile ad una acconciatura tipo 'a coda di cavallo' – sembri accennare ad un personaggio (mitologico) di sesso femminile, tuttavia sono i femori dalla muscolatura assai accentuata, peraltro in una postura tesissima, nonché la gonnella corta, a far pensare piuttosto ad un guerriero sannita³³ che ad una *Victoria*, la quale sarebbe tra l'altro priva delle ali.³⁴ Malauguratamente è andato in gran parte perduto il lungo oggetto in mano al guerriero, ma non escluderei di potervi identificare una enorme lancia oppure uno scettro, possibilmente cinta da una corona di lauro, il cui simbolismo apparirebbe chiaro: nel lauro la rappresentazione del trionfo.³⁵

Mi è stato suggerito dal professor Marco Buonocuore di attribuire al nostro monumento carattere sepolcrale, secondo una tipologia frequente nel territorio dei Marsi, costituita dall'unione di un trofeo e di un monumento funerario – spesso in forma di cippo o ara –,³⁶ ma in contesto sepolcrale difficilmente sarebbe ipotizzabile un motivo iconografico a fortissima valenza politica. Avremmo comunque un'altra rappresentazione di un trofeo da contesto/ambito romano-italico, quella sul rilievo onorario di *M. Nonius* da *Aesernia*, databile intorno al 30 a.C., quindi all'incirca di sessant'anni più

³³ Cfr. R. Benassai, "La tomba dipinta nolana Weege 30", *Studi sull'Italia dei Sanniti*, Roma 2000, 78–81. Si noti che la capigliatura (e la lancia/lo scettro) ha subito qualche danno e si è scagliata tra il 1989 e il 2005, come ho potuto constatare raffrontando una fotografia del monumento risalente al marzo 1989 con lo stato attuale dello stesso.

³⁴ *Victoria/Nike* abitualmente è rappresentata con ali, abito molto lungo e corona in mano. I Sanniti nel corso della Guerra Sociale avevano probabilmente adottato (o cercato di attirare) la *Victoria* dei Romani dalla loro parte; di questo si ha testimonianza nella forma osca **vikturrai** (Rix **Sa 24**) che compare sull'iscrizione di una lamina bronzea rinvenuta all'altare nel santuario dei Sanniti *Pentri* a Pietrabbondante.

³⁵ Cfr. la moneta fatta coniare dai Sanniti a Taranto, che porta in greco Σαννιτῶν, intorno a 330 a.C.; cfr. A. La Regina, "La lancia e il toro" in *Il mutevole aspetto di Clio. Le conferenze del Premio "E.T. Salmon" I*, a cura di G. De Benedittis, Campobasso 1994, 44. Per la moneta, cfr. A. Sambon, *Les monnaies d'Italie* (1903), 110.

³⁶ C. Letta – S. D'Amato, *Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi*, Milano 1975. La qualità dell'esecuzione lasciava spesso a desiderare, cfr. nro 25, "rozze e raffigurata in rilievo", nro 154, "Stele sepolcrale, rozze cornici. Lavoro trascurato: rilievo e iscrizione sono alquanto asimmetrici rispetto al taglio di base": *T. Tettiedius T.f. Tiro. Val(e)* e nro 189, "una rozza stilizzazione – lettere arcaiche, prima metà del II secolo", cfr. anche nro 104: *Poppaedia P.f. Secunda filiae. ossa.sita. Eitae.M.f.matri. ossa sita*. I nri 124 e 125 rappresentano fregi d'armi.

recente rispetto al nostro monumento,³⁷ ma il riscontro non è a pieno titolo, anche per il fatto che nel rilievo di Nonio la scena del trofeo, è posta, tra molte altre, sulla faccia laterale e non su quella principale (antica).

In ogni caso a Poggio sarebbe raffigurato un gesto di offesa da parte del guerriero sannita verso l'armatura romana appesa al trofeo e, cioè, vi sarebbe la monumentalizzazione d'un insulto quasi paragonabile all'umiliazione dell'esercito romano sotto il giogo delle lance dei Sanniti dopo la disfatta alle Forche Caudine nel 321 a.C.³⁸ Tuttavia, per altri elementi, soprattutto per quelli nel pannello B, il nostro monumento sembra risalire agli inizi della Guerra Sociale. La cornice sul lato sinistro del pannello A porta quattro incisioni, una delle quali, nell'angolo superiore, rappresenta una *patera* per libagioni (gradite presso il trofeo), o una rosetta, o un fiore, o un pane.

Lettura iconografica del pannello B

Purtroppo è stato quasi del tutto distrutto, volutamente, da Romani, in quanto recava l'elemento propagandistico antiromano per eccellenza, il toro italico che calpesta la lupa romana. Esso sembra, infatti, imitare la raffigurazione sulle monete dei ribelli Italici, quella appunto sul denario della Guerra Sociale con il toro, simbolo degli Italici (**Viteliú**), che incorna e calpesta la lupa romana.³⁹ Si noti il dettaglio delle orecchie pendenti della lupa prostrata.

³⁷ G. D'Henry, "La romanizzazione del Sannio nel II e nel I secolo a.C.", *op.cit.* nella nt. 10 sopra, 18–19 nonché la fig. 13.

³⁸ Liv. 9,2–6. Cfr. P. Moreni, "Saper vedere le Forche Caudine. La pittura di una tomba lucana a Paestum narra la celebre vittoria dei Sanniti sui Romani", *Archeo* 148 (giugno 1997), 104–107.

³⁹ Cfr. R. Antonini, "Eituns a Pompei. Un frammento di DNA italico", F. Senatore (a cura di), *Pompei, Capri e la Penisola Sorrentina. Atti del quinto ciclo di conferenze di geologia, storia e archeologia. Pompei, Anacapri, Scafati, Castellammare di Stabia*, ottobre 2002 – aprile 2003, 273–321 e la fig. 12 nella p. 298. – Cfr. un caso di punto di vista dei Romani, con l'apparizione casuale, tra le linee, di un lupo che stava catturando una cerva fuggente dalla montagna, poi uccisa dai Galli (allora alleati dei Sanniti), nel contesto della battaglia di Sentino del 295 a.C., in Liv. 10,27,8–9: *Cum instructae acies starent, cerva fugiens lupum e montibus exacta per campos inter duas acies decurrit; inde diversae ferae, cerva ad Gallos, lupus ad Romanos cursum deflexit. Lupo data inter ordines via; cervam Galli confixere. Tum ex antesignanis Romanus miles 'Illac fuga', inquit, 'et caedes vertit, ubi sacram Dianae feram iacentem videtis; hinc victor Martius lupus, integer et intactus, gentis nos Martiae et conditoris nostri admonuit.'*

Nel *ver sacrum* il toro era, secondo Strabone, l'animale totemico dei Sabini, cioè degli antenati dei Sanniti, che veniva sacrificato a Marte al termine della diaspora in quanto a loro donato per fungere da guida. Secondo Verrio Flacco, il mitico condottiero dei Sabini, *Comius Castronius*, condusse 7000 uomini per fondare una nuova colonia sul colle chiamato *Samnium*. Di Castronio non si sa altro, ma la sua immagine compare nelle emissioni fatte coniare dai Sanniti durante la Guerra Sociale: egli è armato di lancia, ha l'elmo in testa e poggia il piede sulla lupa romana sconfitta, al suo fianco vi è il toro sannita. In altre monete, sempre fatte coniare dagli insorti nello stesso periodo, il toro è raffigurato mentre atterra la lupa.⁴⁰ Come scrive La Regina: "Alle comuni origini riconducono poi i due simboli (la lancia e il toro) che accompagnano i Sanniti nel corso della loro storia, fino al suo epilogo: il toro della primavera sacra sabina, che consente l'interpretazione mitica della fondazione di *Bovianum*, e l'asta sabina, che istituisce i legami ideali con il mondo greco attraverso il *saunion*, e con il mondo romano attraverso Quirino: "*Curis* in sabino è la lancia, donde Romolo detto Quirino perchè la portava; e i Romani sono detti Quiriti da Quirino". Nella Guerra Sociale, l'ultima guerra 'romana' dei Sanniti, i due simboli si fondono nella rappresentazione di Como Castronio, astato come Romolo, affiancato dal toro, animale delle 'origini' come la lupa".⁴¹ Infatti, oltre che nella lancia del pannello A, vorrei vedere questo stesso simbolismo nell'altra del pannello B, ma in più, in quest'ultima, il simbolo della dichiarazione di guerra *ad ius fetiale*, crederei di origine sabina, con la lancia gettata in terra (simbolicamente) nemica; l'intento propagandistico equivarrebbe a qualcosa come: "Vole(va)te la guerra voi Romani, ed eccovela!". Purtroppo del toro è rimasta esclusivamente la punta della coda⁴², tutto il resto sembra esser stato distrutto intenzionalmente (sopra), anche stando a indizi ricavabili dal lato destro, che risulta annerito dal fumo di un incendio al tempo della distruzione del monumento, avvenuta probabilmente ancora nel periodo

⁴⁰ A. La Regina, *op.cit.* nella nt. 35 sopra, 47–48 con le note 18–22.

⁴¹ Id. *ibid.*, 56–57 (con nota e figura *ivi*), per il denario della Guerra Sociale (Museo Nazionale Romano, collezione Gnocchi, n. 2312/D e /R). Si ricordi, però, che il toro 'italico' compariva già sull'*aes signatum*.

⁴² Interpretare ciò che rimane come coda di toro, anziché come coda di leone, è più appropriato al contesto storico della Guerra Sociale. Comunque sia, vorrei segnalare due toponimi interessanti, l'uno Colli di Montebove, a meno di 9 km ad est di Poggio Cinolfo e l'altro Monteleone Sabino (= *Trebula Mutuesca*), 20 km a nordovest di Poggio Cinolfo.

sillano, se non addirittura appena dopo la Guerra Sociale.⁴³ La lacuna che si è inserita sulla testa del toro sembrerebbe trovarsi a sinistra del pannello, quindi l'immagine alla quale si collega(va) deriverebbe dalla matrice del denario, come si può vedere nella ricostruzione che qui esibisco, realizzata dal dottor architetto Juhana Heikonen. Le mura, possibilmente con una torre, tratteggiate sulla cornice nel lato destro del riquadro potrebbero rappresentare quelle di *Carsioli* o, più probabilmente, di qualche *oppidum* nei dintorni di questo centro. Nella cornice superiore si può intravedere una *corona muralis* su un tratto di mura ben fortificato.

Datazione e contesto storico/topografico

Lo stile e la qualità dell'esecuzione dei pannelli nonché delle epigrafi stesse potrebbero far pensare ad una cronologia tra la fine del II secolo a.C. e l'età sillana, e per il tema delle iconografie molto probabilmente proprio al periodo della Guerra Sociale (*Bellum Marsicum*), cioè dal 90 all'87 a.C. Come abbiamo visto, proporrei di datare l'erezione del nostro prezioso e finora unico monumento a poco dopo la battaglia sulle rive del *Tolenus*, un paio di chilometri a nord di *Carsioli*, avvenuta l'11 giugno 90 a.C., dopodiché la colonia stessa fu rasa al suolo. Si ricordi che questa del *Tolenus* era stata l'ultima – se non la penultima – grande vittoria degli Italici sui Romani e vi era caduto un console romano, secondo Ovidio, egli medesimo di origine peligna e che probabilmente doveva conoscere bene la zona, prossima alla *Via Valeria*, che collegava Roma e la sua natia Sulmona; è proprio lui ad averci conservato la tradizione secondo la quale proprio quel giorno della battaglia, l'11 giugno, sarebbe stata prevista la morte di Rutilio.⁴⁴

L'uso dell'alfabeto epicorio osco-sannita può tranquillamente esser letto come espressione di un'identità rafforzatasi proprio allo scoppio del conflitto,

⁴³ Purtroppo è impossibile datare chimicamente con radiocarbonio C14 segni di bruciatura su pietra arenaria, secondo quanto mi hanno informato i colleghi Janne Ikäheimo e Vesa-Pekka Herva all'Università di Oulu.

⁴⁴ Non so se nel racconto comparisse implicitamente anche l'idea dei Marsi e dei Peligni come magici incantatori, cfr. Hor. *epod.* 17,28–29., *sat.* 1,9,60, Ov. *ars. am.* 2,102 e *fast.* 6,142. Del resto Romani spesso confondevano gli Equi con i Marsi, almeno nel V e nel IV secolo a.C. (Liv. 9,41, 9,45 e 10,3). Chissà se vi figurava anche la leggenda romana dei Marsi come invincibili: le battaglie si vincevano con i Marsi, mai contra i Marsi; cfr. anche Hor. *c.* 2,20,17–18.

cioè impiegato quale arma di propaganda, come nelle monete degli Italici insorti. Un'altra possibilità, ma meno plausibile, sarebbe quella di connettere il nostro monumento con un'altra vittoria dei Marsi sui Romani nel territorio tra gli Equi e gli Equicoli, quella cioè della primavera 89 a.C., ma il contesto topografico, a nordovest del Lago di Fucino, sarebbe quindi fuori luogo.⁴⁵

Se possiamo fidarci della descrizione di Appiano, Vettio Scatone, informato sul luogo in cui avrebbe pernottato il console, riuscì a disorientare il nemico tendendogli una imboscata e così la battaglia avrebbe avuto luogo la mattina presto. Quindi, nel caso che il tempo non fosse stato nuvoloso, i Romani avrebbero avuto il sole di fronte (negli occhi) e la carica dei confederati sarebbe avvenuta dall'est o dal nordest verso l'ovest o il sudovest. Parrebbe perfino fatidico che Mater Matuta quel suo giorno di festa, l'11 giugno, potesse esser andata dalla parte dei Marsi/dei Sanniti, in quanto poteva esser esistito un suo culto, da parte di Camillo, in caso di conflitti all'alba, specialmente nel periodo del solstizio estivo.⁴⁶

Il console, inesperto del territorio, aveva il suo quartier generale con la III e IV legione sul *Tolenus*, vicino a *Carsioli*.⁴⁷ Nel contingente sannita/campano, nella mia ricostruzione, vi sarebbero stati come ufficiali i fratelli **Galliús**, futuri committenti del monumento, anche se essi risultano sconosciuti alla storiografia antica,⁴⁸ il che non è raro. E' logico che il monumento sia stato eretto vicino al luogo della battaglia stessa, in una posizione elevata, da dove risultasse ben visibile. In seguito, ovviamente, sarebbe stato sfregiato e distrutto da seguaci romani di Silla, poco dopo. Un caso quasi parallelo, ma divenuto subito celebre, scoperto nel 2002, concerne una vera e propria *damnatio memoriae* di un famoso console romano, amico/fraternizzante dei futuri ribelli Italici, nel nostro caso Pompeiani, realizzata da parte di Silla nei confronti dell'iscrizione onoraria

⁴⁵ Cfr. Salmon (sopra nt. 11) 377 con note rispettive.

⁴⁶ Littlewood (sopra nt. 27) 169: "Lupus is adressed here by Mater Matuta herself because he is killed on 11 June (*mea luce*, 564), but perhaps also because Matuta may have been worshipped as a dawn goddess with power to influence military engagements at daybreak." Inoltre, Littlewood (sopra nt. 27) cita G. Dumézil, *Camillus* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1980), 53–69, 105–21, "who attributes Camillus cult of Mater Matuta to battles won at dawn particularly during the period of the summer solstice".

⁴⁷ Cfr. Salmon (sopra nt. 11) 368 con note rispettive.

⁴⁸ Il generale delle truppe sannite propriamente era *Papius Mutilus*, che nel giugno del 90 a.C. operava altrove. Ovviamente i Marsi di Vettio Scatone, *praetor* dei Peligni, conoscevano bene il territorio degli Equi, loro vicini, e la sua topografia, compreso quello carsolano nei pressi della *Via Valeria*.

osca – finora la prima onoraria in assoluto – di *L. Mummius Achaicus* nel portico del tempio di Apollo a Pompei.⁴⁹

Possiamo dire, senza esagerare, che siamo stati molto fortunati nel ritrovare il monumento di Poggio, giusta la sua unicità: è in assoluto il primo trofeo in lingua osca. Del resto trofei, noti già nel V sec. a.C., ricorrono frequentemente dalla metà del II secolo a.C. in poi, anche sulle monete.⁵⁰ Nel 2004 è stato trovato il trofeo dello stesso Silla, in Grecia, in una località della Beozia occidentale presso Orchomenos, durante i lavori di aratura di un campo; eretto nell'86 a.C., quindi solo quattro anni più tardi del nostro monumento, da Silla in occasione della vittoria contro il re del Ponto Mitridate VI.⁵¹

Per quanto attiene all'esecuzione del monumento, in generale, bisogna riconoscere che rientra nella cd. arte povera di ambito italico. Non è escluso che sia stato un compagno d'armi dei **Galliús** a eseguire sia i rilievi che le epigrafi di Poggio. Il monumento in sé parla italico, come ancora sessant'anni più tardi la base di *Nonius ad Aesernia*.⁵²

⁴⁹ A. Martelli, Pompei (NA) "La riscoperta dell'iscrizione Vetter 61", *SE* 69 (2003), 403–405.

⁵⁰ Cfr. B. Weisser, "Szenen des Triumphes auf republikanischen Münzen", *Minda numismatica* 2005, 165–176: cfr. soprattutto la tav. 9 sulla p. 173, che raffigura il denario di *M. Furius Philus*, del 119 a.C., con Roma che, mentre tiene lo scettro nella mano sinistra, sta inghirlandando con la destra un trofeo di arme galliche (= Crawford, *RRC* n. 281). L'unico studio sistematico sui trofei romani risale a cinquanta anni fa: G.C. Picard, *Les Trophées romains. Contribution à l'histoire de la religion et l'art triomphal de Rome*, Paris 1957.

⁵¹ V. Di Napoli, "Ritrovato il trofeo di Silla", *Archeo* 242 (aprile 2005), 10. Lo scavo è stato condotto dalla IX Eforia, sotto la direzione di Elena Kountouri. La conferma letteraria in Plutarco che narra come Silla, dopo la vittoria di Cheronea, avesse un sanguinoso scontro col nemico presso Orchomenos, dove, sul lago Copaide, annientò l'esercito di Archelao, generale di Mitridate. Ai tempi di Plutarco, dopo quasi due secoli, nella palude si scorgevano ancora le armi dei soldati di Mitridate. In questo caso Plutarco è più che affidabile: si ricordi che egli era originario proprio di Cheronea, dove visse quasi tutta la sua vita e alla quale, una città antica, era devoto. Il trofeo di Silla riproduce il tronco d'albero eretto sul campo da Silla, per appendervi le armi degli sconfitti. Si distinguono sul tronco una coppia di schinieri, parte di panoplia; la base del trofeo era decorata da rilievi. Il monumento è identificato con certezza da un testo in greco sulla base, nella quale compaiono i nomi di Silla e di Mitridate. E' ora allo studio l'ipotesi di ricostruire il trofeo *in situ*. Notizia nella stampa greca era uscita già ai primi del dicembre 2004.

⁵² D'Henry, *op. cit.* nella nt. 10 sopra, 18–19: "Sostanzialmente, la maggior parte dei rilievi di Isernia, nonostante la propaganda politica romana talora abbastanza evidente, parlano tuttora italico". – "In realtà, la creazione di una mentalità cittadina si fa strada faticosamente in un mondo di pastori e di agricoltori, che viene a contatto forzato con forme di vita più

Finora sono pochissime le iscrizioni osche databili con buona approssimazione, praticamente solo le **éftuns** pompeiane⁵³, anch'esse riferibili al periodo della Guerra Sociale. Bisogna sottolineare che il nostro monumento consiste non solo di due iscrizioni, bensì anche di due bassorilievi, essenziali entrambi per l'interpretazione, testo e iconografia entrambi essenziali all'interpretazione, in aggiunta, la loro combinazione, rara, quasi unico nel mondo sabello: finora limitata alle stele sudpicene antropomorfe dei secoli VI e V a.C.⁵⁴, nonché alle **Iúvilas** capuane dei secoli IV e III a.C.⁵⁵ Infatti, il nostro documento rappresenta il primo esempio di giunzione di arte italica e di epigrafia (qui osca), ampiamente documentata in monumenti funebri (in latino) del periodo sillano/tardorepubblicano.

Insomma, se il nostro monumento dovesse essere un falso, il falsificatore, magari un rampollo del falsificatore delle epigrafi nersiane, trovate a metà dell'Ottocento, dovrebbe prima aver letto i passi relativi di Ovidio (*Fasti* 6,563–568) e di Appiano (*B.C.* 1,43), citati qui sopra, essersi inventato dei nomi in osco da incidere sotto il rilievo di trofeo sul pannello A, e, successivamente, avere ideato di collegare al monumento di trofeo il tema iconografico del denario dei ribelli Italici. Avrebbe così raffigurato il toro italico mentre incorna la lupa romana, realizzandolo a rilievo su un blocco diverso da quello che recava l'epigrafe, vi avrebbe genialmente aggiunto la lancia sabina scagliata in terra nemica come simbolo della dichiarazione di guerra e una parola in osco (abbreviata) **muí** (questa ben nota). Dopo aver progettato questo suo piano geniale con carta e penna, avrebbe dovuto: procurarsi due blocchi di pietra arenaria locale e, dopo averli lavorati o fatti lavorare, eseguire ambedue le epigrafi, poi entrambi i rilievi (e in dettaglio), poi bruciare anche il lato destro del blocco B e sfigurare il toro e la lupa (magari con un piccone) e, infine, seppellire entrambi i blocchi nel campo coltivato sul pendente sudorientale sottostante al Monte Calvario, il colle più vicino a nord-est del fiume *Tolenus* nei pressi di *Carsioli*, ad una profondità tale che l'aratro di un trattore li avrebbe urtati, camuffando lo scherzo con qualche mattone sparso presso il luogo in cui aveva sepolto il monumento. Un progetto troppo intricato da realizzare, tenuto conto di tutti i contesti storici e topografici coinvolti – in confronto, ad esempio, alla più semplice contraffazione di una moneta, oppure di un graffito falsificato

raffinate."

⁵³ Cfr. Antonini (sopra nt. 39).

⁵⁴ Cfr. A. Marinetti, *Le iscrizioni sudpicene: Testi*, Firenze 1985.

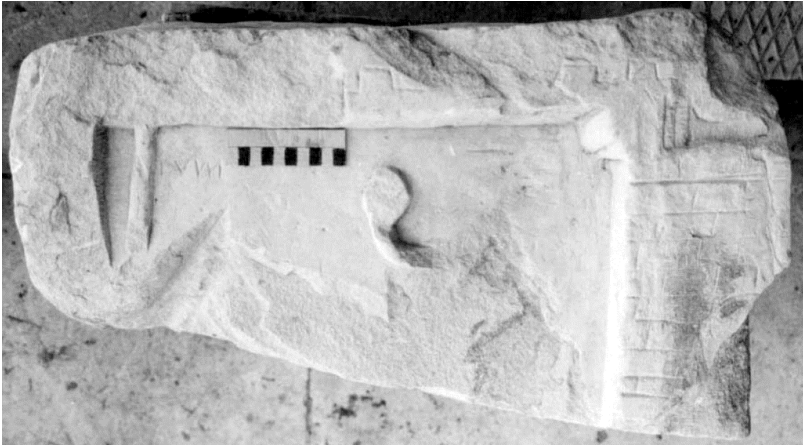
⁵⁵ Cfr. Franchi De Bellis (sopra nt. 25).

su *instrumentum domesticum*, Queste ultime, invece, di solito si trovano in collezioni private, dopo un certo giro nel commercio clandestino, all'insaputa di Soprintendenze e della Guardia di Finanza.

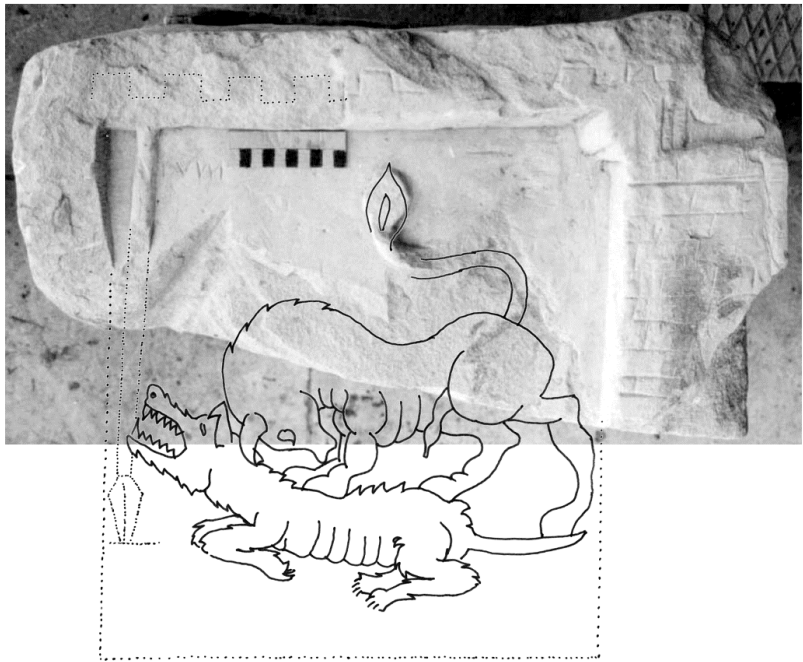
Università di Oulu



Pannello A. Foto: T. Flamini 1989.



Pannello B. Foto: C. Taraborrelli 2005.



Pannello B, la ricostruzione a cura di T. Sironen sulla foto precedente, il disegno realizzato dal dottor J. Heikonen e la rielaborazione con Photoshop a cura del dottor V. Vahtikari.



Moneta ribelle

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CCXXXI. WIEDER NEUE COGNOMINA

Hier nochmals eine weitere Auslese. Zu den im folgenden gebrauchten Abkürzungen und diakritischen Zeichen s. *Rep.*² 475. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 189.

Acutia: *AE* 2003, 820 (Sardinia). *CIL* II 5920. Bisher war nur der Männername *Acutius* bekannt, von dem weiter unten.

Acutio: Kajanto 249 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *IMS* I 118.

Acutius: *Rep.* 288 mit 4 Belegen, von denen 3 christlich. Dazu *CIL* II 5013. II² 7, 161. XII 3366 (Q. Atilius Acutius Patron von Q. Acutius Hermes). *ILAlg* I 2329 *Claudius Acutius* (die Tochter(?) heißt *Claudia Acuta*). *Acutius -ia* ist von Hause aus ein Gentilname, doch die durchschnittlich späte Zeit der Belege für das Cognomen sprechen dafür, dass in diesen Fällen ein echtes Cognomen vorliegt, nicht nur ein Gentilname in der Funktion eines Cognomens.

Adiutorius: Kajanto 360 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* III 7554. Leber, *I.Kärnten* 126.

Aebutianus: Kajanto 139. *Rep.*² 497. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 163. Dazu noch *PIR*² A 1294 (Ende 2. Jh. n. Chr.) P. Atilius A., *clarissimus vir, patronus Asseriatium* in *ILJug* 2830.

Aerarius(?): *AE* 2003, 1369 (Solva) *Maxim(ius) Aerarius*, wie der Erstherausgeber den Namen auffasst; doch ist eher mit S. Dardaine (im Komm. in *AE*) *Maxim(us) aerarius* zu verstehen.

Afrinus: Kajanto 160 mit einem Beleg (Senator). Dazu *CILA* II 3, 997 (Italica). *IAM* II 816. *I. Pessinus* 176, der sein Cognomen dem Statthalter Galatiens 49–54 M. Annius Afrinus verdanken kann.¹

* Mein herzlicher Dank geht an Peter Kruschwitz, den meinen Text einer sprachlichen Durchsicht unterzogen hat. Auch Mika Kajava und Olli Salomies haben den Text in

Albanilla: Kajanto 181 mt einem Beleg. Dazu Vives *ILER* 3742 (Baetica).

Albicianus: Kajanto 139 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2003, 1016 (Londinium).

Alfidianus(?): *O Arqueólogo Português* 15 (1910) 48 *Alfidian[---]* (die Lesung ist nicht zu überprüfen, doch handelt es sich um eine plausible Namenbildung).

Alticus: *CIL* IX 338 III, 40 (Decurio in Canusium 223 n. Chr.). Öfters in der iberischen Halbinsel belegt (s. *OPEL* I² 44), wo wohl epichorisch; aber der canusinische Beleg kann als lateinisch gedeutet werden.

Amoeniana: *IMS* II 72. Kajanto 282 verzeichnet nur den Männernamen *Amoenianus* mit einem Beleg (ein zweiter in *Rep.* 292). Vielleicht hierher gehörig noch *IMS* II 150 *Amynianus*.

Amplianda: *CIL* IV 10697.

Angulatus -a: Kajanto 245 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu als Männernamen *AIJ* 100 (Noricum). Weber, *I. Steiermark* 149. Als Frauennamen *RIU* 1224. Da aber die Belege sich auf die Donauprovinzen häufen, fragt man sich, ob nicht eher eine epichorische Bildung vorliegt.

Anullinas: *AE* 2003, 2014 *C. Annius Ceionius Anullinas v. c. legatus/Numidiae?*, vermutlich Sohn des Proconsul Africae Anullinus (belegt für 313 n. Chr.). Aus dem Photo der Erstpublikation zu schließen, ist die Lesung des Cognomens sicher, aber eine Erklärung steht noch aus. Der Erstherausgeber und die Editoren der *AE* denken an eine archaisierende Graphie, was nicht einleuchtet. Vielleicht einfach ein Schreibfehler.

Anullus -a: Kajanto 301 mit fünf afrikanischen Belegen. Kommt des öfteren auch in den hispanischen und nördlichen Provinzen vor (s. *OPEL* I² 63).

Aquillina: *Rep.* 294. Dazu *IMS* I 123.

Aquinus -a: Kajanto 184 mit zwei Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes, beide aus den nördlichen Provinzen. Dazu vom Männernamen *EpigrRomLara* 158. 17. *BRGK* 26. *AE* 1974, 426 (Aquaе Siccae

bewährter Weise durchgelesen und einiges verbessert.

¹ Doch kann man nicht mit J. Strubbe (im Komm. in *I.Pessinus*) und M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, Mainz 1986, 296 zu Nr. 774 sagen, dass dies Cognomen in Galatien seit der Statthalterschaft des Annius Afrinus zweifellos populär wurde, denn es ist meines Wissens dort ansonsten nicht belegt. *Afrina* in Laodicea Combusta (s. *Rep.*² 497) bleibt doch etwas fern.

in Aquitanien). Der Frauenname *Aquina* in *CIL* III 5651 = 11793. *I.Köln* 330 kann als eine einheimische Bildung gedeutet werden.

Arbiter: Kajanto 362 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1977, 390 (Lusitanien).

Arguta: *AE* 1967, 66 vgl. *Arctos* 28 (1994) 108 (Rom). *HAE* 2764 = *I. Balears* 55 (christl.). Der Männername *Argutus* war schon bekannt (fünf Belege bei Kajanto 249).

Armentarius: Kajanto 323 mit sechs Belegen,² von denen aber *CIL* IV 4379. 5177 besser auszuscheiden sind, da ihr cognominaler Charakter nicht feststeht (notiere auch, dass das Cognomen charakteristisch für die spätere Kaiserzeit ist). Dagegen hinzuzufügen sind *Suppl. It.* 2 Teate 12. *P. Tjäder* 30, 113 (Ravenna, 539 n. Chr.; oder *arm-*). *PLRE* III 121f Nr. 1–5 (späte Belege vornehmlich aus Gallien). *AE* 1994, 1047 (Hisp. cit.). 2003, 953b (Lucus Augusti in der Hispania citerior) (Ende 5. Jh. n. Chr.; Deutung als Name bleibt etwas unsicher). Etwas unsicher bleibt auch, wie *Plin. nat.* 7, 55 *Cassio Severo celebri oratori Armentari murmillonis obiecta similitudo est* zu deuten sei. Vgl. auch *Ps. Aur. Vict. epit.* 40, 15 *Galerius ... , pastor armentorum; unde ei cognomen Armentarius fuit.* – Vom Frauennamen *Armentaria* verzeichnet Kajanto einen christlichen Beleg; dazu noch *HEp* 2, 4e (die Inschrift hat *Armentarie* in nicht sicher bestimmbarem Kasus). *PLRE* III 121 (Mutter des Gregorius von Tours).

Atinas: Kajanto 181 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1989, 559 (Treveri).

Atinianus: Kajanto 141 vier Belegen. Dazu *ISM* V 248.

Atratinus: Kajanto 184 mit drei Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu ein Zeuge im Militärdiplom *RMD* V 324 (71 n. Chr.).

Attiola: Kajanto 166 mit vier Belegen (und drei für den Männernamen *Attiolus*). Dazu *ILTG* 389 (Mediomatrici). 436 (Triboci). *AE* 2003, 1017 (Londinium). Im keltischen Gebiet kann der Name auch keltisch sein, wie die Häufigkeit ähnlicher Bildungen zeigt.³

Auctor: Kajanto 360 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *O Arqueólogo Português* n. s. 3 (1956) 130.

Audentia: Kajanto 257 mit drei Belegen (und vier für den Männernamen *Audentius*). Dazu *AE* 2003, 1120 (Vasio in der Narbonensis).

² Korrigiere VI 3918 zu VI 32884.

³ Vgl. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*, Köln und Opladen 1968, 248f.

Augustio: Kajanto 316 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ILTG* 425. *AE* 1993, 1234b (Biriciana in Raetien).

Aureus: Kajanto 340 zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* II² 14, 267 (unsicher). *AE* 1950, 179 (Thugga).

Aurosus: I. Velázquez Soriano, *Las pizarras visigodas* (1989) 46 II, 12 (7. Jh. n. Chr.).

Autumna: Kajanto 218 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ILJug* 612 (Doclea).

Barbatus: Kajanto 224 mit fünf Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu Vives *ILER* 3147.

Benivolus -a: Kajanto 256 mit acht Belegen für den Männernamen und einem christlichen für den Frauennamen. Dazu *ICUR* 14086 *Benibolus*. *IL Afr.* 245 (Thurburbo Maius). Der Frauename: *Suppl. It.* 20 *Venusia* 205 *Seppia Benivola* (2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Blaesilla: Kajanto 241 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *EE* IX 292i (Asturica).

Bolerianus: *CIL* III 3816 = *AIJug* 142 mit Photo (Pannonien).⁴ Man wäre versucht, das Cognomen zu einem Gentilnamen zu stellen, und freilich kennen wir *Volerius* aus *CIL* V 6458 (die Lesung ist zwar etwa unsicher). Eher handelt es sich aber um einen einheimischen Namen.

Burrus: *Rep.* 304. Dazu etwa *AE* 1929 (Trebula Mutuesca). *ILB* 148. *ILLPRON* 707. *ILAlg* II 4631. *CIL* XIII 11508 (Legionär). *AE* 2003, 2048 (Legionär, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Caelesticus: J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, Oxford 1971, 132 will im palmyrenischen QLSTQS lat. *Celesticus* erkennen. Auch wenn wir nunmehr einen Namen *Caelestiacus* aus Afrika kennen (*Rep.* 305) und *Caelesticus* an sich eine plausible Bildung darstellt, überlasse ich das Urteil lieber den Semitisten.

Candidiana: Kajanto 227 mit vier Belegen neben dem üblicheren Männernamen. Dazu *RIU Suppl.* 111 (Mogentiana in der Pannonia superior). Der Name im Ganzen ist charakteristisch für die Donauprovinzen.

Caninus: Kajanto 326 mit drei Belegen (zwei von denen gehören den senatorischen *Acilii*). Dazu *AE* 2003, 757 (Comum; ist die Lesung sicher?).

Epetinus -a: *Arctos* 39 (2005) 168. Weitere Belege bei G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, 193; vgl. noch *AE* 2003, 1333.

Facunda: Kajanto 251 mit drei Belegen neben dem üblicheren

⁴ Auch in M. Šašel, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia*, Ljubljana 1997 Nr. 88 (mit Photo). Aus den Photos zu schließen scheint die Lesung sicher.

Männernamen *Facundus*. Dazu *CIL* VI 17646. *AE* 2003, 1340 (Asseria in Dalmatien) *Caeliae Facundae Caelius Facundus pat(er)*.

Firmius: *AE* 2003, 2048 (215 n. Chr.) *Val(erius) Firmius* (Legionär). Das Suffix *-ius* passt gut mit der Datierung ins 3. Jh. zusammen.

Forensis: Kajanto 208. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 169. Dazu *AE* 2003, 1303 (Celeia).

Fortissimus: Kajanto 257 mit zwei christlichen Belegen (einem Männernamen, einem Frauennamen). Dazu *AE* 2003, 1938 (Thagamuta in Byzacena; Männername, christlich).

Gemellianus: Kajanto 147 = 295. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 169. Dazu ein Bronze gießer in Aquae Helveticae, dessen Name in verschiedenen teilen des römischen Reiches belegt ist (z. B. *AE* 1893, 59. 1909, 247. 1962, 193. 1966, 610). *AE* 1994, 1334 IV, 13 (Virunum, Ende des 2. Jh., Mithrasverehrer). *RMD* V 382 (Soldat einer Auxiliartruppe, 135 n. Chr.).⁵

Geminus: *Rep.*² 499. Dazu *AE* 2003, 1985 (Giufi in der Byzacena). Da die Inschrift aus dem 3. Jh. stammt (wenn sogar nicht aus dem 4.), lässt sich die Bildung mit dem für die spätere Kaiserzeit charakteristischen Suffix *-ius* vorzüglich verteidigen.

Γυῶτος: *Arctos* 36 (2002) 110–112. Dazu noch *AE* 2003, 1617 (Messene, 177 n. Chr.).

Laverna: Kajanto 216 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 2 Teate 18, hier aber Männername. Mag etruskischer Herkunft sein.

Magianus: Kajanto 149 mit 10 Belegen. Dazu *I. Pessinus* 105.

Mammiana: *AE* 2003, 230 (Rom, christlich). Kajanto 149 kennt nur den Männernamen *Mammianus*, wozu noch *Arctos* 37 (2003) 181.

Maurina: Kajanto 206 mit drei Belegen (7 für den Männernamen *Maurinus*). Dazu *AE* 2003, 727 (Comum).

Maurio: *Arctos* 32 (1998) 244. 37 (2003) 182. Dazu *AE* 1992, 707 (Aquileia, christlich). 2003, 883 (Emerita, lokaler Herkunft). *HEp* 2, 774 (Civitas Igaeditanorum).

Medicus: Kajanto 320. *Rep.*² 501. *Arctos* 36 (2002) 112 (dort über die Möglichkeit, den Namen als griechisch aufzufassen). Dazu *Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 159 (auch hier besteht die Möglichkeit, den Namen als griechisch zu

⁵ In dem Militärdiplom werden mehrere Truppeneinheiten angeführt, darunter eine *ala Gemelliana civium Romanorum*. Wenn unser Mann ihr zugehörte, kann er sein Cognomen diesem Umstand verdanken.

verstehen und zu Μηδικός zu stellen; der Vater hieß *Antiochus*, und nach den Namen folgt eine griechische Klausel).

Mercatorius: *AE* 2003, 2048 (Legionär unbekannter Herkunft, 215 n. Chr.).

Mercurinus: Kajanto 213 mit einem Beleg (drei für den Frauennamen *Mercurina*). Dazu *AE* 1978, 49 (Lugudunum). 2003, 803c (Carales, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Der Frauename *Mercurina* noch in *RICG* I 41.

Metillianus: *Rep.* 363. Dazu *AE* 2003, 1674 (Smyrna, wohl 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Ἄττιος Ῥουφεῖνος Μετιλλιανός, πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος. Auch die ungeminierte Form ist selten; die geminierte Schreibung ist üblich im griechischen Bereich (der in *Rep.* angeführte senatorische Beleg kommt aber aus Rom).

Natalica: Kajanto 290 mit drei christlichen Belegen (7 für den Männernamen). Dazu *AE* 2003, 1929 (Acholla in der Byzacena, christlich).

Nobilianus: Kajanto 279 mit zwei Belegen (und einem für den Frauennamen). Dazu 17. *BRGK* 133 (Augusta Rauricorum). *AE* 2003, 1017 (Londinium). *P. Straßb.* 172 (4. Jh. n. Chr.).

Nocturnus: Kajanto 220. *Rep.*² 501. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 174. Dazu noch *AE* 2003, 1196 (Durocortorum).

Pauliniana: Kajanto 244 mit einem christlichen Beleg neben dem üblicheren Männernamen. Dazu *AE* 2003, 266 (Rom, christlich).

Pica (m.): Kajanto 332 mit 7 Belegen. *Rep.*² 502 aus Cales. Daneben eine feminine Bildung *Pica*: *CIL* II² 5, 371 *Fulvia Pica Ips(censis)*, deren sprachliche Herkunft offen bleibt; ob epichorisch?⁶

Picta: *IGUR* 890 Πικτη. *AE* 1902, 69 (Ratiaria). Die sprachliche Erklärung bleibt unsicher, wie auch die des folgenden Namens.

Pictus: Kajanto 201 mit einem Beleg aus *CIL* V 5279. Der Name kommt auch sonst vor: *AE* 1996, 764 (Varese im ager Mediolaniensis). *ILT* 847e. *AE* 1989, 785 (Theveste?). Kajanto leitet den Namen aus dem Namen des britischen Volksstammes ab; ob das stimmt, stehe dahin. Man könnte ihn auch mit dem Partizip *pictus* verbinden (vgl. *Cic. Brut.* 293), wenn es sich nicht um eine epichorische Bildung handelt.

Pictor: Kajanto 321 als Cognomen republikanischer Fabii. Dazu 38. *BRGK* 230 (Augusta Vindelicorum) *mil(es) leg. III Ital.* (die Editorin vermutet

⁶ Auf der iberischen Halbinsel kommen mehrmals ähnliche Bildungen vor: J. M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania*, Murcia 1994, 458; vgl. auch den nächsten Namen.

Verschreibung für *Victor*). *AE* 1993, 1245a (Virunum), derselbe 1994, 1334.

Pollianus: Kajanto 153. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 180. Dazu *AE* 2003, 1548 (Militärdiplom, 92 n. Chr., Zeuge).

Postuminus: Kajanto 296 mit 7 Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2003, 1334 (Asseria in Dalmatien).

Praestans: *AE* 2003, 1968 (Masclianae in der Byzacena, 3. Jh. n. Chr.). Bisher war nur die gleich zu nennende Ableitung *Praestantius* bekannt.

Praestantius: Kajanto 276 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ILAlg* II 7876–77 (Cuicul).

Regulianus: Kajanto 317. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 185. 38 (2004) 183. Dazu noch *ILAlg* II 7208 *sanc(tus) Regulian(us)* (sonst nicht bekannt). *AE* 2003, 1767 (Pisidien).

Repertus: Kajanto 355 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1969/70, 578 (Moesia inferior). 2003, 1218 (Centurio der cohors III Breucorum).

Rutillianus: *RMD* V 382 (135 n. Chr., Statthalter von Mauretania Tingitana). Von *Rutilianus* verzeichnet Kajanto 154 fünf Belege für Senatoren und sonst sechs; dazu kommen noch andere, vgl. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 183.

Sanctula: Kajanto 252 mit zwei Belegen (drei für den Männernamen). Dazu *AE* 2003, 221 (Rom, 402 n. Chr.).

Servatianus: *AE* 2003, 1124 *Sex. Ammius Servatianus V(asione)* oder *V(ienna)*. Bisher waren von Ableitungen von *Servatus* nur *Servatilla*, *Servatinus* und *Servatio* belegt.

Superianus: Kajanto 277 mit drei Belegen. Dazu Diehl *ILCV* 1291 A (Syracusae). *AE* 2003, 1956 (Thagamuta in der Byzacena, christlich).

Vegetantius: *CIL* V 1717 (dort las Mommsen *Vegetantius*, verstand aber *Vegetantius* als Variante von *Vigilantius*) = *I.Aquileia* 3237, mit Photo, woraus man entnehmen kann, dass die Lesung *Vegetantius* vertretbar ist. (Diehl *ILCV* 2841B liest anhand der Majuskelaabschrift in *CIL Vegetantulis*.) Gebildet aus dem Präsenspartizip *vegetans* nach einem in der spätantiken Namengebung geläufigen Typus; vgl. z. B. *Conantius*, *Donantius*, *Minantius*, *Praestantius*, *Probantius*, *Turbantius*, *Venantius*. Diese Namen können direkt aus dem Partizip selbst gebildet sein, ohne dass das Partizip selbst in cognominale Funktion erschiene; so sind **Conans*, **Donans*, **Minans*, **Probens*, **Turbans*, **Venans* nicht als Cognomina belegt, und auch *Praestans* ist erst vor kurzem als Namen aufgetaucht (s. oben). Manche dieser Namen sind okkasionelle Bildungen, die sich keiner großen Verbreitung erfreuten, die aber ins Gesamtbild der spätantiken Namengebung gut passen.

Veneta: *ILBulg* 257 *Fl(avia) Ven[e]ta*. Kajanto 196 kennt nur den Männernamen *Venetus*.

Vita: Kajanto 274 mit einem Beleg (aus *CIL* VI 20729 [einwandfrei]). *Rep.*² 505 (aus *ILAlg* II 4648 [ebenfalls einwandfrei]). Der Name erscheint ferner in *Anth. Lat.* 168, 1. 169, 2 Sh B und kann dort als eine Art sprechender Name aufgefasst werden. Riese ad 178 hält Vita für einen Mann, ob zu Recht, stehe dahin; jedenfalls handelt es sich um eine humorvolle Person.

Es folgt eine Zusammenstellung mit rückläufigem Verzeichnis von allen unter derselben Rubrik in *Arctos* 32 (1998) – 40 (2006) behandelten Cognomina.

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Acrianus	38, 163	Amatus -a	38, 164
Actilla	39, 159	Ambitio	36, 107
Acutianus	38, 163	Ambustus	39, 159
Acutio	40, 131	Amoeniana	40, 132
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Adiutorius	40, 131	Amplianda	40, 132
Adventinus -a	35, 189	Ἀμπλιανή	39, 160
Aebutianus	38, 163;	Anguilla	35, 190
	40, 131	Angulatus -a	40, 132
Aeditua	38, 163	Anicianus	35, 190
Αἰφικτιανός	35, 190	Anniola	38, 164
Aelias <i>f.</i>	35, 190	Ἄντωνῶς	37, 173
Aelias <i>m.</i>	38, 163	Antonilla	38, 164
Αἰμιλιάς	38, 164	Antoninianus	32, 236;
Aemilius(?)	32, 235		36, 108;
Aequidicus	32, 235		38, 164
Aerarius(?)	40, 131	Anula	32, 236
Αἰτεριανή	35, 190	Anullinas	40, 132
Afrinus	40, 131	Anullus -a	40, 132
*Agenda	32, 235	Ἀπελινάριος	35, 190
Agrippiana	35, 190;	Ἀπελλινάρις	38, 164
	38, 164	Aperta	32, 236
Albanilla	40, 132	Apertian(us)	32, 236
Albicianus	40, 132	Apriolus -a	37, 173
Alfidianus(?)	40, 132	Aprianus -a	37, 173
Allianus	38, 164	Apronianus	38, 164

Apro	35, 190	Augenda	32, 235
Aproniana	35, 190	Augurio	32, 236
Aprunc(u)la	35, 190	Augustio	40, 134
Ἀκυλᾶνος	37, 173	Augustulus	36, 108
Ἀκυλιανή	38, 164	Aulicus	37, 174
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Aquilianus	38, 164	Aurellianus	38, 166
Aquillina	40, 132	Aurentia	32, 237
Aquinus -a	40, 132	Aureus	40, 134
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Ἀρβουξηνόνος	35, 191	Aurora <i>m.</i>	39, 160
Arborius	38, 164	Aurosus	40, 134
Arcarius	38, 165	Auruncus	39, 160
Architectus	32, 236	Auspicius	35, 192
Ἀρελλιανή	38, 165	Autumna	40, 134
Argutus -a	39, 160;	Avernus(?)	32, 237
	40, 133	Avidianus	35, 192
Ἀριλιανή(?)	38, 165	Avitinus	36, 108
Armatus	32, 236	Baebianus	38, 166
Armentarius	40, 133	Baeticus	39, 160
Armentius	35, 191	Baetulus	32, 237
Ἀρρητιανή	35, 191	Balbio	38, 166
Ἀρουτιανός	38, 165	Ballans	36, 108
Ascitus(?)	37, 174	Barbaras	32, 237
!Ascula	32, 236	Barbarianus	39, 160
Asellinus	35, 191	Barbario	39, 160
Asprianus	35, 191	Barbatio	39, 161
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Atax	38, 165	Βάριλλα	36, 108
Aticianus -a	38, 165	Βάσσιλος	36, 108
Atinas	40, 133	Batavus	36, 108;
Atinianus	40, 133		38, 166
Atratinus	40, 133	Batriona	36, 108
Atrox	37, 174	Beatissima	37, 174
Ἀττικιανή	35, 191	!Bellianus	37, 175
Ἀττικῶν	35, 191	Benagius	38, 166
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Aucella	37, 174	Βεττηνιανός	38, 166
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Auctor	40, 133	Blaesilla	40, 134
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Blossianus	35, 192	Candidilla	37, 175
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Βωλᾶς	38, 167		39, 162
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Bracarius	39, 161	Caninus	40, 134
*Britannio	39, 161	Canio	37, 175
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Bruttianus	38, 167	Καπιτᾶς	35, 193
Buccellicus	32, 237	Καπιτιῶν	38, 167
Bucula	32, 237	Καπιτωλία	35, 193
Bur(r)ianus	37, 175	Καπιτωνιανή	35, 193
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Caecus	39, 161	Captianus	39, 162
!Caelesticus	40, 134	Caralitanus -a	39, 162
Caelina	35, 192	Caridianus	32, 238
Caesaria	39, 161	Carnuntina	39, 162
Caesarius	39, 161	Cascellianus	35, 193
Caesiana	38, 167	Casperianus	39, 162
Caesoninus	39, 161	Καστριανός	35, 194
Caesullus	32, 238	Καστρικᾶς(?)	35, 194
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Calendarius	38, 167;	Catulianus	35, 194
	39, 162	Cedoalteram	34, 150
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Calidianus	35, 193	Celerianus	38, 167;
Callaecio	37, 175		39, 162
Calvanus	35, 193	Celsianus	39, 163
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Camars	39, 162		37, 175
Camerensis(?)	36, 109	Cestianus	38, 167
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Calida	Longinia	Audentia	Claudilla
Victorida	Iunonia	Patientia	Pagilla
Amplianda	Turpia	Magentia	Λόγγιλλα
*Agenda	Lupia	Currentia	Frugilla
Augenda	Fabaria	Aurentia	Mamilla
Facunda	Καλανδάρια	Maurentia	Formilla
Munda	Secundaria	Acutia	Albanilla
Habetdea	Primaria	Bonavia	Canilla
Collega	Tabernaria	Apruncla	Κατιάνιλλα
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Domnilla	Terentulla	Aticiana	Gallitana
Falconilla	Silvicola	Luciana	Turritana
Sempronilla	Malliola	Muciana	Nomentana
Matronilla	Gelliola	Candidiana	Privigna
Antonilla	Graniola	Ummidiana	Λοπικῖνα
Hernilla	Anniola	Commodiana	Placidina
Βάριλλα	Vinniola	Mudiana	Caelina
Florilla	Apiola	Frugiana	Ocellina
Caprilla(?)	Copiola	Publiana	Mellina
Laurilla	Ferriola	Lucilliana	Aquillina
Maurilla	Γρατίολα	Gratilliana	Domnina
Eburilla	Attiola	Villiana	Pitinnina
Blaesilla	Flaviola	Lolliana	Cupina
Fabatilla	Olivola	Decimiana	Lucrina
Catilla	Benivola	Mammiana	Scodrina
Optatilla	Miracula	Formiana	Lucerina
Actilla	Labicula	Amoeniana	Memorina
Fructilla	Ridicula	Pauliniana	Praetorina
Σωσφίτιλλα	Matricula	Titinniana	Maurina
*Ρωμάντιλλα	Viticula	Cosconiana	Curina
Valentilla	Rusticula	Pomponiana	Mercurina
Violentilla	Aprun(c)ula	Aproniana	Caprasina
Potentilla	Ascula	Agrippiana	Brundisina
Plotilla	Fuscula	Hadriana	Pometina
Sollertilla	Bucula	Veriana	Epetina
Consortilla	Rufula	Sertoriana	Numantina
Iustilla	Tegula	Apriana	Placentina
Plautilla	Virgula	Batriana	Sallentina
Tutilla	Maiula	Satriana	Sementina
Anguilla	Maximula	Vatriana	Grumentina
Gavilla	Anula	Caesiana	Adventina
Flavilla	Garrula	Marsiana	Saguntina
Novilla	Maurula	Eventiana	Carnuntina
Cervilla	Sanctula	Iuventiana	Scaptina
Νέριβιλλα(?)	Vitula	Plotiana	Vetustina
Servilla	Beatissima	Utiana	Aquina
Norbullla	Gratissima	Plautiana	Minervina

Autumna	Άριλιανή	Nerucio	Natio
Libarna	Άρελλιανή	Itatio	Fortunatio
Laverna	Ψουστικιλλιανή	Oriclio(?)	Ambitio
Vafra(?)	Πριμιλλιανή	Marcelio	Plotio
Aurora m.	Άμπλιανή	Vigelio	Martio
Laura	Άρρηιανή	Papilio	Fortio
Κρεσκιτούρα	Μαγνιανή	Opilio	Augustio
Mammosa	Λικινιανή	Aurilio	Acutio
Formosa	Καπιτωνιανή	Maurilio	Minutio
Nonnosa	Αίτεριανή	Vallio	Gillo
Ίούλι[σ]σα	Βαριανή	Vernacellio	Corbulo
Comitissa	Φιλοβαλεριανή	Porcellio	Seno
Probata	Ψουσιανή	Pellio	Apro
Revocata	Πακατιανή	Cruscillio	Ruso
Deodata	Νουντιανή	Titullio	Dento
Angulata	Σαλλουστιανή	Iulio	Φαυστώ(?)
Amata	Cedoalteram	Decimio	Salvitto
Dalmata	Μουνδίων	Urbanio	Calvo
Onerata	Σεργίων	Canio	Celtiber
Mutata	Μαρκελλίων	Germanio	Lacer
Conservata	Γεμελλίων	Silvanio	Arbiter
Picta	Πουπλίων	Domnio	Decor
Veneta	Κορβουλίων	*Britannio	Vestigator
Invenita	Γεμινίων	Lucernio	Vindemiator
Cognita	Domnio(n)	Capio(?)	Exsuperator
Marita	Έννίων	Crispio	*Salvator
Vita	Πριγκιπίων	Barbario	Exactor
Invita	Λουπαρίων	Passario	Refector
Planta	Νιγερίων	Cicerio	Pictor
Suscepta	Φαβατίων	Maurio	Auctor
Aperta	Κοδρατίων	Taurio	Vindemitor
Supersta(?)	Καπιτίων	Curio	Φορνικάς
Iulitta	Βενουστίων	Augurio	Καστρικάς(?)
Salvitta	Άττίκων	Purpurio	Μεσσικάς
Cotta	Felico	Asurio	Lucas
Arguta	Μαρκώ	Asturio	Tigridas
Saluta	Spesindeo	Calvisio	Rufas
Cornuta	Galeo	Rosio	Γαιάς
Aeditua	Gaio	Barbatio	Μαρκιάς
Άττικιανή	Balbio	Mercatio	Lucias
Λαυλιανή	Callaecio	Palatio	Aelias
Άκυλιανή	Spurcio	Sarmatio	Αύρηλιάς

Αἰμιλιάς	Eques	Potens	Numidius
Ίουλιάς	Γναίς	Vincomalos	Studius
Ἄδριᾶς	Sodalis	Camars	Benagius
Τιβεριᾶς	Memorialis	Cacus	Φρούγιος
Βαλεριᾶς	Quinquatrialis	Caecus	Φατάλιος
Οὐαλεριᾶς	Comitialis	Medicus	Maurilius
Δομιτιάς	Initialis	Aequidicus	Vindemius
Πλωτιάς	Martialis <i>f.</i>	Buccellicus	Firmius
Τερτιάς	Hiemalis	Aulicus	R(h)odanuis
Μαρκελλάς	Hibernalis	Germanicus	Geminus
Πωλλάς	Fortunalis	Rhenicus	Κρισπίνιος
Βολᾶς	Minutalis	Sternicus	Favonius
Πολᾶς	Lacerilis	Punicus	Νεπτούνιος
Ποπλᾶς	Quinctilis	Picus	Bracarius
Πουπλᾶς	Μασκελλίς	Ἵπικός	Calendarius
Cordulas	Mellis	Arcarius	Spongarius(?)
Πριμάς	Communis	Hilaricus	*Pecularius
Firmas	Ἀπελινάρις	Marsicus	Cubicularius
Anullinas	Liris	Baeticus	Ἀπελινάριος
Atinas	Iuliacensis	Raeticus	Tabernarius
Πλωτινάς	Lucensis	Alticus	Aerarius(?)
Σεργωνᾶς	Libiensis	!Caelesticus	Caesarius
Νεμωνᾶς	Olbiensis	Nervicus	Armentarius
Ἀντωνᾶς	Luc(i)ensis	Auruncus	Tiberius
Κορνᾶς	Aquileiensis	Mamercus	Numerius
Barbaras	*Salie(n)sis	Circus(?)	Reverius
Σεβηρᾶς	Lunie(n)sis	Vopiscus	Arborius
Capras	Martiensis	Mariscus	Mercatorius
Κομιτᾶς	Silvanensis	Fadus	Πεκτόριος
Καπιτᾶς	Terracine(n)sis	Κάλανδος	Adiutorius
Οὐαλεντᾶς	Narbonensis	Mundus	Maurius
Φαυστάς	Larensis	Tardus	Spurius
Πωλλιττᾶς	Camerensis(?)	Cumquodeus	Quintasius
Πωλλιττᾶς	Forensis	Habetdeus	Parisius
Ίουλιάδης	Murensis	Aureus	Maurusius
Caecilides	Cirtensis	Purpureus	Sarmatius
Miles	Hortensis	Γναίος	Λαίτιος
Primigenes	Portensis	Ψουφινάκιος	Consultius
Ιγένης	Ballans	Auspicius	Vigilantius
Sospes	Praestans	Lauricius	Laetantius
Heres	Sapiens	Mauricius	Vegetantius
Φλαμμεάτης	Parens	Raeticus	Praestantius

Habentius	Baetulus	Λογγιδιανός	*Ustilianus
Vicentius(?)	Augustulus	Calidianus	Rutilianus
Studentius	Servulus	Numidianus	Sextilianus
Armentius	Mamus	Caridianus	Aquilianus
Maurentius	Pientissimus	Matidianus	Allianus
Consentius	Potentissimus	Avidianus	Regallianus
Potentius	Fortissimus	Blandianus	Mallianus
Acutius	Optimus	Commodianus	Bellianus
!Salus	Summus	Mudianus	Cascellianus
Italus	Mariscanus	Tamudianus	Ofellianus
Forticlus	Vadanus	Cocceianus	Gemellianus
Φρούγιλος	Oppidanus	Lucceianus	Aurellianus
Βάσιλος	Mammaeanus	Velleianus	Procellianus
Rutilus	Longanus	Siculeianus	Priscillianus
Hispallus	Traianus	Campuleianus	Regillianus
Libellus	Baebianus	Venneianus	Metillianus
Catellus	Orbrianus	Fonteianus	Οὐαλεντιλιανός
Φούσκιλλος	Dacianus	Προκλητιανός	Vettillianus
Urbanillus	[Ur]sacianus	Ἰουστιανός	Rutilianus
Gargonillus	Flaccianus	Ἄρβουξιανός	Pollianus
Florillus	Treccianus	Magianus	Fabullian(us)(?)
Anullus	Sedecianus	Cethegianus	Tabullianus
Nerullus	Albicianus	Οὐαλιανός	Pullianus
Caesullus	Αἰφικτιανός	Longianus	Saesolianus
Vindemiolus	Publicianus	Rugianus	Paterculianus
Apiolus	Selicianus	Frugianus	Regulianus
Comitiolus	Gallicianus	Natalianus	Romulianus
Commentiolus	Gaetulicianus	Mitalianus	Catulianus
Comentiolus	Anicianus	Paterclianus	Gaetulianus
Domnentiolus	Fabricianus	Ampelianus	Mamianus
Flaviolus	Mauricianus	Οὐαρελιανός	Γημιανός
Naevolus	Aticianus	Velianus	Mammianus
Benivolus	Septicianus	Nobilianus	Mummianus
Servolus	Plancianus	Racilianus	Formianus
Λαῖτλος(?)	Tuscanus	Otacilianus	Urbanianus
Globulus	Minucianus	Μοσκιλιανός	Canianus
Forticulus	Fadianus	Comilianus	Romanianus
Marculus	Spedianus	Silianus	Germanianus
Rufulus	Murredianus	Statilianus	Silvanianus
Maiulus	Sabidianus	Petilianus	Tullianus
*Nummulus	Alfidianus(?)	Dentilianus	Etenianus(?)
Patulus	Fufidianus	Curtilianus	Βεττηνιανός

Acinianus	Decrianus	Servatianus	Ocriculanus
Reginianus	Hadrianus	Respectianus	Proculanus
Firminianus	Lucerianus	Sanctianus	Tusculanus
Antoninianus	Celerianus	Auctianus	Insulanus
Crispinianus	Bolerianus	Laetianus	Cumanus
Peregrinianus	Numerianus	Paetianus	Humanus
Nigrinianus	Casperianus	Vegetianus	Varanus
Atinianus	Superianus	Setianus	Seranus
Μαπτινιανόζ	Materianus	Finitianus	Platanus
Vatinianus	Nigrianus	Potitianus	Malacitanus
Serotini[anus]	Birianus	Λωρεπτιανός	Gaditanus
Urvinianus	Maiorianus	Frequentianus	Caralitanus
Domnianus	Praetorianus	Iuventianus	*Reperitanus
Fannianus	Σεπτωριανός	Frontianus	*Lurritanus
Sennianus	Ostorianus	Sacerdotianus	Turritanus
Λικιννιανόζ	Aprianus	Negotianus	Nomentanus
Ίοβιννιανόζ	Asprianus	Captianus	Fontanus
Τρεβωνιανός	Burrianus	Quartianus	Calvanus
Λιβωνιανός	Καστριανός	Apertian(us)	Rhenus
Scribonianus	Mestrianus	Tertianus	Dossenus
Paconianus	Scaurianus	Cestianus	Μαγνοῦζ
Falconianus	Maurianus	Ostianus	Privignus
Γλαβριωνιανός	Burianus	Cattianus	Fabinus(?)
Nemonianus	Mercurianus	Grattianus	Marracinus
Neronianus	Lurianus	Γαλλιπτιανός	Flaccinus
Apronianus	Veturianus	Pollittianus	Cornicinus
Matronianus	Volcasianus	Tittianus	Acidinus
Musonianus	Celsianus	Bruttianus	Candidinus
Vetonianus	Sponsianus	Aebutianus	Paludinus
Liburnianus	Marsianus	Acutianus	Petelinus
Principianus	Parsianus	!Propinquianus	Aemilinus(?)
Oppianus	Sparsianus	Gavianus	Asellinus
Luppianus	Persianus	Laevianus	Petellinus
Crispianus	Concessionianus	Primitivianus	Βαριλλίνοζ
Lupianus	Blossianus	Iovianus	Iullinus
Pupianus	Volussianus	Άρουιανός	Nerullinus
Barbarianus	Mussianus	Salluvianus	Vitulinus
Pinarianus	Marusianus	Άκυλᾶνοζ	Polinus
Varianus	Egnatianus	Rusellanus	*Culinus
Octobrianus(?)	Quadratianus	Bolanus	Postuminus
Acrianus	Lutatianus	Solanus	Caninus
Vacrianus(?)	Torquatianus	Feliculanus	Domninus

Caesoninus	Νομεντῖνος	Murus	Ascitus(?)
Sarninus	Grumentinus	Profuturus	Redimitus
Pinus	Frequentinus	Sapidosus	Κομτοῦδς
Principinus	Adventinus	Officiosus(?)	Cognitus
Umbrinus	Iuventinus	Studiosus	Crinitus
Sacrinus	Nepotinus	Nonnosus	Munitus
Lucrinus	Serotinus	Aurosus	Maritus
Sucrinus	Mamertinus	Sparsus	Iuventus
Egerinus	Fortinus	Professus	Promotus
Φάλερῖνος	Crastinus	Russus	Emptus
Generinus	Thevestinus	Barbatus	Repertus
Afrinus	Rustinus	Delicatus	Portus
Κακορῖνος	Cornutinus	Focatus(?)	Pastus
Memorinus	Ταρουτῖνος	Deodatus	Ambustus
Honorinus	Ingeniuus	Velatus	Σάλουιττος
Praetorinus	Aquinus	Pilatus	Fautus
Mercurinus	Patavinus	Angulatus	Argutus
Brundisinus	Salvinus	Amatus	Venutus
Palatinus	Minervinus	Armatus	Navus
Quadratinus	Domnus	Πλουμᾶτος	Batavus
Atratinus	Δομοῦδς	Μινᾶτος	Octavus
Spectatinus	Homobonus	Nominatus	Rivus(?)
Servatinus	Virbonus	Sacratus	*Finitivus(?)
Rectinus	Nonus	Oneratus	Sementivus
Epetinus	Sarnus	*Invitatus	Protervus
Comitinus	Hodiernus	Restatus	Deusdedit
Domitinus	Avernus(?)	Mutatus	Atax
Μαρτῖνος	Liburnus	Praetextatus	Iudex
Quiritinus	Nocturnus	Iuvatus	Superatrix(?)
Avitinus	Τακτιούρνους	Tectus	Nutrix
Placentinus	Tribunus	Architectus	Atrox
Pudentinus	Campus	Pictus	Redux
Sallentinus	Δομναροῦδς(?)	Invictus	
Sementinus	Burrus	Venetus	

CCXXXII. MINIMA TRIDENTINA

Zwei kurze Bemerkungen zu den von D. Mazzoleni in *L'antica basilica di San Vigilio in Trento. Storia, Archeologia, reperti*, a cura di I. Rogger – E. Cavada, Trento 2001, 379–412 publizierten altchristlichen Inschriften.

1. Nr. 6 (S. 393f). Der Editor löst den Namen des verstorbenen Presbyters als *Metroni(us)* auf, was unsicher bleibt. Ein solcher Name ist vollends unbekannt,¹ jedenfalls liegt er nicht in *CIL* VI 22473 vor, wie geltend gemacht wird (derselbe Fehler wird in *AE* 2001, 1076 wiederholt), denn dort ist der griechische Name *Metro(n)* zu verstehen (schon in der griechischen Anthroponymie bekannt: Bechtel *HPN* 318). Auch ist des Editors Vermutung, *Metronius* sei möglicherweise Variante von *Metrobios*, absolut ausgeschlossen. Ich habe keine einleuchtende Erklärung zur Hand. Jedenfalls müsste METRONI abgekürzt sein. Die Lesung scheint auf den ersten Blick sicher zu sein, nur kann man auf dem Photo im unteren rechten Teil des I ein Querstrich erahnen, sofern es sich nicht um eine Beschädigung handelt. Wenn dem so wäre, könnte man *Metron L* erwägen. Was aber wäre L? So ist an METRONI festzuhalten. Wie kann man aber eine solche Bildung erklären, die dazu noch in abgekürzter Form geschrieben ist? Der Ausgangspunkt ist der gut griechische Name Μήτρων, der besonders in der Kaiserzeit in Griechenland und Kleinasien des Öfteren belegt ist.² Unser Name dürfte eine Weiterbildung daraus sein, was für einen spätantiken Syrer passend erscheint. Des Editors Vorschlag *Metroni(us)* stößt aber auf Schwierigkeiten, denn erstens ist ein solcher Name sonst nirgends belegbar, zweitens ist die Bildung etwas auffallend, höchstens als eine mit dem für die spätantike Namengebung charakteristischen Suffix *-ius* versehene Ableitung aus Μήτρων verständlich. Weniger problematisch als Bildung wäre *Metroni(anus)*, in der Tat aus Kleinasien belegt (*SEG* XIX 865, Pisidien); auch eine weitere Suffixbildung lässt sich in der griechischen Anthroponymie belegen, nämlich Μητρωνίδης (*IG* XII 8, 659, Peparethos); also *Metroni(des)*? Die zwei letzteren Optionen haben zwar den Nachteil, dass sie eine längere Abkürzung voraussetzen. Um noch eine letzte Alternative zu erwähnen: es könnte ein Vollname Μητρό-νικος vorliegen, der freilich sonst nirgends belegt,

¹ Einen Gentilnamen *Metronius* gibt es nicht. Er wird in *Rep.* 118 mit einem unsicheren Beleg aus *ICret* IV 249 angeführt, ist aber zu entfernen (der Hinweis des Editors auf S. 392 Anm. 106 ist irreführend). Denn in der gortynischen Inschrift ist eher Γ. Πετρώνιος Μάξιμος zu verstehen (aus dem beigefügten Photo zu schließen, gibt es keine Gewähr für ein *my*; der Buchstabe bleibt vollends unsicher. Zur Inschrift vgl. *SEG* XLII 817. XLIX 1227).

² In Athen (*Ath. Agora* XV 170; sonst in Mittelgriechenland (*IG* VII 2450. IX 1, 191); möglicherweise in Makedonien (*IG* XI 161 B 58 und sonst auf Delos; vgl. A. Tatakis, *Macedonians Abroad. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia*, Athens 1998, 373); öfters in Thrakien (s. *LGPNI* IV 236) und auf den Inseln des Ägäischen Meeres (s. *LGPNI* I 313); in Jonien (etwa in Ephesos, Erythrai, Kolophon, Smyrna, Teos; auf Zypern (*I. Kourion* 150).

wohl aber postulierbar ist, denn sowohl Μητρο- als auch -νικος sind übliche Glieder bei Vollnamen, und mit -νικος werden auch sonst theophore Vollnamen gebildet: Θεόνικος Πυθόνικος (Bechtel *HPN* 332–334).

2.Nr. 7 (S. 395). Die dritte Zeile wird wie folgt wiedergegeben: *r[eq]uijes/cit in pac[e---]VCI LIIII*, gegen den Stein (in *AE* 2001, 1077 wird in *pac[e---]uo LIIII* vorgeschlagen). Ich lese am Ende der Zeile aufgrund des Photos eher DIIII oder DLIIII, d. h. entweder *di(erum) IIII* oder wohl eher *d(ierum) LIIII*. Nach dem unvollständig erhaltenen V scheint mir in der Tat statt CI des Editors und O der *AE* eher ein D zu lesen zu sein. Die ganze Zeile dürfte etwa folgendermaßen gelautet haben: *in pac[e, an(norum) LJV, d(ierum) LIIII*. In christlichen Inschriften kommen zuweilen Fälle vor, in denen die Zahl der Tage in der Angabe der Lebenslänge o. ä. die Zahl der Tage des Monats weit überschreitet.³

CCXXXIII. GRAFFITI AUS DER VIA PORTUENSIS

Die in tabellae ansatae gekritzelten Grabinschriften in einem im Jahre 1951 entdeckten Kolumbarium an der via Portuensis haben mehrfache Publikation erfahren.⁴ Da die Lesungen der verschiedenen Editoren vielfach voneinander abweichen, seien hier die richtigen Lesungen kurz festgelegt. Ich konnte die Graffiti am 26 Oktober 2006 in einem Depot des Thermenmuseums, wohin die ganze Grabkammer verlegt worden ist, besichtigen und ohne größere Schwierigkeiten lesen;⁵ kein einziges Graffito ließ Raum für Zweifel an der Lesung. Ich folge der Nummerierung von Felletti Maj in *NSc*.

1 muss gelesen werden *Alexan/der Aug. lib.* Aurigemma, gefolgt von Feraudi-Gruénais, liest *Augu. lib.*, während Felletti Maj die ihr zufolge

³ Z. B. *ICUR* 742 *vixit ann. sex minus dies XXXVI*; *CIL* X 4503 (Capua) *sedit ann. XIII, dies XXXVIII*; *ICUR* 3903 *aegrotavit dies XXXX* (wenn nicht *XXXVII*); *CIL* XIII 11442 *vixs. annus III, di. XLV*; 2360 *vixit annos V [et d]iis XLV*; *ICUR* 3536 *vix. ann. pl. mn. XXX, menses quin. dies L*; 1692 *vixit an. II, di. LII*; 14464 *vixit annis n. IIII, dies n. LVI*; 9774 *vixit viennium et dies LXXIII*; 12647 *vixit an. IIII, dies LXXXGI*.

⁴ Die bisherigen maßgeblichen Editionen sind: S. Aurigemma, *Boll. d'arte* 38 (1953) 165; B. M. Felletti Maj, *RIASA* 2 (1953) 43; Dies., *NSc* 1957, 352. Aus diesen schöpfend zusammenfassend F. Feraudi-Gruénais, *Inschriften und 'Selbstdarstellung' in statdrömischen Grabbauten*, Roma 2003, 69–71 Nr. 2-9.

⁵ Ich danke herzlich Rosanna Friggeri für praktische Hilfe und für das Erlaubnis, die Graffiti in Autopsie studieren können.

unsicheren Buchstabenreste ungedeutet ließ. Doch bietet die Lesung keinerlei Schwierigkeiten. Der letzte Buchstabe stellt ein schönes Exemplar des barocken B dar. Aurigemma hat den zwischen AVG und LIB gesetzten dreieckigen Punkt irrtümlich als V gedeutet. Durch die Neulesung verschwindet die ungewöhnliche Abkürzung AVGV für AVG.

2 PHILETVS Aurigemma richtig, während Felletti Maj in *NSc* irrtümlich PHALERVS (diese Lesart wählt auch aus einem nicht zu ermittelnden Grund Feraudi-Gruénais) las (in *RIASA* dagegen in der Nachfolge von Aurigemma richtig). So soll der Name *Phalerus* aus meinem Namenbuch (dort in der 2. Auflage 571 nur durch diesen Beleg vertreten) verschwinden.

3 SALL[---] LAR[---] unverständlicherweise Felletti Maj, *NSc* (und mit ihr Feraudi-Gruénais), während Aurigemma die zwei Zeilen ganz richtig APHRODISIA / LIBERTA wiedergibt (so auch Felletti Maj, *RIASA*). Wie Felletti Maj zu der merkwürdigen Verlesung gelangt ist, bleibt eine offene Frage (hat sie vielleicht eine ältere Abschrift eines Grabungsassistenten als solche wiedergegeben, ohne zu bemerken, dass sie schon früher die richtige Lesung Aurigemmas gegeben hatte?).

4 wird von allen richtig FELICISSI/MA LIBERTA wiedergegeben.

5 wurde ebenfalls richtig EVTYCHIA / LIB von allen Autoren gelesen, wie auch 6 ASCLEPIA/DES.

7. Hier liest Aurigemma die erste Zeile, Felletti Maj die zweite Zeile richtig. Gelesen werden muss *Timius / frater Horeae*. 1 T·IVLIVS Felletti Maj, *NSc* (und Feraudi-Gruénais); 2 FRATER HORINE Aurigemma (mit Felletti Maj, *RIASA*). *Horine* ist aber kein Name.

8 endlich wurde von allen richtig verstanden: *Pardula ani/ma bona*.

Aurigemma datiert das Kolumbarium in die erste Hälfte des 2. Jh., aufgrund verschiedener Indizien, darunter der Präsenz des Freigelassenen Hadrians *P. Aelius Aug. lib. Protus* (Aurigemma 165; *NSc* 1957, 358 Nr. 6), während Felletti Maj, *RIASA* 40 allgemein an 2./3. Jh. denkt. Einige Buchstabenformen der Graffiti legen eher Aurigemmas Ansatz nahe, aber etwa *Pardula anima bona*, aus der Diktion und auch aus dem Namen zu schließen, könnte etwas später sein. Im ganzen bewegen wir uns aber innerhalb des 2. Jh. n. Chr. – Von den Namen verdient Beachtung *Timius*, sonst in Rom nur aus *CIL* VI 24647 bekannt, an sich aber ein guter alter griechischer Name.

CCXXXIV. OSTIENSIA

Der Band XII der *Scavi di Ostia: La Basilica cristiana di Pianabella* (Roma 1999) enthält unter anderem aus der kundigen Hand von D. Nuzzo die Edition der zahlreichen Inschriften, die in diesem Komplex gefunden wurden. Dazu ein paar Beobachtungen.

A 27 (*AE* 2001, 651). Ein äußerst bemerkenswerter Text, zunächst wegen der kontraktiven Abkürzungen, die in dieser dem 3. Jh. n. Chr. gehörenden Inschrift eine wirkliche Überraschung und einen wertvollen Beitrag zu ihrem Gebrauch bieten. Dem will ich hier nicht näher nachgehen, sondern möchte das Augenmerk zum Cognomen der Tochter lenken, das die editorin *Amenais* wiedergibt; ihr Name soll *B(ae)bi(a)* `A`menais lauten (A ist kleiner oberhalb der Zeile geschrieben). Da aber *Amenais* kein Name ist, wird man es vorziehen, den Namen der Tochter eher *B(ae)bia Menais* zu verstehen, zumal der Vater *Mena* hieß. Ein Frauenname *Menais* ist aber sonst nicht bekannt (stellt auch keine sehr plausible Bildung dar). Deswegen frage ich mich, ob hier ein zu *Menander* gehörender Frauenname verkannt worden sei. Nach MENA, das, aus dem Photo zu schließen sicher ist, folgt ein vertikaler Strich, und danach sieht man auf dem Photo einen winzigen Rest des vermutlichen zweiten Striches von N. Aus Rom ist ein Frauenname *Menandris* bekannt (*CIL* VI 22397), und eine Bildung wie *Menandra* wäre ebenfalls möglich.

A 32. Ein Name *Iulianeta* ist verdächtig. Kajanto *Latin Cognomina* 148 verzeichnet ihn aus *CIL* XIII 1529 aus dem Jahre 503 n. Chr., dieser Name – wenn er überhaupt richtig überliefert ist – weist aber ein keltisches Suffix auf (Kajanto 129), weswegen eine solche Bildung in Italien höchst überraschend wäre. Wenn wir davon ausgehen, dass der Name mit *-a* endet (wenn noch andere Buchstaben gefolgt wären, sollte von dem nächsten etwas auf dem Photo sichtbar sein), dann könnte man an einen Namen wie *Veneta* denken, dem femininen Gegenstück zum geläufigen *Venetus* (zufälligerweise sind von dem Frauennamen keine Belege vorhanden).

A 79 (*AE* 2001, 691). In 4 ist *Epaff[rodito]* statt *Epap[hrodito]* zu lesen, wie man auf dem Photo leicht feststellt. In 8–9 könnte man an so etwas denken wie *cessum locum* o. ä. *dederunt* o. ä. *Cessus* wäre gleich *concessus*; dieser Terminus kommt auch sonst in Ostia in ähnlichem Zusammenhang vor: *CIL* XIV 380 *A. Livius Strato ... et libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum, cessum sibi ab A. Livio Agrippa et...*

A 105. Statt ++ILOTY[---] könnte man an einen Namen wie *Philotes*

denken; der letzte sichtbare Buchstabe scheint nicht mit Sicherheit identifizierbar zu sein.

CCXXXV. PARISINA

Ein Besuch in einem Antiquitätenhandel in Paris am 2. November 2006 hat Anlass zu den folgenden zwei kleinen Miszellen gegeben:

1. M. Dondin-Payre, *ZPE* 140 (2002) 284–286 (mit einer Zeichnung des Textes) hat eine interessante Grabinschrift einer Dienerschaft der gens Sergia veröffentlicht (*AE* 2002, 1720). Zur Herkunft der Inschrift wird nichts überliefert, sie kann aber aus Rom stammen. Sie scheint frühkaiserzeitlich zu sein, wohl aus augusteischer oder julisch-claudischer Zeit. Auf die Angaben von Frau Dondin-Payre (der ich ganz herzlich danken möchte) hin habe ich die Galerie in Paris besucht, in der die Editorin den Text abgeschrieben hat. Sie war aber inzwischen verkauft worden und ist zur Zeit nicht zugänglich. Dagegen habe ich einen Ausstellungskatalog einsehen können, in dem ein Photo der Inschrift publiziert ist.⁶ Auch wenn das Photo nicht exzellent ist, lässt es eine Nachprüfung des Textes zu. Die Lesung der Editorin ist vorzüglich, nur an einer Stelle muss sie verbessert werden: in Kol. II 1 steht nicht C SERGIVS ∘ C·L APPA, sondern C·SERGIVS·∘·L+APPA. Wenn die Reste vor APPA zu einem Buchstaben gehören, dann kann nicht der in römischer Umgebung als griechisch zu deutende Name *Appa* vorliegen.⁷ Den Buchstaben aber, der davor steht, wage ich anhand des Photos nicht mit Sicherheit zu deuten. Ein P scheint er nicht zu sein, denn der Steinmetz schrieb P mit offenem Bogen, wie auch sonst üblich. Auch ist in Rom kein Name *Pappa* bekannt; freilich wäre das eine mögliche Bildung: Im kleinasiatischen Bereich ist eine Namenbildung Παπας gut belegt,⁸ und da ähnliche Bildungen mit anderen ähnlichen Namen in griechischem Gewand nach Rom einwanderten (etwa *Papia* oder *Pappus*,⁹ der in Rom als griechischer Name anzusehen ist), wäre es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in Rom ein solcher Name in geminiertes Form okkasionell auftauchen würde. Eine Möglichkeit wäre, den Buchstaben als ein etwas schlecht geratenes

⁶ *Vente aux Enchères – Expertises. Archéologie. Drouot-Richelieu - Salle n° 5, mardi 28 septembre 2004 à 14 h – mercredi 29 septembre 2004 à 14 h*, Seite 87 Nr. 411.

⁷ Zu diesem Namen in Rom vgl. mein Namenbuch (2. Aufl.) 1029 mit fünf Belegen.

⁸ Vgl. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 406–408.

⁹ Vgl. mein Namenbuch² 1030. Zu *Papia* mein Sklavennamenbuch 608.

K zu deuten (von einem unteren Querstrich ist am Photo nichts zu sehen). Das würde KAPPA ergeben, d. h. eine abgekürzte Form für *Kappa(dox)*. Dagegen ist nun einzuwenden, dass der Steinmetz sich abgekürzter Namensformen nicht bedient (und es hätte Raum für der ganzen Namen gegeben). Zudem ist *Cappadox* ein recht selten gebrauchtes Anthroponym in Rom.¹⁰ Dagegen ließe sich die Schreibung mit K gut verteidigen (vgl. *CIL VI 15968 Cappadoci*). Da es aber andererseits, um das Fazit zu ziehen, in der frühen grabinschriftlichen Praxis in Rom nicht selten war, Namen in abgekürzter Form einzuhauen, wäre es doch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass hier der Name *Cappadox* vorliege. Ein sicheres Urteil könnte man aber nur nach der Besichtigung der Inschrift fällen.

Noch eins bleibt an dem Text zu besprechen, und das ist der merkwürdige Name SIRIPPIO col. II 5, dessen Lesung anhand des Photos sicher zu sein scheint (notiere aber, dass die Editorin sagt, *Sirippio* sei ein Name, 'dont la lecture est un peu incertaine'). Aber die Deutung eines solchen Namens scheint nicht möglich zu sein (der Verweis der Editorin auf Namen wie *Sirio*, *Siricus/a/o*, *Siricco* ist unangebracht). Auf eigene Gefahr will ich folgenden Versuch wagen: Statt *Sirippio* könnte man *Strippio* lesen. Freilich ist T vom Steinmetzen normalerweise deutlich von anderen Buchstaben unterscheidbar und sein Querstrich markant eingehauen; aber auch etwa in *Eleutherus* col. I 4 ist der Querstrich (aus dem Photo zu schließen) nicht sehr deutlich, so auch II 9. Unseren Namen hat der Steinmetz jedoch mit etwas kleineren Buchstaben und mit geringerem Zwischenraum zwischen den Buchstaben eingehauen, so dass letzten Endes eine Lesung *Strippio* doch vielleicht nicht auszuschließen sei. Was wäre aber *Strippio*? Ich gehe von dem Wort *struppus* (*stroppus*) aus; es hat die Bedeutung "gedrehter Riemen, speziell Riemen der Sänftenträger". Ein davon mit dem Suffix *-io* gebildetes Cognomen kann aus einem Spitznamen ausgegangen sein und hätte ungefähr einen Sinngehalt 'Sänftenträger'. *Struppus* hat zur volkstümlichen Sprache gehört und kann wohl die Ingebrauchnahme eines derartigen Namens verursacht haben. Schwierig zu begründen bleibt aber die Schreibung mit *-i-* statt *-u-*. Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass die Bezeichnung des Mittellauts vor Labialen in schwachtoniger Stellung zwischen *u* und *i* schwankt und dass im allgemeinen *u* die ältere, *i* die jüngere Schreibweise war. Aber ein (an sich sehr seltener) Wechsel *u/i* in erster Wortsilbe vor Labial findet sich fast allein hinter *l* (*lubet ~ libet*); Beispiele von einem solchen Wechsel nach *r* sind nicht vorhanden.

¹⁰ Nur ein Beleg in meinem Namenbuch² 658.

Könnte hier aber eine assimilatorische Fernwirkung des Vokals der nachfolgenden Silbe vorliegen? Im allgemeinen ist zu sagen, dass in der Schreibung eines seltener schriftlich fixierten Wortes, das zumal entlehnt war, gewisse Schwankungen vorkommen können, bei deren Ingebrauchnahme allerlei analogische Ausgleichungen stattfinden können, die wir nicht mehr zu überschauen imstande sind. In Ermangelung eines Besseren sei (wenn auch mit Zögern) vorgeschlagen, dass hier der Name *Strippio* belegt wird, der mit *struppus* zusammenhängt.

Sonst bleibt wenig zu sagen. In II 2 ist der Name *Dorchas* mit einem überflüssigen Aspiration geschrieben, wie auch öfters z. B. in Rom.¹¹ Erwähnenswert ferner *Myrinna* II 6 wegen der Geminatio und der Endung *-a* – normalerweise lautete der Name *Myrine*.¹² Die Endung spiegelt den Umstand wider, dass schon im Griechischen *Μόρινα* und *Μορίνη* nebeneinander gebraucht wurden; aber *-nn-* ist nur eine orthographische Entgleisung.¹³ Was den Namen *Cinnamus* I 5 angeht, kann man ihn unmöglich mit *Cinna* verbinden, wie die Editorin behauptet. Und *Papilio* II 4 hat nichts mit einer gräzisierungsvariante von *Papius -a* (sic!) zu tun, sondern vertritt einen rein lateinischen Namen; so hieß z. B. ein oft auf den Wänden Pompejis vorkommender Stimmensammler.¹⁴

2. In derselben Galerie sah ich am selben Tag eine römische Graburne aus weißem Marmor, mit Deckel versehen. Herkunft unbekannt, vermutlich Rom. Rückseite bearbeitet, ebenfalls die Seiten. Trennpunkte regelmäßig zwischen den Wörtern. Höhe des Ganzen 30 cm (ohne Deckel 20,5), Breite 31, Dicke 24; Textfeld 9–14. Buchstabenhöhe 1 cm. Ich hatte leider keine Zeit, die Dekoration näher zu beschreiben. Der Text lautet:

¹¹ *CIL* VI 9251. 17056. 22709. 24533. 25538. 29499. *NSe* 1914, 383 Nr. 47. *AE* 1986, 22. Außerhalb von Rom: *CIL* X 4370. 5718. *AE* 1990, 315 (regio V). *CIL* V 5218. 6374. 8219. VIII 15306.

¹² *Myrinna* noch *CIL* X 5192.

¹³ Man versteht nicht recht, was die Editorin damit meint, wenn sie sagt, "le doublement du N est inhabituel; il ne se rencontre d'ordinaire que dans les variantes des formes dérivées de *Miria(n)us* ou *Miri(n)ianus*".

¹⁴ Auch sonst sind Anmerkungen zu den Namen nicht immer präzise. *Lucia* II 7 ist kein 'dérivation' aus dem Vornamen, sondern der Vorname selbst in cognominaler Funktion gebraucht; und es hat keinen Sinn, hier auf eine keltische Herleitung hinzuweisen. – *Papia* I 6 ist, wie die Editorin ganz richtig bemerkt, kleinasiatisch, aber ein Hinweis zum Gentilnamen *Papius* ist irreführend.

*D(is) M(anibus) L. Sarioleno
Achillaeo
C. Octavius Mnestus
amico b(ene) m(erenti) fecit;
vix(it) ann(is) XXV.*

Interessant sind zunächst die Namen. Das Gentilicium *Sariolenus* ist wenig verbreitet. Die Prominenz ist durch den Senator Sariolenus Vocula Tac. *hist.* 4, 41, 2 (= *PIR*² S 189) vertreten, dessen nähere Herkunft nicht eruiert werden kann. In stadtrömischen Inschriften zweimal belegt (*CIL* VI 20643. 25866); sonst *CIL* XIV 2867. Fast. mag. Ost. a. 151. *AE* 1979, 116 (Ager Tusculanus). *CIL* XII 5119. *RIU* 184 (Scarbantia). *CIL* VIII 21834 (derselbe *IAM* 2, 474 = *ILAfr* 633). Ebenfalls selten das Cognomen griechischer Herkunft *Mnestus*; für Rom kann ich nur das feminine Gegenstück *Mneste* belegen (*CIL* VI 10508. 10602), sonstige Belege sind mir nicht bekannt.¹⁵ Die Römer gebrauchten als Männernamen *Mnester*,¹⁶ wozu die Verwendung allein von *Mneste* gut passt. Der Frauename ist schon in der vorrömischen griechischen Anthroponymie bekannt: Μνάστα aus Kyrene (*SGDI* 4862. 4847; der letztere Beleg vielleicht erst aus der Kaiserzeit);¹⁷ auch aus der Kaiserzeit belegt.¹⁸ – Die Urne scheint etwa ins 2. Jh. n. Chr. datierbar.

CCXXXVI. BLATTFÜLLSEL

Der Name im Laterculus eines *collegium fabrum tignuariorum* oder eher *dendrophorum* aus Luna *CIL* XI 1355 B I 12 ist *Octavius Mnestaeus* überliefert (und so auch gedeutet). Das Cognomen steht sicher für *Mnesteus*. Es liegt die auch sonst oft vorkommende Verwechslung von A und H vor (s. z. B. meine *Anal. epigr.* 164. 308). *Mnesteus* in Rom: mein Namenbuch² 547.

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¹⁵ Ein unsicherer Beleg vom Männernamen in einer von mir publizierten Fluchtafel aus Ostia (jetzt *AE* 1995, 247: *Mne(s)tus*).

¹⁶ 17 Belege in meinem Namenbuch² 1033f.

¹⁷ Bechtel *HPN* 322 fasst Μνάστα als Kurznamen zur Sippe Μνηστο-, doch würde man ihn eher als bedeutungstragend beurteilen und direkt zu μνηστός μνηστή gebildet ansehen.

¹⁸ Aus Amathus auf Zypern: Murray–Smith–Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, London 1900, 96.

CLODIUS' PROJECTED MANUMISSION OF SLAVES IN CICERO'S *PRO MILONE*

SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS

The invective against Clodius is a substantial part of Cicero's attempt to defend his client in his *Pro Milone*¹ and "it is generally acknowledged nowadays that information conveyed in the form of invective needs to be handled with care by the historian".² In this framework, two statements that are to be commented upon here are the orator's allegations regarding Clodius' projected legislation in paragraphs 87: *incidebantur iam domi leges quae nos servis nostris addicerent* ("at his own house laws were already being inscribed which would have made us subject to our own slaves") and 89: *lege nova, quae est inventa apud eum cum reliquis legibus Clodianis, servos nostros libertos suos effecisset* ("a new law was discovered at his house among the rest of his intended legislation, a law which would have made our slaves his own freedmen"), for which cf. also 33.³

¹ For the *Pro Milone* as an invective against Clodius, see C. Craig, "Audience Expectations, Invective, and Proof", in J. Powell and J. Paterson (eds), *Cicero the Advocate*, Oxford 2004, 187–213, esp. at 199–213. He relates (200) the tactic of accusing the adversary in the particular speech with what Quintilian will style ἀντικατηγορία or *mutua accusatio* (inst. 3,10,4; 7,2,9). On Ciceronian invective in general, see also A. Corbeill, "Ciceronian Invective", in J. M. May (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Cicero: Oratory and Rhetoric*, Leiden 2002, 197–217.

² W. M. F. Rundell, "Cicero and Clodius: The Question of Credibility", *Historia* 28 (1979) 301–28, at 301, who mainly investigates Cicero's portrait of Clodius until his attack on Piso in 55 B.C.

³ For all passages from the *Pro Milone* I cite the text of A. C. Clark, *M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes: Pro Milone, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro, Philippicae I–XIV*, Oxford 1918² (OCT). The translations of the two passages are those of D. H. Berry, *Cicero: Defence Speeches. Translated with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford World's Classics), Oxford 2000.

Asconius is a well-informed person and, according to his interpretation *ad loc.*,⁴ what is meant in the first statement is the proposal to permit freedmen to vote not only in the four urban tribes but also in the rural tribes; thus *servis* seems to mean here *libertis* or *libertinis* and possibly Clodius' scheme was merely a revival of the old proposal of the *populares* to distribute the votes of freedmen to all the tribes.⁵ With his second statement Cicero goes one step further by adding that Clodius was plotting to become a new *patronus* to a large number of freedmen.⁶ However, Cicero seems to represent Clodius' plans in a deliberately obscure and ambiguous way which appears exaggerated⁷ and allows for additional allusions. His allegations are not restricted to Clodius' possible intention to enhance the influence of the freedmen. The words *servis* and *servos* in both his statements, as well as his reference to "a law which

⁴ Ascon. In *Milonianam* 52 C.: *Significasse iam puto nos fuisse inter leges P. Clodi, quas ferre proposuerat, eam quoque, qua libertini, qui non plus quam in IIII tribubus suffragium ferebant, possent in rusticis quoque tribubus, quae propriae ingenuorum sunt, ferre.*

⁵ Cf. e.g. A. C. Clark, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro T. Annio Milone ad iudices oratio*. Edited with *Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford 1895, xvii, 28, 78; Berry (above n. 3) 270, who cites S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic*, Oxford 1969, 49–50, 164–66.

⁶ Cf. Berry (above n. 3) 270; S. Treggiari, "A New Collina", *Historia* 19 (1970) 121–22, at 122.

⁷ Cf. e.g. N. H. Watts, *Cicero: The Speeches, with an English Translation, Pro T. Annio Milone*, in *L. Calpurnium Pisonem, Pro M. Aemilio Scauro, Pro M. Fonteio, Pro C. Rabirio Postumo, Pro M. Marcello, Pro Q. Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro*, London / Cambridge, Mass. 1931 (Loeb), 104 and 106, who regards the first statement as an exaggeration and comments on the second: "Clodius may have projected some scheme of extensive manumission; though we need not infer that C.'s statement rests on anything more solid than popular rumour". For Cicero's reference to Clodius' proposed legislation as an exaggeration, see also F. H. Colson, *Cicero, Pro Milone*. Edited with *Introduction and Notes*, London 1893, repr. Bristol 1991, 108–09, who also notes: "Once more we must remember that we have to consider not what Clodius actually proposed, but what Cicero thought he possibly might have proposed" (109); J. S. Reid, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro T. Annio Milone ad iudices oratio*, Cambridge 1894, repr. 1923, 134; A. B. Poynton, *Cicero, Pro Milone*. Edited with *Introduction and Notes*, Oxford 1902², 71; P. Fedeli, *Cicerone: In difesa di Milone (Pro Milone)*, Venice 1992², 185, n. 98. More generally for Clodius' legislation mentioned here, see L. Peppe, "Ancora a proposito di Cic. Mil. 32,87 e della legislazione di Clodio", in *Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino*, a cura di Vincenzo Giuffrè, Naples 1984–85, Vol. 4, 1675–87; cf. also M. Balestri Fumagalli, "*Libertas id est civitas* (Cic., *pro Balbo* 9, 24)", *Labeo* 33 (1987) 63–74, esp. at 68; T. Loposzeko, "Clodio e gli schiavi", *ACD* 21 (1985) 43–72; J.-M. Flambard, "Clodius, les collègues, la plèbe et les esclaves. Recherches sur la politique populaire au milieu du Ier siècle", *MEFR* 89 (1977) 115–53, esp. at 149–53; Treggiari (above n. 6) 121–22.

would have made our slaves his own freedmen", do not exclude a more literal interpretation which gives the impression that Clodius proposed an extensive manumission of slaves to his own political advantage, without the consent of their masters, and planned to make the new freedmen his own clients rather than their former masters'.⁸

Although the accuracy and reliability of Cicero's representation of Clodius' designs could be questioned, its usefulness to his overall argumentation is indisputable, as it facilitates his intended implications on multiple levels. Given the well-known negative opinion of slaves held by the ancient Greeks and Romans,⁹ it is clear that by his statements the orator intends to frighten the judges with the prospect of the materialization of Clodius' plans and, thus, portray Milo as the man who saved the Roman citizens from a great threat.¹⁰ Consequently, since Milo's action benefited the community, it should be judged accordingly and Milo should not be convicted for the murder he has been accused of. It is a line of defence Cicero employs often in the speech,¹¹ despite his claim in the *exordium* that he will not focus upon it.¹²

⁸ Cf. Colson (above n. 7) 108–09, who also remarks that the deliberate use of the word *servi* twice over would be a wanton insult to the great *ordo libertinorum*, whose loyalty is praised in *Catil.* 4,16 and of whom Cicero says in *Sest.* 97: *sunt etiam libertini optimates*; Berry (above n. 3) 270.

⁹ See e.g. Th. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery*, London / New York 1981; S. R. Joshel and Sh. Murnaghan (eds), *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations*, London / New York 1998.

¹⁰ More generally for the threat of Clodius' plans, see A. R. Dyck, "Narrative Obfuscation, Philosophical *Topoi*, and Tragic Patterning in Cicero's *Pro Milone*", *HSPH* 98 (1998) 219–41, at 223–24. For the view that "Cicero is deliberately alarmist", see Treggiari (above n. 6) 122. For the frequent exploitation of the Romans' fear of slaves in Cicero's orations, see F. Favory, "Clodius et le péril servile: fonction du thème servile dans le discours polémique cicéronien", *Index* 8 (1978–79) 173–205.

¹¹ This is evident especially in the part of the speech (72–91) that Cicero himself calls *extra causam* in 92.

¹² 6: *Quamquam in hac causa iudices, T. Anni tribunatu rebusque omnibus pro salute rei publicae gestis ad huius criminis defensionem non abutemur. Nisi oculis videritis insidias Miloni a Clodio esse factas, nec deprecaturi sumus ut crimen hoc nobis propter multa praeclara in rem publicam merita condonetis, nec postulaturi ut, quia mors P. Clodi salus vestra fuerit, idcirco eam virtuti Milonis potius quam populi Romani felicitati adsignetis. Sin illius insidiae clariores hac luce fuerint, tum denique obsecrabo obtestaborque vos, iudices, si cetera amisimus, hoc nobis saltem ut relinquantur, vitam ab inimicorum audacia telisque ut impune liceat defendere.*

Furthermore, the allegations that Clodius was planning laws that would undermine the civilian structure and the established order of Rome, disregarding the competent authorities, suggest his contempt for legitimacy and his intention to become a tyrant.¹³ At the same time, in this way Cicero succeeds in reinforcing his main line of defence (23 and 31: *uter utri insidias fecerit*), since such an unscrupulous man is more likely to have been the one who planned the ambush against his political adversary.

Cicero's attempt to equate Clodius with a tyrant is a central strategy in his defence, which allows the advocate to portray Milo's murder of Clodius as tyrannicide and thus as a justifiable one. For this reason Cicero ensures that Clodius is depicted as a *tyrannus* in various ways.¹⁴ Moreover, this depiction is further reinforced by the implied Greek historical *exempla*.¹⁵ In my opinion, the orator's allegation regarding Clodius' projected manumission of slaves, which has not yet been connected with Cicero's attempt to describe Clodius according to the stereotype of tyrannical conduct, should be interpreted in this light,¹⁶

¹³ For the practice of inscribing laws before they have been put to a vote as a characteristic example of a tyrant's behaviour, cf. *Cicéron, Pour T. Annius Milon*. Texte établi et traduit par A. Boulanger. Introduction et notes par J.-N. Robert (Classiques en poche 39), Paris 1999, 108, n. 183.

¹⁴ For Clodius as *tyrannus*, see especially M. E. Clark and J. S. Ruebel, "Philosophy and Rhetoric in Cicero's *Pro Milone*", *RhM* 128 (1985) 57–72, who place special emphasis on the Stoic basis of this equation, as well as J. R. Dunkle, "The Greek Tyrant and Roman Political Invective of the Late Republic", *TAPhA* 98 (1967) 151–71, esp. at 163 ff.; cf. also M. Vielberg, "Opium für die Optimaten?: Religiöses Argumentieren in Ciceros *Miloniana*", *Eranos* 93 (1995) 49–64, esp. at 56–63; K. Büchner, "Der Tyrann und sein Gegenbild in Ciceros 'Staat'", in id., *Studien zur römischen Literatur*, Band II: *Cicero*, Wiesbaden 1962, 116–47; R. Heinze, "Ciceros 'Staat' als politische Tendenzschrift", *Hermes* 59 (1924) 73–94.

¹⁵ 80: *Graeci homines deorum honores tribuunt eis viris qui tyrannos necaverunt—quae ego vidi Athenis, quae in aliis urbibus Graeciae! quas res divinas talibus institutas viris, quos cantus, quae carmina! prope ad immortalitatis et religionem et memoriam consecrantur—vos tanti conservatorem populi, tanti sceleris ultorem non modo honoribus nullis adficietis sed etiam ad supplicium rapi patiimini? Confiteretur, confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magno animo et libenter, se fecisse libertatis omnium causa quod esset non confitendum modo sed etiam vere praedicandum.*

¹⁶ Besides, it is no coincidence that Cicero's first statement is directly followed by a reference to Clodius' greedy (87: *nihil erat cuiusquam, quod quidem ille adamasset, quod non hoc anno suum fore putaret*), which also constitutes a commonplace in the stereotype of tyrannical conduct; cf. e.g. J. R. Dunkle, "The Rhetorical Tyrant in Roman Historiography: Sallust, Livy and Tacitus", *CW* 65 (1971–72) 12–20, esp. at 15; Boulanger and Robert (above n. 13) 108, n. 183.

since it reinforces the equation *Clodius=tyrannus*. In Greek thought, the manumission of the slaves is a characteristic act of a tyrant. Here are some examples: Xen. *Hell.* 7,3,8: καὶ μὴν πῶς οὐκ ἀπροφασίστως τύραννος ἦν, ὃς δούλους μὲν οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας ἐποίει, ἀπεκτίννυε δὲ καὶ ἐφυγάδευε καὶ χρήματα ἀφηρείτο οὐ τοὺς ἀδικούντας, ἀλλ' οὐς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει; Aristot. *Pol.* 1315a: οὔτε δούλων ἐλευθέρωσιν ἀνάγκη ποιῆσθαι τὸν τύραννον οὔτε ὕπλων παραίρεσιν. Cicero has a deep knowledge of Greek philosophical and political thought and turns to it to draw elements that support his intended insinuations. Consequently, by alleging that Clodius had planned the manumission of slaves, Cicero attributes to him a vice which is a characteristic of a tyrant. By combining this with other characteristically tyrannical vices, the orator aims at depicting Clodius' behaviour as in full conformity with the stereotype of tyrannical conduct. There are many commonplaces in the portrait of the Roman tyrant in political invective and it is not unusual for Latin authors to invent and believe rumours because they conform to everyone's preconception of how a tyrant behaves, or even to sacrifice historical accuracy in order to cast a historical figure in the mould of a tyrant. In other words, if a person is thought to act like a tyrant in other areas of his life, the writer could exaggerate and misrepresent his image assuming that his tyranny includes many more of the tyrannical commonplaces in order to achieve conformity with the stereotype of the tyrant.¹⁷

Such charges, directly connected with the aspiration to tyranny, are frequently found in the political invective of the late Republic, as most 1st century B.C. politicians faced similar accusations at some point in their careers. One of its variations is the accusation of recruiting slaves,¹⁸ which Cicero fires against Catiline in his *First Catilinarian*. In this speech, which could be regarded as the most famous Ciceronian invective,¹⁹ the orator's enemy is presented as *evocator servorum* through the voice of the personified Fatherland: *M. Tulli, quid agis? Tunc eum quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli*

¹⁷ For this practice and more generally for the portrait of the Roman tyrant in political invective, see Dunkle (above n. 16), esp. 15–20; cf. also id. (above n. 14).

¹⁸ For the ancient view on arming slaves, see recently D. B. Davis, "Introduction", in C. L. Brown and Ph. D. Morgan (eds), *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age*, New Haven / London 2006, 1–13, at 3: "the ancient Greeks and Romans often expressed a strong ideological aversion to enlisting slaves in their armies", and, in more details, P. Hunt's paper "Arming Slaves and Helots in Classical Greece" in the same volume (14–39).

¹⁹ For this characterization, see Craig (above n. 1) 191, n. 8.

futurum vides, quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem coniurationis, evocatores servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? (Cic. *Catil.* 1,27). The fact, however, that Sallust categorically claims that Catiline refused to recruit the slaves that turned to him²⁰ raises doubts as to the accuracy of Cicero's information and reinforces the possibility that he was employing one of the commonplaces in the political invective of the period and presenting it as though spoken by the Fatherland so as to make it more credible.²¹ Undoubtedly, Catiline's conspiracy casts a heavy shadow over the political life of Rome, even towards the end of the 50's decade, and in the extant version of the *Pro Milone* there are quite a few allusions to it.²² In this framework it is perhaps no coincidence that Cicero fires similar charges against his two political enemies. The implicit connection between Clodius and Catiline, which emerges in a number of other passages of the speech,²³ facilitates Cicero's aims on multiple levels, since in this way the advocate implies Clodius' dangerous nature, his disregard for legitimacy and his intention to corrupt the established order of Rome, following Catiline's example.

Of course it is well known that Cicero himself was accused of cruelty and tyrannical behaviour during the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy²⁴ and was

²⁰ Sall. *Catil.* 56,5: *interea servitia repudiabat, quous initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrerant, opibus coniurationis fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.*

²¹ More generally for the role of the personified *Patria* in the *First Catilinarian*, see recently S. Tzounakas, "The Personified *Patria* in Cicero's *First Catilinarian*: Significance and Inconsistencies", *Philologus* 150 (2006) 222–31.

²² Cf. e.g. 37: *Itaque quando illius postea sica illa quam a Catilina acceperat conquievit?*; 63: *Multi etiam Catilinam atque illa portenta loquebantur*; 103: *Quodnam ego concepti tantum scelus aut quod in me tantum facinus admisi, iudices, cum illa indicia communis exiti indagavi, patefeci, protuli, exstinxit? Omnes mihi meisque redundant ex fonte illo dolores.*

²³ See above n. 22 and cf. also 55 with Asconius' comments *ad loc.* This connection is evident even in other works of Cicero; see Clark (above n. 5) 34, who cites *Att.* 1,14,5 and *Pis.* 23; cf. also A. W. Lintott, "P. Clodius Pulcher – *Felix Catilina?*", *G&R* n.s. 14 (1967) 157–69, at 169, who in a general interpretation of Clodius' political *persona* notes that, according to Cic. *dom.* 72, Clodius was called *felix Catilina* by his satellites. For a comparison of the two persons, see T. Lopuszko and H. Kowalski, "Catilina und Clodius: Analogien und Differenzen", *Klio* 72 (1990) 199–210 and B. Rink, "Diskussionsbemerkungen zu dem Aufsatz 'Catilina und Clodius: Analogien und Differenzen' von T. Lopuszko und H. Kowalski", *Klio* 72 (1990) 211–15.

²⁴ Cf. Cicero's reference to this accusation in *Catil.* 1,30: *quorum auctoritate multi non solum*

exiled by Clodius on the grounds that a number of conspirators were executed without a trial. One of the accusations then brought against him was, again, that of recruiting slaves, which Cicero tries to refute.²⁵ It has already been noted that Cicero often reverses the accusations against his person by directing them in turn against his political adversaries.²⁶ Thus, it is very likely that the accusation against Clodius regarding his supposed project of extensive manumission of slaves could be interpreted as such a counter-attack.

One of Cicero's primary concerns in his effort to defend his client is to succeed in justifying Milo's manumission of his slaves after the murder of Clodius, so that this action is not deemed as a ploy to obviate their having to give testimony against their master under torture.²⁷ His main argument is that Milo's freeing of his slaves was an action imposed upon his client by morality, a gesture of gratitude towards those who had saved him during Clodius' ambush (56–58). In this framework, Cicero's allegations regarding Clodius' projected manumission of slaves appear to counteract Milo's action and lead to an implicit comparison of the two political adversaries: Milo freed the slaves that saved him, as required by moral principle and dignity, whereas Clodius planned to free slaves in order to corrupt the civilian and political structure of Rome.

Furthermore, the particular statements should be placed within a more general attempt on Cicero's part to connect Clodius with slaves. It is not by chance that this connection has already been suggested in the *exordium* of the

improbi verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent.

²⁵ Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2,16: *At etiam ausus es—quid autem est quod tu non audeas?—clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum servorum armatorum fuisse. Vt illa, credo, nefaria senatus consulta fierent, vim adferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt—nihil enim boni nosti—sive sunt, qui apud talis viros tam impudenter loquere! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis qui se civem esse meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit, quis nomen non dedit? quamquam nec scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potuerunt.* On this passage, see W. K. Lacey, *Cicero: Second Philippic Oration. Edited with Translation and Notes*, Warminster 1986, 169, who regards the particular mention to slaves under arms as "[a] good ex. of politicians' distortions" and a "stock political abuse", while J. D. Denniston, *Cicero: Philippics I & II. Edited with Introduction & Notes*, Oxford 1926, repr. Bristol 1990, 100, believes that out of necessity a certain number of reliable slaves were armed by Cicero, as is suggested by Cic. *Catil.* 4,16.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Craig (above n. 1) 196 for some examples in the case of Clodius and Dunkle (above n. 14) 166 for an example in the case of Mark Antony.

²⁷ Dyck (above n. 10) 239.

speech, where (in paragraph 3), by stating that the citizens are on the side of Milo, the orator pretends that all the Clodians are slaves.²⁸ Another characteristic example is that in paragraph 26: *Servos agrestis et barbaros, quibus silvas publicas depopulatus erat Etruriamque vexarat, ex Appennino deduxerat, quos videbatis*. By highlighting this relationship, Cicero aims at the moral denigration of Clodius, emphasizes his low moral calibre and attempts to isolate²⁹ him from the national principles of Rome by drawing a connection between him and barbarism. It is obvious that such insinuations facilitate Milo's defence significantly, by implying that the loss of such a man was in the best interest of Rome.³⁰

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²⁸ See Berry (above n. 3) 260; cf. also Colson (above n. 7) 48; Clark (above n. 5) 3; Fedeli (above n. 7) 155, n. 5; S. M. Cerutti, *Cicero's Accretive Style: Rhetorical Strategies in the Exordia of the Judicial Speeches*, Lanham – New York – London 1996, 120; Boulanger and Robert (above n. 13) 5, n. 6: "L'opposition *cives* contre clodiens prépare ainsi la description qu'il fera de ces derniers, en 26, où il les traitera d'esclaves et de barbares".

²⁹ For Cicero's general technique to isolate the *improbi*, see especially G. Achard, *Pratique rhétorique et idéologie politique dans les discours « optimates » de Cicéron* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 68), Leiden 1981, 110–42; for this technique in the *exordium* of the *Pro Milone*, cf. also M. von Albrecht, *Cicero's Style: A Synopsis, Followed by Selected Analytic Studies* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 245), Leiden / Boston 2003, 183 and 186–87, n. 40; Cerutti (above n. 28) 120.

³⁰ I would like to thank the anonymous referees of this journal for their valuable comments.

THE BALD AND THE BEAUTIFUL: IMPERIAL HAIR-ENVY AND THE END OF PTOLEMY OF MAURETANIA?*

DAVID WARDLE

The elimination of Ptolemy, King of Mauretania, by Caligula has given rise to a large body of modern scholarship. Historians have put forward a wide range of explanations that include Caligula's psychological condition, his understandable aspirations to expand the empire, Ptolemy's involvement in a conspiracy, and rivalry over the high-priesthood of Isis.¹ By comparison, the ancient sources Suetonius (*Cal.* 35,3) and Dio (59,25,1) attribute the arrest and execution to jealousy and greed. Recently David Woods has added a refining dimension to the ancient picture, namely that one 1st century AD source used by Suetonius held that the balding Caligula killed Ptolemy out of envy for his full head of hair.²

My discussion will examine distinct elements of the new argument advanced by Woods: firstly the plausibility of a Roman popular audience being able to twit an emperor on his hairlessness, as Woods requires, secondly whether ancient Romans in general and Suetonius in particular could seriously contemplate hair-envy by Caligula as a motive for some of his actions, and

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¹ E. Gozalbes, "El final del rey Ptolomeo de las Mauretaniae", *Gerión* 23 (2005), 189–204, is the latest contribution to the debate, usefully summarising the main lines of argument pursued previously (esp. 199–203). Add to his bibliography, G. Firpo, "L'imperatore Gaio (Caligola), I TURRANODIDASKALOI e Tolomeo di Mauretania", *MGR* 10 (1986) esp. 248–50 and M. Lenoir, "La piste égyptienne de Marc-Antoine, la cagnotte dilapidée et l'empereur psychopathe: l'élimination de Ptolémée, roi de Maurétanie" in C. Hamdoune (ed.), *Ubique amici. Mélanges offerts à Jean Marie Lassère*, Montpellier 2001, 117–127.

² D. Woods, "Caligula, Ptolemy of Mauretania, and the Danger of Long Hair", *Arctos* 39 (2005) 207–14.

thirdly the plausibility of the philology and source criticism fundamental to Woods' case.

While this is no place for an extended social history of hairlessness in the Roman context,³ it is enough initially to establish that baldness was a condition which was frequently ridiculed in Roman life and which could be particularly embarrassing for someone in the social position of the emperor.⁴ That baldness, particularly of those who were not old, aroused laughter finds reflections in a range of literary genres.⁵ In essence Woods suggests that the crowd attending the gladiatorial contest at which Ptolemy made a prominent appearance contrasted the abundant locks (*caesaries*) of Ptolemy with the thinning and receding strands of Caligula, punning that the former made a better 'Caesar'.⁶ In general, Romans were alert to the possibility of puns on proper names.⁷ A surprising number of Roman *cognomina* arise from bodily features, especially from hair.⁸ Ancient glossators accepted a link between *caesaries* and *Caesar*, lost writers such as Valens made the connection explicit,⁹ and it can be argued

³ The study of hair in scholarly and more popular genres (e.g. A. Synnot, "Shame and Glory. A Sociology of Hair", *British Journal of Sociology* 38 [1987], 381–413 and K. Segrave, *Baldness. A Social History*, 1996) does not deal adequately with the ancient world.

⁴ Cf. R. Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder*, London 1995, 6.

⁵ Cicero noted that physical features were a legitimate source of humour or ridicule for the orator (*De orat.* 2. 239) and applied the theory in several speeches. *Calvus* does not appear in Cicero, Horace or Virgil and is rare in the more elevated genres, but is not of itself either coarse or obscene (cf. P. W. Fulford-Jones, "*Calvus ex Nanneianis*", *CQ* 21 [1971] 183–4. Baldness and the aged, see T. G. Parkin, *Old Age in the Roman World*, Baltimore 2003, 82–3).

⁶ If this kind of pun was actually made, it is tempting to go further and suggest that the ironical contrast to Caligula's detriment is even sharper, when one considers Ptolemy's ancestry. His father's name, Juba, means in Latin 'flowing hair on the back of the head or neck', on which Cicero was able to make play (*Leg. Agr.* 2.59). Ptolemy, then, might have been thought to live up to his ancestral name, whereas Caligula fell far short of his. Ptolemy's own name (his *cognomen* in the Roman nomenclature C. Iulius Ptolemaeus) might also have given the audience reason to reflect, if it were aware that Caligula's much-vaunted campaigns had little substance (but see below p. 186): Ptolemy, as the Senate's award of *ornamenta triumphalia* demonstrated, had indeed proved 'warlike' (πτολεμαῖος).

⁷ See E. S. McCartney, "Puns and Plays on Proper Names", *CJ* 14 (1919) 343–58 and V. Matthews, "Some Puns on Roman *Cognomina*", *G&R* 20 (1973) 20–4

⁸ See I. Kajanto, *The Roman Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, esp. 222–4.

⁹ Fest. 50 L: *Caesar, quod est cognomen Iuliorum, a caesarie dictus est, qui scilicet cum caesarie natus est; CGL* 5,177,30: *caesariem comam unde et omnes imperatores antiqui*

that learned poets of the early imperial period made subtle play with the connection.¹⁰ But something more crude and common is needed for the kind of popular witticism readily appreciated by a large crowd that Woods' argument requires, even though Suetonius provides evidence that Roman mass audiences were alert to allusions.¹¹ Indirect evidence for a connection between *caesar* and hair is also found in Suetonius, who notes that Julius Caesar's receding hair featured in songs sung at his Gallic triumph (*DJ* 51: *calvum moechum*),¹² and in the quips of his detractors.¹³ We should see in these insults not just simple ridicule of his baldness or even connotations of Caesar as a randy goat, but also a contrast of Caesar's *cognomen* with the sad reality of his alopecia.¹⁴ It seems

Caesares dicti sunt quod comati essent. Valens' account is preserved by Johannes Lydus (Mens. 4,102): Οὐάλης δὲ, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ Καίσαρος ἔγραψε, φησὶν ἄριστον μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ πρεπωδέστατον ἐν μεγέθει γενέσθαι, ἔτι μὴν καὶ κομήτην· τὴν γὰρ κόμην πατρίως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καισάριεν προσγορεύουσι, καὶ φησιν, ὡς διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς κάλλος Καίσαρ προσγορεύετο. κύριον δὲ αὐτῷ ὄνομα Γάιος, εὐγενείας δὲ σημαντικὸν Ἰούλιος, ἀπὸ Ἰούλου τοῦ Αἰνείου τοῦ Ἀφροδίτης, ἀρετῆς δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ. I have not seen G.-J. Pinault, "Analyse de latin – caesaries", in B. Bureau and C. Nicholas (edd.), *Moussylanea. Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature anciennes offerts à Claude Moussy*, Louvain 1988, 15–30.

¹⁰ Virg. *Aen.* 1,589–90, Ov. *Met.* 1,180. See Y. Nadeau, "Caesaries Berenices (Or the Hair of the God)", *Latomus* 41 (1982) 101–2.

¹¹ See e.g. Suet. *DA* 53,1, 68. The ability of Roman audiences at the theatre to pick up allusions, probably even those unintended by the dramatist, is exemplified well by an incident from 59 BC (Cic. *Att.* 2,19,3).

¹² See L. Ciro, "Moechus calvus", *Sandalion* 10–11 (1987–8) 83–9. A general assertion that the Romans associated baldness with sexual deviance (T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet and Other Essays*, Leicester 1979, 148), based on this piece of Suetonius, two fragments of Lucilius (972 and 1211 Marx) and Plautus *Amph.* 462, perhaps goes too far. E. Cantarella claims (*Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, London 1992, 159) that baldness was considered 'a sign of inadequate virility', something hard to square with Caesar's reputation.

¹³ *DJ* 45.2: *calviti deformitatem iniquissime ferret saepe obtrectatorum iocis obnoxiam expertus*; cf. Dio 43.43.1: στεφάνω τῷ δαφνίνω ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἔκοσμεῖτο καὶ πρόφασιν μὲν ἐποιεῖτο τούτου ὅτι ἀναφαλαντίας ἦν.

¹⁴ There has been scholarly discussion of the role of physiognomics in the creation of Suetonius' physical descriptions (e.g. E. C. Evans, "Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance in History and Biography", *HSCP* 43 (1935) esp. 60–70, J. Couissin, "Suétone physiognomoniste", *REL* 31 (1953) esp. 246–8, 251, J. Gasco, *Suétone historien*, Paris 1984, esp. 608–10, F. Stok, "Ritratti fisiognomici in Suetonio", in I. Gallo and N. Nicastrì (edd.), *Biografia e autobiografia degli antichi e dei moderni*, Naples 1995, 109–35), but even popular notions of physiognomy are probably irrelevant, or of minor importance in these responses to Caesar.

L. Antonius is insulted as *calve* in two extant Perusine *glandes* (*CIL* xi. 6721 nos. 13 and 14),

likely, then, that a Roman audience could make a connection between the terms *caesaries* and *Caesar*, although it cannot be established that there were on this particular occasion the kind of stimuli that are necessary for humour to be generated or that Caligula's sensitivity to his baldness was commonly known at the time.¹⁵

Even if we accept that puns on imperial baldness could be made, or appreciated, by ordinary members of Roman society, imperial responses to such witticisms are a separate issue. Suetonius regularly evaluates his emperors on the way they responded to criticism of all kinds: good Caesars were tolerant.¹⁶ Although sensitive about his appearance, Caesar did not punish his detractors. For the young Caligula, his receding and thinning hair was more embarrassing: in a very hostile caricature his contemporary Seneca alleges that he resorted to an unsuccessful hairpiece,¹⁷ and Suetonius alleges that he would not permit anyone to look down on his bald patch or mention 'goats' (*Cal.* 50,1), and even took immediate action against any handsome and hirsute men who came across his path.¹⁸ As part of the portrait of his effeminacy, Otho's toupé attracts an ostensibly less hostile description, although Suetonius' use of the diminutive *galericulum* may suggest ridicule.¹⁹ Domitian too was highly sensitive about his early baldness, but, rather than punish wits, he wrote a *libellus de cura capillorum* in which he treats his loss with some humour, as well as with a

although it is not certain whether this relates to the pubic or anal depilation commonly practised by the *cinaedus* rather than to baldness (cf. J. P. Hallett, "Perusine *glandes* and the Changing Image of Augustus", *AJAH* 2 (1977) 167 n. 37).

¹⁵ For example, the Roman theatre audience that applauded a verse mentioning a *cinaedus* who ruled the world (*DA* 68), spontaneously linking this with Octavian, had at the very least been prepared to make such links by the pervasive anti-Octavian propaganda of the period.

¹⁶ This theme appears in many *Lives*, but the correct imperial response to verbal criticisms is best given in Augustus' own words to Tiberius: *noli in hac re indulgere et nimium indignari quemquam esse qui de me male loquatur; satis est enim, si hoc habemus ne quis nobis male facere possit* (*DA* 51,3), although Augustus did not shrink from responding in kind or from seeking legal remedy (*DA* 55–56,1).

¹⁷ *Sen. Const.* 18: *tanta capitis destituti et emendaticis capillis aspersi deformitas.*

¹⁸ *Cal.* 35,2: *pulchros et comatos, quotiens sibi occurrerent, occipitio raso deturpabat.* Caligula's sensitivity to the mention of goats is now linked by D. T. Benediktson ("Caligula's Phobias and Philiias: Fear of Seizure" *CJ* 87 (1991–2) 162–3) with Caligula's epilepsy: epileptics in seizure were thought to act like goats (Hippocr. *Morb. Sacr.* 4: ἴγα μιμῶνται).

¹⁹ *Suet. O.* 12,1: *galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato et adnexo, ut nemo dinosceret.*

degree of literary sophistication.²⁰ It is clear that Suetonius represents Caligula's response to his shortcoming as far more extreme than that of any other emperor and that he considers that a bad emperor could indeed inflict punishment on others for reasons as trivial as their criticism of his appearance.

Suetonius did his writing in close proximity to the imperial family, under emperors who were not plagued by alopecia and at a time when writing on baldness was not politically dangerous: neither Trajan nor Hadrian is represented as sensitive to criticism of their appearance.²¹ But, as we have seen, his imperial *Lives* provide the bulk of information to survive from antiquity on imperial hair and this may well reflect one of the elements of his lost *De vitiis corporalibus*.²² In short, then, I suggest, Suetonius himself would not have

²⁰ Suet. *Dom.* 18,1: *calvitio quoque deformis ... calvitio ita offendebatur ut in contumeliam suam traheret, si cui alii ioco vel iurgio obiectaretur quamuis libello, quem de cura capillorum ad amicum edidit, haec etiam, simul illum seque consolans, inseruerit:*

οὐχ ὀρά(α)ς, οἷος κἀγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;

eadem me tamen manent capillorum fata, et forti animo fero comam in adulescentia senescentem. scias nec gratius quicquam decore nec brevius. The first part of Suetonius' information would seem contradicted by Martial's readiness to use baldness as a satirising element (*Ep.* 6,12, 10,83), especially in books dedicated to, and hopefully read by, Domitian (see 5,49). On Domitian's literary efforts, see L. Morgan, "*Achilleae comae*: Hair and Heroism according to Domitian", *CQ* 47 (1997) 209–14 and D. F. R. Page, "Two Things which Occupied Domitian", in J. P. Bews et al. (edd.), *Celebratio. Thirtieth Anniversary Essays at Trent University*, Peterborough Ontario 1998, esp. 113–5, for the argument that it predates his reign and had a practical dimension. If Dio of Prusa's *Encomium on Hair* dates from the period of his exile under Domitian, one might be tempted to see in it some irony, but the circumstances of its composition are too uncertain.

²¹ In reality Trajan may have suffered from a receding hairline (see J. Bennett, *Trajan*, Bloomington 1997, 53, 201), while Hadrian had hair in abundance (cf. SHA *Hadr.* 26.1).

²² The fragments of this are particularly exiguous (see C. L. Roth, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt omnia*, Leipzig 1858, 302). The title of the work suggests a far wider interest than is betrayed by the extant fragments. Dio (58,19, 1–2) is our only source for the praetor L. Caesarianus' strange prank at the *Floralia* which Dio represents as aimed at poking fun at the bald Tiberius (a feature oddly not in Suetonius' description; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4,57,2) and which ended with all bald men being called *caesiani*: ἐκείνου μὲν ὑπερφρονήσας τά τε ἄλλα πάντα διὰ φαλακρῶν ἐν τοῖς Φλωραλίοις μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Τιβερίου χλευασία, ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἦν, ποιήσαντος, καὶ φῶς τοῖς ἀπιούσιν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου διὰ πεντακισχιλίων παίδων ἀπεξυρημένων παρασχόντος (τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐδέησε δι' ὀργῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ὥστ' οὐδὲ προσεποιήσατο ἀρχὴν ὅτι περὶ αὐτῶν ἠκηκόει, καίπερ Καισιανῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου πάντων τῶν φαλακρῶν ὀνομασθέντων). Perhaps memory of this made the link of *caes*-with hair and baldness sharper in the minds of the people of Rome.

thought it impossible that Caligula had punished any individual for criticism of his baldness nor, since it fitted with his overall belief in a thoroughly wicked Caligula, would he have sought to conceal a prominent example of such punishment. Thus again this suggests that none of his sources presented hair-envy as a factor in the elimination of Ptolemy.

Woods' argument requires that a source of one of Suetonius' major sources for the reign of Caligula 'wrote in Greek' and that this was a cause of misunderstandings which we can detect at two removes in Suetonius. Both the philological and historiographical elements of his argument are, however, problematic.

Woods' philological argument revolves around the Latin term Suetonius uses for the egregious purple cloak worn by Ptolemy at the gladiatorial contest, namely *abolla*. He sees this as a transliteration of a Greek word ἄβολος, which is to be understood as meaning 'with a full head of hair', and suggests that Suetonius' intermediate source misunderstood the Greek term to mean 'a cloak'. There are severe problems to this argument. Firstly and most importantly, there is no evidence that ἄβολος is used in the sense that Woods requires. Of the twenty-six examples thrown up by a search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, twenty-three, the vast majority, relate to horses that had not shed their foal-teeth;²³ the remaining three come from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, where they are Greek transliterations of the Latin term describing cloaks which were carried as cargo and were sold at Red Sea ports.²⁴ It is a large leap from horses' teeth to a head that has not begun to suffer from baldness. Secondly, it requires a serious level of misunderstanding to turn an adjective ἄβολος into a noun *abolla*. Thirdly, in Suetonius we have an expert on ancient clothing: the Suda reveals that he was the author of a work Περὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ ιδέας ἐσθημάτων καὶ ὑποδημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς τις ἀμφιέννυται, the short Latin title of which was probably *De genere vestium*.²⁵ Suetonius' only use of *abolla* in his extant works may reasonably be taken as deliberate and to have

²³ The majority of surviving citations come from ancient dictionaries and etymologies, recycling quotations from Sophocles (fr. 408) and Plato (*Leg.* 834c1) and simple *scholia* on these texts. Of other mainstream authors only Aristotle (*Hist. An.* 576b) uses ἄβολος.

²⁴ See L. Casson, *The Periplus maris Erythraei*, London 1989. This text goes back to the 2nd c. AD.

²⁵ For the extant fragments, which include a discussion on Numa and the *chlamys*, see Roth (above n. 22), 281–2 and A. Reifferscheid, *C. Suetonius Tranquillus praeter Caesarum libros reliquiae*, Leipzig 1860, 266–71.

been understood by him as a reference to a kind of cloak, moreover to a kind of cloak the significance of which could be appreciated by his ancient readers, even if not by us. It is logical to go further and argue that, if Suetonius' source used *abolla*, that source had also incorporated the word into an account with other details, such as the adjective *purpureus*, which made it difficult for Suetonius, without knowledge of ancestry of the account, to attach another meaning to it.

Woods' broader argument is historiographical: one of Suetonius' sources wrote in Greek and was highly inventive in his use of that language, creating unique words such as ἄξιοθριάβευτος and ἄδιατρεψία, use of which he attributed to Caligula.²⁶ One major problem in accepting this thesis in relation to the two words above is that in each case Suetonius is the only author to cite them; in each case just one Greek word is cited and Suetonius emphasises that the word is Caligula's own term.²⁷ The use of single Greek words was permitted in a whole range of Latin genres without violating the rules of style, and in fact, in these cases rules out only major annalistic historians as Suetonius' source.²⁸ It does not prove, or even suggest, that the source wrote in Greek. Secondly, Woods' asseveration that the use of Greek by Caligula as he planned 'that most Roman of celebrations' his triumph 'strains credibility', does not do justice to the complexity of code-switching by the Roman elite nor to Caligula's verbal ingenuity in creating terms for which there was no Latin equivalent.²⁹ We should further question the overall competence of Woods' putative intermediate translator of these terms, if he errs in attributing to Caligula's authorship words which the original Greek source indicated that Caligula merely used. If we do not accept that the only non-Homeric Greek words in Suetonius' *Caligula* do not come from Woods' Greek source, it weakens his case for supposing that *abolla* was another misunderstanding by this source. Lastly, it is inconceivable that Caligula's elimination of Ptolemy should have been transmitted by only one

²⁶ Woods (above n. 2), 210–11.

²⁷ *Cal.* 29,1: *nihil magis in natura sua laudare se ac probare dicebat quam, ut ipsius vebo utar, ἄδιατρεψία, hoc est inverecundiam* and 47: *procerissimum quemque et, ut ipse dicebat, ἄξιοθριάβευτον.*

²⁸ See G. B. Townend, "The Sources of Greek in Suetonius", *Hermes* 88 (1960) 98–9.

²⁹ See now J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2003, esp. 297–396. Also M. Dubuisson, "L'ἄδιατρεψία de Caligula", *Latomus* 57 (1998) 589–94 and F. Gasti, "Un neologismo di Caligola e una probabile glossa: (Suet. Cal. 29, 1)", *Paideia* 57 (2002) 167–175.

source, and is indeed likely that it featured in all the annalistic histories available to Suetonius. If the tradition of hair-envy were present in these Roman sources, which provided the bulk of Suetonius' material, it would have fitted admirably with Suetonius' picture of Caligula and arguably would have provided an even more striking version than that involving Ptolemy's purple cloak. If we reject Woods' argument that *abolla* comes from a misunderstanding of a Greek word, there is nothing whatsoever in Suetonius' version that would cause us to think of a non-Roman origin for the story.

It is worthwhile to discuss how Suetonius constructs the rubric in which Suetonius' description of the incident that won Ptolemy severe disfavour in the eyes of Caligula occurs. It appears in the final section of an extended rubric on *saevitia* which the biographer constructed with great care.³⁰ The sub-sections of the rubric are arranged in order of ascending atrocity, to highlight to the reader the extent to which Caligula's reign was ruined by his cruelty: the words with which he introduces the relevant subsection, *nec minore livore ac malignitate quam superbia saevitiaque* (34,1), advise the reader of a range of negative attitudes which inform Caligula's actions, while the final sub-rubric, *nullus denique tam abiectae condicionis tamque extremae sortis fuit, cuius non commodis obtrectaret* (35,3), both points ahead to the climactic examples that Suetonius will employ and also illuminates the principle of organisation used in the earlier section – i.e. the *exempla* are organised hierarchically.

(35,1) *uetera familiarum insignia nobilissimo cuique ademit, Torquato torquem, Cincinnato crinem, Cn. Pompeio stirpis antiquae Magni cognomen.*³¹ *Ptolemaeum, de quo ret<u>li, et arcessitum e regno et exceptum honorifice, non alia de causa repente percussit, quam quod edente se munus ingressum spectacula conuertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpureae abollae animaduertit. (35,2) pulchros et comatos, quotiens sibi occurrerent, occipitio raso deturpabat. erat Aesius Proculus patre primipilari, ob egregiam corporis amplitudinem et speciem Colosseros dictus; hunc spectaculis detractum repente et in harenam deductum Thr<a>eci et mox hoplomacho comparauit bisque uictorem constringi sine mora iussit et pannis*

³⁰ See D. Wardle, *Suetonius' Life of Caligula. A Commentary* (Collection Latomus 225), Brussels 1994, 23–4, 268.

³¹ On Caligula's response to Pompeius' *cognomen Magnus*, see H. Solin, "Namensgebung und Politik", *Tyche* 10 (1995) 205–6. Woods seems to accept (above n. 2, 209) the most plausible interpretation of this, that the *crinis* of which Caligula deprived Cincinnatus was his *cognomen* and not real curls. Cf. E. S. McCartney's suggestion ("Canting Puns on Ancient Monuments", *AJA* 23 [1919] 63) that Suetonius refers to the ancient equivalent of heraldic *parlants*

*obsitum uicatum circumduci ac mulieribus ostendi, deinde iugulari.*³²

A consequence of this common organisational device of Suetonius is that it is not possible to deduce any chronological relationship between the *exempla* or to make any simple deduction about the sources he has used from the proximity of one *exemplum* to another. Woods argues rather for a close thematic link of the Ptolemy incident with the generalisation that follows immediately concerning Caligula's envy of other handsome men's hair. Because of Suetonius' methodology of excerpting from primarily annalistic sources, stripping out names and contexts so as to produce what reads as a generalisation, it is normally impossible to be clear at all as to who were his victims and in what contexts they incurred imperial wrath. In this case, however, Seneca provides valuable information (*De Ira* 2,33,3):

C. Caesar Pastoris splendor equitis Romani filium cum in custodia habuisset munditiis eius et cultioribus capillis offensus, rogante patre ut salutem sibi filii concederet, quasi de supplicio admonitus duci protinus iussit.

Pastor's son was himself an *eques*, perhaps, as the adjective *splendidus* suggests, a member of the provincial elite,³³ and thus the *exemplum* is positioned precisely by Suetonius in the descending hierarchy of the chapter, after the client king whose honours marked him as the equivalent of a curule magistrate³⁴ and before the son of a *primipilus*, thus a member of the Equestrian Order. It is, nonetheless, difficult to secure a context for the offence of Pastor's son: while Barrett and others that have suggested the climate of terror in Caligula's last six months best fits the atrocity,³⁵ the *iustitium* after the death of Drusilla in June 38 is not ruled out, and may better fit the alleged crime if we are not inclined to believe in the historical reality of Caligulan hair-envy.³⁶

³² Text used here and throughout the article is from M. Ihm, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Opera*, Leipzig, 1908.

³³ See S. Demougis, "*Splendidus eques Romanus*", *Epigraphica* 37 (1975) 174–87, for an argument based primarily upon epigraphical evidence from the 2nd century AD demonstrating that procuratorial rank is not essential for the designation *splendidus*; Seneca's literary use of the adjective is intended to indicate a Caligulan victim of some standing.

³⁴ See the discussion by D. C. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King*, Beckenham 1984, 28–9.

³⁵ A. A. Barrett, *Caligula*, London 1989, 156; the conspiracy of Bassus, I. E. Grady, "Dio LIX 25. 5^b. A Note", *RhM* 124 (1981) 263.

³⁶ In the *iustitium* Caligula himself displayed his grief by letting his hair grow (Suet. *Cal.* 24, 2) and may have interpreted the young *eques'* concern for his hair and appearance as *maiestas*.

Suetonius' next *exemplum*, the fate of Aesius Proculus, ostensibly presents a Caligula envious of another's physique, and perhaps in particular envious of his ample genitalia.³⁷ Again the *exemplum* is in its correct place in the chapter before that of two slaves. If we look at this section of the *saevitia* rubric altogether, the primary principle of organisation of the material is clear. Suetonius succeeds in presenting a Caligula who is envious of others' names, articles of clothing, abundant hair, excellent physique, long tenure of office and even of applause. In sum, Suetonius' Caligula exhibited a wide range of envies and directed them at individuals from every level of Roman society. There are no grounds for thinking that Suetonius saw the Ptolemy episode as connected with hair-envy at all.

Malloch correctly emphasises that Suetonius has moulded the narrative to present a Caligula who is capricious, rash and unjustified in his execution of Ptolemy, just as his depriving others of their honours was unacceptable.³⁸

Woods attempts to shoehorn every reference to baldness in the ancient sources on Caligula to the Ptolemy incident: from Suetonius' account of an apparently cruel execution of prisoners taken without due cognisance of their crimes (*Cal.* 27,1: *cum ad saginam ferarum muneri praeparatarum carius pecudes compararentur, ex noxiis laniandos adnotavit, et custodiarum seriem recognescens, nullius inspecto elogio, stans tantum intra porticum mediam a calvo ad calvum duci imperavit*), Woods (above n. 2, 213) identifies the victims with the crowd members who had insulted Caligula through their hailing of Ptolemy as true Caesar and suggests that their baldness was a special, deliberate punishment inflicted by Caligula as a tit for tat or their mockery of his baldness. Dio (59.22.3: *ιδὼν γὰρ ποτε ὄχλον εἶτε δεσμωτῶν εἶτε καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, προσέταξε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀπὸ τοῦ φαλακροῦ μέχρι τοῦ φαλακροῦ πάντα αὐτοὺς σφαγῆναι*) also records this incident, but his fixing of it among a series of Caligulan atrocities committed in Gaul hardly fits well with the most plausible dates for Ptolemy's execution (see below).

³⁷ I was previously sceptical of a specifically sexual meaning of the nickname Colossores (Wardle [above n. 30], 272–3), but the nature of the ultimate humiliation heaped on him by Caligula can plausibly suggest a sexual element (cf. H. Lindsay, *Suetonius Caligula*, London 1993, 128). Any attempt to locate a wider significance of the individual is impossible because of the uncertainty of the *nomen* (mss. Esius) and the frequency of the *cognomen* Proculus. That large genitalia were greatly valued in Roman society is established by C. A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, New York 1999, 86–9.

³⁸ S. J. V. Malloch, "The Death of Ptolemy of Mauretania", *Historia* 53 (2004) 38–45, at 40. Cf. a similar, nuanced reading of Suetonius' narrative of Caligula's actions in the North, S. J. V. Malloch, "Gaius on the Channel Coast", *CQ* 51 (2001) 551–6. Here, however, Malloch may be committing the same methodological error of which he convicts others, that is taking what 'is not mentioned in the sources and then using it as the key to understanding the episode as a whole' (551).

Indeed, his use of the expression *non alia de causa* (*Cal.* 35,2) underlines the alleged triviality of Caligula's action.³⁹ The biographer is striving to present Caligula in the worst possible light. As a consequence, it is natural for modern historians, reacting against this bias, to search for ways in which Caligula's actions can appear more justifiable, or explicable, according to modern standards. Malloch, for example, argues that Suetonius uses *abolla* (arguably a general term for cloaks) to conceal that Ptolemy was really sporting a *paludamentum*, an ill-considered action that reflected badly on Caligula's lack of military success in Germany and explains the emperor's angry reaction.⁴⁰ Although Woods points out reasonably that, if Ptolemy were wearing a *paludamentum*, it would have pointed only to his own military pretensions and not to a tradition of military glory that could rival the Julio-Claudians,⁴¹ nonetheless a suspicious emperor, who had recently survived a plot mounted by members of his own family, might have reacted rashly against Ptolemy. Woods' further line of argument, 'would Ptolemy really have been so stupid ...', is fraught with danger, as history is replete with countless examples of people who were.

A certain answer as to whether Ptolemy did wear a *paludamentum* and what his intentions were is impossible given the ancient evidence at our disposal, yet there may be an advantage to hypothesising further on the setting of the incident described by Suetonius. The biographer's specification of a summons and honourable reception (*arcessitum e regno et exceptum honorifice*) may suggest that Ptolemy and other client kings were called to Rome for Caligula's celebrations of his achievements in the North.⁴² At some moment in

³⁹ Cf. *Dom.* 14,2. John Atkinson has made the point to me that very often when disciplinary action is taken, the final issue is 'as flimsy and lacking in substance as the last straw' and thus may conceal the greater problem.

⁴⁰ Malloch (n. 38) 40–3.

⁴¹ Woods (above n. 2), 209. It has been suggested that the appearance of *ornamenta triumphalia* on *aureii* minted in 38–9 (J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955, no. 399) was a subtle affirmation by Ptolemy of Mauretanian independence from Rome (J.-C. Faur, "Caligula et la Maurétanie: la fin de Ptolémée", *Klio* 55 [1973] 263–4), although in fact this was nothing new or revolutionary. It can be argued plausibly that both Juba and Ptolemy were loyal to Rome, recognising their dependence on the emperor for their thrones (M. Cortelloni-Trannoy, "Le monnayage des rois Juba II et Ptolémée de Maurétanie: image d'une adhésion réitérée à la politique romaine", *Karthago* 22 [1990] 45–53).

⁴² Dio (59,24,1) records a tradition that Agrippa of Judea and Antiochus of Commagene

his praetorship in the year 40, Vespasian proposed extraordinary games *pro victoria eius Germanica*, a detail Suetonius reveals only in the *Life* of the later emperor (Suet. *Vesp.* 2,3). Dio's account of 40 does not mention these games, but if they were celebrated and if the pattern of earlier years was followed, it is likely that they were added onto the *ovatio* which Caligula celebrated on his birthday (Suet. *Cal.* 49,2). If they occurred on 2nd September, they probably replaced or at least eclipsed the commemoration of Augustus' victory at Actium.⁴³ By either close temporal proximity of his own games to, or direct replacement of, the Actium anniversary Caligula would have presented himself as the equal of Augustus, a dangerous claim if there were no substance to back it up.⁴⁴

Is it possible, however, to reconcile this scenario with the likely date of Ptolemy's elimination? Only Dio provides a chronological context, placing the summons in 40: καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον ... Γάιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν τε Πτολεμαῖον ... μεταπέμψας (59,24,7–25,1). Around this Malloch constructs a chronology in which Ptolemy's death occurs after Caligula's return to the environs of Rome, which had happened by the end of May, after the period of imprisonment which Seneca mentions (*Tranq.* 11,12), but also in the first half of 40, in order for there to be sufficient time for a revolt in Mauretania to begin and be crushed by January 41.⁴⁵ However, the contradiction between the evidence of Pliny (*NH* 5,11) and Dio (59,8,6) on the dates of fighting in Mauretania is best resolved by the hypothesis that, although a Roman campaign was well underway by the time of Caligula's death, it was only concluded during Claudius' reign,⁴⁶ which opens up the possibility for a later date for Ptolemy's death, perhaps one as late as September 40. Seneca's testimony as to

were with Caligula in 39/40 and an anecdote of Suetonius (*Cal.* 22,1) mentions an occasion on which client kings were in Rome *officii causa*. A far less likely occasion, given the chronological placement of Dio's notice, is the deification of Drusilla in 38.

⁴³ Cf. Suet. *Cal.* 23,1 and Dio 59,20,1–2 for ancient discussions of the events of late August and early September 39.

⁴⁴ C. J. Simpson, "Caligula's Cult. *Imitatio Augusti*", *RBPh* 75 (1997), 107–12, makes a case that Caligula's linking of himself with and following the example of Augustus continued throughout his reign.

⁴⁵ Malloch (above n. 38), 42–3.

⁴⁶ See J. Gasco, "Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi, légat de Claude en Maurétanie" in *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à P. Boyancé*, Rome 1974, 299–310.

Ptolemy's imprisonment need not require a lengthy incarceration, nor one that Seneca saw firsthand.⁴⁷

Malloch suggests that, by the time of Ptolemy's execution, it was clear to the Roman elite that Caligula had not secured 'any real military glory' and, as a consequence, that his *auctoritas* and links with the army were weakened, so that Ptolemy's parading of his own military success 'would have made for a humiliating and intolerable experience for a princeps'.⁴⁸ If, as Malloch suggests elsewhere,⁴⁹ Caligula made as much as he could of the surrender by Adminius of 'Britain', both by a symbolic enactment on the coast of the North Sea and by the sending of *litterae laureatae* to Rome (Suet. *Cal.* 44,2), and genuinely believed that this was the prelude to a physical extension of the empire and could legitimately be celebrated by an *ovatio*, it is difficult to argue that Caligula's military prestige was impaired, for his achievements were greater than the suppression of the bandit Tacfarinas, for which Q. Iunius Blaesus had been awarded triumphal insignia and been granted the right to receive acclamation as *imperator*.⁵⁰ If, however, Caligula had been thwarted by a mutiny of his troops on the Channel coast, and this was known in Rome, then his claims might have rung hollow, but Malloch plausibly denies that any mutiny occurred. By the time Caligula left Germany to return to Rome in 40 the campaigns he had advertised and planned for against the Germans had not begun; in fact, as Suetonius' *Galba* (6,3) reveals, there were no humiliating reverses and, in all probability, the foundations were laid for the successful campaigns of 41 against both the Chauci and Chatti, for which Claudius was to receive an imperatorial salutation (Dio 60.8.7). Malloch's take on the situation in 40 as 'the obvious disappointment of the German expedition' and Caligula needing 'to salvage credibility'⁵¹ is hardly fair, and relies on the posthumous anti-caligulan propaganda; from the perspective of the troops, a donative received for a bloodless campaign might have been more attractive than glorious wounds at the hands of the Chatti. Moreover, if Ptolemy was executed in the first half of 40, i.e. shortly after Caligula's arrival outside the *pomerium*, as Malloch argues, then the campaigning season had barely begun. A later date

⁴⁷ Cf. Malloch (above n. 38), 42.

⁴⁸ Malloch (above n. 38), 43.

⁴⁹ See Malloch (above n. 38), 551–6.

⁵⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 3,72,4, 74,4.

⁵¹ Malloch (above n. 38), 554.

for Ptolemy's death would strengthen Malloch's case for a possible dissonance between Caligula's claims and the perceptions of the elite and would also provide a better context for Ptolemy's conspicuous cloak to be perceived "paranoically" by Caligula.

Although, following Suetonius' version, both Caligula and Ptolemy lost their heads, in this case hair-envy had nothing to do with it.

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PLINY, NERO, AND THE 'EMERALD' (NH 37,64)

DAVID WOODS

In his *Natural History* which he seems to have completed shortly before his death in AD79, Pliny the Elder preserves a strange story of how the emperor Nero used to watch the gladiatorial games in Rome with the assistance of a piece of a mineral which he describes as *smaragdus*. The relevant line occurs at the conclusion of a long description of the general properties of *smaragdus*, as follows (NH 37,64):

Idem plerumque concavi, ut visum conligant. quam ob rem decreto hominum iis parcutur scalpi vetitis. quamquam Scythicorum Aegyptiorumque duritia tanta est, ut non queant volnerari. quorum vero corpus extentum est, eadem qua specula ratione supini rerum imagines reddunt. Nero princeps gladiatorum pugnas spectabat in smaragdo.

'Smaragdi' are generally concave in shape, so that they concentrate the vision. Because of these properties, mankind has decreed that 'smaragdi' must be preserved in their natural state and has forbidden them to be engraved. In any case, those of Scythia and Egypt are so hard as to be unaffected by blows. When 'smaragdi' that are tabular in shape are laid flat, they reflect objects just as mirrors do. The emperor Nero used to watch the fights between gladiators in a reflecting 'smaragdus'.¹

This allegation is one of the most famous anecdotes within Pliny's text, and is routinely cited by various modern historians of science and technology.² There has been some debate as to whether Pliny intended to describe the use by Nero of the *smaragdus* either as a lens or as a mirror, but the fact that he describes Nero's use of the *smaragdus* immediately following his description of how *smaragdi* reflect objects in the same way as mirrors, ought to make it clear that he intended this anecdote concerning Nero as an example of this property

¹ Text and trans. from D.E. Eichholz, *Pliny: Natural History X* (Loeb Classical Library 419), Cambridge MA 1962, 212–15.

² See e.g. L.D. Bores, *Refractive Eye Surgery*, Malden 2001, 9–10; S. Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror: A History*, London 2002, 12.

of *smaragdus*, that is, of the way in which it could be used as a mirror.³ Hence the translator above inserts 'reflecting' into his translation by way of clarification. There must also be some doubt as to the exact nature of the mineral which Nero used in this way. The problem here is that Pliny uses the term *smaragdus* to describe a wide variety of green minerals. He claims that there were twelve kinds of *smaragdus* (*NH* 37,65), and commentators have identified these with various minerals, whether emerald, malachite, or the green varieties of porphyry, basalt, schist, or jasper.⁴ Hence one must not jump to the conclusion that Nero necessarily used a particularly fine or large emerald as his mirror. He may well have used a large piece of highly polished porphyry. Yet the action attributed to him remains equally ridiculous no matter with what mineral one identifies his piece of *smaragdus*. The reality is that he would very soon have tired of squinting at the dim reflection of the games on the surface of this *smaragdus*, if, that is, he could discover any reflection at all there, no matter what type of stone he was using. He would also have discovered that the soothing effect of the colour green on the eyes had been greatly overstated, no matter what Pliny or his predecessors have to say on this matter.⁵

One notes here that Pliny does not actually explain why Nero should have preferred to watch the games in this way. The temptation is to assume that he must have been suffering from some sort of eye-condition, whether temporary or permanent, which he thought that he could relieve in this way, not least because the colour green was believed to be soothing to the eyes. Yet none of our main sources for his reign – Suetonius, Tacitus, Cassius Dio – preserve any independent evidence that he ever suffered from any sort of eye-problem.⁶

³ See e.g. A. Marković, "War Neros Smaragd ein dioptrischer oder ein katoptrischer Gegenstand?", *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift* 66 (1954) 811–14. See also A. Krug, "Nero's Augenglas. Realia zu einer Anekdote" in *Archéologie et Médecine. VIIèmes Rencontres Internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Antibes, Octobre 1986*, Juan-les-Pins 1987, 459–75, who argues that two goldrings with concave emeralds in the Berlin museum are probably identifiable with the type of object used by Nero according to Pliny. On ancient lenses, see now D. Plantzos, "Crystals and Lenses in the Graeco-Roman World", *AJA* 101 (1997) 451–64.

⁴ See J.F. Healy, *Pliny the Elder on Science and Technology*, Oxford 1999, 241–45. One notes that Healy, 147, does not believe that Nero can have used his *smaragdus* as either a lens or a mirror, but concludes that "further speculation is pointless without additional evidence".

⁵ Pliny, *NH* 37,63. Cf. Theophrastus, *De Lapidibus* 24.

⁶ Suet. *Nero* 51 reports that Nero's eyes were blue and rather weak (*oculis caesis et*

It is no surprise, therefore, that they provide no support either for Pliny's allegation concerning the strange way in which Nero had used to watch the gladiatorial games, despite the fact that they say a great deal otherwise about his attendance at or performance in various types of games or spectacles. In the circumstances, since no-one supports Pliny's claim that Nero used a *smaragdus* to watch the gladiatorial games, and since it seems highly implausible that he should have done so, one is tempted to wonder whether Pliny has made a mistake here.

If an ancient author makes a claim which is highly implausible, ridiculous but not actually physically impossible, one ought to investigate whether he has properly understood his source before conceding to the implausible or ridiculous. Consider, for example, the strange claim by Livy that when the Romans tried to tunnel into the town of Ambracia in 189BC, and the besieged Aetolians broke into their tunnel, fighting became difficult because both sides thrust doors in front of them.⁷ Fortunately, one can compare Livy to his original Greek source in this matter, Polybius, so that it quickly becomes apparent that he has misread the Greek term *θυρέος* 'shield' as *θύρα* 'door', and mistranslated his source accordingly. Yet without Polybius one suspects that many modern commentators would have been quite happy to accept Livy's text as it stands, no matter how implausible, because his description of events is not absolutely physically impossible. In this case, one needs to be open to the possibility that Pliny may have misunderstood his source, in particular, that he may have misunderstood a Greek source in the manner of Livy above, since it is highly improbable that he should have misunderstood a Latin source. Although we do not possess Pliny's original source here, Suetonius preserves a valuable passage which may preserve some insight into what this source had originally stated. At the end of a lengthy description of the various types of games and spectacles which Nero had displayed at Rome, he describes how an actor playing the part of Icarus had once fallen next to the imperial couch and

hebetioribus), but his language suggests that he derives his information from Pliny, *NH* 11,144 (*Neroni <caesii et>, nisi cum coniveret ad prope admota, hebetes*), where he may rely solely on his knowledge of the story under investigation here as far as the weakness of Nero's eyes is concerned. Hence any attempt to use either Suet. *Nero* 51 or Pliny, *NH* 11,144, to prove the reliability of the story at *NH* 37,64 probably entails circular reasoning. Yet Plantzos (above n. 3), 463, relies on *NH* 11,54 to argue that Nero suffered from myopia, to which he then adds *lippitudo*.

⁷ Livy 38,7,10. Cf. Polybius 28,21,11. In general, see P.G. Walsh, "The Negligent Historian: 'Howlers' in Livy", *G&R* 5 (1958) 83–88.

spattered Nero with blood, and this leads him to digress into a short description of how Nero had normally conducted himself at these events (*Nero* 12,2):

Nam perraro praesidere, ceterum accubans, parvis primum foraminibus, deinde toto podio adaptato spectare consueverat.

...; for Nero very seldom presided at the games, but used to view them while reclining on a couch, at first through small openings, and then with the entire balcony uncovered.⁸

The revelation that Nero had used to watch the performances through small openings, presumably in the wall or screen which apparently surrounded the imperial box, is interesting for several reasons.⁹ One has to ask, for example, what purpose such a wall or screen could have served. Had it been intended to provide some form of physical protection for the emperor and his entourage, much like a modern security barrier, or had it been designed to ensure some privacy for the emperor? In fact, given that any type of screen would have greatly impeded the view of the performances, one suspects that the main purpose of this screen had been to conceal the fact that the emperor himself was not actually in attendance there.¹⁰ Here one must remember that the emperor was expected to attend the games normally, whatever his personal inclination, that the reputation of Julius Caesar had suffered when he was seen to be conducting business at the games rather than paying due attention to them, and that Augustus had been careful properly to excuse himself when he could not attend them and to be seen to be paying attention to them when he did attend.¹¹ While Nero's behaviour during his later years confirms that he was personally interested in every type of game or spectacle, he had remained relatively restrained in his behaviour during the earliest years of his reign when

⁸ Text and trans. from J.C. Rolfe, *Suetonius II* (Loeb Classical Library 38), Cambridge MA 1914, 104–05.

⁹ K.R. Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero: An Historical Commentary* (Coll. Latomus 157), Brussels 1978, 86, does not speculate as to the reason for this screen.

¹⁰ M.T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*, London 1984, 110–11, suggests that Nero viewed the gladiatorial games through screens or shutters because he did not want people to see his enthusiasm for the games and to condemn his bloodthirstiness as a result, and that he used to remain concealed at the theatre because he wanted to find out what the people really thought about him by observing them secretly. Given the similarity between his alleged behaviour at both amphitheatre and theatre, it seems to me that one cannot explain them except as the results of the same policy.

¹¹ Suet. *Aug.* 45,1.

the influence of the philosopher Seneca as his tutor and of Burrus as his praetorian prefect had been at its strongest.¹² One suspects, therefore, that they had prevented him from attending many of the stage-performances and gladiatorial games during this period, perhaps because they had noted that he was already rather too fond of such trivial pursuits, and that they had introduced the regular use of a screen about the imperial box in order to conceal his frequent absence from the people.¹³ Hence Suetonius' claim that Nero used to watch the games and spectacles through small openings probably represents no more than popular rumour. In reality, he had probably not attended these particular performances at all.

This interpretation best explains also why Nero had apparently failed to order his guards to restrain the fighting which sometimes broke out between the different factions at some of the theatre-performances which he was thought to have attended. Dio records that Nero used to delight in the violence between the factions, that he used to watch it secretly, and that he forbade the soldiers who had always attended such performances in the past to attend them any longer precisely in order to encourage this violence.¹⁴ Suetonius preserves a more exaggerated version of this allegation, which he clearly derives from the same ultimate source as Dio, when he claims that Nero even joined in and threw some missiles himself.¹⁵ Finally, Tacitus preserves the same basic information as Dio and Suetonius when, in his account of the year AD55, he also records that Nero withdrew the cohort usually present at the theatre.¹⁶ He then proceeds to speculate about the reasons for this, claiming that Nero had wanted to create a greater appearance of liberty and to prevent the troops from being corrupted by too close contact with the theatre. In reality, it was probably Burrus who had

¹² On the initial five 'good' years of Nero's rule, see B.M. Levick, "Nero's *Quinquennium*", in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History III* (Coll. Latomus 180), Brussels 1983, 211–25; also Griffin (above n. 10), 67–82.

¹³ Cf. Suet. *Nero* 22,1 which reports that Nero had been so obsessed with horses as a young boy that he had been forbidden to talk about them at all.

¹⁴ Dio 61,8,2–3.

¹⁵ Suet. *Nero* 26,2: *Interdium quoque clam gestatoria sella delatus in theatrum seditionibus pantomimorum e parte proscaeni superiore signifer simul ac spectator aderat; et cum ad manus ventum esset lapidibusque et subselliorum fragminibus decerneretur, multa et ipse iecit in populum atque etiam praetoris caput consauciavit*. Bradley (above n. 9), 157, recognises the claim that Nero had used to throw missiles himself also as tendentious.

¹⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 13,24. In his account of the following year AD56, he reports once more how Nero had used to view the riots among the spectators in secret. See Tac. *Ann.* 13,25.

decreased the military attendance at the performances, on his own initiative and simply because he knew that the emperor was not really present in his screened imperial box, but this then had the unfortunate effect of emboldening the factions who quickly learned to take advantage of the military absence.¹⁷ The reason why Nero did not act to restrain the factions, at least at first, was that he was not really there to see any of this.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the spectators did not know this, and the rumour soon began that Nero did not stop the violence because he enjoyed it so much.

The reality of Nero's attendance at the games and spectacles during his earliest years does not concern us here. What matters here is that people assumed his presence in an imperial box into which they could not see, and that some historian thought that this apparent quirk of Nero's character deserved to be noted down for posterity, that he initially preferred to watch the games through small openings in the screen about his box. The question which we must now ask, therefore, is how might Pliny have so misunderstood a description of Nero's behaviour in this way as to reach the conclusion that he had used to watch the games with the help of a mirror, whether made of *smaragdus* or not. The first point to note is that the normal term for mirror in

¹⁷ A.A. Barrett, *Agrippina: Mother of Nero*, London 1996, 173, links the removal of the praetorian guard from the theatre with the denial of her traditional praetorian escort to Agrippina (Tac. *Ann.* 13,18), and suggests that the first had been but part of a larger package of reforms designed solely to implement the latter attack upon the security and prestige of Agrippina.

¹⁸ One suspects that, when he finally forced his will upon Seneca and Burrus and began to attend the games and performances, Nero was so shocked at how disorderly the crowds had become, that it really was his initiative to banish the theatre-factions from Italy altogether. See Tac. *Ann.* 13,25; Suet. *Nero* 16,2. Neither the philosopher Seneca nor the soldier Burrus would have cared much for the actors and those who flocked to see them, so it would not have bothered them that violence was now resulting in serious injury and death or disrupting the performances. Certainly, there was a history of serious riots at the theatre, so they cannot have expected that the removal of the military presence from there would have resulted in anything but death and disruption. See e.g. E.J. Jory, "The Early Pantomime Riots", in A. Moffatt (ed.), *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine, and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning* (Byzantina Australiensia 5), Canberra 1984, 57–66. In contrast, Nero, an enthusiastic spectator, would have wanted an orderly performance. On the contempt or indifference which intellectuals such as Seneca displayed towards actors, charioteers, and gladiators, see M. Wistrand, *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome: The Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century AD*, Göteborg 1992.

Greek is *κάτοπτρον*.¹⁹ Next, how would one describe Nero's behaviour if he was thought to have peered out at the games through holes in a screen? He would seem to have acted in the manner of a spy rather than of a normal theatre-goer, and one may suspect that a hostile source would have delighted to make the analogy. There are various terms for 'spy' or 'onlooker' in Greek, but the terms *κατόπτης* and *κατοπτήρ* were commonly used in this sense.²⁰ It is my suggestion, therefore, that Pliny misunderstood one of these terms to describe someone who uses a mirror rather than a spy.²¹ To be more specific, since these terms are common in themselves, it is hardly likely that he would have misunderstood either of them had he heard or read them correctly. It is more likely, therefore, that he misread the relevant term, or that an assistant mispronounced it as he read the relevant text out loud to him, so that it seemed to be spelled with an extra rho immediately after the tau and to bear a much closer relationship to the term *κάτοπτρον* than was actually the case.²² Pliny then had to guess at the meaning of this otherwise unattested term. Hence he interpreted a statement that Nero had used to watch the games like a spy to mean that he had used to watch them in the manner of a man using a mirror, that is, by using a mirror. This would doubtless have struck him as a rather strange form of behaviour and, just like any modern commentator, he would then have tried to rationalize what he had read or heard, or thought that he had read. Obviously, or so it must have seemed, Nero had wanted to save his eyes rather than look at the games directly. It is at this point that Pliny's general scientific knowledge would have come into play. He knew that *smaragdus* was thought to be beneficial to the eyes, so he assumed that Nero's mirror must have been made out of this substance in particular. As to the nature of the relationship between Suetonius and Pliny in this matter, one suspects that they derive their information from the same ultimate source, but by different routes

¹⁹ See H.G. Liddell and R. Scott (eds.), *Greek-English Lexicon With a Revised Supplement*, Oxford 1996, 929.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 929. Other terms include *σκόπος* and *κατάσκοπος*.

²¹ The alternative, of course, is that he correctly read and understood a Greek source where the author of this Greek source had already made the key error here, that is, had misunderstood an original Latin source so that, simply because of the similarity of the terms, he had translated the term *speculator* 'onlooker', used in reference to Nero in his imperial box, to mean a man who uses a *speculum* 'mirror'.

²² Cf. Pliny (the Younger), *Ep.* 3,5,12.

of transmission, so that Suetonius, or an intermediate author, has translated it correctly, whereas Pliny, or an intermediate author perhaps, did so incorrectly.²³

In conclusion, Pliny's claim that Nero had used to watch gladiatorial games in a *smaragdus*, by which he seems to mean a mirror made of *smaragdus*, is best explained as the result of the misreading and mistaken translation of a source which had originally described how Nero had used to watch the games like a spy, not in the manner of a man with a mirror. It is not entirely clear why Pliny should have committed this error, or have failed to detect his error subsequently, if it really was he rather than an intermediate author who did so, but one suspects that two factors may have been at play here. First, Pliny carried out an enormous amount of work very quickly, often in highly unfavourable conditions, such as when he was travelling.²⁴ Furthermore, he deprived himself of sleep in order to keep up the pace so that he often dozed off during his work. All told, therefore, it is not difficult to believe that he, or the assistant who read to him as he made his notes, could have made a mistake as described above. Next, the reputation of Nero was such that any descriptions of strange behaviour probably did not seem quite so strange when attributed to him. In other words, Pliny was deceived by his basic prejudice against Nero.²⁵ The same prejudice probably underlies much of the continued modern acceptance that the flamboyant and extravagant Nero could have behaved exactly as alleged.

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²³ For other indications that Suetonius derived some of his information concerning Nero from a Greek source, see e.g. D. Woods, "Nero's Pet Hippopotamus (Suet. *Nero* 37,2)", *Arctos* 38 (2004) 219–22.

²⁴ Pliny (the Younger), *Ep.* 3,5,7–19.

²⁵ On his hostility towards Nero, see e.g. *NH* 7,45–46; 22,96; 34,45; 35,51; 37,50.

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Come molte altre riviste, anche la *Rivista di cultura classica e medievale* ha introdotto nel 1999 una serie supplementare, intitolata "Quaderni". Essa comincia con un interessantissimo e acuto saggio di Domenico Musti, che mostra la propria competenza anche al di fuori del suo campo specialistico, la storia greca, che insegna alla Sapienza. La serie, di cui esattamente la metà è costituita dai saggi antichistici, mentre l'altra metà è dedicata ai tempi post-antichi (il primo e l'ultimo volume abbracciano ambedue i periodi), ha avuto un buon inizio, e le auguriamo una diffusione comparabile a quella della rivista stessa.

Heikki Solin

Sapheneia. Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie. Herausgegeben von MARGARETHE BILLERBECK und BRUCE KARL BRASWELL, Peter Lang, Bern – Berlin – Bruxelles – Frankfurt a. M. – New York – Oxford – Wien: 1: ORLANDO POLTERA: *Le langage de Simonide. Étude sur la tradition poétique et son renouvellement* (1997), ISBN 978-3-906757-32-2, 686 pp. EUR 70,30; 2: PETER GROSSARDT: *Die Trugreden in der Odyssee und ihre Rezeption in der antiken Literatur* (1998), ISBN 978-3-906759-85-2, XIII, 491 S. EUR 44,90; 4: SOPHIE GUEX: *Ps.-Claudian, Laus Herculis. Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire* (2000), ISBN 978-3-906764-02-3, 244 pp. EUR 50,30; 5: MARGARETHE BILLERBECK – CHRISTIAN ZUBLER: *Das Lob der Fliege von Lukian bis L. B. Alberti. Gattungsgeschichte. Texte, Übersetzungen und Kommentar* (2000), ISBN 978-3-906765-24-2, 264 S. EUR 51; 6: DAVID AMHERDT: *Sidoine Apollinaire, Le quatrième livre de la correspondance. Introduction et commentaire* (2001), ISBN 978-3-906766-82-9, 589 pp. EUR 69,60; 7: MARGARETHE BILLERBECK – SOPHIE GUEX: *Sénèque, Hercule furieux. Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire* (2002), ISBN 978-3-906768-18-2 VIII, 608 pp. EUR 86,40; 8: PASCALE

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Die neue, von Margarethe Billerbeck und ihrem Gatten herausgegebene Serie, deren unserer Zeitschrift vom Verlag zugesandte Bände oben aufgeführt sind, konzentriert sich auf die Interpretation antiker, gelegentlich auch späterer Texte. Bei den Bänden handelt es sich sowohl um kommentierte Editionen als auch um selbständige Monographien, die aus eigenständiger Forschung zum Verständnis antiker Texte beitragen wollen, sei es durch deren Exegese, sei es durch problembezogene Untersuchungen. Große Bedeutung innerhalb der Reihe kommt dem Nachleben antiker Texte zu, und zwar vornehmlich der Überlieferungs- und Interpretationsgeschichte sowie dem historischen Aspekt der philologischen Disziplin. Ein viel versprechender Anfang.

Heikki Solin

Primum Legere. A cura di GUGLIELMO CAIAZZA ed ANTONELLA ESPOSITO. Annuario della Delegazione della Valle del Sarno dell'A.I.C.C. Vol. III. Delegazione della Valle di Sarno, Salerno 2005. ISBN 88-902493-0-7. XVI, 157 pp.

Il volume comprende le seguenti relazioni: F. De Martino, Color sangue; R. De Lucia, Γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ: libagioni di sangue nella casa degli Atridi; A. Esposito, La storia di Maria D'Avalos tra immaginazione sociologica e immaginazione letteraria; F. Salerno, Archetipo del Vampiro e incubi familiari; D. Cassano, Il comportamento violento. La prospettiva psichiatrica; A. Pumpo, Arte nell'aria aperta tra denuncia, riflessione e speranza. Seguono "Re-inventandi specimina" (poesie ispirate dal mito greco). Chiudono il volume alcune recensioni.

Il presente volume è il risultato dell'attività di una delegazione campana dell'Associazione Italiana di cultura classica, ma il suo contenuto è molto vario; solo poche delle relazioni hanno direttamente a che fare con la cultura classica (e delle recensioni nessuna). La prima relazione analizza la tematica del sangue tragico e omerico, senza dimenticare lo stesso tema presente e nelle miniature medievali. La seconda insiste sulla consapevolezza criminosa di Clitemestra, vera protagonista dell'*Agamemnone* eschileo. Le restanti sono dedicate ai temi post-antichi. In tutta la sua varietà il volume è testimone della vitalità degli interessi umanistici nella Valle del Sarno.

Heikki Solin

Corona coronaria. Festschrift für Hans-Otto Kröner zum 75. Geburtstag. Herausgegeben von SABINE HARWARDT und JOHANNES SCHWIND. Spudasmata 102. Georg Olms Verlag,

Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2005. ISSN 0548-0705; ISBN 3-487-12829-2. IX, 453 S., II Taf. EUR 78.

Der emeritierte Trierer Klassische Philologe Hans-Otto Kröner hat zu seinem 75. Geburtstag eine Festschrift erhalten, eine thematisch bunte Mischung von Beiträgen in sechs Sprachen (aber muss einem die Lektüre eines portugiesischen Beitrages zugemutet werden, zumal sein Inhalt, soweit ich ihn verstanden habe, nicht Neues bringt?). Man gewährt dem verdienten Forscher gern eine Ehrung als Dank für den Aufbau der Klassischen Philologie in Trier. Ob der gewählte Weg ein gutes Ergebnis zustande gebracht hat, stehe dahin. Ich selbst bin kein Freund von Festschriften dieser Art, in denen neben guten und sogar ausgezeichneten Beiträgen nichtssagende Produkte von Kollegen und Freunden stehen, die in einer referierten Zeitschrift die Publikationsschwelle nicht so leicht überschritten hätten. Wäre dem Geehrten mit einem straff gebauten und thematisch einheitlicheren Band nicht besser gedient gewesen?

Heikki Solin

Nova de veteribus. Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt. Herausgegeben von ANDREAS BIHRER und ELISABETH STEIN. K.G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2004. ISBN 3-598-73015-2. XXX, 1121 S. EUR 224.

Die vorliegende stattliche Festschrift besteht, außer aus einem Vorwort und dem Schriftenverzeichnis des Jubilars, aus den folgenden Beiträgen: B. Zimmermann, *Et vidi et perii*. Zu Ovids Medea-Epistel (Heroides XII); P. Stotz, Bilder des Bösewichts: Judas Ischariot in lateinischen Texten der Spätantike und des Mittelalters. Eine Skizze; D. Schaller, Schicksale des Asclepiadeus im Übergang zum Mittelalter; M.-L. Weber, Die Merovingerkönigin Brunichilde in den Quellen des lateinischen Mittelalters; R. Heine, Zu einer Schnalleninschrift aus Andernach; M. W. Herren, The 'Cosmography' of Aethicus Ister: Speculations about its date, provenance, and audience; M. Lapidge, Bede and the 'Versus de die iudicii'; I. Deug-Su, *Ut merear te in fratris locum accipere*: un appello di fratellanza di Leoba a Bonifacio Vinfrido; U. Schindel, 'De septem artibus liberalibus' – ein unedierter anonymer Traktat aus dem 8. Jahrhundert; W. Berschin, *De moribus perfectionis*. Beitrag zur Lokalisierung und Datierung der 'Althochdeutschen Benediktinerregel' St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 916; F. Stella, Autor und Zuschreibungen des 'Karolus magnus et Leo Papa'; M. D. Reeve, Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Vegetius; T. Zotz, Ludwig der Fromme oder Ludwig der Gnädige? Zur Herrschertugend der *pietas* im frühen und hohen Mittelalter; H. L. C. Tristram, Bede's 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum' in Old English and Old Irish: a comparison; P. Dronke, The Latin and French Eulalia sequences; B. Munk Olsen, La réception de Stace au moyen âge (du IX^e au XII^e siècle); L. Deitz, Ein Boethius-Fund und seine Bedeutung. BnL, Ms. 770, und die Echternacher Klosterschule um das Jahr 1000; M. Borgolte, Zwischen Erfindung und Kanon. Zur Konstruktion der Fakten im europäischen Hochmittelalter; F. Dolbeau, Deux catalogues inédits de bibliothèques médiévales; G. Orlandi, Dall'Italia del nord alla Lotaringia (e ritorno?). Un capitolo nella storia delle *laudes civitatum*; E. van Houts, The epitaph of Gundrada of Warenne; U. Mölk, Eine neue Datierung und andere Präzisierungen zur Überlieferung der 'Historia de preliis'; P. Bourgain, La honte du

héros; T. Haye, Das 'Antidotum' des Magister Wilhelm: Eine rhythmische Werbeschrift für den jungen Grammontenserorden (ca. 1130/1140); F. Lošek, Antikes, Biblisches und Christliches in der 'Vita Altmanni'; J. Petersohn, Spirituelle Dimensionen der Prüfeninger Vita Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg; F. Heinzer, Imaginierte Passion – Vision im Spannungsfeld zwischen liturgischer Matrix und religiöser Erfahrung bei Elisabeth von Schönau; C. Meier, *Per visibilia ad invisibilia?* Mittelalterliche Visionsikonographie zwischen analoger, negativer und 'analytischer' Ästhetik; S. Pittaluga, Boezio, Goffredo da Viterbo e la ruota della Fortuna; K. Smolak, *Semivir arma tulit*. Zu den mittellateinischen 'Causae Aiakis et Ulixis'; A. Wolf, Metamorphosen des Schauens: Narziß, Troubadours und die drei Blutstropfen im Schnee; F. Wagner, Der entrückte Mönch; R. Schmidt-Wiegand, *Qui prior est tempore potior est iure*. Eine lateinische Rechtsregel und ihre Entsprechungen im 'Sachsenspiegel' Eikes von Repgow; A. G. Rigg, 'Descriptio Northfolchie': A critical edition; M. C. Ferrari, Johannes Damascenus in Franken. Zur Rekontextualisierung arabo-griechischer Erzählstoffe bei Vinzenz von Beauvais, Hugo von Trimberg und anderen Autoren; M. Renner, *Ne fragmenta pereant*. Zwei bisher nicht beachtete Viten der heiligen Elisabeth; F. Santi, La trasmissione delle 'Questiones quas quaesivit quidam frater minor Raimundo'; A. Sottili, Albertino Mussato, Erasmo, l'Epistolario di Seneca con San Paolo; C. H. Kneepkens, The Reception of Boethius' 'Consolatio' in the Later Middle Ages: Trevet, Wheteley and the Question-Commentary, Oxford, Exeter C., 28; D. Mertens, Mont Ventoux, Mons Alvernae, Kapitol und Parnass. Zur Interpretation von Petrarca's Brief Fam. IV, 1 'De curis propriis'; C. Heitzmann, Giannozzo Manetti und das Erdbeben von 1456. Christlicher Humanismus und empirische Naturwissenschaft; H. E. Stiene, Daphnis und Daphne: Vergilisches und Ovidisches in der ersten Ekloge Naldo Naldis; P. Walter, Rudolf Agricolas Rektoratsrede für Johannes von Dalberg; C. Berger, Die *coniuncta*, oder: Wie Johannes Tinctoris Halbtonschritte zu beschreiben versucht; D. Wuttke, 'Film vor dem Film'. Zur lateinischen Buchanzeige von Hartmann Schedels 'Liber chronicarum'; P. Orth, Rom an der Regnitz, Babylon an der Pegnitz. Beobachtungen zur 'Norimberga' des Konrad Celtis; H. Broszinski, Spuren klösterlicher Alchemie in Kasseler Handschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts; R. Düchting, Helius Eobanus Hessus *Baccho debacchatus*; E. Schäfer, Renatus Henerus: 'Bucolica' (Paris 1551). Hirtenlieder im Exil; M. Laureys, Das osmanische Reich aus der Sicht des Genueser Historikers Uberto Foglietta; J. M. Díaz de Bustamante, About the *visio Ezechielis*, the Fathers of the Church, the emblematic tradition and the latin *praefatio* to the 'Biblia del Oso' (1569) of Casiodoro Reyna; W. Jarecki, Die Verdener Bischofsgeschichte des Elard von der Hude; F. Rädle, Keuschheit und Abenteuer. Hieronymus' 'Vita Malchi' und ihre Wiederkehr auf der Jesuitenbühne; G. Huber-Rebenich, Visuelle *argumenta* zu den 'Metamorphosen' Ovids. Die Illustrationen des Giacomo Franco und ihre Tradition; E. Lefèvre, Zeisig und Dichter (Jakob Balde, Lyr. 3, 43); L. Braun, Warum ist der Acinaces krumm?; P. Petitmengin, Notes de dom Calmet sur des manuscrits conservés en Lorraine et dans les pays voisins (avec le premier catalogue de Sélestat); H. Schmidt, "Vor uns lag das stolze Rom..." Arnold Herrmann Ludwig Heeren als Reisender in Rom 1786; Volker Schupp, Ekkehard von St. Gallen und 'Konrad von Alzey'. Zwei mittelalterliche Dichterfiguren im 19. Jahrhundert; H. J. Westra, The centaur in the garden: Anne Payne on Menippean satire; E. Könsgen, "Der Nordstern scheint auf den Pol." Baudolinos Liebesbriefe an Beatrix, die Kaiserin – oder 'Ex epistolis duorum amantium'.

Es wäre eine hoffnungslose Aufgabe, in dem knappen mir zur Verfügung stehenden

Raum die einzelnen Beiträge der vorliegenden Festschrift auch nur annähernd gebührend zu würdigen. Meist sind sie der mittelalterlichen Kultur und Literatur gewidmet; am Anfang stehen einige Aufsätze, die sich mit der Antike oder der Übergangsperiode zwischen Antike und Mittelalter beschäftigen. Alles in allem ein reichhaltiger und gelungener Band, der die hohe Qualität der heutigen Mediävistik, an der der Jubilar einen nicht geringen Anteil hat, vorzüglich zum Vorschein bringt.

Heikki Solin

Mittelalter und Renaissance. In honorem Fritz Wagner. Herausgegeben von ANGELIKA LOZAR und SYBILL DE VITO-EGERLAND. K.G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2004. ISBN 3-598-73018-7. 120 S. EUR 48.

Hier sei kurz der schmale, uns vom Verlag zugeschickte Band zu Ehren von Fritz Wagner, dem Mittellatinisten der Freien Universität Berlin angezeigt. In ihm sind die Ansprachen und Vorträge wiedergegeben, die an einem Symposium im Königshaus des Klosters Lehnin gehalten wurden. Nach einer Vorbemerkung von Clemens Zintzen und den Laudationes folgt der Text der drei Vorträge: G. Binding, Schwierigkeiten bei der Nutzung mittelalterlicher Schriftquellen für die Baugeschichte. Dargestellt an den Begriffen *columna – pilarius*; W. Köhler, Blutwunder und Wunderbakterien; Cl. Zintzen, Ein goldenes Zeitalter. Wie schafft man sich eine Kultur? Gedanken zur Entstehung der italienischen Renaissance im 15. Jahrhundert. Alle drei Vorträge sind anregend und man liest sie mit Gewinn und Spannung. Die Multidisziplinarität in ihren Ausführungen sei eigens hervorgehoben.

Heikki Solin

Homo pictor. Herausgegeben von GOTTFRIED BOEHM. Redaktion: STEPHAN E. HAUSER. Colloquium Rauricum Band 7. K.G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2001. ISBN 3-598-77418-4. XIII, 390 S., 61 Taf. EUR 57.

Die Akten des 7. Colloquium Rauricum enthalten ein breites Spektrum an Beiträgen; zum ersten Mal erweitern sie das Terrain auf die stummen Zeugen der Geschichte. Die Referenten kommen aus verschiedenen Wissensgebieten, und der Band entfernt sich mehr als früher aus dem zentralen Bereich des klassischen Altertums, was jedoch den Gegenstand nicht minder wichtig macht. Der Inhalt des Bandes gestaltet sich wie folgt: G. Boehm, Repräsentation – Präsentation – Präsenz. Auf den Spuren des homo pictor; B. Waldenfels, Spiegel, Spur und Blick. Zur Genese des Bildes; A. Schmitt, Der Philosoph als Maler – der Maler als Philosoph. Zur Relevanz der platonischen Kunsttheorie; J.-M. Le Tensorer, Ein Bild vor dem Bild? Die ältesten menschlichen Artefakte und die Frage des Bildes; E. Hornung, "Hieroglyphisch denken". Bild und Schrift im alten Ägypten; H. Philipp, Zur Genese des "Bildes" in geometrischer und archaischer Zeit; Chr. Kruse, "Wozu Menschen oder Blumen malen?" Medienanthropologische Begründungen der Malerei zwischen Hochmittelalter und Frührenaissance; H. Belting, Über Phantasie und Kunst; P. Geimer, "Nicht vom Menschenhand". Zur fotografischen Entbergung des Grabtuches von Turin; V. I. Stoichita, Mickey Mao. Glanz und Elend der virtuellen Ikone; I. Därmann, Wenn Gedächtnis

Erinnerungsbild wird; Husserl und Freud; G. Didi-Huberman, Das nachlebende Bild. Aby Warburg und Tylors Anthropologie; Fr. Graf, Der Eigensinn der Götterbilder in antiken religiösen Diskursen; O. Keel, Warum im Jerusalemer Tempel kein anthropologisches Kultbild gestanden haben dürfte; A.M. Haas, Bildresistenz des Göttlichen und der menschliche Versuch, Unsichtbares sichtbar zu machen. Feindschaft und Liebe zum Bild in der Geschichte der Mystik; P. Blome, Die imagines maiorum: ein Problemfall römischer und neuzeitlicher Ästhetik; A. von Müller, Der Politiker am Fenster; O. Panagl, Bezeichnung und Bedeutung. Wortgeschichtliche Streifzüge im Sinnbezirk des Bildes; G. Brandstetter, Kritzeln, Schaben, Übermalen. Bild-Löschung als narratives Verfahren bei Hoffmann, Balzac, Keller und Hofmannsthal; G. Neumann, Epilog.

Es ist nicht möglich, die einzelnen Beiträge des Bandes hier näher zu würdigen. Der Herausgeber hat zum Ziel gesetzt, an einzelnen Beispielen zu experimentieren, wie die Rolle des Bildes als eine mögliche "Leitkategorie für eine ganze Reihe von Fächern und Diskursen" beleuchtet werden könnte. Das Ergebnis ist ein Band buntesten Inhalts mit manchen anregenden Beiträgen. Aber der Verfasser des Aufsatzes zum Grabtuch von Turin, ein professioneller Kunsthistoriker, vermennt auf merkwürdige Weise interessante Ausführungen zur Funktion der Photographie im Dienst der Wissenschaft mit den existentiellen Fragen zu Jesu Tod. Obwohl ich diese Anzeige am Heiligen Abend niederschreibe, kann ich nicht umhin zu notieren, wie obskur Verf. sich in dieser Frage ausdrückt. Es ist ja nicht sinnvoll und gehört nicht in den Bereich der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, die Frage überhaupt zu stellen, ob die Herkunft des Tuchs in Jesu Grab zu suchen sei.

Heikki Solin

Ricerche di antichità e tradizione classica. A cura di EUGENIO LANZILLOTTA. Ricerche di filologia, letteratura e storia 3. Edizioni Tored, Tivoli 2004. ISBN 88-88617-05-1. VII, 325 pp. EUR 30.

Il presente volume raccoglie gli Atti di due incontri di studio svoltisi il 16 maggio e il 6 dicembre 2000 presso Villa Mondragone, sede congressuale dell'Università di Roma Tor Vergata. È di contenuto vario. Dopo la presentazione di E. Lanzillotta seguono G. Schepens, La Guerra di Sparta contro Elide; D. Erdas, Niebuhr, Jacoby e l'identità di Cratero il Macedone; Cl. Liberatore, Nuovi frammenti di Melanzio in Natale Conti?; V. Costa, I frammenti di Filocoro tràditi da Boccaccio e da Natale Conti; M.B. Savo, Lo Zeus con $\mu\eta\lambda\omega\tau\acute{\eta}$: una nuova iscrizione dal Zas di Nasso; M.B. Savo, L'Atena $\pi\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ di Paro; M. Malavolta, Le Cicladi nel sistema provinciale romano; L. Gasperini, Rilettura di iscrizioni latine rupestri dall'Alto Portogallo; M. Accame, Storici greci fra Tardo Medioevo e Umanesimo; V. Costa, Natale Conti e la divulgazione della mitologia classica in Europa tra Cinquecento e Seicento.

Il volume comprende saggi interessanti soprattutto la storiografia greca. Inoltre vengono illustrate iscrizioni greche e latine. Un posto speciale ha l'ultimo lungo articolo, quello di Costa su Natale Conti. Si tratta di un argomento interessante – Conti scrisse un ponderoso volume sulla mitologia antica molto usato a suo tempo. Era disprezzato dai suoi contemporanei – lo Scaliger lo definisce *homo futilissimus*, ma la sua opera più ambiziosa,

quella appunto sulla mitologia, ebbe un certo successo, di cui Costa rende conto nel suo contributo.

Heikki Solin

Unfreie Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart. Eine Einführung. Herausgegeben von ELISABETH HERRMANN-OTTO. Sklaverei – Knechtschaft – Zwangsarbeit. Untersuchungen zur Sozial-, Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte 1. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2005. ISBN 3-487-12912-4, ISSN 1860-9317. XVII, 417 S. EUR 48.

Der Inhalt des ersten Bandes der neuen Reihe sieht, nach der Einleitung von E. Herrmann-Otto, wie folgt aus: S. Allam, Eine Klasse von Minderfreien (sog. *merit*) im pharaonischen Ägypten; I. Sklaverei und verwandte Formen der Unfreiheit in der antiken Welt; B. Zimmermann, Sklaven im griechischen Drama; G. Wöhrle, Der "freie" Sklave. Antike Sklaverei und das Konzept der "inneren" Freiheit; E. Herrmann-Otto, Die Bedeutung der antiken Sklaverei für die Menschenrechte; H. Ankum, Der Ausdruck *favor libertatis* und das klassische römische Freilassungsrecht; II. Unfreiheit zwischen Spätantike und früher Neuzeit: Formen und Diskurse: H. Wieling, Fälle geminderter Freiheit. Von Purpurschnecktauchern, Waffenschmiedern und Landarbeitern; G. Mensching, Die Rechtfertigung von Unfreiheit im Denken des Hochmittelalters; A. Haverkamp, Die Erneuerung der Sklaverei im Mittelmeerraum während des hohen Mittelalters. Fremdheit, Herkunft und Funktion; F. Dorn, Der Unfreiheitsdiskurs in deutschen Rechtsbüchern des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters; S. Faroqi, Als Kriegsgefangener bei den Osmanen. Militärlager und Haushalt des Großwesirs Karaş Mustafa Paşa in einem Augenzeugenbericht; III. Die Aufhebung der Sklaverei und ihre Folgen: A. Gestrich, Die Antisklavereibewegung im ausgehenden 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven; L. Raphael, Krieg, Diktatur und imperiale Erschließung: Arbeitszwang und Zwangsarbeit 1880 bis 1960; M. Haedrich, Formen von Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft, Zwangsarbeit und Menschenhandel und der internationale Menschenrechtsschutz; W.S. Heinz, Von der Sklaverei zum Menschenhandel; IV. Die antike Sklaverei im Spiegel von Kunst und Wissenschaft vom 19. Jh. bis heute: W. Nippel, Marx, Weber und die Sklaverei; U. Eigler, Barfuß durch die Sandalenfilme?; H. Hellen, Das Mainzer Akademieprojekt "Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei": Geschichte und Bilanz, Perspektiven und Desiderate.

Es ist unmöglich, im Rahmen des mir zur Verfügung stehenden knappen Raumes die Reichhaltigkeit des vorliegenden Bandes allseitig zu beleuchten; außerdem fällt ein Teil der Beiträge außerhalb der Kompetenz des Altertumswissenschaftlers. Jedenfalls ist die Initiative lobenswert, denn die Sklaverei gehört zu denjenigen Bereichen der Menschheit, in denen noch viel Forschungsarbeit zu leisten ist; anregend wird ihre Erforschung auch dadurch, dass sie in verschiedenen Ländern ganz unterschiedliche Forschungstraditionen aufweist, die sich teilweise überschneiden, aber auch einander ergänzen. Der vorliegende Band enthält die Vorträge einer zweisemestrigen Ringvorlesung, die vom Mai 2003 bis zum Februar 2004 an der Universität Trier zur Einführung in die Thematik des Graduiertenkollegs zur Geschichte der Sklaverei gehalten wurde. Die Vorträge geben Einsichten in die Problematik und können so in ihrer Vielseitigkeit weitere Impulse zur Erforschung dieses schwierigen Gebiets geben.

Heikki Solin

Gab es das Griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Tagungsbeiträge des 16. Fachsymposiums der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, veranstaltet vom 5. bis 9. April 1999 in Freiburg im Breisgau. Herausgegeben von DIETRICH PAPPENFUß und VOLKER MICHAEL STROCKA. Redaktion THOMAS GANSCHOW und WOLF-RÜDIGER MEGOW. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2001. ISBN 3-8053-2710-2. XVII, 438 S. EUR 81.

Der Inhalt dieses stattlichen Bandes sieht folgendermaßen aus: P. Funke, Wendezeit und Zeitenwende: Athens Aufbruch zur Demokratie; E. Voutiras, Individuum und Norm: Bemerkungen zum Menschenbild der frühen Klassik; W.J. Slater, Aristo-Talk; M.B. Poliakoff, Competition; E. Walter-Karydi, Kontrapost und Gruppenbildung; K.H. Lee, The Dionysia: instrument of control or platform for critique?; H.A. Shapiro, Zum Wandel der attischen Gesellschaft nach den Perserkriegen im Spiegel der Akropolis-Weihungen; J.H. Oakley, Die Ursprünge der attisch-weißgrundigen Lekythos; A. Erskine, Trojans in Athenian Society: Public Rhetoric and private life; F. Prontera, Hekataios und die Erdkarte des Herodot; J. Bouzek, Die natürliche Umwelt des Menschen in der griechischen Kunst des 5. Jh. v.Chr.; F. Işik, Zur Rolle der ionischen Plastik bei der Entstehung der attischen Klassik; Chr. Ulf, Gemeinschaftsbezug, soziale Stratifizierung, Polis – drei Bedingungen für das Entstehen aristokratischer und demokratischer Mentalität im archaischen Griechenland; G.A. Katsouris, Sources and patterns of dramatic performances and especially of comedy: from Minoan Crete to classical Athens; S. Guettel Cole, Achieving political maturity: *Stephanosis*, *Philotimia*, and *Phallegphoria*; R. Scodel, The Poet's career, the rise of tragedy, and Athenian cultural hegemony; M. Wesoły, *Historia peri physeos* und *Sophia* als Komponenten des griechischen Wunders (6.-5 Jh. v.u.Z.); G. de Callatay, The Presocratics and the Great Year; I. Papachristodoulou, Rhodos und die östliche Doris zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jhs. v.Chr.; J. Roy, Arkadia – how far from the Greek miracle?; N. Luraghi, Der Erdbebenaufstand und die Entstehung der messenischen Identität; A. Mastrocinqe, Zeus und Athena: zwei griechische Modelle für das römische Pantheon; A. Naso, Reflexe des griechischen Wunders in Etrurien; K.-J. Hölkeskamp, Marathon – vom Monument zum Mythos; W. J. Cherrf, Thermopylai. Myth and reality in 480 BC; V. Alonso Troncoso, Die neutralen Staaten in den Perserkriegen und das griechische Völkerrecht; J.G. Vinogradov, Ostrakismos als strenges Kampfmittel für Demokratie im Lichte der neuen Funde aus Chersonesos Taurike; Th.K. Hubbard, Pindar and Athens after the Persian Wars; E. Pöhlmann, Das "Griechische Wunder" und die Tragödie; H. Flashar, Das Griechische Wunder im Spiegel des Chorliedes "Vieles Gewaltige lebt ..." aus der Antigone des Sophokles und in der Deutung Heideggers.

Archäologen, Historiker und Philologen aus aller Welt haben auf Einladung der Alexander von Humboldt -Stiftung 1999 in Freiburg fünf Tage lang über das Zeitalter des großen Bruches der griechischen Geschichte Ende des sechsten – Mitte des 5. Jh. gründlich besprochen. Das Ergebnis liegt mit dem anzuzeigenden Band vor, dem auch die Diskussionsbeiträge einverleibt sind. Der Gegenstand ist vielseitig behandelt, und auch die Rezeptionsgeschichte kam in einem Vortrag (Flashar) zur Sprache. Von einem 'Wunder' wurde explizit nur wenig gesprochen, und zwar ganz zu Recht, denn ein Wunder ist etwas, was rationell nicht erklärt werden kann. Aber die großen Neuerungen sind doch vorzüglich herausgearbeitet worden, wie auch andererseits von den östlichen Einflüssen die Rede war;

vielleicht hätte man vom letzteren Aspekt noch mehr reden können. Wie immer, ist die Qualität der einzelnen Beiträge etwas variierend, doch die meisten habe ich mit Spannung und Gewinn gelesen. Nur eine Einzelbemerkung: In seinem anregenden Beitrag zur Stellung der Trojaner in der athenischen Gesellschaft stellt Erskine die These auf, das Verhältnis der Athener zu den Trojanern sei auf der öffentlichen und privaten Ebene unterschiedlich gewesen, was gut einleuchtet. Dabei beruft er sich auf die Namengebung, wenn er im Athen des 5. Jh. mehrere Namen trojanischer Heroen im allgemeinen Gebrauch findet, wobei er den Schluss zieht, die Athener hätten auf der privaten Sphäre keine solche Aversion gegen den Feind gehabt. Zur Stütze seiner These zieht er solche Namen wie etwa Αἰνέας (Aiveías), Ἀγχίσης, Ἀντήνωρ oder Πολυδάμοις heran, die in Athen vorkommen; ihr Eindringen in die athenische Namengebung erklärt er damit, dass die Namensträger für die Athener "more acceptable" als andere gewesen wären. Dabei hat er übersehen, dass die manche dieser Namen gute und alte griechische Namenbildungen sind (einige sogar im Mykenischen vorhanden), die ursprünglich ohne Einfluss der trojanischen Heroen in Gebrauch gekommen sein können. Und warum hätte man in Athen einen solchen ungriechischen Namen wie Πρίαμος (der in Athen nur ein paar Male in der Kaiserzeit vorkommt) meiden sollen, dessen Träger in der Ilias doch als kluger und auf Ausgleich bedachter Herrscher erscheint, der auch von den Gegnern geachtet wird (z. B. Γ 105ff), und der in den Griechen wegen Hektors Tod Mitleid erweckt?

Heikki Solin

Santuari e luoghi di culto nell'Italia antica. A cura di LORENZO QUILICI e STEFANIA QUILICI GIGLI. Atlante tematico di topografia antica, ATTA 12. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2003. ISBN 88-8265-556-4. 412 pp., ill. b/n, ill. col., 2 tav. f.t., 2 pieghevoli. EUR 210.

Ecco il contenuto del volume: Cr. Bassi, Il santuario romano di Monte San Martino (Riva del Garda) nel contesto dei culti di origine indigena del territorio benacense; P. Marchegiani, M. Luni, Fr. Uttoveggio, Luoghi di culto nel Piceno settentrionale; V. Jolivet, Fr. Marchand, L'affaire du Bacanal. Nouvelles réflexions sur le sanctuaire bachique du Poggio Moscini à Bolsena; L. M. Calì, La scuola architettonica di Rodi e l'ellenismo italico; E.- Ch. Bruckner, Considerazioni sui culti e luoghi di culto a Setia e nel suo territorio in età repubblicana ed imperiale; St. Mezzazappa, La forma della città di Sora e i suoi santuari; L. Quilici, Il tempio di Apollo ad clivum Fundanum sulla via Appia al valico di Itri; M. Andreani, Sul santuario di Marica alla foce del Garigliano; P. Caputo, Il tempio di Iside a Cuma: nuovi documenti sul culto isiaco in Campania; C. Rescigno, Antefisse a testa giovanile dal Museo Provinciale Campano; St. Capini, Il santuario di Ercole a Campochiaro; P. Galli, F. Galadini, St. Capini, Analisi archeosismologiche nel santuario di Ercole a Campochiaro. Evidenze di terremoti distruttivi; M. Mazzei, Tiati. I sistemi di decorazione architettonica di età preromana e l'esempio dell'edificio del Regio Tratturo; M. Mazzei, M. C. D'Ercole, Le stipi lucerine del Belvedere: nuovi ritrovamenti. Nota preliminare; Fr. Muscolino, La torre del Filosofo sull'Etna. Occupano la seconda parte del volume alcuni saggi su Norba: St. Quilici Gigli, Norba: l'Acropoli Minore e i suoi templi, con due appendici; C. Rescigno, Norba: santuario di Giunone Lucina. Appunti topografici; M. L. Perrone, Il deposito votivo del tempio di Giunone Lucina a Norba; V. Bellelli, Appunti sul gorgoneion di Norba; F. Gilotta, Nota su

una testa fittile del Museo di Norma; St. Quilici Gigli, Nota sul recupero di una iscrizione votiva a Norba.

Il ponderoso (e costoso) volume raccoglie vari saggi su santuari e luoghi di culto nell'Italia antica. La maggior parte è dedicata all'Italia meridionale (Lazio e Campania soprattutto), eccetto tre studi su luoghi che si trovano nella parte settentrionale o centrale della Penisola Appenninica, con una divagazione su Rodi nell'articolo di Calìo (che interessa fortemente anche gli studi romano-italici; nel capitolo sulle famiglie prenestine si trovano alcune affermazioni meno fondate, come il termine del cognome *romano* nel caso di C. Saufeius C. f. Flaccus [p. 65] oppure la lista di gentilizi supposti prenestini [nt. 95]).

Chi scrive ha letto con particolare interesse gli articoli riguardanti Lazio e Campania. Un paio di osservazioni. Nell'ottimo articolo di Bruckner su Setia vengono trattate a lungo anche le due iscrizioni dell'età repubblicana ritrovate nell'area sacra di Tratturo Caniò, ma in un modo non del tutto soddisfacente (B. è ora d'accordo con Gasperini, ora no, senza dirlo esplicitamente; e nessun rinvio alla discordanza per quanto concerne il supporto delle iscrizioni [epistilio nella ricostruzione di B., altare per G.]; inoltre la datazione delle iscrizioni è ancora controversa, anche se non si voglia condividere la datazione alta proposta da R. Haensch, *Gnomon* 68 (1996) 532, il quale pensa al console del 186 a. C.). – Il contributo di St. Mezzazappa su Sora è alquanto modesto e ripetitivo senza grandi novità, e poi si parla di molte altre cose oltre ai luoghi di culto: d'abitazioni, ponti, fortificazioni, mura, vie. – I restanti contributi riguardanti Lazio e Campania sono interessanti e contengono analisi importanti. – Norba: p. 405 la nuova dedica viene datata "alla fine del III-II sec. a. C., nel cui ambito forse è preferibile l'inizio, data la diffusione che nel corso del II secolo si rileva dell'uso di abbreviare con *d.d.* la formula che nella nostra iscrizione è invece sciolta"; purtroppo la forma delle lettere, per il loro ristretto numero e per la mancanza di lettere più rivelatrici, non è di grande aiuto per stabilire una datazione più esatta, ma a sostegno della data proposta dall'a. si potrebbero addurre le larghe D e O, anche se sotto questo profilo il II secolo non è affatto escluso; invece la forma sciolta DED non è argomento sicuro per una datazione al III secolo, giacché l'uso di *ded(it)* ecc. si protrae fino all'età imperiale inoltrata.

Dal punto di vista formale il volume lascia un po' a desiderare. Le trascrizioni dei nomi d'opere straniere (alle volte anche italiane), in particolare tedesche, contengono parecchie inesattezze; e in qualche caso i nomi dei volumi collettivi ingannano (es. p. 76 nt. 5: invece di *Actes du colloque de la Société des professeurs d'histoire ancienne* si doveva scrivere *La montagne dans l'antiquité*, essendo *Actes du colloque* ecc. solo un sottotitolo, per cui si trova nei cataloghi delle biblioteche e nei repertori bibliografici solo sotto il titolo principale [chi scrive ha dovuto fare estese ricerche per trovare il giusto titolo del volume in questione]).

Heikki Solin

Viabilità e insediamenti nell'Italia antica. A cura di LORENZO QUILICI e STEFANIA QUILICI GIGLI. Atlante tematico di topografia antica – ATTA 13. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2004. ISBN 88-8265-308-0. 548 pp., ill. b/n. EUR 255.

Ecco un ulteriore volume nella serie ATTA, di concezione simile al precedente. Il suo contenuto è il seguente (come il precedente, il volume non ha una premessa in cui si spieghi

lo scopo e l'insieme degli studi raccolti): L. Lucchese, I ponti romani di Pont-Saint-Martin, Bard, Saint-Vincent, Châtillon, Aosta e Lévêrogne; G. Gambacurta, Appunti sulla tecnica stradale protostorica nel Veneto antico; G. Pellegrini, *Item Ab Aquileia Bononiam*: un itinerario di età romana tra la via Emilia ed il Po; B. Farfaneti, La via del Confine (non *confine*, come si legge nell'indice a p. 5); P. Battelli, L'irraggiamento viario da Forum Livii (Forlì) e Forum Popili (Forlimpopoli) in età antica; Ch. Cesaretti, Il ponte sull'Ausa e Rimini e la sua storia; M. Gaggiotti, Le iscrizioni della Galleria del Furlo. Il problema dei *Foroiulienses cognomine concupienses* (Plin. Nat. 3, 113); M. Pasquinucci, S. Menchelli, Viabilità, popolamento rurale e sistemazioni agrarie nell'ager Firmanus; G. Ciampoltrini, Vie rurali d'età romana nell'ager Lucensis: nuove acquisizioni; R. Raimondi, La viabilità romana a nord di Chiusi tra Chiana ed Arno; Cl. Calastri, Una nuova villa con fronte a torrette dall'agro di Cosa; R. Rea, La via Latina al IV miglio. Tor Fiscale; Ag. L. Fischietti, La cosiddetta via Antiatina; Cl. Negrini, La via Selciatella tra via Padiglione Campana e via Spaccacassi, nei comuni di Nettuno, Aprilia e Lanuvio; St. Quilici Gigli, *Circumfuso volitabant milite Volsci*. Dinamiche insediative nella zona pontina; Fr. Longobardo, Problemi di viabilità in Campania: la via Domiziana; L. Petacco, Note di architettura funeraria rupestre dei Campi Flegrei; P. Caputo, La Grotta di Cocecio a Cuma: nuovi dati da ricerche e saggi di scavo; B. Giardina, La fossa Neronis di Baia: tra Lucrino e Fusaro; M. Russo, *Per viscera rupis*. Vie pubbliche e private in galleria, in tagliata e in trincea di Surrentum; M. Spanu, Aufinum; M. Rocca, Insediamenti antichi nel territorio di Terrazzano; E. Felici, La "montagna" di Nissoria: le opere di fortificazione (con l'appendice di L. Lanteri, Il rilievo aerofotogrammetrico). La fine del volume è occupata da due contributi sul Parco degli Aurunci: R. De Filippis, Una antica chiesa nel Convento di San Domenico sull'Appia antica a Fondi; L. Quilici, Santuari, ville e mausolei sul percorso della via Appia al valico degli Aurunci.

Essendo impossibile dare un adeguato resoconto del volume nello spazio accordatomi dalla redazione di *Arctos*, mi soffermerò di seguito solo su un paio di dettagli. Dei contributi sulle questioni di viabilità ho letto con particolare interesse quelli riguardanti Lazio. Rea, tra l'altro, pubblica vecchie trascrizioni d'epigrafi latine, non sempre identificabili. Ma la corrotta trascrizione a p. 196 equivale a *CIL* VI 38243; a p. 195 appare un frammento che sembra trascritto dall'a.; a p. 209 si dà la trascrizione di un altro frammento che si dice dedica a Ercole invitto da parte di *Castricius*, di cui sarebbe bello sapere qualcosa di più. – Fischietti fornisce un interessante resoconto dell'andamento delle antiche strade tra la via Appia e Antium e del loro rapporto con la moderna via Nettunense. Qui va aggiunto (anche se non rientra del tutto nell'argomento di quel contributo) che ho potuto individuare da una vecchia trascrizione di Rodolfo Lanciani un frammento epigrafico su una colonna ritrovata vicino ad 'Arco Muto' ad Anzio, che deve essere un miliario della via che portava da Antium verso Ardea, Lavinium e Ostia. – La viabilità dell'Anziate è toccata anche nel breve contributo di Negrini. – Il volume finisce con il lungo ed esauriente resoconto di Quilici sulle testimonianze relative al percorso dell'Appia tra Fondi e Formia, in cui anche le iscrizioni ricevono un'adeguata attenzione. Si tratta di una zona per molti versi interessante (vedi anche il contributo dello stesso a. nel volume recensito immediatamente prima), e per es. varrebbe la pena di esaminare se nei nuovi materiali qui presentati ci siano elementi per stabilire il confine tra Fundi e Formiae (l'iscrizione votiva del famoso pantomimo L. Aurelius

Apolaustus a Mercurio [CIL X 6219] mi sembra eretta nel territorio fondano; l'a. non prende posizione in merito).

Heikki Solin

Theodor Mommsens langer Schatten. Das römische Staatsrecht als bleibende Herausforderung für die Forschung. Herausgegeben von WILFRIED NIPPEL und BERND SEIDENSTICKER. Spudasmata 107. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim 2005. ISBN 3-487-13086-6, ISSN 0548-9705. 220 S. EUR 38.

Mommsen und kein Ende. In den Jahren um den hundertsten Jahrestag seines Todes sind mehrere Bücher erschienen, sowohl in Deutschland als auch im Ausland, und andere sind noch im Kommen (z. B. die *Acti* eines 2003 in Venafrò veranstalteten Symposiums zum Thema 'Mommsen und Venafrum'). Der vorliegende Band vereinigt die Beiträge, die zu Mommsens *Römischem Staatsrecht* in einer von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der Freien Universität Berlin und der Humboldt-Universität zu seinem hundertsten Todestag veranstalteten Tagung vorgelegt wurden. Der Inhalt des Bandes gestaltet sich wie folgt: W. Nippel, *Das Staatsrecht in der Diskussion – von 1871 bis heute*; A. Giovannini, *Die wissenschaftlichen Vorläufer von Mommsens Staatsrecht*; A. Lintott, *Die Magistratur in Mommsens Staatsrecht*; K.-J. Hölkeskamp, *Ein "Gegensatz von Form und Inhalt". Theodor Mommsens Konzept des republikanischen "Senatsregiments" – Hindernis oder Herausforderung?*; M. Jehne, *Die Volksversammlungen in Mommsens Staatsrecht oder: Mommsen als Gesetzgeber*; M. Peachin, *Mommsens Princeps*; A. Winterling, *Dyarchie in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Vorschlag zur Wiederaufnahme der Diskussion*; D. Liebs, *Mommsens Umgang mit den Quellen des römischen Strafrechts*.

Der umfangreichste Beitrag ist der wichtige und lesenswerte Bericht Nippels zu den Quellen und zu Wirkung und Nachleben des *Staatsrechts*. Er hebt anschaulich einerseits die Genialität und Einmaligkeit des *Staatsrechts*, andererseits einige nicht zu verleugnende formale und konzeptionelle Schwächen hervor. – Einige Details. Die französische und italienische Forschung und die Auseinandersetzung der Romanisten aus diesen Ländern kommt etwas kurz zur Sprache: Sie wird nur in ein paar Anmerkungen gestreift (1, 115; vgl. jetzt F.P. Casavola, in *Theodor Mommsen e l'Italia* (Acti dei Convegni Lincei 207), Roma 2004, 129-137). – Es ist interessant, wie Eduard Meyer, der in einem Nachruf an Mommsen ihn als "König und souveränen Herrscher in dem weiten Reiche der Wissenschaft" charakterisiert (Nippel 26 Anm. 71), ihn in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion öfter kritisiert (Nippel 43f). Dazu passt, dass einerseits Mommsen in der Korrespondenz mit Wilamowitz über Meyer Bagatelisierendes äußert (W.M. Calder – R. Kirstein, *Theodor Mommsen und Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Briewechsel 1872-1903*, Hildesheim 2003, 629f) und andererseits Meyer in seiner Korrespondenz mit Georg Wissowa Mommsen kein einziges Mal erwähnt, obwohl sonst eine große Schar von Kollegen, oft mit weniger schmeichelhaften Betonungen, zur Schau gestellt wird (G. Audring, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Eduard Meyer und Georg Wissowa*, Hildesheim 2000). – Nippel kehrt zum selben Thema in seinem in dem weiter unten zu besprechenden Band erschienenen Beitrag zurück – in kürzerer Form, inhaltlich vielfach deckend, aber hier und da mit etwas anderen Akzenten.

Auch die übrigen Beiträge lesen sich mit Interesse und Gewinn. Giovannini

konzentriert sich besonders auf Niebuhr und dessen Vorläufer, unter anderen Sigonius, Perizonius und de Beaufort; die großen Divergenzen an einigen Punkten zwischen Niebuhr und Mommsen kommen gut heraus. Hölkeskamp setzt sich mit Millar u. a. auseinander, wie auch Jehne, der sonst in einem langen Aufsatz die Volksversammlungen und den Einfluss von Mommsens *Staatsrecht* auf die althistorische Forschung behandelt. Wenn ich die anderen Beiträge nicht eigens nenne, bedeutet es nicht, dass sie weniger anregend wären. Alles in allem ein lesenswerter Band.

Heikki Solin

Theodor Mommsen: Gelehrter, Politiker und Literat. Herausgegeben von JOSEF WIESEHÖFER. Unter Mitarbeit von HENNING BÖRM. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2005. ISBN 3-515-08719-2. 259 S., 3 s/w Abb. EUR 48.

Kaum hatte ich die vorige Besprechung niedergeschrieben, als mir ein weiterer Mommsen-Band zur Rezension gegeben wurde. Entbehrlich aber macht der eine den anderen nicht, denn die Akzente liegen in den zwei Werken ganz anders. Während der erste Band sich kompakt auf ein einzelnes Werk Mommsens, das *Staatsrecht*, konzentrierte, ist die Palette des zweiten viel breiter gefächert: Hier wird außer dem Wissenschaftler Mommsen auch noch der Literat, Dichter, Politiker, Wissenschaftsorganisator und nicht zuletzt der Schleswig-Holsteiner vielseitig unter die Lupe genommen. Und manche Autorennamen sind für normale, zumal ausländische Altertumswissenschaftler nicht geläufig. Der Inhalt des Bandes, der auf einer an der Universität Kiel gehaltenen Vortragsreihe basiert, gestaltet sich folgendermaßen aus: J. Wiesehöfer, Einleitung; Chr. Andree, Von "beständiger Treue" und "begrabenen Hoffnungen". Rudolf Virchow und Theodor Mommsen; H. Detering, Lehrjahre der Lyrik. Theodor Mommsen und Theodor Storms literarische Anfänge; U. Ebert, "Strafrecht ohne Strafprozess ist ein Messergriff ohne Klinge". Theodor Mommsen und das "Römische Strafrecht"; G. Hübing, Gelehrtenpolitik und Machtpolitik im Kaiserreich. Theodor Mommsen und Otto von Bismarck; Chr. Jansen, Volk - Nation - Recht. Theodor Mommsen als engagierter Bürger, Liberaler und Nationalist; M. Jessen-Klingenberg, "Die Fürsten sind im Preis gesunken". Politische Urteile und Forderungen Theodor Mommsens im Revolutionsjahr 1848; J. Malitz, "Auch ein Wort über unser Judentum". Theodor Mommsen und der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit; W. Nippel, Der "antiquarische Bauplatz". Theodor Mommsens *Römisches Staatsrecht*; S. Rebenich, "Unser Werk lobt keinen Meister". Theodor Mommsen und die Wissenschaft vom Altertum; H. Schlange-Schöning, Ein "goldener Lorbeerkrantz" für die 'Römische Geschichte'. Theodor Mommsens Nobelpreis für Literatur; G. Walther, "... mehr zu den Künstlern als zu den Gelehrten". Mommsens historischer Blick; Th. Sommer, Macht und Medien, Politik und Journalismus. Theodor Mommsen und wir.

Einige der Beiträge beleuchten Aspekte, die dem Vertreter der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft nicht immer gegenwärtig sind, mit denen sich vertraut zu machen aber wichtig ist, wenn man den Sitz im Leben für den Bürger Mommsen angemessen einschätzen will. Erhellend für mich waren etwa die Beiträge von Hübing und Jansen, und für einen Nordländer war es interessant, von Jessen-Klingenberg über die schleswig-holsteinische Frage und die dänische Bewegung in Nordschleswig belehrt zu werden. Wichtig ist der Beitrag von Jürgen Malitz zum Berliner Antisemitismusstreit. Wir sind daran

gewöhnt, Mommsen kurzum als einen Judenfreund anzusehen, mit einem vorbildlichen Verständnis für die Lebenswelt der Juden. Dass dem gar nicht so war, weist Malitz anschaulich nach: Hierin werden u. a. Mommsens Forderung zur Assimilierung der Juden in die deutsche Gesellschaft durch Bekehrung unterstrichen sowie das von Mommsens altem Freund und gleichzeitig großem Antipoden Heinrich von Treitschke berühmt gemachte Zitat aus Mommsens *Römischer Geschichte* (und dessen Instrumentalisierung) analysiert, "das Judentum bilde ein wirksames Ferment des Kosmopolitismus und der nationalen Decomposition" (wir erfahren z. B., dass selbst Hermann Göring einen Mommsen-Enkel im Jahre 1933 mit den Worten begrüßte: "Das deutsche Volk wird Ihrem Großvater für seine Worte über den zersetzenden Geist des Judentums ewig dankbar sein"). Auch die übrigen Beiträge sind lesenswert; auch wenn einige mit etwas leichterer Hand geschrieben wurden, tut dies deren Bedeutung keinen Abbruch.

Heikki Solin

Epitheta deorum apud Homerum. The Epithetic Phrases for the Homeric Gods. A Repertory of the Descriptive Expressions for the Divinities of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Edited by JAMES H. DEE. Second edition (Alpha-Omega 220). Georg Olms Verlag AG, Hildesheim 2001. ISSN 0175-9086; ISBN 3-487-11379-1. XXI, 143 pp. EUR 62.

The main part of this book consists of a catalogue of the divinities appearing in Homer, arranged alphabetically according to the name of the god (pp. 9–107); after that comes an index of epithets and *iuncturae*, as the author calls any "collocation of divine names, epithets, and epithet-like expressions in a common syntactical unit, usually a sentence of major clause" (p. XV). The catalogue is preceded by a long introduction where the plan and arrangement of the repertory is discussed, and a select bibliography and signs and symbols are illustrated. This volume can from now on be used with profit in addition to C.F.H. Bruchmann's *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur*, which appeared as the first Supplement of Roscher's mythological lexicon in 1893. Let me add that this re-issue contains several improvements and emendations of the first edition (the author accounts for it on p. VII).

Heikki Solin

SOPHOCLES: *Selected Fragmentary Plays.* Volume I. Edited with Introductions, Translations and Commentaries by A. H. SOMMERSTEIN, D. FITZPATRICK and T. TALBOY. Aris & Phillips Classical Texts. Oxbow Books, Oxford 2006. ISBN 0-85668-765-0 (hb), 0-85668-766-9 (pb). XXXIX, 317 pp. GBP 40.00 (hb), 18.00 (pb).

This book (hereafter *SSFP* I), which is dedicated to the memory of Malcolm Willcock, is edited by A. H. Sommerstein (AHS), T. G. Fitzpatrick (TGF) and T. H. Talbot (THT). The plays included in *SSFP* I are *Hermione* or *The women of Phthia* (by AHS), *Polyxene* (by AHS), *Syndeipnoi* (*The Diners*) or *Achaiôn Syllogos* (*The Gathering of the Achaeans*) (by AHS), *Tereus* (by DGF and AHS), *Troilus* (by AHS) and *Phaedra* (by THT and AHS). All plays are presented with: 1. a bibliography (comprising texts and testimonia, myth, artistic

evidence, and main discussions); 2. an introduction (dealing with the myth and the play); 3. the Greek text with a critical apparatus and a translation on facing pages; and 4. a commentary.

Preceding the plays, there is a general introduction (by AHS) in which Sophocles, as well as the study of fragmentary plays in general, are introduced briefly. I liked especially the paragraph beginning "Why study fragments?" As AHS points out (p. xxv), fragmentary dramas throw light upon, or have thrown upon them by, dramas by other authors based on the same stories. Three of the plays which are included in *SSFP* I run parallel to Euripides' extant plays, i.e., *Hermione* to *Andromache*, *Polyxene* to *Hecuba* and *Phaedra* to *Hippolytus*. These plays are also discussed in comparison with each other in *SSFP* I (and when Procne's filicide in *Tereus* is discussed, Medea's filicide in Euripides' play is also brought into discussion).

The fragments are arranged in the order in which the editors think they occurred in the plays and designated by letters of the alphabet. In addition, the fragments still bear the numbers of *TrGF*. Thus, for example, the fragments of *Hermione* are: A (202), B (694), C (696), D (695) and E (203). Fragments which are not included in *TrGF* are referred to by other collection numbers, for instance the third fragment of *Phaedra* is C (693a Lloyd-Jones). The order of the fragments is, of course, always explained in the introduction and commentary sections to the plays. This is a good solution. It is easy for the reader to follow the reconstructions of the plays.

In the introduction to *Hermione*, AHS first discusses the role of Neoptolemus (in all the plays of Sophocles in which he figured), then compares Sophocles' treatment of the myth with Euripides' *Andromache*. He concludes that *Phtiotides* was the same play as *Hermione* and states that Sophocles' *Hermione* was earlier than Euripides' *Andromache*. Pacuvius' *Hermiona* is discussed in an appendix.

When discussing *Polyxene*, AHS suggests that there were two appearances by the ghost of Achilles in the play, one enacted (in the prologue) and one narrated (in a messenger's speech). AHS also proposes that Polyxene (not Cassandra or the ghost of Achilles) predicted the future death of Agamemnon and that *Hermione* was earlier than Euripides' *Hecuba*, i.e., that it was produced no later than 425 B.C.

Syndeipnoi (*The Diners*) and *Achaiōn Syllogos* (*The Gathering of the Achaeans*) are thought by AHS "beyond reasonable doubt" to be the one and the same play and the conclusion is that it was "pro-satyrical". Although the pro-satyrical status of this play is far from certain, it is worth quoting AHS' vivid text here (p. 102):

"the heroes, except perhaps Nestor, are none of them admirable – Ajax with his gargantuan appetite, Achilles with his hair-trigger temper, Agamemnon with his tactlessness, Odysseus with his inferiority complex – and like a group of reckless children, they have to be rescued from themselves by one of their mothers, who is luckily a goddess. And this when all they were trying to do is feast!"

DGF and AHS are very cautious when reconstructing the action and the structure of *Tereus*. They especially warn of the risk of importing backwards into the lost tragedy something which does not belong there when using later literary versions to reconstruct the plot of the play (in this case, esp. *Ov. Met.* 6.424–674). DGF and AHS present only an outline of the play without breaking the action into episodes. DGF and AHS also discuss the

true nature of Procne's revenge, and finally, suggest a date of 438 B.C. for the play (which would mean that the play was earlier than Euripides' *Medea*).

When speculating about the reasons why Achilles killed (and mutilated the body of) Troilus in Sophocles' play named after this Trojan prince, AHS tentatively suggests that Troilus was secretly in love with his sister Polyxene, came to know of Achilles' passion for her and, after having prevented the marriage of Polyxene to Sarpedon, managed to infuriate Achilles with his message of rejection by her. AHS also reproduces Hoffmann's old suggestion (from his dissertation of 1951) that a part of *IG II² 2319* (= H. J. Mette, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland*, Berlin 1977, III D 1 col. 1, 14) concerning tragic production at the Lenaea in 418 B.C. should read T_P- instead of T_V- and that Sophocles won the first prize that year at the Lenaea with his *Tyro* and *Troilus*.

Before handling Sophocles' *Phaedra*, THT and AHS carefully reconstruct Euripides' *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos* (the discussion on the details of the plot and on the date of the play takes seventeen pages). Sophocles' play is then compared both to this lost play and to the extant *Hippolytos* (nicknamed *Stephanephoros* or *Stephanias*) and in some details, also to Seneca's *Phaedra*. THT and AHS propose that *Phaedra* was set in Athens and that a *deus ex machina* appeared at the end of the play to ordain the cult of Hippolytus. This god (Apollo) may possibly also have mentioned the bringing of Hippolytus back to life by Asclepius. A date between the two *Hippolytus* plays of Euripides is suggested for Sophocles' *Phaedra* (i.e., 435–429 B.C.)

The editors of *SSFP I* also promise (p. ix) to publish (together with Amy Clark) *SSFP II* which will (probably) include the two *Tyro* plays, *Niobe*, *Ajax the Locrian*, *The Epigonoï*, the two *Nauplius* plays, *Oenomaus*, *The Shepherds* and *Triptolemus*. *SSFP II* is scheduled to be published in 2010. All the fragmentary plays which are either included in *SSFP I* or planned to be included in *SSFP II* are interesting for different reasons and therefore deserve to be edited, translated and discussed. Purely on the basis of my personal interest, I would have hoped that *Andromeda* and the three *Thyestes* plays had also been among the chosen ones.

To conclude, *SSFP I* can be warmly recommended to all fans of Sophocles, or more widely, to all fans of Greek drama. The best parts of this book are the careful analyses and reconstructions of the plots of the lost tragedies from all possible sources (earlier, contemporary and subsequent), although it must be admitted that many details of these plays still remain obscure or cannot be verified. Proposals for the characters of the plays, for example, or speculations about the turns of the events make one wonder how much did Sophocles (as well as other tragedians) alter the conventional myths, what parts of the stories did he copy from earlier authors and what parts did he invent himself. Finally, after having pondered these questions for awhile, one realizes that the audience at the City Dionysia was truly privileged to witness such a wide variety of different versions of the deeds and the fates of, for example, Neoptolemus, Achilles and Phaedra.

Vesa Vahtikari

CHRISTINA SCHEFER: *Platons unsagbare Erfahrung. Ein anderer Zugang zu Platon*. Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 27. Schwabe & Co. AG Verlag, Basel 2001. ISBN 3-7965-1561-4. XII, 276 S. CHF 88.

Dieses Buch, das einen neuen Zugang zu Platon sucht, will zeigen, dass die sog. "ungeschriebene Lehre" bzw. die Prinzipienlehre der Tübinger Schule einer "Überhöhung und Bestätigung" bedarf und dass diese Überhöhung in der unsagbaren Erfahrung des Gottes Apollon besteht (S. XI); der Epiphanie des Apollon wird dann das ganze dritte Kapitel gewidmet. Warum aber gerade Apollon, während die Bedeutung von Zeus praktisch vernachlässigt wird? Im ersten Kapitel werden die Aporien des Tübinger-Paradigmas, im zweiten die unsagbare religiöse Erfahrung behandelt, während dann das dritte Kapitel die kultisch-religiöse Erfahrung von Apollon als Hintergrund zur Ideen- und Prinzipienlehre behandelt. Einem Außenstehenden ist es nicht leicht, ein ausgewogenes Urteil über das Buch zu fällen, doch selbst ihm fallen einige merkwürdige Aussagen ins Auge. Ich überlasse aber das Urteil eher Spezialisten der platonischen Philosophie.

Heikki Solin

EURIPIDES: *Electra*. Edidit GIUSEPPINA BASTA DONZELLI. Editio correctior editionis prioris (MCMXCV). Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. In aedibus K.G. Saur, Monachii et Lipsiae 2002. ISBN 3-598-71245-6. XXXVIII, 84 S. EUR 32.

Die erste Auflage der von Basta Donzelli besorgten Ausgabe der euripideischen Elektra, die die vollständige Edition der 19 erhaltenen Dramen des Euripides in der Bibliotheca Teubneriana vollendete, wurde von der Kritik freudig aufgenommen. Die zweite Auflage unterscheidet sich nur wenig von der ersten, und es wurde noch nicht einmal eine Praefatiuncula hinzugefügt. Hinzugekommen zu sein scheint lediglich eine kurze Corrigenda-Liste von 16 kleineren Änderungen, meistens aus den Rezensionen der ersten Auflage übernommen (S. 84); von ihnen ist die wichtigste die aus Seidlers Edition von 1813 geholte Konjektur καὶ τέκνῃ με in 116. In diese Liste hat sich ein neuer Druckfehler eingeschlichen: p. 4 app. crit. schreibe ἠτύχησεν statt ἠτύχησεν. Im ganzen kann Donzellis Ausgabe wohl als die derzeit beste gelten, besonders was die Präzision des kritischen Apparats angeht. – Das Latein der Autorin ist im ganzen deutlich und sorgfältig, aber man sollte das Wort *translatio* (S. XII f) für *versio* meiden (auch wenn diese, genau genommen, nicht klassisch ist), denn *translatio* läßt einen an den Kult der Apostelfürsten Petrus und Paulus denken.

Heikki Solin

Aristoteles och Pseudo-Xenofon om Athenarnas statsförfatning, Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία. Med översättning och noter av STAFFAN WAHLGREN. Klassiker 16. Paul Åströms förlag, Jonsered 2001. ISSN 1104-3180. ISBN 91-7081-167-9. 190 s.

This slim volume offers the first complete Swedish translation of the Aristotelian Constitution of Athens and of the anonymous treatise with the same name, which has been transmitted in the Xenophontean corpus. The translation is accompanied by the Greek text, based on Chambers' Teubneriana (Ar.) resp. Marchant's Oxoniensis (in the very useful notes, W. accounts for some of his divergencies from the text form established by Chambers and Marchant, with special acknowledgement to Bowersock's Loeb edition of Ps-Xen.).

The translation seems to be, if a non-native speaker of Swedish is allowed a judgement, good and clear. Thus, the volume, as the other ones in the same series, will prove very useful for general readers in the Scandinavian countries as well as in Finland.

Heikki Solin

New Testament Greek. A Reader. Joint Association of Classical Teachers' Greek Course. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001. XII, 212 pp. ISBN 0-521-65447-5. GBP 14.95.

This book, whose preface is signed by J. Taylor (he must thus be considered as its author, even though this is not expressly stated anywhere), offers a selection of New Testament texts with vocabulary, from the introductory words of John to the last two chapters of the Revelation. At the end, an appendix provides a survey of differences between classical and New Testament Greek. The purpose of the book is to help readers understand and enjoy the New Testament in Greek; it is aimed at those who have been studying Greek perhaps a year. Knowledge of the commonest word-endings and constructions is assumed. Brief introductions draw attention to distinctive features of the various passages explained. A selection of illustrations (ancient and modern) gives life to the text passages.

Heikki Solin

SORANOS: *Kvinnolära, Om graviditet, förlossningskonst, spädbarnsvård och kvinnosjukdomar*, Γυναικεία. Översättning av SYLVIA TÖRNKVIST och INGRID URSING. Klassiker 17. Paul Åströms förlag, Jonsered 2001. ISSN 1104-3180. ISBN 91-7081-177-6. 448 s. USD 42.88.

We Finns cannot but envy our western neighbours for the varied range of good quality samples of translations of Greek and Roman authors in the series "Klassiker". At the same time, our thanks go to Paul Åström, a retired classical archaeologist from Göteborg, who has taken the risk of publishing volumes surely not destined to be bestsellers in the Nordic market.

The two writers, one a Hellenist, the other a former senior physician at a women's clinic in Stockholm, have given a complete Swedish translation of the work by Soranus in four books, usually called Γυναικεία or Γυναικεία πάθη, based on the fresh Budé text. Soranus of Ephesus, one of the greatest physicians of the Empire, has entered medical history as the author of the best ancient study of gynaecology. The translation is of a high standard, as even a non-native speaker like myself can see. The introduction could have been a little more comprehensive, as could the notes which, in fact, are non-existent. But notwithstanding such wishes, the authors have, on the whole, done a great service by rendering this difficult subject accessible to general readers in the Scandinavian countries as well as in Finland.

Heikki Solin

PHILIPP BRANDENBURG: *Apollonios Dyskolos. Über das Pronomen. Einführung, Text, Übersetzung und Erläuterungen*. K.G. Saur Verlag, München – Leipzig 2005. ISBN 3-598-77834-1. XIV, 676 pp. EUR 120.

This book offers a thorough discussion on Apollonius Dyscolus' treatise *On the Pronoun*. Alongside the new edition (which fills in a good number of omissions to the previous authoritative edition by Schneider), the book contains a German translation of the entire treatise, as well as a long introduction and commentary. The book amounts to over six hundred pages.

The introductory part (p. 3–213) consists of a detailed account of the ancient doctrine of the parts of speech. Some of this information is quite necessary in order to understand Apollonius' position in ancient linguistic historiography, since the definition of the pronoun is intimately associated with that of the noun in Apollonius' theory. However, B. offers a much too extensive description of the development of the parts of speech, their names and their ordering; much of this discussion is irrelevant for the present purposes, and fails to throw any new light on the subject.

B.'s bibliography covers a wide range of modern research literature, but I am critical of the way he often uses it. This is the case, for instance, when B. quite frequently leans on the authority of nineteenth century works, where more recent literature would be abundantly available. Moreover, he resorts to such early, outdated works where hardly any reference is needed at all, e.g. "Die früheste im Primärüberlieferung erhaltene Quelle ist Varro. Durch Varro erhalten wir einen Einblick in den Stand der römischen Grammatik am Ende der hellenistischen Periode" (Steinthal 1891, 219–220; Lersch 1840, 143) (B., p. 24). Surely this is common knowledge among those working on ancient linguistic historiography. Such miscalculations may result from the thesis-like nature of this book.

B. maintains the traditional dichotomy between technical and philosophical grammar, which has been – correctly, as I think – abandoned in Daniel Taylor's "new model of the history of Graeco-Roman language science" (1987:13). B. emphasizes the division between Alexandrian philology and Stoic philosophy to the extent of ignoring the influence of Stoic logic in Apollonius' grammar altogether:

"Die Trennung zwischen stoischer Philosophie und alexandrinischer Philologie begegnet bereits in antiken Texten. Diese Texte stammen stets von Gegnern der Stoa und polemisieren gegen die Stoa. Sie belegen also eine schon in der Antike empfundene inhaltliche Differenz zwischen beiden Parteien, lassen sich aber nur mit Vorsicht für eine Rekonstruktion der stoischen Lehre nutzen." (p. 24).

As a result, no question is raised as to the origin of Apollonius' philosophical terms, such as *ousia* and *poiotes*. I find their translations as 'Existenz' and 'Eigenschaft' (p. 183, 209, 239) rather than substance/subject and quality infelicitous.

It emerges, however, that B.'s knowledge of the Stoic theory of meaning is highly limited; he is content to quote the common three-fold division between a corporeal sound, meaning and the referent given by Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. math.* VIII, 11–13). This problematic passage does not reflect genuinely Stoic doctrine, as has been pointed out by Frede, Long (1971: 77 n. 11) and Luhtala (2000: 77). Sextus illustrates the Stoic theory of

meaning by an individual word, 'Dion', where a combined expression, such as 'Dion walks', is required. As Frede put it, "unfortunately 'Dion' is not an example of something which is true or false, and so it is clear that something has gone wrong with Sextus' report" (Frede 1978: 65).

These critical observations suggest that the author is less confident in the theoretical aspects of his work than in translating the text of the famous Greek grammarian. The most important contribution made by B. is the German translation of this extremely difficult text, which has never been translated into any modern language. It can be hoped, therefore, that this work will inspire further research into the linguistic theory of Apollonius Dyscolus, who is the figure most in need for a reappraisal in ancient linguistic historiography.

Frede, Michael (1978) "Principles of Stoic Grammar" in *The Stoics*, ed. by John M. Rist. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 7–75.

Lersch, Laurenz (1838–40) *Die Sprachphilosophie der Alten I–II*. Bonn (ND Hildesheim 1971)

Long, Anthony (1971) "Language and Thought in Stoicism" in *Problems in Stoicism*, ed. by Anthony Long. London: the Athlone Press, p. 75–113.

Luhtala, Anneli (2000) *On the Origin of Syntactical Description in Stoic Logic*. Munster: Nodus Publikationen.

Steinthal, Heymann (1890–91) *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Logik*, 1–2. Berlin (ND Hildesheim 1961).

Taylor, Daniel J. (1987) "Rethinking the History of Language Science in Classical Antiquity" in *The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period*, ed. by Daniel J. Taylor. *Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*, 46. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, p. 1–16.

Anneli Luhtala

Sortes Astrampsychi. Vol. II. Edidit RANDALL STEWART. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. In aedibus K.G. Saur, Monachii et Lipsiae 2001. ISBN 3-598-71003-8. XXIII, 127 S. EUR 42.

Astra(m)psychos war ein sagenhafter Magier aus Persien. Er galt unter anderem als Verfasser eines über die Antike hinaus weit verbreiteten, etwa um 300 n. Chr. abgefassten Orakelbuches, der *Sortes Astrampsychi*, das uns in zwei Versionen erhalten ist. Die erste Version, die *ecdosis prior*, erschien 1983 mit der Teubneriana von G.M. Browne, und mit dem hier anzuzeigenden Band legt Stewart nun die zweite *ecdosis* vor. Sie ersetzt die editio princeps von Hercher aus dem Jahre 1863. Sie ist von ausgezeichneter Qualität und kann als die abschließende Ausgabe dieser zweiten *ecdosis* bezeichnet werden. Den Kuratoren der Bibliotheca Teubneriana ist zu danken, dass sie auch solche nur selten verlegte antike Texte ins Verlagsprogramm aufnehmen. Jetzt können wir die zwei Versionen auf sichererer Grundlage miteinander vergleichen. In der ersten ist die Phraseologie des Archetyps zum großen Teil bewahrt, während die zweite die Struktur des Archetyps, wenn auch unter Preisgabe des originalen Wortlauts, getreuer beibehält (dazu s. Stewarts Beitrag in *Anthology of Ancient Greek Popular Literature* [1998] 287).

Heikki Solin

TITUS MACCIUS PLAUTUS: *Den skrävlände soldaten. Miles gloriosus*. F. f. g. i svensk metrisk tolkning med inledning och anmärkningar av ALF ÖNNERFORS. Klassiker 15. Paul Åströms förlag, Jonsered 2001. ISSN 1104-3180. ISBN 91-7081-165-2. 180 s.

After Aristotle, Pseudo-Xenophon, and Soranus (see above), a further bilingual text in the series "Klassiker" deserves to be briefly announced. The translation of the Plautine comedy, which is based on Lindsay's Oxford text, is metrical and seems to be fluent. The choice of a metrical translation is the more appropriated as, unlike other Plautinian comedies, *Miles gloriosus* is written wholly in stichic verses, without polymetric songs. In this play, which belongs to the relatively early ones (perhaps 206-204/3 BC), the stupid, boastful officer called Pyrgopolinices (a name which speaks for itself) now becomes for the Scandinavian audience more familiar through the new translation.

Heikki Solin

GEORG GRAF V. GRIES: *"Hercle" ante Herculem natum? De Amphitruonis Plautinae discrepantiis quaestiuncula. Festschrift für Erwin Arnold zum 70. Geburtstag*. DZA Verlag, München 2003. ISBN 3-936300-08-9. 22 S. EUR 30.

Quid sibi velit Georg Schwertlob Korzeniowski, nomine scurrili modo latinizato, auctor huius scriptiunculae *Arcto* missae, mihi saltem non constat. Ut omittam eius titulum nomenque facetum, agitur de natura tragicomoediae, de Herculis partu et de eius in Amphitruone Plautina agendi ratione deque Iovis et Alcmenae amore, argumentatione partim satis obscura et parvo fructu. Eruditionem quandam monstrat apparatus (deest mentio operis *Lecturae Plautinae Sarsinates*, 1: *Amphitruo* [1998]), ubi auctor nominibus usus est doctorum ut Fabri (= Lefèvre) vel ephemeridum ut *Annalium Herbitopolitanorum* (= *WJbAW*), ad lectoris stomachum movendum. Huc accedit, quod latinitas variis mendis mehercle immunis non est.

Heikki Solin

EVANGELOS KARAKASIS: *Terence and the Language of Roman Comedy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 0-521-84298. XIV, 309 pp. GBP 45.

This book is, according to the author, about "the character differentiation by language in Terence and the relation of Terentian diction to the tradition of Roman comedy". The most important studies on Terentian language are those by Robert Maltby, on whose work this study is also based to a great degree. The author claims that Maltby's work suffers from methodological shortcomings as far as the representativeness and handling of the data are concerned, but also regarding the criteria according to which a specific phenomenon is attributed to, e.g., colloquial language.

Thus, the aim of the author is "to set the discussion on a safer methodological footing," by a comprehensive collection of examples. The relevant linguistic features, the use of which in the speech of different character types is studied, include colloquialisms, archaisms, senilis *μικρολογία* and elevated language. Each of these is checked for its

appearance in the following phases of Latin; these are EL (Early Latin, up to 87 BC), CL (Classical Latin, from Cicero to Livy, c. 87 BC-AD 17 "characterised by an effort at rationalisation and refinement in the use of language") and PC (Post-Classical Latin), from AD 17 to the 6th century AD, further subdivided into the Silver Period up to AD 200, and Late Latin from AD 200 to the 6th century AD.

The first problem in this approach is the highly outdated and schematic conception of language and Latin linguistic history in particular. It is taken for granted in this study that there is a direct relationship between early Latin and late Latin in that they both provide evidence for the spoken language as opposed to the intervening, artificial period of Classical Latin. This misconception about language variation and change is further evidenced by the use of the disturbing term "CL speech". Furthermore, such categorisations as 'colloquial' and 'archaic' are taken as self-evident. While the author is only interested in showing that certain features belong to the group of archaisms or colloquialisms, the essence of these "predetermined linguistic categories" (Karakasis' description) is not further discussed.

The author claims that this study offers an exhaustive account of Terence's linguistic choices – and indeed, a considerable part of the book's length is made up by listing the relevant features, grouped according to the linguistic level in which they appear. It is, of course, clear, as Karakasis points out several times (although in somewhat different terms), that what style is all about in the first place, is the accumulation of particular types of features, and this fact might be used to justify the enumerating approach adopted here. As a result of this, however, the style of this study as well as the nature of the conclusions is overly repetitive – and more importantly, although the author may have interesting observations on some particular features, the feeling ultimately prevails that not much new information was added to the results already existing. For example, the fact that Terence characterised the speech of the *senes* in his plays by archaisms and long-winded expressions was already established by Maltby, and it does not become clear to the reader how this conclusion is refined as a result of the unexciting, even if comprehensive, collection of features in this study. The same holds true for the other main themes of this book: Terence as the innovator of the linguistic tradition of Roman comedy, and the divergence of *Eunuchus* from the rest of the Terentian corpus as standing clearly closer to the traditional, Plautine, style of Roman comedy writing.

There may be some useful information in the latter part of this book on the comic fragments where previous studies are less numerous, but this section suffers from the same schematic and repetitive style as the rest of the book.

Hilla Halla-aho

MARCUS PORCIUS CATO: *Über den Ackerbau*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von DIETER FLACH. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2005. ISBN 3-515-08632-3. 204 S., 5 Abb. EUR 29.

Dieter Flach, pensionierter Professor der alten Geschichte an der Universität Paderborn, ist ein fleißiger und konservativer Herausgeber alter lateinischer Texte. Nach der Publikation z. B. des *Zwölfstafelgesetzes*, Varros *Landwirtschaft*, Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus* und der sog. *Laudatio Turiae* hat er nun auch Catos *Über den Ackerbau* herausgegeben, übersetzt und

erläutert. Am meisten scheint er sich für die Textlieferung zu interessieren. Beinahe eigensinnig versucht er stets, die Lesarten der Handschriften zu verteidigen und auch allgemein akzeptierte Korrekturen beiseite zu schieben. Natürlich ist diese Tendenz an sich bewundernswert, auch wenn die Klarheit des Textes zuweilen darunter leidet.

Dagegen interessiert sich der Autor augenscheinlich weniger für die historische Einleitung, wo er vielmehr über Varros Landwirtschaft und die Unterschiede zwischen Catos und Varros Ratschlägen spricht. Diese Unterschiede dürften recht leicht zu erklären sein, wenn wir berücksichtigen, dass Catos Werk schon zu seiner Erscheinungszeit einigermaßen veraltet war, während Varro sein Buch etwa 100 Jahre später, unter ganz anderen Verhältnissen, veröffentlichte.

Die Übersetzung ist meines Erachtens meist fließend und sachkundig. Leider ist sie gesondert vom Text gedruckt, so dass es nicht leicht ist, sie zu überprüfen.

Die Versuche, alte Beschwörungsformeln zu übersetzen, halte ich dagegen für willkürlich und auch für überflüssig, da es klar sein dürfte, dass man deren Inhalte zu Catos Zeiten wörtlich nicht mehr verstand.

Die wenigen Abbildungen sind nützlich und anschaulich. Auch die Bibliographie ist mehr als ausreichend. Leider fehlt dagegen ein Sachindex.

Doch kann man sich vielleicht fragen, ob Professor Flach, von einigen textkritischen Verbesserungen abgesehen, mit diesem Werk sehr viel Neues geleistet hat.

Paavo Castrén

VIRGIL: *Aeneid* 3. A Commentary by NICHOLAS HORSFALL. Mnemosyne Supplementa 273. Brill, Leiden – Boston 2006. LIV, 513 pp. ISBN 90-04-14828-0. EUR 159.

In the Preface to his commentary on *Aeneid* 7 (2000), Nicholas Horsfall (hereafter H.) tells us how in 1967 Sir Roger Mynors suggested to him that he should write a commentary on that particular book of Virgil's epic. Forty years have passed since Sir Roger's suggestion. It not only provided initiative for one but also for two other commentaries on the *Aeneid* (Book 11, 2004, Book 3, 2006), not to mention the remarkable *Companion to the Study of Virgil* (1995), which was edited, and for the most part, written by H. This scholarly activity on Virgil has grown into a passion on H.'s part, or, as he puts it in the Preface to his commentary on *Aeneid* 3: "Writing commentaries on the *Aeneid* becomes not so much a habit, as a passion."

The latest of H.'s commentaries deals with the book of the *Aeneid* which has hardly been regarded as one of the best among the twelve books of Virgil's epic. However, Book 3 offers some memorable scenes: the description of Etna (570-587), which continues the remarkable tradition of descriptions of the volcano, beginning with Pindar's First Pythian Ode, or the grotesque tale about Achaemenides in the Cyclops's cave (588-691), or, to mention a passage with quite a different tone, the moving scene where Andromache gives decorated garments and a Phrygian cloak to Ascanius (483-491). Book 3 also contains that famous phrase "auri sacra fames", characterized by H. as "Greek in content /.../ though never quite so memorably expressed, at least until St. Paul ('root of all evil')".

Moreover, it should be remembered that Book 3 shows how insecure the refugees are, but also how they gradually become aware of their mission and goal. Anchises, who dies at

the end of the book, has an important role as an interpreter of omens.

Apart from the aesthetic evaluation, Book 3 is also a challenge to the commentator in many ways. It demands a good knowledge of ancient geography and topography, rites and the forms of prophecy and ceremonies. This means that relevant comparative material can be found not only in poetry, but also in Greek and Roman works on natural history, botany, agriculture, religion, etc.

H.'s new commentary begins with an Introduction which – under 13 headings – discusses different aspects of Book 3. The Introduction is followed by instructions to the reader, a bibliography and the text with an English translation. The commentary of 435 pages is followed by an appendix on Virgil's sources for the Cumaean Sibyl, a Latin and an English index, and an index of Greek and Latin names.

Scholars who have discussed Book 3 more from a general aesthetic point of view have usually divided it into 14 sections. In H.'s commentary, the text has also been divided into fourteen units, which consist of 3-216 lines. The units are as follows (their "titles" are here indicated in brackets): verses 1-12 (Proemium); 13-68 (Polydorus); 69-120 (Delos, including Anchises' speech on lines 103-117); 121-191 (Crete, including lines 147-191: Appearance of the Penates, which includes the speech of the Penates on lines 154-171); 192-208 (The storm); 209-269 (The Harpies, including lines 247-257: A prophecy); 270-293 (Strophades to Buthrotum); 294-505 (Buthrotum); 506-569 (No specific title is given; instead H. gives a short summary of this transitional passage); 570-587 (no title is given to this famous passage on Etna); 588-691 (Achaemenides and the Cyclopes); 692-707 (no title); 708-15 (The death of Anchises); 716-718 (no title, the closure).

In the long Buthrotum section, which, e.g., Kenneth Quinn has divided into three sub-sections (294-355: Andromache-Helenus; 356-471: Prophecy of Helenus; 472-505: Departure), H. finds several sections which he discusses as longer units: 321-343: Andromache ("This wonderful speech", as H. rightly calls it); 374-462: Prophecy of Helenus (including lines 389-393: Portent of the sow; and 420-428: Charybdis and Scylla) and 463-505: The Trojans' departure, in which lines 493-505 are discussed as Aeneas's farewell to Helenus and Andromache.

In my review of H.'s commentary on Aeneid 11 (*Arctos* 39 [2005] 230–233), I made some general comments on the nature and problems of classical commentaries. There is no need to repeat them here. However, I would like to make some further observations. We may ask, e.g., whether a commentary should be limited only to that information which is relevant for or needed for our understanding of particular passages in the text, or should a commentary provide the reader with a plethora of parallels? I give here two examples. Commenting on lines 389-393 ("Portent of the sow"), H. gives biological information from ancient sources (Pliny, Varro, and others). After saying that a sow has sixteen teats, we also learn that a sow can farrow unassisted up to twenty piglets, but that "in the hands of cross-breeding specialists, has reached a record of 27" (information taken from *The Daily Telegraph*). Had I not read H.'s commentary, I would have remained unaware of these facts all my life (and still enjoyed Virgil's description). The information about the sow is very interesting as such but hardly necessary to our understanding of Virgil's passage (cf. my example of ornithological material in H.'s commentary on Book 11, *Arctos* 39 (2005) 232–233).

In my previous review, I had some reservations about H.'s way of accumulating

material from older commentaries. Now, being more acquainted with H.'s Virgilian world, I am ready to admit that such material not only may have its own charm but that it also gives important and concrete insights into the history of Virgilian scholarship. I would especially like to mention H.'s references to C. G. Heyne, a leading German 18th century scholar from Göttingen, who, in the light of H.'s examples, seems to have been a shrewd reader of Virgil. An interesting acquaintance is James Henry (1798-1876), who - as I learn from *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* - as a man of independent means, travelled widely in Europe studying Virgilian manuscripts. His book *Aeneidea*, which was published in four volumes in 1873-1892, has provided some interesting material for H. (see especially p. 290).

Leaving these general considerations on the nature of classical commentaries aside, H.'s new commentary offers such rich material that I have to confine myself to only mentioning some of the most important passages discussed in the commentary, and to some occasional remarks.

The commentary on Book 3, like H.'s previous commentaries, contains many acute observations and specimens of good judgement, sometimes also showing a sense of humour. E.g., commenting on lines 4-9, where Aeneas says that he and his men began building a fleet, H. mentions in brackets: "how tedious - and retardatory - the shipbuilding detail might have been, only readers of *Swiss Family Robinson* will quite comprehend". H. also has a keen eye for some impressive depictions in Book 3, like the blind Polyphemus walking with a trimmed pine. For parallels on blind mythical figures, I would like to add the chapter "Blind People" in Maarit Kaimio's study *Physical Contact in Greek Tragedy. A Study of Stage Conventions* (1988).

From the viewpoint of an aesthetic evaluation of Virgilian passages, H.'s discussion of The Harpies episode is very interesting, both in the Introduction (" /.../ while there is admirable *Steigerung* between Aen.'s three attacks on Polydorus' bush, the Harpies' three attacks on the Trojans do not form a successful climax", p. xli) and in the commentary (on lines 209-269), where the structure of the episode is characterized as a *Dreiheit*. Apart from this 'formal' structure of the episode, H. convincingly shows its motivation in the general scheme of Book 3.

The analysis of the passage on Etna is illuminating in showing the parallels in other works of Greek and Roman authors; it also shows the differing opinions of scholars about the nature and value of Virgil's description of the volcano.

As for verses 679-681, where the Cyclopes are compared to trees, H. has, unlike R. D. Williams, some reservations: "The sole point of comparison here /.../ is height". However, if we visualize the scene (the huge Cyclopes on the shore), the simile may be quite acceptable.

H. draws attention to some shorter passages which prove to be fine specimens of Virgil's art. I would especially like to mention the short speech of the deceased - but buried without due rites - Polydorus (lines 41-46), which, oddly enough, has not attracted much attention from earlier scholars, although in the beginning of Book 3 it is very impressive. Another such passage can be found in The Harpies -episode (lines 247-257), "a prophecy of subtle tone and complex origins, little studied", as H. puts it.

The commentary also includes some references to modern authors and scholars of modern literature. Although these references are scattered and occasional, a reader of the commentary, like myself, may find them charming. E.g., writing about line 694, where the river Alpheus is mentioned, H. reminds us that John Livingston Lowes has discussed the

subterranean passages from Virgil's Alpheus to Coleridge's Alph in his book *Road to Xanadu*. Inspired by H., I read Lowes' passage, and indeed, it is a brilliant piece of *Stoffgeschichte*, showing a wide range of reading.

Commenting on the phrase "consertum tegimen spinis" on line 594, H. refers to Robinson Crusoe who had needle and thread, and to Ben Gunn (in *Treasure Island*), who improvised inventively (Ben Gunn is also referred to in connection with the phrase "cum fletu precibusque", line 599).

All in all, there should be no doubt that Virgilian scholars and all the other readers who have time and courage to immerse themselves totally into the Virgilian world with H.'s commentary as their guide, will find this admirable book a worthy successor to H.'s previous studies of Virgil. Needless to say, it is indispensable for the study of any singular passage as well as of any detail in Aeneid 3. We express the hope that the trilogy of his commentaries on Aeneid 3, 7, and 11 will soon grow into a tetralogy.

H. K. Riikonen

P. OVIDIUS NASO: *Carmina amatoria. Amores, Medicamenta faciei femineae, Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris*. Edidit ANTONIO RAMÍREZ DE VERGER. Editio altera. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. In aedibus K.G. Saur, Monachii et Lipsiae 2006. ISBN 3-598-71844-6. XXXVI, 376 S. EUR 78.

Zwei Teubnersche Ovidausgaben der Nachkriegszeit zeichnen sich durch ein ähnliches widersprüchliches Schicksal aus: einerseits sind sie mit Erfolg verkauft worden, andererseits hat die philologische Kritik ihre Schwächen erbarmungslos bloßgestellt. Die Metamorphosen, die seit 1977 fünf Auflagen erlebt haben, wurden von J.B. Hall, *ProcAfrClassAss* 15 (1980) 62-70 vernichtend niedergeschmettert. Und die hier zu besprechende Ausgabe hat schon drei Jahre nach dem Erscheinen der ersten Auflage (2003) eine zweite erlebt, ist aber von E.J. Kenney, dem Editor derselben Werke in den *OCT*, in *BMCR* 2004.01.13 strenger Kritik unterzogen worden. Ramírez nimmt in der Vorrede der Neuauflage keinerlei Stellung zu Kenneys Kritik, hat aber einen Teil von dessen Korrekturen stillschweigend übernommen, wie auch die meisten von Richmond, *Gnomon* 2004, 711-713 angeführten. Aufgrund cursorischer Lesung und von Stichproben scheint mir aber, dass dadurch noch nicht alle Schwächen der ersten Auflage beseitigt worden wären. – Eine Detailbemerkung: *am.* 1, 1, 10 schreibt R. (in beiden Auflagen) im Text 'Virginis' und im Apparat 'Virginis *Gold*'. Das hat nun weder Sinn noch Verstand. Wahrscheinlich meint R., dass er Goolds Schreibung des Wortes mit einem großen Anfangsbuchstaben aufnimmt. Was aber die Sache selbst betrifft, würde man ohne weiteres die Schreibung 'virginis' vorziehen, weil das Epithet *pharetrata* die Göttin identifiziert (so auch Kenney). – In demselben Gedicht 12 durfte R. nicht 'Aöniam' schreiben, denn der Gebrauch des Tremas ist irreführend, weil der Buchstabe ö in vielen europäischen Sprachen zum Alphabet gehört.

Heikki Solin

HYGINUS: *Fabulae*. Edidit PETER K. MARSHALL. Editio altera. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. In aedibus K.G. Saur, Monachii et Lipsiae 2002. ISBN 3-598-71237-5. XXI, 242 S. EUR 54.

Die erste Auflage der Ausgabe von Hygins *Fabulae* durch Marshall vom Jahre 1993 hat sich als die derzeit führende bewährt, als eine würdige Nachfolgerin von Micyllus und Rose, in der Tat der von Rose überlegen. Der zweiten Auflage wurden (durch Vermittlung seiner Frau) einige kleinere Korrekturen aus dem Handexemplar des inzwischen verstorbenen Editors einverleibt. Die inzwischen von Boriaud in der Collection Budé 1997 vorgelegte zweisprachige Ausgabe kann auf keine Weise mit der von Marshall wetteifern. Man vermisst in ihr kaum etwas; die von Rose hinzugefügte Appendix Hyginiana hat Marshall weggelassen, und das ist sein gutes Recht (die sog. Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana Leidensia, die den Hyginus gebrauchen, von Rose nur in der griechischen Fassung wiedergegeben, finden sich jetzt in beiden Sprachen in Flamminis Teubneriana dieser Hermeneumata aus dem Jahre 2004).

Heikki Solin

LUCIUS CAELIUS FIRMIANUS genannt LACTANTIUS: *Göttliche Unterweisungen in Kurzform*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von EBERHARD HECK und GUDRUN SCHICKLER. K.G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2001. ISBN 3-598-73006-3. 190 S. EUR 42.

Vorliegender handlicher Band ist das Ergebnis einer Gemeinschaftsarbeit, an der neben den zwei Herausgebern eine Gruppe von Studierenden beteiligt war. Neben der Übersetzung von Laktanzens *Epitome* auf der Grundlage der Teubneriana von Heck und Antonie Wlosok enthält der Band eine ausführliche und ausgezeichnete Einleitung, Anmerkungen, ein Verzeichnis der Eigennamen und ein Stellenregister. Die Autoren haben die Anmerkungen in gewissen Grenzen halten wollen, doch war es heilsam, den Text mit ausreichendem Kommentar zu versehen, um so mehr als es um die *Epitome* eines viel größeren, etwa siebenmal so umfangreichen Werkes handelt. Ein Urteil über die Übersetzung zu fällen fühle ich mich nicht imstande; sie mutet recht wörtlich an. Alles in allem eine willkommene Ausgabe als Einführung zur Beschäftigung mit Laktanz und der christlichen Apologetik.

Heikki Solin

BOETHIUS: *De consolatione philosophiae. Opuscula theologica*. Edidit CLAUDIO MORESCHINI. Editio altera. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae, in aedibus K.G. Saur 2005. ISBN 3-598-71278-2. XXI, 263 S. EUR 76.

Diese Ausgabe von *cons. phil., trin., divin., subst. bon., fd. cath.* (unecht), *c. Eut.* erschien in erster Auflage im Jahre 2000. Mit ihr hat Moreschini eine sehr gute Edition des boethischen Hauptwerkes und der kleineren theologischen Abhandlungen geschaffen; das Zusammenbündeln der zwei Werke findet seine Rechtfertigung in dem Umstand, dass sie schon in den ältesten Hss zusammenstehen. Die Ausgabe, die einen deutlichen Fortschritt

bedeutet, hat mit Recht allgemeine Anerkennung gefunden (z.B. J.-Y. Guillemain, *Gnomon* 2004; J. Magee, *BMCR* 2001; S. Martinelli Tempesta, *BMCR* 2006). Leider fehlt in der hiesigen Seminarbibliothek diese erste Auflage, so dass ich keinen Vergleich mit der zweiten machen kann; ihrer kurzen praefatio zufolge hat Moreschini ein paar weitere Hss verglichen und einiges hinzugefügt (ein Teil verzeichnet von Martinelli Tempesta); und im Jahre 2003 ist sein wichtiger Aufsatz zur hsl Tradition der zwei Werke erschienen (s. S. V Anm. 2). In *cons.* 4, 3, 13 hat er mit Peiper *extrema* der Hss beibehalten und Büchners und Biellers *extremo* nur im Apparat angeführt, und freilich kann man die Überlieferung verteidigen (so auch Tränkle, *VigChr* 1968, 285); unnötig auch *extremum* von Guillemain. Alles in allem eine würdige Nachfolgerin der früheren Teubneriana, der von Peiper aus dem Jahre 1871, und zugleich die derzeit führende Ausgabe. Das Einzige, was man vermisst, ist ein *apparatus fontium*; dafür liefert Biellers Ausgabe in CC den Ersatz.

Heikki Solin

Collectio Psalterii Bedae Venerabili adscripta. Edidit GERALD M. BROWNE. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae, in aedibus K.G. Saur 2001. ISBN 3-598-71229-4. 48 S. EUR 25.

Das kleine Werk, das unter dem Namen *Collectio Psalterii* oder *Psalterium parvum* kursiert, eine Zusammenstellung von Versen aus dem Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos, ist meistens Beda zugeschrieben worden; so auch J. Fraipont, der letzte Editor vor Browne in *CC ser. Lat.* CXXII (1955, 406). Dieser Ansicht schließt sich auch Browne an, ohne freilich neue Argumente zu bringen. Neuerdings ist aber Bedas Autorschaft bestritten worden von M. Gorman, *RBénéd* 111 (2001) 416ff; seine Argumente scheinen mir durchschlagend. Was die vorliegende Ausgabe angeht, stellt sie kaum einen nennenswerten Fortschritt gegenüber der von Fraipont dar. Kursorische Lesung und Stichproben ergaben, dass die Divergenzen vor allem aus Orthographica und kleineren morphologischen Varianten bestehen (z.B. *13 Israhel* Browne, *Israel* Fraipont; 20 *psallemus* Br., *psallimus* Fr.). An einem Punkt ist Brownes Ausgabe besser, nämlich im Gebrauch von Interpunktion nach modernen Gewohnheiten. – Eine Einzelheit: Warum setzt der Editor 7 ein Komma vor *laceret*?

Heikki Solin

IOACOBUS BALDE: *Liber epodon*. Edidit ULRICH WINTER. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae, in aedibus K.G. Saur 2002. ISBN 3-598-71246-4. XXIII, 87 S. EUR 46.

Jakob Balde (1604-1668) war ein bedeutender neulateinischer Dichter seiner Zeit, auch der deutsche Horaz genannt, dessen Werk durch besonders meisterhafte Formbeherrschung gekennzeichnet ist. Sein hier vorgelegtes Werk ist des Öfteren publiziert worden, sowohl zu seinen Lebzeiten als auch später; die letzte Ausgabe vor der hier rezensierten stammt aus dem Jahre 1990.

Die Editionsriterien eines neulateinischen Textes, zumal alle Textzeugen aus gedruckten Ausgaben bestehen, sind nicht ganz identisch mit denen eines antiken oder

mittelalterlichen Autor. Obwohl der Rezensent ein Altertumswissenschaftler ist, glaubt er bei der Lektüre des Bandes sowohl in der Einleitung als auch im Text und Apparat allerlei Mängel entdeckt zu haben, z.B. Widersprüche zwischen den auf S. XVI f festgelegten Grundsätzen, *principia* (die übrigens allzu kurz geraten sind) und der Praxis im Text und Apparat, Vernachlässigung der nach Baldes Tod erschienenen Ausgaben, die doch Beachtenswertes geleistet haben, usw. Ich sehe zu meiner Genugtuung, dass sich meine Zweifel an der Qualität der vorliegenden Ausgabe mit denen einer Spezialistin der Materie, Vibeke Roggen, *BMCR* 2004.03.45, decken.

Heikki Solin

HILDEBERTUS CENOMANNENSIS EPISCOPUS: *Carmina minora*. Recensuit A. BRIAN SCOTT. Editio altera. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. ISBN 3-598-71984-1. Monachii et Lipsiae, in aedibus K.G. Saur 2001. XXXVIII, 112 S. EUR 58.

Der vorliegende Band stellt einen Nachdruck der 1969 erschienenen Ausgabe dar, die um einen 36 Seiten langen Nachtrag vermehrt ist. Dass es sich um einen bloßen Nachtrag handelt, nicht um eine Neubearbeitung, schlägt sich im Preis freilich nicht nieder. Die Nachträge enthalten außer verschiedenen von Rezensenten vorgebrachten neuen Konjekturen ein wertvolles Verzeichnis der gesamten Handschriften der Gedichte. Die erste Ausgabe wurde von einigen Mitforschern ausführlich gewürdigt, so von J. Öberg, *CahCivMéd.* 14 (1971) 393-396 und G. Orlandi, *StMedievali* 15, 1974, 1019-1049. Leider hat Scott ihren Bemerkungen nicht immer Rechnung getragen. Alles in allem aber eine nützliche Neuauflage. Es erhebt sich aber die Frage, und zwar nicht nur hier, sondern im allgemeinen bei Teubnerschen Neudrucken, ob dem Leser nicht besser gedient wäre, wenn die neuen Konjekturen und Korrekturen in den alten Text einverleibt worden wären. Bei den hohen Preisen der Teubner-Bände wäre ein solcher Wunsch wohl nicht unberechtigt.

Heikki Solin

HROTSVIT: *Opera omnia*. Edidit WALTER BERSCHIN. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae, in aedibus K.G. Saur 2001. ISBN 3-598-71912-4. XXXIV, 334 S. EUR 82.

Es fehlt gewiss nicht an guten modernen Ausgaben von Hrotsvit (so nennt in der hsl Überlieferung die Autorin sich selbst im Nominativ). Auch die Teubneriana kann stolz auf die grundlegende Edition von Karl Strecker (zuletzt 1930) zurückblicken. Doch kann in einem Atemzuge gesagt werden, dass Berschin eine glänzende Neuauflage hervorgebracht hat, die alle früheren ersetzt. Daneben behält aber die kommentierte und mit einer ausführlichen Einleitung versehene Ausgabe von Homeyer samt Übersetzung ihren Wert.

Heikki Solin

IO. GENESIUS SEPULVEDA CORDUBENSIS, artium et sacrae theologiae doctor, historicus Caesareus: *Epistolarum libri septem, in quibus cum alia multa quae legantur dignissima traduntur, tum varii loci graviorum doctrinarum eruditissime et elegantissime tractantur*. Edidit JUAN J. VALVERDE ABRIL. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae, in aedibus K. G. Saur 2003. ISBN 3-598-71252-9. XXXIV, 342 S. EUR 86.

Dies ist die erste moderne Edition des Briefwechsels des spanischen Aristotelikers, Politikers und königlichen Chronisten Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490-1573). Die zum ersten Mal 1557 in Salamanca publizierte Sammlung enthält 89 von Sepúlveda selbst verfaßte und 14 an ihn gerichtete Briefe. Dafür, dass der Verleger nach der Teubnerschen Ausgabe von Sepúlvedas *De rebus Hispanorum gestis ad Novum Orbem Mexicumque* durch A. Ramírez de Verger jetzt auch die Briefsammlung des spanischen Humanisten zugänglich gemacht hat, dafür gebührt ihm ein Dank, der zugleich auch auf den kundigen Editor auszuweiten ist. – Ein paar Einzelheiten: Der Index compendiorum auf S. XXXIf enthält mit Verlaub gesagt monströse Abkürzungen von mittelalterlichen Werken; genannt seien nur ASD (= Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, Amsterdam) oder EP (= Thomae Aquinatis opera omnia, Parma 1852-). – S. XIX Anm. 24 zu Iohannes Metellus alias Jean Matal s. jetzt P.A. Heuser, *Jean Matal. Humanistischer Jurist und europäischer Friedensdenker (um 1517-1597)*, Köln - Weimar - Wien 2003. – Das Latein des Editors ist klar und verständlich, stilistisch freilich nicht immer elegant.

Heikki Solin

Antichi e moderni nella filosofia di età imperiale. Atti del II colloquio internazionale Roma, 21-23 settembre 2000. A cura di A. BRANCACCI. Elenchos 34. Serie La filosofia in età imperiale 2. Bibliopolis, Napoli 2001. ISBN 88-7088-403-1. 390 pp. EUR 35.

Ecco il contenuto del volume che raccoglie le relazioni presentate al secondo colloquio internazionale sulla filosofia in età imperiale svoltosi a Roma nel 2000: J. Mansfeld, Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, the Peripatetics, the Stoics, and Thales and his followers "on Causes" (Ps.-Plutarchus *Placita* I 11 and Stobaeus *Anthologium* I 12; A. Brancacci, La polemica antifatalistica di Enomao di Gadara; F. Alesse, Il tema delle affezioni nell'antropologia di Marco Aurelio; D.P. Taormina, Plotino lettore dei "dialoghi giovanili" di Platone; M. Isnardi Parente, Plotino lettore delle *Epistole* di Platone; A. Languiti, Plotino sulla felicità dell'anima non discesa; M. Mignucci, Alessandro di Afrodisia e la logica modale di Aristotele; L. Perilli, Menodoto di Nicomedia e i principi della medicina empirica; C. Lévy, Enésidème et Sextus Empiricus: la question de la légitimation historique dans le scepticisme.

La raccolta consiste di nove contributi divisi in cinque sezioni. Comincia con un eccellente contributo di Mansfeld sulla tradizione dossografica, prosegue con un altrettanto eccellente saggio di Brancacci sulla polemica antifatalistica di Enomao. Anche i restanti contributi sono di uguale interesse. Nel complesso, un volume stimolante.

Heikki Solin

MARIO PANI: *Le ragioni della storiografia in Grecia e a Roma. Una introduzione.* Documenti e studi. Collana del Dipartimento di scienze dell'antichità dell'Università di Bari. Sezione storica 28. Edipuglia, Bari 2001. ISBN 88-7228-289-6. 155 pp. EUR 18.

Il noto storico barese dell'età giulio-claudia offre in questo libro uno studio su alcuni tratti distintivi della storiografia antica, che si inserisce nell'acceso dibattito che vede da una parte semiologi e teorici della comunicazione e di strutturalismo in generale e dall'altra storici militanti di varie tendenze. Il libro ha lo scopo "di "salvare" l'opera storica, riconoscerle la sua specificità di *testis temporum*, liberarla dall'esilio che attualmente spesso le si impone nel genere della novella" (p. 7). Allo stesso tempo, vorrebbe fungere in qualche modo da parziale manuale di introduzione, indirizzato "anche a un pubblico più largo di quello dei cultori specifici di antichità classiche" (p. 8), ma si dubita che questo erudito saggio, che richiede molto da un potenziale lettore, possa raggiungere un normale pubblico colto. Nel complesso, si tratta di un volume stimolante, che tuttavia contiene poche novità e che non è del tutto di facile lettura. – Chi è Maridale ricordato a p. 8? Probabilmente ci si riferisce a *Redeeming the Text* di Charles Martindale, non riportato nella Bibliografia, la cui influenza si avverte nel volume.

Heikki Solin

LEONE PORCIANI: *Prime forme della storiografia greca. Prospettiva locale e generale nella narrazione storica.* Historia-Einzelschriften 152. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2001. ISBN 3-515-07869-X. 156 pp. EUR 35.

Il presente lavoro è uno studio fra la storia locale e la storiografia erodoteo-tucididea. Prende lo spunto di partenza dal principio per la prima volta elaborato nel 1909 da Felix Jacoby, secondo cui la storiografia di regioni e città della Grecia, cioè la storiografia locale, non possa precedere l'opera storiografica di Erodoto, ma sia debitrice a quest'ultima. Nonostante voci contrarie, tra cui quella più autorevole del Wilamowitz (secondo cui esistette una cronaca ateniese preletteraria), l'autore si associa alla tesi del Jacoby. Lo studio consiste in due sezioni distinte. Nella prima l'a. tratta della disputa delle prospettive locali e generali, muovendo dal noto passo dionisiano *De Thuc.* 5,3, ma confutando l'affermazione ivi contenuta sull'esistenza pre-erodotea di una storiografia locale. Nella seconda parte l'a. ammette che una storia locale potrebbe sì essere esistita prima di Erodoto, e già in età arcaica, ma in forme orali; ad Atene, verso l'inizio dell'età classica, avrebbe preso l'evidenza e concretezza delle istituzioni con il *λόγος ἐπιτάφιος*, la cerimonia con cui venivano onorati in particolare gli ultimi caduti in guerra; e proprio la discussione minuta sul *λόγος ἐπιτάφιος* è il punto basilare nella dimostrazione dell'a.

Le interpretazioni sono certo acute, anche se non sempre esenti da dubbi. In genere il libro è assai complesso nella sua struttura e non di facile lettura. Tuttavia, nel complesso si tratta di un'opera stimolante che si spera generi una nuova discussione su queste vecchie controversie.

Heikki Solin

ERICH SEGAL: *The Death of Comedy*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass. 2001. ISBN 0-674-00643-7. XI, 589 pp. USD 23.95.

It is not easy to give a balanced judgement of a work written by a celebrity like Erich Segal. The task would be less difficult if the first name of the author were Charles. But to be brief, the bulk is disappointing: the 589 pages do not correspond to the substance. The book is divided between ancient Graeco-Roman and later Western comedy. There are few new insights, as least as concerns the Old Comedy, and in general, this part is a bit disappointing. The chapters on Roman comedy reveal a somewhat surer footing. The second half of the book, on post-classical comedy, is mixed in its quality. The chapters on Shakespeare and Molière offer little beyond plot summary. But there are better chapters, e. g., on Machiavelli, Ben Johnson, and others. The volume has an erudite appearance with its 118 footnotes, but it does not provide many new insights into its subject, at least as far as the ancient times are concerned.

Heikki Solin

JOSEPH FARRELL: *Latin Language and Latin culture from ancient to modern times*. Roman Literature and its contexts. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001. ISBN 0-521-77663-5. XIV, 148 pp. GBP 12.95.

The argument in Farrell's exciting and stimulating essay has two main components: first, that Latin culture should include all written (and spoken) Latinity, in other words, that we should override the divide between ancient and medieval Latin and read all Latin as part of Latin culture; second, that languages, and the Latin language in particular, are not only there to be studied and taught; they are the subjects of representation of certain literary cultures. Farrell brings together texts from a wide variety of periods, from Sappho to Stravinsky.

Chapter one, which begins with Virgil, is fundamentally concerned with the idea of Latin as a civilizing force, the Roman linguistic imperialism (not a completely felicitous expression) which conquers and civilizes the conquered by teaching them Latin. Chapter two examines the *patrii sermonis egestas* through Valerius Flaccus and Lucretius, and how this is connected with modern traditions worshipping Greek and despising Latin, represented by Virginia Woolf and W.B. Yeats. Chapter three is dedicated to women writers; F. considers Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, Sulpicia, Hortensia, Perpetua, and others; Chapter four discusses the metaphors used to speak about Latin. Discussion on metaphors continue in Chapter five. All in all, a thought-provoking little book, well written, more essayistic than academic.

Heikki Solin

A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume IV: Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea. Editors P.M. FRASER and E. MATTHEWS. Assistant Editor R.W.V. CATLING. Clarendon Press, Oxford 2005. ISBN 0-19-927333-2. XXIX, 387 pp. GBP 115.

The fourth volume of LGPN more than ever has to deal with problems of inclusion and exclusion. The editors have had to make several decisions regarding both onomastic and regional items. Since the name of the Lexicon is Greek Personal Names, they have had to face the complex questions of contact and areal linguistics which culminate in two problems: what is a Greek personal name and where do we find such names? The second question has been solved in the traditional way. Those areas which were strongly Hellenised, even in the Roman Empire, have been included in the volume. Macedonia has been defined as an area from the Vale of Tempe in the south to the Scardus (Stara Planina) range in the North, and to the river Nestos (Mesta) running from Bulgaria to Greece in the east. Dacia, Moesia Superior, Pannonia and Dalmatia are excluded. The editors note that the inhabitants of that continental area were predominantly Scythian, Thracian/Getic, Illyrian, Dardanian and Celtic, but later they ended up in shifting their languages into Latin. Thus the exclusion is, mainly, plausible, as personal names were usually in a Latin format.

The second question is more difficult. The editors draw the line between Greek and non-Greek names rather randomly, and they do not seem to make a difference between a Greek personal name and a personal name written in Greek. It also seems that they have not tried to solve the problem of borrowing: when does an L2 name become an L1 name? As the editors state, they are not the first to face this problem (p. ix). Unfortunately, they do not suggest better solutions than those who have faced it earlier. A foreign name definitely does not become a Greek name merely by being written in Greek letters. To see the difference more clearly, we can take some modern examples. Every European state has a population of different ethnic groups. In Finland, there are many different ethnicities with different onomastic traditions. If we have to include all the Finnish names in a lexicon of Finnish Personal Names, we would probably face similar problems to those in LGPN. Therefore, we could try to solve those in a linguistic, not cultural or regional or emotional way. Linguistically, a Finnish name is a name that has been familiarised, i.e., it is phonologically and morphologically made Finnish. This can be clarified as follows. A Finnish athlete of Vietnamese origin is called Vinh Nghi Tran. His personal name is the second one, which is phonetically impossible in Finnish and does not fit in Finnish morphology either. All the same, the name is written in the Latin alphabet, the individual is Finnish by nationality and he is attested in Finnish newspapers. These seem to be the basic criteria of the editors of LGPN for a Greek personal name. However, the athlete's name is not Finnish, and should not be included in a Lexicon of Finnish Personal Names. Only after he is known as Nipa Tran, as he generally is, does he have a Finnish name. His Vietnamese name Nghi has thus been familiarised to Nipa.

Another kind of problem is the inclusion of Latin names as Greek personal names. Here we come close to another Finnish parallel, viz. the difference between Finnish and Swedish names. This problem is more emotional and cultural than linguistic. On many occasions, both the Swedish form of a name and its Finnish variant can be used as a Finnish personal name, e.g., Einar and Einari, or Petter and Petteri, to give simple examples. The names have been borrowed and they are easy to be included in the Finnish declension system. Thus, we have a parallel in cases of, e.g., Αἰμιλιανός and the like, though probably Aemilianus would not work as a Greek name in the same way as Einari would not work as a Swedish name since the direction of borrowing is from Latin and Swedish to Greek and Finnish, respectively. Here the reasons, however, are not so much linguistic than cultural, and

the inclusion of names of Latin origin in the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names is a cultural not linguistic choice.

To conclude this reasoning: a name is Greek only if it is familiarised and included in the Greek grammar by making required phonological and morphological changes, if needed, so that it can be inflected in a Greek grammatical system. A typical system of Hellenising names from a language that is not suitable as such for Greek inflection can be found in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. This familiarising has other consequences as well. When a name is Hellenised, it can be accentuated using general accentuation rules, but otherwise it should be left without diacritical marks, regardless of its whereabouts.

The method is not simple, but it is linguistically solid. The Lexicon has entries that are very problematic. A few examples should be sufficient: there are three successive entries Σανόκας, Σανόχας, and Σάνχος – all from Cimmerian Bosphoros. How do we know that they are different names? It is clear that they are not Greek personal names, and it is equally unclear whether they are totally Hellenised even if they exist in inscriptions. Naturally, they do not have foreign elements as regards Greek phonotaxis, but what should we think about Σαουαίων from the same region? It is difficult to see a Greek personal name in that format.

The chronological limit of this volume has been altered in comparison with the previous volumes. The onomastic material from Constantinople, i.e., from 330 onwards, has been excluded with the exception of names of individuals whose time of birth is unknown but who probably have lived through the turn of the third century, from the reign of Aurelian to that of Constantine. Outside Byzantium/Konstantinoupolis, however, names up to the 6th century are included. This decision has its good points since the onomastic material from early Konstantinoupolis is extensive and belongs, in many respects, to a totally different age than before. However, it also has several weaknesses as there never was an abrupt change in reality. The inclusion, therefore, could cover the period to the reign of Justinian in every part of the included area since, after his reign, the change was much more extensive than before.

In spite of my methodological critique, I am first to admit that this volume is a great achievement and will become a main reference book for many important studies in the future.

Martti Leiwo

MASSIMO MORANDI TARABELLA: *Prosopographia Etrusca. I Corpus. 1. Etruria Meridionale*. Studia Archaeologica 135. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2004. ISBN 88-8265-304-8. 804 pp. EUR 450.

This is the first volume in an ambitious project, planned to comprise a *Corpus* in three volumes followed by *Studia* in six volumes. Of course, one has to welcome such a scholarly investment towards our better knowledge of Etruscan *gentes*, and to wish all luck and persistency to its young and remarkably efficient author. But simultaneously, one has, just because of the immensity of the project, to ask certain questions.

Everyone understands that an Etruscan prosopography looks quite different when compared with its Roman or Greek counterparts. There are extremely few historical facts or, in general, persons who play any role in "history", and practically no accurate dates. From whence comes a prosopography? The author has decided to include *all* Etruscan people

known by their family name in any of the sources – a really democratic choice. This line chosen, one could naturally ask, why has the family name been taken as the criterium? Is a person for whom we know only the *praenomen* and *cognomen* somehow of less worth, even if we cannot reconstruct his/her possible family connections?

But the first real question is: Is this work useful, is it worth the effort? The answer is undoubtedly yes; *Prosopographia Etrusca* will certainly be referred to in all coming epigraphical editions and many other Etruscan studies. It will be a practical aid to find data about *gentilicia* and families. In spite of that, one has also to ask how much new evidence it yields; here we must wait for the *Studia* volumes. The first *Corpus* volume was, I must say, somewhat disappointing in this respect. It was more a kind of annotated *gentilicium* index than what one normally expects from a prosopography.

The second question is: How accurate has the author been in his work? I must admit it is unfair to be very critical in a short review like this. I had not had the time to do extensive checking, nor is there space here for sufficient argumentations of the criticism. Even if the work seems generally competent and reliable, all solutions are not convincing; there seem to be too many omissions without good reasons, and all details (starting with the mixture of Latin and Italian in the title of the book) are not accurate enough. Taking into account the huge amount of data, this is more than understandable, but it necessarily decreases the usefulness of the work.

Perhaps my most severe criticism concerns the criteria of the choice of material. The author confirms that all persons up to the full Romanization (1st century BC–1st century AD) are included (pp. 12, 18); but clearly he excludes hundreds of Etruscans who happen to have their epitaphs written in Latin, presuming they are not buried in a family grave, where the dominant language is Etruscan (e.g., *A. Tarna M.f.* from the Caeretan *Tomba delle Iscrizioni*, p. 516). Consequently, a Caeretan lady by the name of *Tania Orculnia* (CIE 6187) is not included, and, moreover, she has not even had a chance to intrude into the *Corpus*, because the author has elected to use the Etruscan alphabetical order, which does not recognise *O* as an initial letter; with Orculnia, he also omits the *gens Urgulania*, which would have given real prosopographical evidence.

Surprisingly also *I*, although a good Etruscan letter, is unknown to the author as an initial letter; luckily, there are not so many *I*-names in Southern Etruria, but, e.g., the interesting *Iulnial* (CIE 6063) from Caere is missing. I found a lot of other omissions in this inscription group (the often modest Etruscan *cippus* inscriptions of Caere) I chose for checking purpose. The author may have good arguments for excluding, e.g., *Vatnal* (CIE 5982, *ET Cr.* 1,65), but he does not share them with the reader. The use of the work is also made more difficult by the fact that the different variants of the family names (often quite far from each other in alphabetical order) do not get any cross-references; on the other hand, good concordances of epigraphical publications greatly help the search.

Perfection can hardly be expected from a work of this volume. In the current day, the best publishing format for a work of this type is debatable. I cannot see that this finely printed book would ever get revised editions; the coming volumes will hopefully include corrections to the previous ones, but once finished, new findings will always make it deficient. In this case, I would recommend digital publishing with organized upkeep.

Jorma Kaimio

Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West. Edited by ALISON E. COOLEY. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series no. 48. Portsmouth, RI 2002. ISBN 1-887829-48-2. 192 pp. USD 69.50.

Becoming Roman, Writing Latin?, the proceedings of seminar in Glasgow in 2001, is, in effect, an excellent volume, not just a 'collection of papers'. It is a treasure for anyone interested in two aspects of the Roman world: literacy and bilingualism. Some of the papers explore areas left uncharted by William Harris' seminal *Ancient Literacy* (1989). In the contributions which touch upon bilingualism, this is not the 'standard' bilingualism of the ancient world, with Greek and Latin as protagonists. On the contrary, in the contexts discussed in this volume, Latin was used alongside an indigenous language. The discussion circles around the concept of cultural identity, but never lands on it – as Greg Woolf puts it in his Afterword, one might try to "move 'cultural identity' away from the centre of discussion" (p. 187), and replace it with concepts referring to more specific identities.

Despite the emphasis on 'other' bilingualisms, in the beginning there are Greek and Latin – but with Punic, Oscan, and Elymian. Jonathan R.W. Prag's "Epigraphy by numbers: Latin and the epigraphic culture in Sicily" (pp. 15–31) is an interesting attempt to apply a statistical method to Sicilian epigraphy. The most important contribution of this paper, however, is the excellent introductory discussion on the concepts of epigraphic habit and epigraphic culture in the Sicilian context. Prag then proceeds to discuss the statistics of inscriptions published in the most important publications. In his comments, Prag rightly stresses the short life span of Latin epigraphy on the island.

From the statistical point of view, there are not many *lacunae* in Prag's bibliography (p. 20). The most notable concern Syracuse, which is why the numbers for the city are significantly smaller than the actual number of published inscriptions. Paolo Orsi's richly channelled publishing activity has not received all the attention it deserves, and important publications by G. Agnello, S. L. Agnello and A. Ferrua are not listed. Still, Syracuse with its ca. 1400 inscriptions is a statistical anomaly in Sicily. Furthermore, Prag almost entirely omits the inscriptions of Lipara, of which there are ca. 900. (The statistics for Catania have also changed after the 2004 publication of *Le iscrizioni del Museo civico di Catania*, by the present author.)

Andrew Burnett's "Latin on coins of the western empire" (pp. 33–40) throws interesting light on language use in the local coinages in Sicily, Africa and Spain. In Sicily, there are some quite extraordinary cases of a language switch in a coin legend. In a similar way, in some Spanish coinages, bilingual Latin-Iberian legends are attested from ca. 100 BC on. Finally, in all areas, the local coinages were 'Romanized', before coming to an end altogether. With Jonathan Edmondson's paper (pp. 41–60), we move to Lusitania, where the birth of epigraphic cultures is analysed. Edmondson underlines some distinctive characteristics of the epigraphic culture in the region, such as the statues of warriors and of wild boars and bulls, with Latin inscriptions incised on the warriors' tunics and on the animals' flanks. Ralph Häussler (pp. 61–76) discusses the transition from local epigraphic cultures, often using indigenous languages, to a more standard Latin imperial culture. He notes a shift of perspective in local epigraphies towards 'higher' forms of political organization.

Before the discussion of the northwestern provinces, the focus returns briefly to Pompeii, where Alison E. Cooley discusses the survival of Oscan (pp. 77–86). Oscan epigraphy played a part in the city in the period preceding the colony of Sulla, and was "clearly a sophisticated practice". Even though, in the colony, Oscan epigraphy was almost entirely superseded by Latin, there are some instances of Oscan even from the last period of Pompeii. Cooley rightly points out that there is no reason to suppose that all Oscan inscriptions would have been destroyed at a certain point, as has been suggested. Using Joshua Fishman's classic terminology, she suggests a transition from "diglossia without bilingualism" immediately after colonization to "diglossia with bilingualism ... during the Augustan period, or at least by the time of the eruption". Not being a specialist in the history of Pompeii, I still think that the "diglossia without bilingualism" situation, if it ever was there, must have been a short-lived one.

Ton Derks and Nico Roymans' paper (pp. 87–134) presents a type of support which not too many epigraphists may be familiar with, namely seal-boxes from the Rhine delta, especially from the *civitas Batavorum*. These seal-boxes are now "generally accepted as having been containers for wax imprints used to seal a range of items, and written documents in particular". The context here is mostly military, but not exclusively so. The seal-boxes are certainly thought-provoking material in the context of literacy. The catalogue of them, however, is longish – maybe a form of web-based publication could have been used?

The last three papers, by Jonathan H. C. Williams (135–149), William S. Hanson and Richard Conolly (151–164), and Roger S. O. Tomlin (165–179) deal with the less monumental, but the more interesting, epigraphy of Roman Britain. Hanson and Conolly's research on the distribution of *stili* in British rural sites continues to explore the prerequisites for literacy, and forms a noteworthy parallel to Derks and Roymans' paper. The same theme continues in Tomlin's excellent discussion on curse tablets or 'judicial prayers', as the author calls them.

Greg Woolf's afterword, "How the Latin West was won" (pp. 181–188), sums up the discussion. He makes some remarks worthy of consideration, such as "Latin was never as administratively or culturally central to Rome as Greek was to Hellenistic Empires" (p. 181). However, though some situations discussed in the volume support this statement, some may point in the opposite direction. Woolf stresses the need to analyze literacy more accurately, with the aid of concepts such as "military literacy", "monumental literacy", "commercial literacy", etc. The key to the emergence of the Latin West were the numerous innovations and transformations in writing practices.

Kalle Korhonen

Supplementa Italica. Imagines. Supplementi fotografici ai volumi italiani del CIL. Latium Vetus I (CIL, XIV; Eph. Epigr., VII e IX). Latium Vetus praeter Ostiam. Di MARIA GRAZIA GRANINO CECERE. Presentazione di ANNA MARIA REGGIANI. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-7140-283-9. 860 pp., ca. 2000 ill. USD 555.

This is a grand work on a grand scale which will be of inestimable service to students of Latium vetus, that is the area to the east and south of Rome and including places such as Lanuvium, Tusculum, Praeneste and Tibur, and its epigraphical monuments. It is also very

good that this volume was produced by the most eminent authority on the area, M. G. Granino Cecere, who has been working, and publishing, on Latium vetus for years (cf. the reference to "continue perlustrazioni del territorio" in the Introduction). From the same introduction, one learns that about 90% of the photos were taken by the author herself, not by professional photographers; the result is, in any case (as far as I can see), impeccable. (There are also some instances where photos are furnished for monuments which no longer exist; e.g., no. 64.)

As Latium vetus consists of quite a few cities with an important epigraphical heritage, one will find here photos (and further most useful information, cf. below) of many important and well-known inscriptions (e.g., no. 48, the actor M. Aurelius Agilius Septentrio; no. 66, the lex collegii Dianae et Antinoi; no. 271, the senator C. Iavolenus Calvinus, etc.; no. 430, the senator L. Antistius Vetus [now in Palma de Mallorca; another L. Vetus in no. 626]). The number of texts presented here is 1,090, whereas *CIL* XIV seems to contain about 2,200 inscriptions from places other than Ostia. Taking into account that the total number of inscriptions in this collection (i.e., 1,090) also includes some 200 inscriptions published in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, the conclusion seems to be that around 40 per cent of the inscriptions in *CIL* XIV appear in this book.

But it is not only the photos which make this book useful, for the individual lemmas also include information of great value on the inscriptions (the measurements, the present collocation, etc.), and an up-to-date bibliography is also given. In fact, about the only thing that is missing is the text of the inscriptions itself (I have been wondering whether the texts should not have been added; then this book would, in practice, have replaced large parts of *CIL* XIV.) It is also to be noted that the readings of many inscriptions have been improved; these inscriptions appear in the "Conguagli" designated with an asterisk ("testo emendato"; there are also marks for "testo accresciuto" and "testo diminuito"). For instance, *CIL* XIV 2831, the funerary inscription of a senator, C. Seius Calpurnius Quadratus "Sittianus", is equipped in the "Conguagli" with an asterisk. If one looks at the photo (or at the note by Granino Cecere) at no. 428, one sees that the second cognomen is in fact not *Sittianus* (a name used by me a long time ago to show that this fellow came from Cirta, where Sittii are attested in abundance) but *Sillianus* (the first instance of this cognomen, by the way; unfortunately, this new information does not seem to have found its way into the new fascicle of the *Prosopographia imperii Romani*). In no. 647, *postulante* in *CIL* XIV 2991 becomes *postulanti* and thus a new instance of an ablative ending in *-nti*. On the other hand, some inscriptions seem to have received an asterisk without being really entitled to this (e.g., *CIL* XIV 2319 = no. 182 has an asterisk, but I cannot see a difference between the text in *CIL* and the one to be read on the stone).

The presentation of the monuments starts from the ager Laurentinus and proceeds anti-clockwise to Fidenae and Aquae (with some milestones at the end); within each city or some other subsection, the monuments are presented in a certain order depending on the form of the monument in question. Ficulea (to choose an example) thus starts with an "ara", this being followed by a "base", several "cippi", etc. This seems reasonable, although those used to finding, e.g., all senators in one place will have to face the fact that senators appear in quite a few different types of epigraphic monuments.

I observed some minor mistakes (for instance, no. 245 is said to be identical with *ILS* 880, no. 247 with *ILS* 994, no. 936 with *ILS* 1324, but there is something wrong here; in no.

949, the name should be P. Sulpicius Quirinius), but their number is negligible, and the overall impression is that of very solid quality. This is without doubt one of the most important epigraphical books published in recent years.

Olli Salomies

Historia Numorum: Italy. General Editor K.N. RUTTER. British Museum, London 2001. ISBN 0-7141-1801-X. XVI, 223 pp., 43 plates. GBP 80.

In 1887 (new ed. 1911), Barclay V. Head published his famous *Historia Numorum*, a handbook that provided a general survey of the whole of Greek coinage. The present volume begins a completely new survey aiming to revise and complement Head's volume. The first part has now appeared under the general editorship of K.N. Rutter, in collaboration with several leading numismatists and historians. Its purpose is to "provide a clear account of the Greek and local coinages of peninsular Italy down to the Second Punic War", including also some later non-Roman issues in Italy, as those of Paestum. This volume will be of utmost utility for classical scholars, and it is to be hoped that other, similar volumes of equally high quality will continue the courageous enterprise of replacing the old and venerable Head.

Heikki Solin

FRITZ GSCHNITZER: *Kleine Schriften zum griechischen und römischen Altertum* I-II. Herausgegeben von CATHERINE TRÜMPY und TASSILO SCHMITT. *Historia Einzelschriften* 149, 167. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2001, 2003. ISBN 3-515-07805-3; 3-515-08037-6. XXXI, 366 und XXIX, 519 S. EUR 76, EUR 98.

Fritz Gschnitzer ist ein führender Vertreter der griechischen Geschichtsforschung. Die Herausgeber haben der Gelehrtenwelt einen großen Dienst erwiesen, indem sie teilweise an versteckten Stellen publizierte Studien des Heidelberger Althistorikers in zwei handlichen Bänden mit einer thematischen Gliederung leicht zugänglich gemacht haben. Wie bei kaum einem anderen lebenden Althistoriker verbindet sich bei Fritz Gschnitzer ein tief empfundenes historisches Verständnis mit feinsinniger philologischer Interpretationskunst. Besonders im ersten Band, *Frühes Griechenland. Historische und sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge*, tritt Gschnitzers Doppelkompetenz als Historiker und Philologe vorzüglich in Erscheinung. So etwa in den Studien zu 'Stammes- und Ortsgemeinden im alten Griechenland', oder in den 'Neuen Beiträgen zu den griechischen Ethnika'.

Der zweite Band, *Historische und epigraphische Studien zur Alten Geschichte seit den Perserkriegen*, umfasst Beiträge zur Geschichtsschreibung, zur griechischen und römischen Geschichte und zu griechischen Inschriften sowohl der klassischen, hellenistischen wie römischen Zeit. Ein kurzes Verzeichnis von Nachträgen und die Indices runden den Band ab. Die Beiträge sind in der ursprünglichen Form, sowie sie in der Erstpublikation veröffentlicht wurden, wiedergegeben, was gelegentlich die Lesung erschwert (z. B. die Artikel aus dem Neuen Pauly 491-494). Das betrifft nur das Äußere, und

wir freuen uns, G.s zentrale wissenschaftliche Produktion in einem Werk zusammengefaßt zu besitzen.

Heikki Solin

NEVILLE MORLEY: *Theories, Models and Concepts in Ancient History*. Routledge, London and New York, 2004. ISBN 0-415-24876-0 (hb), 0-415-24877-9 (pb). 162 pp. GBP 55 (hb), 15.99 (pb).

This book purports to be an introduction to the wonderful world of historical theory, aimed specifically at a theory-ignorant student of ancient history. The book arises from Morley's (hereafter M.) own experiences with "theory," starting from his first meetings with theoretical thinking "marked by incomprehension, boredom and [. . .] catastrophic performance . . ." His later involvement with theoretical thinking has led him to write this book as a repayment of "the intellectual debt".

M. starts his repayment in the first chapter ("Approaches: the problem of theory") by presenting the position of "theory" in current classical scholarship (obstructive and complicated) and then his own view of what theory should be (constructive and clarifying). Then he investigates the uses of generalisations and models from his position, trying to show how well-defined, systemically constructed models and the use of modern concepts can open new perspectives on old problems without necessarily falling into the trap of anachronism. He stresses the point that whatever we do, we still belong to our own time, and writing history by "letting the sources speak for themselves" is impossible, as the sources do not speak, but are read and interpreted by us and therefore, it is better for the historian to recognise the present-boundedness of his own concepts.

As a solution, M. argues for well-defined concepts and against the indiscriminate use of classical words; additionally, he spends some pages strongly defending Hopkins' model-based approaches to the study of taxation in the Roman empire and Finley's theoretical concept of the "consumer city." More than the results and contents of these studies, he emphasised their methodology, with models and defined theoretical concepts, and ends his final defence in stating that the final test for a theory "is not just whether it is persuasive but whether it is productive", i.e. it opens new discussions and novel ways of seeing the subject.

In the second chapter ("Ancient and Modern. The invention of the ancient economy") M. examines the way in which ancient economies have been studied during the last decades. This is perhaps the strongest chapter of the book, reflecting M's own interest in the study of ancient economy, presenting well the primitivist - substantivist -arguments and the ongoing effect of Finleyan concepts even in recent research.

The following three chapters are more or less a description of the important research subjects in the historiography of the late 20th century. In the chapter "The limits of the possible," in sections "materialism," "*la longue durée*," "demography, diet and disease" and "ecology" M. nominally presents an argument between the "idealistic" and "materialistic" approaches, where he (in favour of the materialist approach) presents the kinds of things that have been studied from the materialistic view that the physical environment is the controlling power over culture, ideas and thinking. He follows this theme through the work of Ferdinand Braudel up to modern ecology and studies on Roman demography.

In the chapter "Class and Status" M., using the concepts of "society", "status", "class" and "politics", presents current themes in the study of the social organisation of Roman society. In practice, he is presenting his own ideas of the "structures" of Roman society, the ordering principles which renew and maintain social order. This is a well-structured but very essay-like chapter, interesting, but slightly confusing in its excessive use of analogies with later phenomena.

In the next chapter ("A sense of identity"), M. addresses the challenges brought about by the new themes of "sex", "gender" and "ethnicity" – all concepts that have their roots in feminist activism in the later 20th century. As usual, M. encapsulated these themes in a separate chapter, as if questions of identity could be separated from the structure of the society, for example. In spite of this, the chapter is quite successful in introducing the reader to the deconstruction of these basic concepts of identity as historically constructed. M. rightly stresses the fact that the uncritical application of these concepts in the study of the remote past easily leads to erroneous conclusions, since the categories the concepts define were just not present in classical times.

The last real chapter of the book is a motley collection of various concepts from diverse sources, ranging from psychology and social biology to literary theory and anthropology. As a key to these concepts, M. uses "culture", which he sets in relation to Freud's theories on unconscious and sociobiological ideas of the biological determinism of some forms of human societies. He is somewhat more successful in presenting "structuralism", as theories labelled with this name naturally deal with the separation of content and form - the dialogue between these two is often seen as the place where "culture" dwells. The anthropological "cultures" receive some criticism, but overall, M. seems to accept the use of "thick description" in certain cases, depending on the interests of the historian.

In the Afterword, M. downplays the aim of the book somewhat by explaining, that this book will not enable one to use these theoretical concepts, but will allow one to recognise them.

Considering the meaning of M's Afterword, it is a pity he has left out some very central concepts of current historical theory. The missing discussions on for example "representation" and "practice" are evident, and a major negligence on the part of the author. These concepts, while looking very innocuous, carry around a heavy bit of theoretical apparatus in contemporary historical science. What also makes them very important is, that they are products of *historical* theory, and not borrowed from social sciences.

In the beginning, M. emphasises the importance of contextualising texts, not only the primary sources we read, but also the secondary literature, as all researchers create their work in a context which should affect the way we read the texts. His own way of writing, however, does not follow this ideal, as frustratingly often he leaves the cited historians, archaeologists, sociologists, and philosophers hidden in the end-notes and the bibliography. This might be the publisher's policy, but it is confusing, especially since the notes are mostly very short.

In addition, I personally find M's concept of theory influenced very much by the social sciences. His usage of the word "theory" could be explained as "an abstract model to be applied to the data studied for its validity to be tested or denied", although this is hard to validate as M. does not explicate his own positions, which he proudly admits in the preface. His position is obvious to me, but would it be for a theoretically ignorant or reluctant

student?

The prominence of traditional research themes, emphasis on models of thinking from the social sciences and a lack of contextualisation of these discussions and models with the omission of major proponents of historical theory from the last decades make this book a subversive introduction to classical history which looks very much like a social science. I would be wary of suggesting this book as a good introduction to historical theory to a student, even though it is well written. But as M. himself states, these are matters of personal taste, and especially dependent on the kind of history in which one is interested.

Harri Kiiskinen

Serta antiqua et mediaevalia VII: Il cittadino, lo straniero, il barbaro, fra integrazione ed emarginazione nell'antichità. Atti del I Incontro Internazionale di Storia Antica (Genova 22–24 maggio 2003). A cura di MARIA GABRIELLA ANGELI BERTINELLI e ANGELA DONATI. Università degli studi di Genova, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità e del Medioevo. Storia Antica 4. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-7689-233-8. VII, 472 pp. EUR 250.

Il tema del Convegno di cui si presentano gli atti, di grande attualità anche nel mondo contemporaneo e che ben coincide con la sede dell'incontro per via della convivenza e circolazione di tante e diverse culture dai tempi immemorabili nella città portuale ligure, nasce dalla considerazione e dalla definizione del ruolo del cittadino antico, o comunque degli abitanti, all'interno di una polis greca oppure di una città romana (*municipium, colonia*, o quale che fosse la sua denominazione). Dappertutto nel mondo antico mediterraneo, come del resto accade universalmente, si manifestava il rapporto, dialogante o meno, fra identità e alterità (e anche alienità). Nel quadro di questa interazione, di definizione complicatissima, si inseriscono gli innumerevoli elementi di ordine socio-culturale, politico-religioso, economico, ecc., che sono destinati a trasformare la società umana. Per poter delineare, quantomeno approssimativamente, i vari livelli di coesione e assimilazione o di squilibrio e di rottura fra le diverse componenti delle società antiche, greco-romane e altre, occorre rintracciare i confini e i margini che servono a determinare i concetti di integrazione e di emarginazione nel mondo antico. La definizione di chi appartiene a quale luogo è basilare in qualsiasi società, ma le risposte date da diverse culture, nazioni e gruppi alla questione su identità e alterità sono ineguali tra di loro e anche difficilmente commensurabili.

I contributi di questi Atti, divisi in due sezioni (Storia greca e Storia romana), hanno come scopo di studiare appunto alcune definizioni antiche dell' "otherness". Attraverso un gran numero di esempi vengono analizzati temi che illustrano i criteri di come distinguere fra diversi elementi costituenti la società antica: lingua (greca e latina), origine, cittadini e barbari, cittadini e schiavi, prigionieri e ospiti, indigeni e coloni, ecc. Naturalmente gli argomenti trattati rappresentano una scelta tra tante alternative, comunque consentono tutti al lettore di seguire il filo conduttore dell'incontro genovese.

Il volume, redatto con la consueta competenza di Maria Grazia Angeli Bertinelli e Angela Donati, si conclude con lo scritto di William Harris sulla rappresentazione dei nemici dello stato romano nella storiografia romana ('Can Enemies too Be Brave? A Question about

Roman Representation of the Other'). Fra gli autori spicca Cesare (*b. Gall.*) per la generosità con cui adopera il termine *virtus* per gli avversari.

Mika Kajava

Zu Wasser und zu Land – Verkehrswege in der antiken Welt. Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums 7, 1999. Herausgegeben von ECKART OLSHAUSEN und HOLGER SONNABEND. Geographica Historica 17. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2002. ISBN 3-515-08053-8. 492 S. EUR 100.

This collection presents the papers (and some abstracts) of the 7. *Internationales Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums* that took place in Stuttgart on the 5th to the 9th of May 1999. The papers are not in any easily discernible order, and at the first glimpse, the reader is left with the desire that that some kind of internal division would have been made. The editors defend this (p. 7) by referring to the wide thematic variety of the contributions and the wish to conserve this variety in the apparent disorder of the volume; the reader is bound to agree at the end, although some thematic groupings can be made out.

A number of papers concentrate on studying single routes, ranging in scale from pieces of road (Schmaltz), to routes in a single geographical setting (Herzig), to a presentation of the complete cultural and social context of a well-known road (Daverio Rocchi). Of these, Herzig's is also of interest in relation to the status of roads in the northern Roman provinces in general, while Daverio Rocchi's study of the political and status context of the *hiera hodos* leading from Athens to the sanctuary at Delphi is interesting and well done; the ideas are familiar but their application in this setting is novel.

On the technical aspects of road construction, one paper discusses the general use of bridges in the ancient world (Briegleb) and another deals specifically with the uses of bridges and fords on Mycenaean roads in the Argolis region (Knauss). Knauss presents an interesting interpretation of the uses of these two structures; it seems that fords were often used to cross larger rivers where bridges could not be built with the techniques available.

Three papers study the interaction of local and large scale traffic networks, in the Bay of Corinth (Freitag), the central Ionian Isles (Wirbelauer) and around Gadara, modern north-western Jordan (Bühning/Riedl, vs. Bühning/Riedel in the Table of Contents). These all provide insights in how the routes were simultaneously used for local and long distance travel. Other papers with similar approaches study the roads and footpaths in Attica and Megaris (Lohmann) and the road network in ancient Cilicia (Sayar). More weight is placed on the institutions of trade and traffic in the papers on the juridical definition of *viae publicae* in the context of the roads in Gallia and Germania (Rathmann), and the trade connections between the Pontos region and the Aegean (von Bredow).

Three papers are connected with long-distance trade to the east. Cataudella examines the waterways connecting the Mediterranean with Persia, Bianchetti the sea routes to India in Hellenistic and Roman periods, and Ruffing the routes used by Roman long-distance trade with the east, mainly with India and China. These papers form a most interesting combination, since together they show well that the route used in this trade certainly was not a function of "cost," but was selected based on a much more complex process which included the existing infrastructure, political situation, the need for security and the types of goods

transported. The conclusions we can draw from these papers are interesting, as they show how both sea and land routes are valid options when we consider the routes of trade. The actual practice of trade along these alternative routes was very different; therefore, "cost," as understood today, had very little meaning, since the routes were incommensurable, and thus there could not be a competitive relationship between them.

The experiences and practices of travel as activity are studied in four papers. Travel was part of life for the Roman upper class, and rarely was done for leisure, although "work-related" travel often left enough time for civilised *otium* during the trip, even in cases where politics at the highest level was involved (Olshausen, Stepper). The men later to become saints also travelled, but the travel tends to get removed from the hagiographies (Günther). The motives for travel can vary a great deal, but the anthropological analysis of these motives (Gulinat) leaves the reader as cold as pure theory usually does, although giving some food for thought by showing, how varied the motivations behind travel can be.

A number of papers deal with structural analyses of traffic and travel. Hascher/Sonnabend examine the travel options between Aquileia and Ravenna, of which there were three: by sea, lagoon boats and road, while Warnecke shows how the trading ships in the Mediterranean certainly did not keep to the coasts, but did sail over open seas, even during the night. This was especially true for ships going from Italy to Egypt, as the open-sea route was very fast and reliable during the summer. Also, Warnecke rejects the *mare clausum*. Armies were sent by sea in the winter months, and the *annona* ships often left Egypt in late September, when the winds became more favourable. Wagner-Hasel suggests that the creation of the interregional temple complex at Delphi was a result of its being at the crossing point of traditional, interregional trade and communication routes. The evidence and her interpretation of it leave few doubts that Delphi was also an important trade center. Zimmermann studies the regulation of traffic in classical times and Waldherr the ancient transhumance routes (*calles*) in Italy. The latter comes to the discouraging conclusion, that there probably is no way we can ever find about the actual routes used, since there was no continuity of the practice in the early Middle Ages.

Bintliff's model-based approach to the study of local trade is a paper of its own. By comparing data from the early modern period and Roman Italy, Bintliff is able to show how towns in the northern provinces did not function as instigators of local economies. His work is thought-provoking, even if not something to be accepted without a grain of salt.

A group of its own is the study of military movement and logistics. The works range from the logistical challenges of the military expedition of Xerxes against the Greeks (Kehne), the route taken by Hannibal with his armies over the Pyrenees (Barceló), the movements of armies in the mainland of Greece in Xenophon's *Hellenika* (Gschmitzer) to the amphibious operations of the Romans in Germania (Hänger). All the papers stress the importance of detailed preliminary planning and careful selection of the routes as necessary requirements for a successful military campaign. Personally, I found Hänger's study most interesting, as he manages to raise the paper from a descriptive analysis of the movements to an analysis of creative military thinking and the social and political structures that perhaps were to limit Roman military strategy to short-term ad hoc solutions in the Imperial period. A thematic epilogue to this theme might be provided by the difficulties in finding the right road to take. Grassl's study of the clueless wanderings of kings and commanders with their armies at the mercy of local, capricious, greedy and treacherous guides makes a hilarious read, and

places things in context by showing how difficult orientation was in ancient times.

Mythological aspects of travel are studied through Odysseus' travels back and forth in the Straits of Messina (Wolf), and deceased persons' last trip to the land of the dead (Chaniotis).

Most of the papers are interesting, some are very good, and the overall quality is high. The layout is pleasant, although somehow gray, graphics are used wisely and typographical errors are rare. The variety of themes and approaches contribute to making this enjoyable reading even for a non-specialist, since the discussions rarely enter into minute details, and the writers often aim towards interpretative approaches instead of purely descriptive accounts.

The contributions are: Heinz E. Herzig, Die antiken Verkehrswege in der Schweiz. Neuere Forschungen zu den römischen Straßen; Holger Sonnabend/Michael Hascher, Konkurrierende Verkehrssysteme in der Antike? Moderne Fragen zum antiken Verkehrswesen im Lagunengebiet zwischen Aquileia und Ravenna; Peter Kehne, Zur Logistik des Xerxes-Feldzuges 480 v. Chr.; Michele R. Cataudella, Quante vie d'acqua fra il Mediterraneo e la Persia; Pedro Barceló, Unterwegs mit Hannibal. Von Neukarthago zu den Pyrenäen; Linda-Maria Günther, Reisewege in der spätantiken Hagiographie; Klaus Freitag, Die Fährverbindungen im Golf von Korinth; Herbert Grassl, Irrwege – Orientierungsprobleme im antiken Raum; Heinz Warnecke, Zur Phänomenologie und zum Verlauf antiker Überseewege; Jochen Briegleb, Brücken im Straßenverkehr der antiken Welt; Hans Lohmann, Antike Straßen und Saumpfade in Attika und der Megaris; Giovanna Daverio Rocchi, Topografia dello spazio internazionale. La *hierà hodòs* da Atene a Delfi; Beate Wagner-Hasel, Kommunikationswege und die Entstehung überregionaler Heiligtümer: das Fallbeispiel Delphi; Klaus Zimmermann, 'Verkehrsregelungen' in der Antike; Fritz Gschnitzer, Straßen, Wege und Märste in Xenophons Hellenika. Ein Beitrag zur Verkehrsgeographie Griechenlands in klassischer Zeit; John Bintliff, Going to Market in Antiquity; Eckart Olshausen, Gute Reise! Mit Cicero unterwegs; Claudia Bühring/Nadine Riedel, Eine überregionale Verkehrsbindung in flavischer Zeit; Christian Hänger, Die amphibischen Operationen in Germanien unter Augustus und Tiberius. Zur Bedeutung des Meeres für die römische Strategie; Serena Bianchetti, Die Seerouten nach Indien in hellenistischer und in römischer Zeit; Gerhard Heimerl, Die Zukunft des Verkehrs; Armin Wolf, Homer und die Straße von Messina. Plankten, Scylla, Charybdis und die Reihenfolge der Verse der Odyssee 12,55-110; Jost Knauss, Furt oder Brücke. Hydrotechnische Aspekte des mykenischen Straßenbaus in der Argolis; Kai Ruffing, Wege in den Osten. Die Routen sed römischen Süd- und Osthandels (1. bis 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.); Ruth Stepper, Zwischen Idylle und Alptraum: Eine Reise durch das krisengeschüttelte Italien (Horaz, Satiren, 1,5); Gerhard Hebbeker, Meerfahrt mit Odysseys, Landritt mit Don Quijote. Weisen der Erfahrung von Welt und Ich; Bernhard Schmaltz, Eine hellenistische Pflasterstraße (Abstract); Eckart Wirbelauer, Landgeschichte als Meerese Geschichte. Antike Seerouten und Seefahrten im Gebiet der mittleren Ionischen Inseln; Angelos Chaniotis, Letzte Reise (Abstract); Michael Rathmann, *Viae publicae* in den Provinzen des Imperium Romanum. Probleme einer rechtlichen Definition; Klaus Gulinat, Gute Reise! Reismotive aus der Sicht der Anthropogeographie; Gerhard Waldherr, Das system des *calles* (Herdenwanderweg) im römischen Italien. Entstehung und infrastrukturelle Bedeutung; Iris von Bredow, Die Handelsverbindungen zwischen Pontos und Ägäis zur Zeit des Odysseereiches; Mustafa H.

Sayar, Antike Straßenverbindungen Kilikiens in der römischen Kaiserzeit.

Harri Kiiskinen

Antike Bibliotheken. Herausgegeben von WOLFRAM HOEPFNER. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2002. ISBN 3-8053-2846-X. 137 S. EUR 34,80.

In diesem Sammelband werden antike Bibliotheken vor allem auf ihre kulturhistorische Beschaffenheit hin beleuchtet; über ihren Inhalt, also über Bücher, wird weniger geredet. Unter die Lupe genommen werden insbesondere die besser erhaltenen Bibliotheken der Kaiserzeit, an denen sich allgemeine Prinzipien des Bibliotheksbaus in der Antike ablesen lassen. Aus dem reichen Inhalt einzelne Beispiele auszusuchen ist schwer. Persönlich habe ich mit großem Interesse die Beiträge zur Bibliotheca Ulpia im Trajansforum in Rom von R. Meneghini und den zu den drei Bibliotheken des Augustus auf dem Palatin (zwei im Apollotempel, die bibliotheca Graeca und die bibliotheca Latina, sowie die Büchersammlung im privaten Raum des Kaisers) von Lilian Balensiefen gelesen. Hier sei auch nachdrücklich betont, dass wir aus Inschriften zahlreiche Angestellte dieser Bibliotheken kennen. Der an sich interessante Beitrag von Peter Knüvener zu den bekannten Privatbibliotheken in Pompeji und Herculaneum bleibt etwas an der Oberfläche; und dass die Villa dei Papiri den Pisonen gehört hätte, ist ausgeschlossen. Alles in allem aber ein gelungener Band.

Heikki Solin

ENGELBERT WINTER – BEATE DIGNAS: *Rom und das Perserreich. Zwei Weltmächte zwischen Konfrontation und Koexistenz.* Studienbücher: Geschichte und Kultur der Alten Welt. Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2001. ISBN 3-05-003451-3. 334 S. EUR 34,80

Ein empfehlenswertes Buch, das sich mit dem Sassanidischen Reich und dessen Verhältnis mit Rom und Byzanz befasst. Zwanzig größere und kleinere Konflikte zwischen den zwei Weltmächten entbrannten zwischen 53 v.Chr., dem Jahr der Schlacht von Carrhae, und 636 n.Chr., dem Jahr der Niederlage der Sassaniden gegen die Araber. Doch das Verhältnis zwischen den zwei Polen beinhaltet auch vieles andere als nur kriegerische Konfrontationen. Wie die übrigen Bände derselben Reihe besteht auch dieser aus zwei Teilen: Der erste Teil enthält einen 50 Seiten langen Überblick über die Geschichte der Beziehungen des Sassanidischen Reiches mit Rom. Der zweite Teil enthält auf 200 Seiten eine Quellensammlung, in der in verschiedenen thematischen Abschnitten Auszüge aus griechischen, lateinischen, mittelpersischen, parthischen, syrischen und arabischen Texten in Übersetzung mit Anmerkungen geboten werden. Die meisten Texte sind literarisch, doch fehlen Inschriften durchaus nicht; mitgenommen wurden etwa zentrale Passagen aus dem dreisprachigen Rechenschaftsbericht Šāpūrs I. Ein auch für Studenten geeigneter Band, der außerdem im Hinblick auf die Wichtigkeit des Dialogs zwischen West und Ost an Aktualität gewinnt.

Heikki Solin

M.J.T. LEWIS: *Surveying Instruments of Greece and Rome*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001. ISBN 0-521-79297-5. XX, 389 pp. GBP 55.

This account of Greek and Roman surveying instruments fits in well with recent interest in ancient technology. An excellent book, it will be useful not only to classical scholars, but also to anyone with a general interest in the ancient world and the history of technology. It brings together the practical application of the instruments, and the relevant ancient texts in translation; they include Greek and Latin passages, extracts from the Talmud and a chapter from Al-Karaji's *Search for Hidden Waters* (written in 1019), and some inscriptions. Well-chosen diagrams and photographs assist Lewis's interpretations. – One observation on the translation of inscription no. 103: Lewis translates the term *senatus* as 'senate'. As this is a question not of the Roman senate, but the local *ordo*, here called, as sometimes happens in the Republican period, *senatus*, it would have been safer rendered 'by decree of the city council' with an eye to a general reader.

Heikki Solin

E.C. PORTALE – S. ANGIOLILLO – C. VISMARA: *Le grandi isole del Mediterraneo occidentale. Sicilia Sardinia Corsica*. Archeologia delle province romane 1. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-8265-341-2. 344 pp., 108 ill. b/n. EUR 95.

Ecco un promettente inizio di una collana destinata a offrire una succinta descrizione della storia e archeologia delle province romane in sette volumi. Le tre isole che sono oggetto di questo primo volume furono le prime province romane. Hanno molti tratti comuni, soprattutto una posizione felice sulle rotte marittime, tale da creare i presupposti per lo sviluppo di una rete di contatti, influssi e scambi commerciali ad ampio raggio. Ma ci sono pure differenze. La Sicilia rimase più "greca"; Sardegna e Corsica hanno costituito per un periodo a cominciare dal 227 (quello sembra l'anno della costituzione della provincia *Sardinia et Corsica*), una realtà amministrativa unitaria, finché nel corso del I secolo d.C. le due isole vengono separate. Ma sulla vita della Corsica in età repubblicana e imperiale non sappiamo molto, diversamente dal caso della Sardegna e soprattutto della Sicilia con il suo glorioso passato greco. Auguriamo alla nuova collana una veloce e proficua continuazione.

Heikki Solin

HUGH BOWDEN: *Classical Athens and the Delphic Oracle. Divination and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 0-521-53081-4 (pb). XVIII, 188 pp. GBP 15.99 (pb).

Tanto è stato scritto sull'oracolo di Delfi e tante sono le conclusioni, spesso anche contrastanti fra di loro, sul funzionamento e significato del santuario pitico; e come spesso capita, le vecchie opinioni, talvolta erranee, tendono a canonizzarsi per poi ripetersi nel corso del tempo. Sotto questo profilo, lo studio di Bowden, già noto per i suoi interessi mantici (cfr. il bel lavoro 'Oracles for Sale' in P. DEROW – R. PARKER (eds.), *Herodotus and His World*

[2003] 256 ff.), costituisce una benvenuta riconsiderazione di tutto il materiale relativo alle consultazioni delfiche da parte di Atene, che si conoscano dell'età anteriore al 300 a.C. Ben leggibile, fresco e innovativo, il libro offre un interessante sguardo sull'oracolo delfico e la sua continua importanza non solo per l'Atene democratica ma anche per la sopravvivenza della stessa democrazia ad Atene. Di grande interesse anche le osservazioni di Bowden sull'interazione, inevitabile e necessaria, tra democrazia e religione, un aspetto questo troppo spesso sottovalutato nel passato. Ottima lettura per chiunque voglia approfondire e meglio capire i meccanismi costituenti della società ateniese.

Mika Kajava

Music and the Muses: The Culture of 'Mousikē' in the Classical Athenian City. Edited by PENELOPE MURRAY – PETER WILSON. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004. ISBN 0-19-924239-9. XIV, 438 pp. GBP 68. Contributors: Andrew Barker, Claude Calame, Paola Ceccarelli, Eric Csapo, Andrew Ford, Alex Hardie, Barbara Kowalzig, Penelope Murray, Ian Rutherford, Eva Stehle, Robert Wallace, Peter Wilson, Victoria Wohl.

These distinguished scholars envisage the Muses as rocking the cradle of Greek civilisation. In four different categories (religion, drama, politics and education) and in thirteen chapters they illustrate how Greek culture is saturated by mousike and the influence of the Muses. If there is a criticism to be made of this exciting and important book, it could be that the authors become paranoid with mousike, as if there could not exist any particle or fragment of Greek literature, culture, politics or history without the Muses breathing down everybody's necks. The book grew out of a colloquium held at the University of Warwick in 1999 to which a group of scholars were invited who were identified as working in innovative ways on the subject of mousike. The final product has been unusually well edited by Penelope Murray and Peter Wilson, so that cross-references crop up throughout. In their joint introduction, entitled "*Mousikē* not music" the editors pave the way for interconnections between the chapters, and in her magisterial final chapter, "The Muses and their Arts", Murray draws together the different strands and themes of the book.

The book has been thoroughly analysed and reviewed by Massimo Raffa at www.ircps.org/publications/aestimatio/pdf/2005-10-01_Raffa.pdf and in a similar way by Matthew Wright at ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2004/2004-07-16.html The book can now be purchased for under fifty pounds via amazon.co.uk.

The fundamental premise of this book is that ancient Greek music or mousike cannot be studied in isolation or purely focusing on the kithara. In Simon Goldhill's words, rock and roll cannot be analysed purely from the role of the bass-guitar. In the same way, mousike must be seen to be a far broader term than music, interlacing ancient Greek epic, drama, comedy, philosophy and even mathematics.

Stephen Evans

HELMUT HALFMANN: *Städtebau und Bauherren im römischen Kleinasien. Ein Vergleich zwischen Pergamon und Ephesos.* Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 43. Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, Tübingen 2001. ISBN 3-8030-1742-4. IX, 116 S. EUR 14.50.

Es handelt sich um eine sehr lesenswerte Studie, die kürzlich auch in französischer Übersetzung erschienen ist: *Ephèse et Pergame. Urbanisme et commanditaires en Asie mineure romaine*, Bordeaux – Paris 2004. Halfmann untersucht aus der Sichtweise des Althistorikers die städtebauliche Entwicklung zweier kleinasiatischer griechischer Städte, Pergamon und Ephesos. Eine gelungene Arbeit, die uns die politischen und sozialhistorischen Bedingungen vermittelt, die dem Bauwesen der beiden Metropolen in römischer Zeit zu Grunde lagen. Besonders hervorgehoben seien manche treffende prosopographische Beobachtungen zu römischen Senatoren und zur Provinzverwaltung von Asia.

Heikki Solin

Politica e partecipazione nelle città dell'impero romano. A cura di F. AMARELLI. Saggi di Storia Antica, 25. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-8265-269-6. X, 204 pp. EUR 100.

This volume consists of four interesting papers. The exact nature of this collection is not made clear, but it does not seem to be based on, e.g., a colloquium. There is a preface by A. Giardina and A. Schiavone, but in which capacity these two scholars are writing remains unclear (Giardina is, however, along with A. Fraschetti, the editor of the series of which this is vol. 25), and the formulations possibly intended to illustrate the genesis of this collection seem a bit vague; what seems to be the bottom line here is that Giardina and Schiavone (the plural used in the preface – e.g., in "il tema che abbiamo scelto", p. VII, must refer to them) have asked the contributors to supply papers for this volume, and that the authors have accepted "con entusiasmo". The preface is more specific on the aims of this volume; the work presented here "si iscrive in quell'ambito sempre più promettente degli studi romanistici che si forza da tempo di integrare al proprio interno, in un unico quadro, storia sociale, storia politica e storia del diritto e delle istituzioni". Two of the authors (on whom there might have been brief introductions), Amarelli (also the editor) and Marotta, are legal scholars, the other two, Porena and La Rocca, being (apparently) historians.

The collection starts with a shortish paper by F. Amarelli on "Il *conventus* come forma di partecipazione alle attività giudiziarie nelle città del mondo provinciale romano" (p. 1-12). The paper contains much of interest (though possibly more from the point of view of the jurist); its main aim seems to be to stress the "principio di pubblicità dei giudizi [in the *conventus*] a garanzia della trasparenza delle operazioni giudiziarie" (p. 11, cf. p. 12).

The long paper by F. Porena, "Forme di partecipazione politica cittadina e contatti con il potere imperiale" (p. 13-92) may well turn out to be the most oftenquoted paper in this volume. It is well-informed (e.g., some pretty obscure authors are cited) and covers remarkably both the West and the East with the inclusion of late antiquity. Its aim is to "cercare di esaminare le molteplici manifestazioni della partecipazione in spazi urbani" (p. 16) and it is a study of all the possible events in the cities of the Roman Empire in which the majority (or at least many) of the citizens participated in one way or another. Much has, of course, been written about all the various aspects of the subject, but it is good to have a comprehensive study of the theme. What we find here is, then, a study of the *adventus* (with the accompanying celebrations, speeches, etc.) of the emperor (here we find information, e.g., on how exactly an emperor entered a city, p. 23 n. 7) and (p. 28ff.) of that of the

governor (on p. 30, though, I was wondering whether Porena is right in referring to Apamea in Bithynia as a free city, as this does not seem to be compatible with the fact that it was a colony). The chapter on "Notizie e comunicazioni" (p. 51ff.) studies the ways in which information was spread (note that the theatre was often used for various meetings, p. 51), with observations, e.g., on how the populace dealt with unpleasant news being affixed on some wall (p. 58f.); it is also very probable that edicts, etc. were also communicated to the populace by being read out (p. 60). This is followed by a chapter on "la partecipazione ai processi e alle esecuzioni" (p. 65ff.; p. 77ff. on Apul. *Met.* 3,1ff., p. 83 on Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7, 23ff., p. 87ff. on the "Martyrs of Lyons"). The exposition is finished off with a nicely put conclusion on p. 92.

The paper of A. La Rocca deals competently with the subject "Diritto di iniziativa e potere popolare nelle assemblee cittadine greche" (p. 93-118). Much of the space is devoted to the examination of the fact that literary sources seem to assign more importance to the popular assemblies than what one would deduce on the basis of inscriptions; the author concludes that the Greek city of the Roman period is "più oligarchica sotto il profilo sociale sin dalla prima età ellenistica, più democratica sotto il profilo giuridico ancora in età imperiale". A subject not completely unrelated is dealt with by V. Marotta in the erudite 80-page paper "Conflitti politici cittadini e governo provinciale" (p. 121-201), with chapters on "Procedure e competenze delle *ekklesiai*" (p. 129ff.), on "Città libere e città sottoposte al regolamento provinciale" (p. 133ff.), on "Autonomie cittadine, conflitti civici e assemblee popolari nella riflessione politica delle aristocrazie municipali greche" (p. 135ff.), on "Luoghi di riunione, gerarchie sociali e acclamazioni popolari" (p. 139ff., with notes, e.g., on some privileges of city magistrates and others, p. 143). The discussion becomes more theoretical, with the citation of legal sources largely superseding the citation of inscriptions and non-legal authors, in the latter part of the paper, "Conflitti politici cittadini e amministrazione romana" (p. 148ff.), with chapters, e.g., on "La democrazia greca nel giudizio dei ceti dirigenti dell'impero" (p. 148ff.). From about the section "Decreti civici e ratifica del governatore" (p. 183ff.) onwards, inscriptions and non-legal literary sources seem to reenter the discussion. There is much of interest here; note the examination of Plut., *Praecepta* 19 (814F-815B), p. 187ff. One of the conclusions is that it was not normally a good idea for a Roman governor to favour a certain party in a certain city (p. 201). This is a learned paper, quoting a very large number of sources and secondary authorities; however, as this is a long paper of which the subdivisions are not enumerated in the table of contents, the reader needs to be pretty focussed.

To conclude, this is a collection of interesting papers. As so much material is quoted in the notes, one wonders why no one seems to have thought about adding indices which would have made this volume much more valuable.

Olli Salomies

Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire. Edited by COLIN ADAMS and RAY LAURENCE. Routledge, London and New York 2001. ISBN 0-415-23034-9. X, 202 pp. GBP 45.

This collective work does not replace Lionel Casson's classic *Travel in the Ancient World*, but it has put together stimulating contributions which confirm the value and appeal of

enquiry into Roman travel and geography. The contents are multi-faceted. After the Introduction by C. Adams, the contributions which follow are K. Brodersen, The presentation of geographical knowledge for travel and transport in the Roman world: *itineraria non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta*; B. Salway, Travel, *itineraria* and *tabellaria*; R. Laurence, The creation of geography: an interpretation of Roman Britain; A. Kolb, Transport and communication in the Roman state: the *cursus publicus*; J. Coulston, Transport and travel on the column of Trajan; C. Adams, 'There and back again': getting around in Roman Egypt. The volume ends with an Afterword by R. Laurence, Travel and empire.

It is not possible to evaluate here all the contributions in an appropriate way. Five of them are based upon papers delivered at the 1999 Roman Archaeology Conference in Durham (England). The sixth and longest, by B. Salway, was added afterwards. There are several black and white photos, not always excellent. At the end, there is a consolidated bibliography and an index. Instead of discussing individual articles (all of which contain useful data), I would like to point out of the importance of the Tabula Peutingeriana, treated by more than one of the authors of the volume (Brodersen very interestingly, but with some exaggeration represents it as a mere route diagram, on which "there is certainly no concept of scale" (18)). What we need would be a new, annotated edition of the Tab. Peut., as the last editor, Konrad Miller focused almost exclusively on checking the routes marked against known conditions on the ground without attempting an evaluation of the map as a piece of complex, creative cartography. As for the interesting and informative contribution by Salway, he deals thoroughly with the so-called elogium of Polla, but it would have been useful to hear something about the man behind the inscription: who was he? P. Popillius Laenas, consul 132 BC, an Annius, or somebody else? Salway then seeks – in the footsteps of Susini – an explanation of the term *tabelarios* (acc. pl.) in the elogium; one remains a bit sceptical. But on the whole, a good piece of work (I did not understand very well what Salway means in the transcription of the Latin text with the symbols {{ and }}).

Heikki Solin

O. STOLL: *Römisches Heer und Gesellschaft. Gesammelte Beiträge 1991-1999*. *Mavors*. Roman Army Researches 13. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2001. ISBN 3-515-07817-7. 522 S. EUR 101.

Militärische Studien zur römischen Kaiserzeit blühen wie nie zuvor. Ein Zeugnis davon ist die von Michael P. Speidel herausgegebene Reihe *Mavors*, in dem wichtige Werke erschienen sind. Das hier anzuzeigende Buch von Stoll enthält meistens schon publizierte Beiträge, die in der ursprünglichen Form dargeboten werden; von den insgesamt 18 Aufsätzen sind vier bisher unveröffentlicht. Es ist mir nicht möglich, im Rahmen einer kurzen Anzeige und innerhalb des von der Redaktion dieser Zeitschrift gegebenen knappen Raumes die Beiträge einzeln zu würdigen. Sehr wichtig ist die von Stoll immer wieder unterstrichene Symbiose zwischen römischen Soldaten und der Gesellschaft, was die Lektüre des Buches auch für einen normalen Altertumswissenschaftler anregend macht.

Heikki Solin

ALISON E. COOLEY: *Pompeii*. Duckworth Archaeological Histories. Duckworth, London 2003, ISBN 0-7156-3161-6. 160 pp., 14 figs., 20 ill. GBP 14.99.

ALISON E. COOLEY – M.G.L. COOLEY: *Pompeii. A Sourcebook*. Routledge, London – New York 2004. ISBN 0-415-26212-7. XIII, 254 pp., tav. ill. GBP 16.99.

Il crescente interesse su Pompei che la letteratura scientifica in lingua inglese sta marcatamente evidenziando in questi ultimi anni si palesa ulteriormente in questi due volumi più generali dedicati alla città vesuviana da Alison E. Cooley, lettrice in *Classics and Ancient History*, all'Università di Warwick, il secondo in collaborazione con M.G.L. Cooley.

Si tratta per entrambi di un modo estremamente intelligente di fornire il proprio contributo.

Il primo, dedicato essenzialmente alla storia degli scavi, mira però soprattutto ad evidenziare nel tempo e fino ad oggi il rapporto che c'è stato tra il visitatore e le rovine, ossia come le varie temperie culturali succedutesi nel corso di oltre 250 anni di storia degli scavi abbiano influito sia sulla percezione del complesso archeologico stesso, sia nella restituzione scientificamente elaborata, attraverso mezzi e tecniche via via a disposizione, di quanto si veniva scoprendo.

Progetto questo, certo, ambizioso, che tuttavia l'autrice riesce a condurre con competenza e serenità di giudizio, anche se, come lei per prima manifesta nell'introduzione, si concentra solamente su pochi episodi della storia stessa, volutamente tralasciandone molti altri, anche quelli generalmente considerati tra i più rimarchevoli e pertanto meglio conosciuti ai più.

Encomiabile è il fatto che ella porti il lettore sin dall'inizio, nei primi due capitoli, nel pieno di un dibattito che si sta agitando negli ultimi anni e che riguarda, intanto, nel primo capitolo, la nuova e del tutto rivoluzionaria considerazione sulla società e sull'economia pompeiana degli ultimi anni di vita della città, derivante dalla nuova consapevolezza che Pompei al momento della catastrofe stava riparando i danni causati da un terremoto di forte intensità avvenuto appena poco tempo prima di essa, prodromo stesso dell'eruzione al pari di altre scosse ancora verificatesi andando a ritroso nel tempo, e non già quelli causati dal sisma del 62 d.C., storicamente attestato nelle fonti letterarie, a cui si era dato per tempo e in buona misura tempestivo riparo. La diffusione di tali tematiche, fatta con ammirevole padronanza, quale *incipit* di un volume in lingua inglese destinato ad ampio successo contribuirà non poco ad avvicinare una fetta larghissima di pubblico di semplici lettori, ma anche di quei diversi studiosi di matrice anglosassone, non sempre inclini, ohimè, alla consultazione di opere non in inglese, ad una verità che modifica radicalmente la nostra visione di Pompei. Probabilmente tornerà utile anche sapere che a questo importantissimo tema proprio di recente ho dedicato un nuovo più ampio lavoro di puntualizzazione, comparso in lingua tedesca col titolo *Leben mit dem Erdbeben. Mühsal und Rückschläge beim Wiederaufbau von Pompei nach dem Erdbeben des Jahres 62 n. Chr. Ergebnisse neuester Ausgrabungen*, in *Die Stadt als Grossbaustelle* (Atti del Convegno Internazionale Berlino novembre 2001), Berlin 2003, pp. 96–103 e in italiano come *Convivere con i terremoti. La travagliata ricostruzione di Pompei dopo il terremoto del 62 d.C. alla luce delle nuove scoperte*, in S. Mols, E. Moormann (curr.), *Omni pede stare. Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam J.A.K.E. De Waele*, Napoli 2005, pp. 315–323.

L'autrice dà poi ampio peso, nel secondo capitolo, alla delineaione dell'evoluzione dell'eruzione, i cui effetti siamo oggi in grado di verificare archeologicamente nella loro successione temporale, cosa che consente di precisarne la dinamica sia in rapporto allo spazio che al tempo. L'azione puntuativa dell'eruzione che animava i racconti degli scrittori, così come degli studiosi, fino a non molti anni fa, può ora finalmente trovare una più congrua sequenza diacronica, momento dopo momento nello spazio di circa 36 ore, nell'interpretazione di quanti, anche utilizzando i nuovi dati che si vanno configurando grazie alle nuove ricerche archeologiche, sono in grado di offrire prospettive nuove alla ricerca. L'attenzione puntuale con cui l'autrice si sofferma sulla materia mi spinge ancora una volta a segnalare al lettore un nuovo lavoro, da me fatto in collaborazione con il vulcanologo Aldo Marturano, *The A.D. 79 Eruption: Seismic Activity and Effects of the Eruption on Pompeii*, comparso in M. S. Balmuth, D.K. Chester, P. A. Johnston (edd.), *Cultural Responses to the Volcanic Landscape*, Archaeological Institute of America, Boston 2005, pp. 241–260, nonché un altro, che pone il problema dell'esistenza del bradisismo sul territorio pompeiano, scritto ancora insieme ad Aldo Marturano e Salvatore Ciro Nappo, dal titolo *Trasformazioni territoriali legate all'eruzione del Vesuvio del 79 d.C.*, in stampa negli *Atti del II Convegno Internazionale "Archaeology, Volcanism and remote Sensing"* Sorrento 20–22 giugno 2001.

La Cooley, nell'osservare dall'esterno la materia di cui tratta, mostra molto acume e sicura indipendenza di giudizio, che le permettono, in più punti, di uscir fuori brillantemente dai luoghi comuni su Pompei. Come, ad esempio, quando convincentemente mostra come l'azione condotta da Suedio Clemente debba essere inquadrata piuttosto che come fatto locale in conseguenza del terremoto del 62, come episodio pertinente al più generale quadro della politica vespasiana di interventi sul territorio nelle varie regioni dell'impero per ristabilire le esatte dimensioni delle proprietà pubbliche (e vedi ora anche per altri aspetti sull'argomento quanto mostrato da L. Jacobelli, *Pompei fuori le mura: note sulla gestione e l'organizzazione dello spazio pubblico e privato*, in F. Senatore (cur.), *Pompei tra Sorrento e Sarno*, Roma 2003, pp. 29–61). O come interviene con ponderati argomenti nella spinosa questione circa le vicende relative agli edifici del Foro e al Foro stesso tra 62, 79 e ancora posteriormente all'eruzione.

A questo male investigato periodo, anzi, che va dall'eruzione all'inizio degli scavi ufficiali del 1748 la Cooley dedica l'intero terzo capitolo, mostrando come esso abbia influito non poco sulla maniera in cui le rovine sono pervenute alla conoscenza di noi moderni. Si pone intanto il problema se vi siano stati superstiti dell'eruzione, citando un possibile quanto dubbio caso, quale quello di *Numerius Popidius Celsinus*, di cui sarebbe stata ritrovata la tomba nella Spagna settentrionale (p. 51 e n. 1). In tema di tale lata possibilità, per personaggi comunque ben noti a Pompei, ma che potrebbero essere andati via dalla città prima dell'eruzione, andrebbero allora ancora citati lo stesso Suedio Clemente, che ritroviamo nel novembre del 79 in Egitto (*CIL* III 33 *in primis*), e *Actius Castre(n)sis*, se è proprio dello stesso personaggio ripetutamente menzionato a Pompei (v. *RStPomp* XVI 2005, 93–109) l'urna funeraria trovata ad Alba Fucens (*AE* 1984, 416). Continua poi analizzando tutte le occasioni ricostruibili o note in cui si sono avute "incursioni" nel tessuto della città seppellita, opportunamente facendo valere sia il dato comune ai moderni scavatori di Pompei, di rinvenire, ovunque si operi disseppellimento, segni evidenti di precedenti esplorazioni, sia evidenziando, anche se in maniera non proprio completa, le strutture posteriori al 79 rinvenute nelle immediate vicinanze della città.

Il quarto capitolo tratta poi dell'inizio degli scavi ufficiali da parte di Carlo di Borbone, mettendo in risalto in maniera egregia la temperie storica e culturale dell'epoca, che serve, peraltro, a far risaltare la figura di questo illuminato sovrano in relazione alla coscienza del bene archeologico invalsa nel periodo storico di riferimento, nonostante le aspre critiche non sempre a ragione mosse da eminenti contemporanei, studiosi o viaggiatori colti che fossero. Particolare attenzione meritano poi le pagine dedicate agli scavi del successivo primo periodo borbonico, con un'attenta ricerca e selezione di episodi e testimonianze significative desunte dalla letteratura e dalle immagini artistiche dell'epoca. Sono decisamente la parte più vivace e accattivante del volume insieme a quelle d'identica impostazione del quinto capitolo, riguardanti l'intermezzo "francese", il secondo periodo borbonico e la svolta avutasi con l'avvento del regno d'Italia e la politica archeologica di Fiorelli, di cui viene tratteggiata con maestria la figura, dagli esordi di studioso di numismatica ai contrasti con gli accademici borbonici del tempo, fino alla sua ascesa alla Direzione Generale delle Antichità del ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, come riconoscimento della sua opera scientifica alacremente innovativa condotta in vari ambiti su Pompei. Lapidario e condivisibile il giudizio che ne dà (p. 96):

"Whether he was primarily a political pragmatist, administrator, or archaeological innovator, Fiorelli arguably remains the individual who has had the greatest impact upon the way in which Pompeii has been both excavated and perceived".

Il capitolo successivo esamina invece la percezione degli scavi che il '900 ha dato al moderno visitatore. Capitolo delicato, questo, in quanto si affrontano tematiche ancora oggi sotto giudizio, come ad esempio la restituzione dell'immagine degli spazi tenuti a verde dagli antichi, o, anche, l'uso improprio del verde, che ha portato a veri e propri falsi storici, quali le piante di quercia piantate all'inizio del secolo nel Foro Triangolare, o il prato che sul finire dello stesso secolo ha "illeggiadrito" il Foro civile, peraltro – in maniera così ancora più mistificante – solo a metà (p. 97). Il rimpianto, poi, per quanto del *town's environment* è andato perduto negli scavi dei tempi passati si sposa in queste pagine con gli sforzi scientifici che invece sono stati proficuamente compiuti, a cominciare dalla Jashemski, per andarlo metodicamente a ricercare. Nel caso più eclatante, ossia l'esistenza acclarata di numerosi vigneti nella città, ciò ha permesso di offrire un quadro di rilevanza anche economica, oltre che dei modi dell'abitare, di Pompei. Il volume ora appena comparso di Annamaria Ciarallo, cui già si debbono numerosi contributi sul tema, *Scienziati a Pompei tra Settecento e Ottocento* e quello di Michele Borgoncino, *Archeobotanica. Reperti vegetali da Pompei e dal territorio vesuviano*, entrambi nella collana di Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, oltre a quello recentissimo della Jashemski stessa e F.G. Meyer, *The Natural History of Pompeii*, Cambridge University Press 2002, e quello, per altri versi ancora, della stessa Ciarallo, *Elementi vegetali nell'iconografia pompeiana*, Roma 2006, danno un quadro significativo dell'importanza ormai ben avvertita dell'incidenza del tema per gli studi sulla città e per la "vita" stessa della città.

L'ultimo capitolo, infine, si dedica al fenomeno che caratterizza la più avanzata fase della moderna ricerca e che più promette di offrire risultati nuovi e brillanti per la conoscenza completa di Pompei: quello dell'investigazione del suo passato attraverso l'effettuazione di saggi stratigrafici.

Quanto questa strada, dopo i primi incerti tentativi pionieristici e l'impulso con mezzi tecnici ancora limitati datole da Maiuri, abbia trovato sul finire del secolo scorso e in questo inizio del nuovo millennio una sua propria e salda vocazione specialistica nel panorama degli studi vesuviani, lo confermano le numerose équipes provenienti da quattro continenti impegnate ormai in tal genere di indagini, e ne dà la riprova la letteratura che nel frattempo si è già prodotta o si attende a breve, *in primis* i due volumi *Nuove ricerche archeologiche a Pompei ed Ercolano*, a cura di P.G. Guzzo e M. P. Guidobaldi, e *Rileggere Pompei. L'insula 10 della Regio VI*, a cura di F. Coarelli e F. Pesando, entrambi editi ancora nella ormai nutritissima collana di Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei. Questi sviluppi ricchi di notevolissimi risultati che la ricerca ha assunto negli ultimissimi anni saranno sicuramente da stimolo alla Cooley per continuare con nuovi dati in un prossimo futuro nella delineazione del quadro che in questo capitolo andava tracciando.

In definitiva, la coraggiosa impostazione data al volume, lungi dal renderlo frammentario, gli consente di attingere ad un livello più globale di comprensione della città, offrendo al lettore uno spaccato profondo della vita e dei problemi che ancora si agitano per raggiungere di essa la conoscenza vera e la fruizione piena.

Il secondo volume in recensione parte, come dicevo, da un'idea geniale. Raccogliere organicamente, ossia per tema o per periodo di riferimento, le fonti a noi pervenute, siano esse sotto forma di testo letterario che di moneta, o soprattutto di messaggio epigrafico in osco, in greco, o in latino, sia sotto forma di iscrizione lapidaria che di *titulus pictus*, di iscrizione su anfora, di tavoletta cerata o di umile graffito. L'inserimento di tali documenti all'interno di uno "spazio" archeologico di riferimento, sia per rinvenimento che per citazione, è un grande ed encomiabile supporto all'idea che il mondo antico vada compreso nella sua interezza facendo ricorso a strumenti vari di conoscenza che noi moderni, in rapporto ad una male intesa necessità di specializzazione tecnica, ci ostiniamo a voler tenere separati in ambiti accademici tenuti non solo distinti – che sarebbe ancora un bene – ma il più delle volte proprio non interagenti tra loro.

Quando tale "spazio", poi, viene illustrato con piante, con altri rinvenimenti archeologici salienti, con gli appropriati commenti degli autori messi a cappello ai vari argomenti, si comprende come ne venga fuori un quadro di un'utilità veramente unica. Sarebbe stato il volume veramente un fondamentale e preziosissimo strumento di consultazione per gli stessi studiosi, se solo gli autori, per ragioni che si possono facilmente intuire, non avessero rinunciato a dare il testo originale della fonte, limitandosi invece alla sola traduzione.

Su questo punto bisogna essere allora categorici: la traduzione è già di per sé molto spesso solamente una interpretazione; nel caso poi di graffiti trovati sovente in condizioni precarie di conservazione o di ambiguità di lettura, non dare il testo originale significa solamente fare violenza al lettore, diretta o indiretta che sia. Vediamo allora chi gli autori ritengano saranno i loro lettori privilegiati (p. 2) " ... pupils studying GCSE Classical Civilization and their teachers, ... university students ...".

Vorrei ancora una volta sottolineare come sia metodologicamente assolutamente pericoloso fornire a persone in formazione strumenti didattici di cui non possano effettuare verifica diretta. Qui non si tratta di creare genericamente "well educated men". Si tratta di ambiti specialistici di conoscenza per accedere ai quali bisogna rendere ben chiaro che è assolutamente indispensabile invece lo studio approfondito delle lingue classiche, e nel caso

di Pompei anche dell'osco (e forse anche, ma è altro discorso, dell'italiano, del tedesco e del francese). Solo così si potrà contare su un circuito di veri studiosi professionisti della materia, che non andranno poi incontro ad "infortuni" scientifici sul campo, quali quelli che purtroppo negli ultimi tempi si son dovuti talora rilevare ad opera di "addetti ai lavori" di formazione *sui generis*.

Ci fosse bisogno di confortare tale mio assunto, basterebbe solamente andare a p. 55ss. del volume, dove stranamente viene dato il testo latino di *CIL* IV 10237, di 10238a e di 10236a, per comprendere sia la complessità della lettura, sia l'assoluta necessità dell'"interpretazione" per intenderle.

Fatta questa imprescindibile e dolorosa premessa ritengo utile dilungarmi, più che su singoli punti interpretativi, sul quadro prezioso che gli autori avevano delineato, cosa che fa acuire ancora di più il mio rammarico per quello che il volume poteva essere: un agile strumento scientifico di consultazione rapida.

Comincia esso infatti interessandosi della Pompei preromana, per passare poi alla colonizzazione e poi alla distruzione e anche al dopo 79, per quanto riguarda la storia. Esamina poi i divertimenti e i luoghi ad essi deputati, teatri e anfiteatro, con ampi *excursus* sui giochi gladiatorii. Tratta poi della religione, dei culti pubblici e privati, dei templi, dei sacerdoti, della vita pubblica e di quella politica, delle necropoli e del culto dei morti, della vita commerciale, dei mestieri e delle attività economiche, sempre utilizzando esempi calzanti e commenti ben costruiti.

Un intero e lungo capitolo, poi, è dedicato a riassumere alcuni resoconti di scavo, non solo quelli borbonici raccolti nella *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia* del Fiorelli, ma, bizzarramente, anche quelli riguardanti la casa dei Vettii, tratti da *Notizie degli Scavi*.

Completano il volume alcune originali appendici, quali quella concernente le date dei giochi anfiteatrali note a Pompei e nel circondario, quella sui brani di famosi autori latini citati sui muri di Pompei, nonché una guida al valore delle monete in uso e un cronogramma della vita di Pompei. Veramente ben strutturati gli indici, riguardanti le fonti, le persone, i luoghi e i temi. La bibliografia, essenziale, è integrata inoltre da un *further reading*.

Un piccolo gioiello, insomma, che tuttavia rimane inutilizzabile. L'invito è che gli autori riscrivano lo stesso libro, stavolta però pensando al bene che potrebbero fare all'informazione scientifica.

Antonio Varone

ARCANGELO R. AMAROTTA: *Salerno romana e medievale. Dinamica di un insediamento*. Società Salernitana di Storia Patria. Collana di studi storici salernitani 2. Pietro Laveglia Editore, Salerno 1989. XIX, 310 pp. EUR 30.

Si tratta di un volume di storia locale, in sé meritevole. Il suo titolo è pretenzioso e promette più di quanto contiene il libro: non si tratta di una storia vera e propria della città di Salerno, ma piuttosto d'alcuni appunti su dettagli di interesse dell'a. E il sottotitolo *Dinamica di un insediamento* colpisce tanto di più in quanto l'a. non si occupa del difficile problema dei confini del territorio della romana Salernum. Senza entrare qui in merito a questa spinosa questione, dico solo che sia il Mommsen sia il Bracco estendono l'agro salernitano troppo a

nord. E poi si ha la sensazione che l'a. non sia sempre sufficientemente pratico della storia antica. Ma il volume contiene in ogni caso interessanti dettagli. Il primo capitolo tratta delle strade extraurbane, la Capua - Reggio e la Salerno - Benevento, e in esso si discute di molte altre questioni oltre a quelle viarie, per es. della linea della costa, che poteva essere trattata nel capitolo dedicato alle strutture portuali (parlando del porto romano l'a. si distacca a ragione dall'ipotesi proposta dal Bracco che il porto romano fosse a Fonti). – Va ancora notato che l'a., influenzato dal Bracco, considera salernitane iscrizioni che in realtà non lo sono, per es. p. 39 (*I. I. I* 19 sembra provenire da Puteoli: *Gnomon* 1989, 715); p. 205 (*I. I. I* 11 è urbana o piuttosto ostiense; era nel '400, secondo la testimonianza di Pomponio Leto, nel suo codice autografo *Vat. Lat.* 3233 f. 1, 'in Vaticano'); così sparisce il presunto tempio di Pomona a Salerno.

Heikki Solin

DOROTEA MEMOLI APICELLA: *Culti di origine greca a Salerno. Itinerari di folklore religioso*. Quaderni Salernitani 12. Pietro Laveglia Editore, Salerno 2001. 136 pp. EUR 10,33.

L'autrice di questo bel libro si muove sulle tracce di tre culti di origine greco-bizantina, arrivati e stabiliti nel Salernitano nel corso dell'alto Medioevo e poi vissuti, trasformati e traslocati attraverso varie vicende storiche. Molto affascinante soprattutto quello di Santa Trofimenia, la vergine e martire di Patti (ME) in Sicilia, il cui corpo, custodito in un'urna, dopo lunghe peregrinazioni marinare sarebbe approdato sulla costa amalfitana, più precisamente a Minori. La santa divenne oggetto di culto anche a Salerno, dove un *vicus* prese il suo nome, per poi trasformarsi in quello che da tempo si identifica col toponimo di Fornelle. La Memoli ha ben ricostruito le vicende della santa patrona Trofimenia in questa località, peraltro caratterizzata da una storia assai pittoresca dal punto di vista folkloristico (la chiesa della santa è oggi visibile con la sua veste barocca nella Piazza Matteo D'Aiello). Interessanti anche le osservazioni sull'identificazione di S. Trofimenia con S. Febronia ossia sull'assimilazione di un culto all'altro in terra siciliana e altrove (p. 74 sgg.).

Mentre S. Trofimenia si insediò nel cuore di Salerno, gli altri culti, di cui tratta la Memoli sorsero in luoghi sovrastanti la città: quello di S. Liberatore, fondato da monaci orientali tra il VII e l'VIII secolo, sulla cima del monte Butornino, e quello di S. Elena sulla collina adiacente che domina il centro abitato. Particolarmente interessante l'eventualità che i monaci di S. Liberatore abbiano esercitato un influsso sulla prima formazione della famosa Scuola Medica Salernitana. Ben delineate anche le vicende della madre di Costantino nonché della chiesetta a lei dedicata e dei riti che si sono succeduti nel tempo.

Da apprezzare in questo volume in primo luogo le conoscenze storiche e religiose dell'autrice. Ma al lettore piace anche la passione con cui scrive su campi e temi poco percorsi.

Mika Kajava

ANNAMARIA COLAVITTI: *Cagliari. Forma e urbanistica*. Città antiche in Italia 6. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2003. ISBN 88-8265-236-X. XVIII, 110 pp., 81 ill. b/n, 13 ill. col. 5 tav. f.t. EUR 106.

Dopo Atri, Todi, Piacenza, Ancona e Venosa, ecco l'atteso volume su Cagliari, Carales nella serie *Città antiche in Italia*, diretta da Paolo Sommella. Il libro si occupa soprattutto dell'età antica, senza sorpassare del tutto quella post-antica. Al primo capitolo sulla storia di Cagliari nella storiografia sulla Sardegna antica, in cui si raccolgono notizie sulla tradizione erudita e antiquaria sulla Sardegna, importanti per lo studio della topografia urbana della romana Carales, segue un breve capitolo, il secondo, sui documenti per la storia preurbana del sito. Il terzo capitolo tratta della storia urbana della città fenicia e romana, nonché nelle età medievale e moderna – ecco l'unica digressione al di là dell'età antica (ma perché questo capitolo 3.5 è intestato "L'età moderna", mentre nell'indice a p. 109 è intitolato "La nascita del giudicato di Calari"?). Il nucleo del volume è costituito dal quarto capitolo che raccoglie e interpreta documenti per la forma urbana e lo studio urbanistico, riproponendo un po' la struttura dei volumi della *Forma Italiae*. I capitoli 5 e 6 portano i titoli "Ipotesi per una ricostruzione funzionale" e "Carales e il suo territorio nel quadro della romanizzazione della provincia Sardinia: alcune note". Nel complesso, un volume utile per chi voglia studiare la storia del capoluogo della provincia Sardinia. Qualche inesattezza e piccole sviste non diminuiscono il suo valore (a p. 11 nt. 52 invece di *Make* scrivi *Μάχη*). L'a. non ha potuto utilizzare la recente edizione d'epigrafi cagliaritane: F. Floris, *Le iscrizioni funerarie pagane di Karales, Cagliari* 2005.

Heikki Solin

WERNER ECK: *Köln in römischer Zeit. Geschichte einer Stadt im Rahmen des Imperium Romanum*. Mit einer Einführung in das Gesamtwerk von HUGO STEHKÄMPER. Geschichte der Stadt Köln 1. Greven Verlag, Köln 2004. ISBN 3-7743-0357-6. XLVI, 862 S. EUR 75.

Die groß angelegte Darstellung der Geschichte der Stadt Köln hätte kaum einen besseren Auftakt erhalten können. Unter den 13 geplanten Bänden nimmt der erste, der dem römischen Köln gewidmet ist, eine besondere Stellung ein, denn für ihn gelten ganz andere Voraussetzungen als für die übrigen Bände. Und man hätte keinen kompetenteren Bearbeiter des römerzeitlichen Köln finden können als Werner Eck, der nicht nur als ein Kölner Bürger die Geschichte seiner Stadt ausführlich kennt, sondern auch über die außergewöhnliche Gabe verfügt, das disparate Quellenmaterial, das wir besitzen, zum Sprechen zu bringen. Und es sei sofort gesagt, dass ein glänzendes Buch zustande gekommen ist, dessen besondere Stärke der Blick auf die Eingliederung des römischen Köln, der Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium, in die Reichsgeschichte bildet. Leider ist die Quellenlage nicht besonders günstig, aber Eck hat aus der lückenhaften Dokumentation all das herausgeholt, was möglich ist. Wir bekommen ein anschauliches Bild von Köln als Provinzhauptstadt, deren Statthaltern und ihrem Personal, vom Dekurionenrat und ihren Apparitoren, von den Augustalen, von der numerischen (Köln zählte etwa 150000 Einwohner), ethnischen und sprachlichen Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung der Stadt. Alles in allem, ein äußerst anregendes Buch nicht nur für Kölner, die für die ältere Geschichte ihrer Stadt schwärmen, sondern für alle, die sich mit der Geschichte sowohl der Provinz Germania inferior als auch des ganzen römischen Reiches beschäftigen.

Heikki Solin

DAVID ROHRBACHER: *The Historians of Late Antiquity*. Routledge, London – New York 2002. ISBN 0-415-20458-5 (hb), 0-415-20459-3 (pb). VIII, 324 pp. GBP 60 (hb), 18.99 (pb).

The volume under review here surveys the lives and writings of a selection of Roman historians of the fourth and fifth centuries AD. Included are Latin writers as well as Greek, pagans as well as Christians. Considering the fact that most monographic overviews of Roman historiography accord very little attention to writers later than Ammianus Marcellinus, often cutting off in the late fourth century with the so-called division of the Roman Empire, Rohrbacher's book undoubtedly constitutes an important addition to the standard literature in the field. Hopefully it will also contribute towards shaping a new awareness of Roman history and culture beyond AD 395, a purely conventional terminus of modern scholarship frequently assigned far too much weight.

It should be made clear at the very outset of this review that R. has produced a carefully researched and very accessible work of scholarship although, in my opinion, he takes an overly restricted approach to his subject. In "treating only what seems still to be the core of the late antiquity" (p. 1), he has made a large number of very regrettable exclusions. It is quite true, as the author himself points out (*ibid.*), that the very concept of *Late Antiquity* is not always a very precise one with regard to its extension both chronologically and geographically, but at least in the Anglo-Saxon world, it has come to denote a reasonably well-defined period in a specific area. Since the publication of Peter Brown's seminal and highly influential study *The World of Late Antiquity. From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (London 1971; cf. G. W. Bowersock et al. [eds.], *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Post-Classical World*, Cambridge, Mass. – London 1999, ix) the late antique period is usually considered a distinct era in the Mediterranean World, extending from about AD 200/250 to at least the seventh century in the Late Roman (or Byzantine) Empire and in the western areas formerly constituting Roman provinces. As for the book under review here, a consequence of its narrow chronological scope is that many important and interesting historians nowadays generally associated with Late Antiquity – most notably Cassiodorus, Marcellinus Comes and Procopius – are left out of consideration. Whereas the author's disregard of the year AD 395 is commendable, he still assigns too much weight to the year AD 476 as the end of the Roman Empire. Whatever its political implications, which are still a matter for debate, the year does not by any means represent a significant cultural break in important areas in the West, including Italy.

It should also be pointed out that, also in dealing with the fourth and fifth centuries, i.e., the core of his period, the author makes several curious omissions. First, however, let us turn to the organization of the book. In addition to a substantial introduction (pp. 1–13), duly contextualizing the historiography of the period dealt with, the book consists of nineteen chapters. The first twelve focus on individual historians, each of whom is assigned to one of the following categories (see p. 11 ff.): a) classicizing historians, b) authors of *breviarum*, c) ecclesiastical historians and d) apologetic historians; no true historical biographers or writers of chronicles are included. Dealt with in separate chapters (1–12, pp. 14–149) are Ammianus Marcellinus (category a), Aurelius Victor (b), Eutropius (b), Festus (b), Eunapius (a), Olympiodorus (a), Priscus (a), Rufinus (c), Socrates (c), Sozomen (c), Theodoret (c) and Orosius (d). As several of these authors are little known to anyone outside the specialist community, whereas many well-known exponents of late antique historiography are

conspicuously left out, the selection seems a little bit odd. Important omissions include Lactantius, Hydatius, Philostorgius, Gelasius of Caesarea, the *scriptores (scriptor?) Historiae Augustae* and, most strikingly, Eusebius and Jerome. The exclusion of Augustine is also regrettable. His apologetic and theological work *De civitate Dei* is, of course, a very atypical work of Roman historiography, but reflecting as it does extensively on Roman as well as human history it also stands out as the earliest substantial treatise of historical theory in western literature; no general overview of western historiography would ignore it.

The format of the chapters presenting individual writers is an exposition of the known biographical data of the historian in question followed by a consideration of the nature of his work. At the end of each chapter, there is a reference to text and translation; it is important to point out here that this is a short bibliographical appendix and not a full inventory of modern critical editions, containing as it does merely one citation of an edition of the Greek or Latin text in question and citing other than English translations only if such does not exist.

After the presentation of his selected writers, R. turns to a series of thematic discussions of the historiography of the fourth and fifth centuries. Chapter 13 (pp. 150–162) is devoted to a general consideration of historiography, dealing with late antique historians' uses of speeches and documents, and the ways in which they assert their credentials and abilities as historians. Chapters 14–19 contain discussions of a series of major themes in the works of the historians R. covers: government (pp. 163–178), the Roman past (pp. 179–187), religion (pp. 188–206), barbarians (pp. 207–236), and the emperors Julian the Apostate (pp. 237–273) and Theodosius I the Great (pp. 274–288). A striking omission in this section of the book is a consideration of Constantine I the Great, apparently reflecting the exclusion of Eusebius noted above.

At the end of the book, which contains no maps or illustrations, there is a bibliography (pp. 289–306) providing an extensive inventory of relevant research (however, with a heavy emphasis on Anglophone literature) as well as a well-organized analytical index (pp. 307–324), which decisively enhances the book's value as a work of reference on Roman historiography in Late Antiquity, or rather, in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Kaj Sandberg

JEAN-PIERRE CALLU: *Culture profane et critique des sources de l'antiquité tardive. Trente et une études de 1974 à 2003*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 361. École française de Rome 2006. ISSN 0223-5099, ISBN 2-7283-0738-5. 768 p. EUR 108.

Voici un volume bienvenu. Y sont rassemblées 31 études selon un ordre thématique, partagées dans les groupes suivants: après l'article "Ecrire l'histoire à la fin de l'Empire", paru en 2001, suivent cinq études sous la rubrique "Symmaque", puis 13 études sur "Histoire Auguste", six études sur "Mythistoria", cinq études sous la rubrique "Domaine grec". Le volume se termine par un appendice de deux études (une sur Orose, l'autre intitulée "Être romain après l'Empire (475-512)", qui représentent de longs comptes rendus de deux publications collectives italiennes.

Jean-Pierre Callu est un excellent historien de la culture de l'antiquité tardive. C'est pourquoi on salue avec grande satisfaction la publication de ses études les plus importantes.

Les textes sont présentés dans leur rédaction originale, mais cela ne rend pas difficile leur lecture. À part l'index des sources antiques gréco-latines, un index analytique des sujets aurait aussi été le bienvenu. Souhaitons au savant éminent encore une fructueuse période de créativité au service de la recherche scientifique. Une nouvelle contribution, au moins, non encore insérée dans ce volume, nous est connue, la version écrite de son exposé lors d'un colloque pour honorer le centenaire de la naissance du grand historien finlandais Gunnar Mickwitz, tenu à Villa Lante, siège de l'Institut finlandais de Rome en 2005, et dont les Actes paraîtront prochainement.

Heikki Solin

The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law. Edited by MICHAEL GAGARIN and DAVID COHEN. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 0-521-52159-9 (pb), 0-521-81840-0 (hb). XIII, 480 pp. GBP 18.99 (pb), GBP 45 (hb).

This book consists of 22 articles meant to illuminate various aspects of the complex and often confusing subject of law, legal proceedings and justice in ancient Greek societies. As is commonly known, our western legal systems owe much to Roman law, which, on many levels, was an organised unity with logical rules, and which is therefore easier for us to understand and accept. Things are different when we deal with the Greek world. The average student, at an early stage of Greek studies, comes up against legal matters and law courts, usually either through Aristophanes' comedies or speeches of Lysias and Demosthenes which are still included in Greek curricula in most universities. Texts like Plato's "Laws", papyrological and epigraphical documents are left for the most dedicated students at an advanced level.

Perhaps because of this, the understanding of Greek legal phenomena is sometimes rather difficult, even to those otherwise familiar with Greek societies. My personal experience while teaching, e.g., speeches of Demosthenes and Lysias has often been a feeling of confusion and outrage at the level of "injustice" and irrationality in the cases dealt within the speeches. This has, of course, also much to do with our sometimes anachronistic way of looking at antiquity. In papyrology, with which I am more familiar, one quickly finds out that the legal matters in Ptolemaic Egypt or in Petra in late antiquity have very little in common with phenomena found in classical Athens. Thus, a study explaining the background of Greek law and putting the subject in its wider context is more than welcome.

The volume has been divided into five thematically connected parts, which cover almost all the aspects of the subject in a reasonably logical order. The first part, "Law in Greece", can be seen as a theoretical and historical background for the following chapters. Parts two and three concentrate on Athens. Part four presents the relatively sparse material on law outside Athens, including the Gortyn laws, and the last articles of the book discuss aspects of law within literary works.

In the opening chapter, entitled "the Unity of Greek law", M. Gagarin touches upon problems concerning the very concept of "Greek law": G. points out how the term itself has been seen as controversial, and how most Anglo-American scholars have avoided it for a long time (only two books have been published with the term "Greek law" in the title since 1950.) This is, of course, not the case with the term "Roman law". G. gives an interesting

description of the differing arguments put forward on the unity in Greek law by the opposing schools, the "continental" and "Anglo-American". Depending on one's view, one can either see all the Greek legal systems as reflections of the same "Greek spiritual unity", or see no unity at all. M. Finley was apparently the first scholar to present the latter view in 1951 when he claimed that in reality there were no essentially common features among the legal systems of Homeric world, classical Athens, Gortyn and Ptolemaic Egypt.

Gagarin offers a nice compromise between these two views, suggesting that the unity of Greek law can be pointed out in the procedural nature of Greek legal systems where penalties are not fixed and the importance of litigants, jurors and magistrates is significant. Another unifying feature, according to G., is that, unlike the Romans, the Greeks tolerated well "gaps" in the law, which was perhaps connected with their "passion for discussion and debate". This "openness of law" led to the increasing power of the jurors and, of course, of oratory and orators. While this may be true, one can ask whether the power of rhetoric was any less in the Roman, more formalistic law system. All in all, this brilliant article offered, at least to me, new angles on the whole of Greek culture and the way we look at it.

The other articles in the first part are on the problematics concerning written and unwritten laws (R. Thomas), the relationship between religion and law (R. Parker) and a second article by M. Gagarin on the juridical procedure in the archaic period, where he points out that the special character of the Greek legal system compared to, e.g., Near Eastern legal systems (written legislation, oral procedure, lack of formality, importance of public debate) had already developed at an early stage of Greek culture.

The second part is dedicated to legal procedure in classical Athens. This part consists of articles on topics such as the oratory and rhetoric in courts (S.C. Todd, A. Lanni, H. Yunis), the role of witnesses (G. Thür) and penalties seen from a theoretical angle (D. Cohen). L. Rubinstein compares the nature of legal procedure and "strategies" used in courts and she attempts to show that a litigant could choose between different ways to approach the jurors and the choice depended on the nature of the case. This section, in my opinion, is the least successful in the book, partly because of the indigestibility of the problematic, partly because there is a feeling of a slight artificiality in the way oratory is being approached "in a new way". But time will, of course, show whether this approach will open fresh viewpoints in rhetorical studies.

The third part of the book deals with the practice of criminal, family and commercial law in classical Athens. Much of the difficulty in understanding the Greek legal systems derives from the religious background of law, which expresses itself in the definitions of "crime" and "punishment", definitions which differ profoundly from post-Christian ideas. To commit a crime could also be seen as an expression of *hybris* and a crime harmed the polis as well as an individual. Many apparent awkwardnesses of the reported lawsuits in Athens originate from this idea of crime being committed against "society". In addition to this question, D. Cohen discusses the very concept of crime and, e.g., the level of consciousness of inequality in front of law in a most inspiring article "Crime, Punishment, and the Rule of Law in Classical Athens". The third part also includes articles "Gender and Sexuality" by E. Cantarella, "Family and Property Law" by A. Maffi and "Commercial Law" by E.E. Cohen. C. Patterson discusses in her lucid and informative chapter "Athenian Citizenship Law" the surprisingly complicated question of who really was a citizen in the polis of Athens.

The articles in the fourth part of the book examine law outside Athens and the first of

them discusses the exceptional case of the Gortyn laws (J. Davies). As is already pointed out in an earlier article by R. Thomas (Ch. 2.), a written law without context does not contribute much to our understanding of law or society. This is especially true in the case of Crete where there are an abundance of surviving legal inscriptions but not much else. The most famous of the Cretan law texts is the Gortyn law code, dating from ca. 600–350 and consisting of 12 columns and ca. 600 lines. J. Davies gives a good overview of the text, as well as of the problems it has raised, which include both matters of terminology and contents. Beyond linguistic problems, the Gortyn code presents passages regarding family law which seem to be controversial if compared with other known Greek legislation (for example, there are rules on marriages between free men/women and slaves and the status of their children).

The existence of the Gortyn laws is one the main reasons for the unity of Greek law having been questioned. The case has often been solved by stating that Crete is an exception in the Greek world, but one should, of course, also ask why it is so different, as R. Thomas does. While many of the problems of the Gortyn laws are probably due to lack of parallel material from other parts of the Greek world, or other material from the same place, one must also admit that the code remains in many aspects a mystery and that it deserves further investigation.

After the chapter on Gortyn, H.-A. Rupprecht and J.M. Modrzejewski cover the Hellenistic world, the source material now consisting mainly of papyri and inscriptions. H.-A. Rupprecht discusses the changes in Greek legal culture after Alexander's conquests and J.M. Modrzejewski the status of family and marriage in the Hellenistic period; both articles seem to me intelligent and most illuminating.

The final part of the book is dedicated to "other approaches", in other words, the literary sources. Comedy (R. W. Wallace) and tragedy (D. Allen) get their own chapters; J. Ober covers Hesiod and Solon, Thucydides and Plato in a chapter subtitled "Law and Political Theory". Using the above-mentioned sources, Ober tries to find an answer to the question of who had the authority to change and interpret rules and laws and who was responsible for legal enforcement and what was the purpose of punishment. Ober's discussion is interesting in itself but, for example, the attempt to point out a political theory in Hesiod's works ends up with the somewhat unimpressive notion of "ethical quietism" and "personal moral", which, in my opinion, could also be read as no political theory at all (which, in fact, is not surprising).

The book ends with a chapter by A.A. Long on law and nature in Greek thought. His marvellous discussion of the connection of the concepts "physis" and "nomos" is an elegant finale to this book.

This volume is a true representative of the Cambridge companions: a thought-provoking reader for anyone interested in legal matters, it also offers new points of view on Greek society in wider perspective. The fact that the authors are eminent experts in their fields is reflected in the level of the contributions. There is some overlapping between some of the articles, but this is, of course, inevitable in a volume like this.

Tiina Puola

REINHARD FÖRTSCH: *Kunstverwendung und Kunstlegitimation im archaischen und frühklassischen Sparta*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2001. ISBN 3-8053-2736-6. X, 270 S., 371 Abb., 3 Beilagen. EUR 76,80.

Vorliegende Arbeit stellt die überarbeitete Fassung einer Habilitationsschrift dar, die der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität zu Köln im Jahre 1994 vorgelegt wurde. Sie ist der erste umfassende Versuch, das Kunstschaffen in Sparta zu ordnen und zu analysieren. Den literarischen Zeugnissen zufolge sei die Kunst in Sparta generell abgeschafft worden, was durch den archäologischen Befund allerdings keine Bestätigung zu finden scheint; F. hält es nun aber methodisch für verfehlt, die Schriftquellen mit dem archäologischen Gegenbeweis als widerlegt zu betrachten. Er meint, dass die Kunst in Sparta seit dem frühen 6. Jh. zunehmender Legitimation bedurfte. Im Ganzen handelt es sich um ein wichtiges Werk, das neue Perspektiven für eine kultur- und sozialhistorische Auswertung archäologischer Quellen und Forschungen eröffnet.

Heikki Solin

LUIGI BERNABÒ BREA: *Maschere e personaggi del teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi*. Bibliotheca Archaeologica 32. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-120-7. 310 pp., 310 ill. b/n, 70 ill. col. EUR 174.

Si tratta di un libro postumo, scritto con la collaborazione di Madeleine Cavalier. L'isola di Lipari è un sito archeologico di grande importanza, e da nessuna parte sono stati trovati maschere decorative e statuette nella stessa quantità delle tombe e fosse votive della necropoli di Lipari. La produzione di questi materiali di pertinenza teatrale si prolunga localmente per quasi un secolo e mezzo, dagli inizi del IV alla metà del III secolo a.C. Sono modellini di maschere tragiche, satiresche e comiche, statuette di attori della commedia e, in minor numero, di satiri e sileni, in ovvia connessione col dramma satiresco. Di essi, il presente libro costituisce una trattazione ed edizione esauriente. Gli autori avevano trattato lo stesso argomento nel libro *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi* (1981), e la nuova opera aggiorna la sezione principale del primo libro, con nuove interpretazioni.

Non essendo un addetto ai lavori, non mi sento di poter dare un giudizio sulle identificazioni proposte dal Bernabò Brea. Ma so che alcuni specialisti hanno espresso dubbi su alcune di esse. Quale che sia la verità, si tratta di un libro di grande importanza. Le scoperte fatte dall'a. sono molto rilevanti, e la presentazione dei materiali è eccellente. Se qualche identificazione rimane meno sicura, ciò non toglie niente al grande fascino dell'opera.

Heikki Solin

ELLEN PERRY: *The aesthetics of emulation in the visual arts of ancient Rome*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 0-521-83165-2. XVI, 208 pp., 48 figs. GBP 45.

For a very long time, Roman art has been mostly considered as just a failed attempt to reach the heights of Greek art. It has not usually been regarded as independently Roman art, but as

a source for trying to identify Greek originals based on Roman copies. Lately, some scholars have started to look at copy criticism (or *Kopienkritik*) critically and completely new ways of looking and interpreting Roman art have emerged. Ellen Perry's book is a very interesting and refreshing look at Roman art; how it was created and how it was perceived by the Roman viewer.

Perry examines Roman aesthetics of imitation in order to see types of repetition, variation and visual formulae present in Roman art. In this way, she hopes to show that Roman works of art were not intended merely as copies of Greek masterpieces. Her main material is Roman *Idealplastik*, heroic and mythological sculpture. The beginning of the book concentrates, however, on textual evidence for the attitudes and desires of Roman patrons who ordered and displayed works of art. One of the key concepts is *decorum* or appropriateness of everything to its place and time. Chapter one explores *decorum* and tradition – how traditional Roman values were represented and replicated in art. There were no accepted rules for appropriate depictions and uses of art, but there was a requirement to respect tradition and to justify innovation. Roman visual culture is often considered conservative and the reason for this offered by *Kopienkritik* was the copying of Greek originals. Perry's interpretation is that the Romans instead had a formulaic visual culture, a respect for tradition and *decorum*, which did not encourage innovation. Chapter two explores *decorum* and patrons and suitability of works of art for different contexts. Architectural types and their decoration with painting and sculpture were very closely connected, so closely that the content of the decoration was interpreted by its contexts and not by its original form. Even themes and types that were clearly copied from Greek originals could be understood differently by the Roman viewer. The Roman variation of Greek originals could be considered not as "bad" copies, but as innovations, adaptations of a Greek theme to make it appropriate for a Roman context.

Chapter three explores the way in which *Kopienkritik* has made Roman art invisible by effectively denying its independence. Roman artists mainly tried to copy Greek originals and if the result did not resemble the original, it was to be considered a failure or a bad copy. Perry compares *Kopienkritik* to textual criticism where differences to originals can be considered mistakes and dismissed. In art, such an approach is not applicable as changes in, for example, proportions and postures are often intentional, not mistakes, but rather transformations of a known piece to match a new context.

The remaining chapters move further from the textual evidence and explore various themes through mostly sculptural examples. The Capua Venus and Venus-Mars groups are used to illustrate eclecticism. Roman art aimed at creating harmonious and eclectic blends of known models and the end result had a message of its own, quite different from the original(s). Artistic vision as a model is discussed through mostly literary sources. Mythological subjects, particularly deities, had no models in real life; their appearance had to be invented by the artists. The same applied also to, for example, depictions of tragic moments, which rarely happen in every day life. The texts point towards a requirement for the artist to feel the subject matter in a personal way in order for the work of art to be worthwhile; the mere copying of another artist's vision was not sufficient. The last chapter considers the actual copying of ancient models and artistic rivalry. Mere copying was not considered appropriate or worthwhile, but it was necessary to consider why the original was worth copying, what made it good and then perhaps try to surpass the original.

Perry's book is an important effort towards a re-evaluation of research on Roman art. It offers new ways to study Roman art, but also gives many important insights into the ways Romans perceived themselves and how they wanted to be represented in public and private life.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Lebenswelten. Bilder und Räume in der römischen Stadt der Kaiserzeit. Symposium am 24. und 25. Januar 2002 zum Abschluss des von der Gerda Henkel Stiftung geförderten Forschungsprogramms "Stadtkultur in der römischen Kaiserzeit". Herausgegeben von R. NEUDECKER und P. ZANKER. Palilia 16. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2005. ISBN 3-89500-515-0. 256 S., 124 S/W Abb. EUR 45.

Der Inhalt des vorliegenden Bandes gestaltet sich wie folgt: P. Zanker - R. Neudecker, Perspektiven in der Stadtkultur der römischen Kaiserzeit; D. Palombi, Paesaggio storico e paesaggio di memoria nell'area dei Fori Imperiali; A. Grüner, Ruinen ohne Romantik. Zerstörte Gebäude als urbanistisches Problem der frühen Kaiserzeit; V. Kockel, Altes und Neues vom Forum und vom Gebäude der Eumachia in Pompeji; D. Steuernagel, Öffentliche und private Aspekte von Vereinskulten am Beispiel von Ostia; R. Neudecker, Ein göttliches Vergnügen. Zum Einkauf an sakralen Stätten im kaiserzeitlichen Rom; A. Busch, Zur militärischen Sepulkraltopographie im kaiserzeitlichen Rom; M. Heinzelmann, Die vermietete Stadt. Zur Kommerzialisierung und Standardisierung der Wohnkultur in der kaiserzeitlichen Großstadtesellschaft; F. Pirson, Spuren antiker Lebenswirklichkeit. Fragestellung, Methodik und Ergebnisse der Untersuchung eines innerstädtischen Architekturkomplexes in Pompeji; P. Kastenmeier, Die Küche im mittleren Stockwerk der Suburbanen Thermen in Pompeji. Probleme der Nutzungsbestimmung von Gebäuden oder Gebäudeteilen; M. Galli, Il formarsi di una cultura urbana nella colonia romana di Ariminum; E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, Convivia mit Clodia und Calpurnia. Frauen bei römischen Gastmählern; J.-A. Dickmann, Admet und Deidameia. Begehrliche Blicke durch die mythische Brille; K. Lorenz, Die Quadratur des Sofabildes. Pompejanische Mythenbilder als Ausgangspunkt für eine Phänomenologie antiker Wahrnehmung; S. Muth, Überflutet von Bildern. Die Ikonophilie im spätantiken Haus; P. Zanker, Ikonographie und Mentalität. Zur Veränderung mythologischer Bildthemen auf den kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophagen aus der Stadt Rom.

Die hier vorgelegten Arbeiten basieren auf Vorträgen, die in einem 2002 veranstalteten Symposium zum Thema "Stadtkultur in der römischen Kaiserzeit" gehalten wurden. Ein Leitgedanke des Symposiums, dessen Teilnehmer vor allem – wenn nicht ausschließlich – aus klassischen Archäologen bestand, war neue Wege zu suchen, um der allzu weit gehenden Spezialisierung und Fragmentierung des Faches Einhalt zu gebieten, ein sehr dankenswerter Ansatz. Das Ergebnis ist ein interessanter und wichtiger Band, dessen Beiträge auch – oder vor allem – ein Nicht-Archäologe mit Spannung und Gewinn liest. Wer von den Intentionen der Herausgeber eine Vorstellung bekommen will, dem empfehle ich ihre einleitenden Bemerkungen durchzulesen. Die meisten Beiträge sind gut und flüssig geschrieben. Wenn hier und da die Darstellung etwas umständlich ist und die Anmerkungen stellenweise unnötig ausführlich sind, schmälert das nicht den positiven Gesamteindruck, wie

auch nicht gelegentliche kleinere Entstellungen. Nur eine Einzelbemerkung: In ihrem sehr verdienstvollen Versuch, einzelnen militärischen Einheiten in Rom eigene Friedhöfe und Grabdenkmälergattungen zuzuweisen (man sollte weitere Untersuchungen dieser Art vornehmen), meint A. Busch (105f), der Umstand, dass insbesondere die Equites singulares sich gemeinsam bestatten ließen, beruhe darauf, dass diese Einheit – anders als die übrigen stadtrömischen Soldaten – in verschiedenen Provinzen rekrutiert worden waren, dass sie also aus Provinzialen mit unterschiedlichem kulturellen Hintergrund zusammengesetzt waren, deren einziges verbindendes Element der Dienst beim Militär in Rom war. Das stimmt so nicht, denn die Equites singulares stammten zu einem großen Teil aus dem Gebiet der Rhein- und Donauprovinzen, während die Herkunft etwa der Prätorianer besonders in derselben Zeit, aus welcher die Urkunden der Equites singulares stammen, recht variierend war; Verf. hätte dies aus Durry und Passerini entnehmen können. Vielleicht ist der Grund darin zu suchen, dass die Equites singulares in größerem Ausmaß als die Prätorianer aus weniger romanisierten Provinzen kamen, weswegen sie in Rom leichter zur Vereinheitlichung der Bestattungspraktiken kamen. In diesem Beitrag zu korrigieren noch der Begleittext der Abb. 3: es handelt sich nicht um die Grabstele für Fannius, sondern für Gamus.

Heikki Solin

ANNAMARIA COMELLA: *Il santuario di Punta della Vipera (Santa Marinella – Comune di Civitavecchia)*. I: *I materiali votivi*. Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia 13. Collana diretta da M. TORELLI e A. COMELLA, Regio VII, 6 = Archaeologica 131. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2001. ISSN 0391-9293; ISBN 88-7689-208-7. 156 pp., 42 tav. EUR 180.

Procede la pubblicazione del Corpus delle stipi votive, i cui singoli volumi sono stati recensiti anche su questa rivista. I materiali votivi di Punta della Vipera, nonostante non siano quantitativamente rilevanti, sono di notevole interesse per le caratteristiche di alcune tipologie, che offrono importanti elementi per la ricostruzione di certi aspetti del culto praticato nel santuario e per la definizione di un quadro più generale delle forme della devozione nel mondo etrusco-italico. I materiali provengono dalle campagne di scavo iniziate nel 1964. Dei ritrovamenti interesseranno i lettori di questa rivista soprattutto due reperti che hanno reso famoso il santuario, la laminetta plumbea, con iscrizione su ambedue le facce, e la *sors* in forma di disco in piombo. Si aggiungano tre iscrizioni vascolari contenenti le dediche a *Menerva*. Auguriamo al Corpus buon proseguimento con altri volumi ugualmente importanti.

Heikki Solin

MARIA PAOLA GUIDOBALDI: *I materiali votivi della Grotta del Colle di Rapino*. Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia 15. Regio IV, 1 = Archaeologica 134. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2002. ISSN 0391-9293; ISBN 88-7689-182-X. 80 pp., 10 tav. EUR 80.

I primi ritrovamenti nella grotta sul versante nord-orientale della Maiella, ai piedi del Monte Pologne nell'Abruzzo meridionale, diventata famosa in virtù della Tabula Rapinensis, risalgono agli inizi dell'Ottocento, ma una sistematica campagna di scavo fu condotta

soltanto nel 1940; tuttavia i risultati delle indagini eseguite non furono mai resi noti.

L'autrice offre nel volumetto, dopo l'introduzione, un Catalogo dei reperti, tra cui una trattazione della Tabula Rapinensis (Vetter 218), seguito da qualche conclusione relativa al contesto storico. Auguriamo alla collana un buon proseguimento.

Heikki Solin

MARGHERITA CATUCCI – LORENA JANNELLI – LUCIA SANESI MASTROCINQUE: *Il deposito votivo dall'acropoli di Cuma*. Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia 16, Regio I, 2 = Archaeologica 138. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2002. ISSN 0391-9293; ISBN 88-7689-202-8. 124 pp., 28 tav. EUR 180.

Un ulteriore volume della collana delle stipi votive. I materiali analizzati nel presente lavoro appartengono a un deposito votivo scoperto a Cuma nel 1911 durante indagini archeologiche condotte sulla terrazza inferiore dell'acropoli, rimaste inedite e pubblicate ora nel presente volume. All'introduzione segue il Catalogo, a cura di tutte e tre le autrici; il libro finisce con considerazioni sulla topografia dell'area sacra e sulla tipologia del culto dalla mano di Jannelli.

Heikki Solin

MARINA DE FRANCESCHINI: *Ville dell'Agro Romano*. Monografie della Carta dell'Agro Romano, 2. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-8265-311-0. 568 pp., 100 ill. b/n, 70 ill. col., tav. f.t., 1 pianta b/n. EUR 300.

The countryside around Rome is currently experiencing a very lively research period. Many excavations and surveys provide new archaeological information on old and new sites, and even literary sources concerning the area have been reanalyzed. One of the most important types of ancient monuments found in the area is definitively the Roman villa, which has been documented in great numbers since the Renaissance period. We are getting close to the point where synthetic work is possible and even necessary. Marina De Franceschini (MDF) has in her catalogue of one hundred excavated villas found inside the borders of the modern city of Rome also tried to create a synthesis of the data she presents. She has a history of writing catalogues concerning Roman villas (*Villa Adriana: mosaici, pavimenti, edifici* from 1991, see also website: <http://www.villa-adriana.net/> and *Le ville romane della X Regio (Venetia et Histria): catalogo e carta archeologica dell'insediamento romano nel territorio, dall'età repubblicana al tardo impero* from 1999). Thus, she is an expert in collecting and organizing data, which is also evident in the volume at hand, which has better organized, referenced and indexed information than is usually available in publications of this kind.

The book has been divided into three major parts. The first part contains the catalogue of the villas and it covers a little over half of the whole. The second consists of ca. 45 pages of short, analytical and synthetic chapters drawing some conclusions on various aspects of the villas. The third deals more or less with the same matters as the second part as it provides the indices for various materials and finds as lists – not in prose text as in the previous part. The book ends with a large section of colour plates reproducing the ground plans with

various aspects (e.g., presence of cisterns, water channels, porticoes, building phases) highlighted in color. The catalogue part is naturally equipped with a great number of photographs, drawings and maps. The locations of the villas have been presented only on a 1:80,000 scale map attached to the volume.

The aim of the book has been defined as the reconstruction of the typology and evolution of the villa in the territory of Rome (p. xiii). In order to achieve this aim, MDF has selected one hundred sites based on two criteria: location inside the modern city of Rome and existence of a sufficiently detailed ground plan. MDF considers the fairly limited number of such sites as a sufficient sample of all types of villas found in the area, but does not argue her case statistically. Additionally, the completely artificial limitation of the research area has little to do with the realities of ancient *villeggiatura*. She does not comment on the total numbers of known sites and the state of research in the area except to lament the poor state of excavation and documentation. This is a pity, as she has had to plough through a great deal of literature and archival material, and would have thus been in a perfect position to comment on the possible needs for further research. She could also have drawn conclusions on the formation processes of the sites, the way in which the material has come about, having read through a great quantity of excavation reports. These kinds of insights would have added greatly to our knowledge and understanding of the archaeology of this important area. The chapter presenting the principles and methods consists only of 3.5 pages of very general text, which I think is not sufficient.

The catalogued villas are presented in a consistent manner – one of the strengths of the book. There is a section for general information such as name, location, research history and date. This is followed by a description of the building techniques, installations connected to water, baths and agricultural production, decorative elements and finds. Then the text continues with a description of the building phases as well as conclusions on the character and structure of the whole site. Each entry finishes with a bibliography. The plans are, in general, reproductions of published ones with a minority of original plans. The maps seem to have been scanned and partially treated with some kind of computer-aided drawing program. Some of the scans are quite smudgy and difficult to read and the situation is not helped by MDF's overlaid highlights by particularly in the black and white text section. The situation is better in the color plates. Most of the plans have been printed with north towards the top of the page, but there is also plenty of variation to this, which sometimes makes connecting plans to each other a bit difficult. The photos rarely contain any kind of information on direction and sometimes lack references to room numbers. Bibliographical data also show some gaps, particularly when it comes to integrating survey data with the excavated finds. MDF has not always bothered to check the survey records – which almost invariably exist at least in the eastern part of her research area (e.g., sites 17 and 33, among others). Despite these shortcomings, the general quality of the text is mostly better than in the original excavation reports due to the author's insight based on her wider view of the data set.

What I would have perhaps wished to see in the descriptions is a more accurate system of indicating location. The way this data is given in the current Italian system is by using place names derived from roads, houses, farm names, etc. The exact location is indicated by distance along the road, by house/plot numbers and sometimes by direction and distance from major buildings. These are all unsatisfactory, as all can change and be forgotten. I would think that the hundreds of archaeological and epigraphical pieces found in

vigna this or that, whose location has already been unknown for centuries would have raised a need for more accurate ways of indicating location. Now, if the general location map attached to the volume disappears, the only way to locate the sites is to find another copy of the book with the map still included or to remake the map oneself by finding and using the original publication or other documentation of each villa. This also applies to all the basic archaeological survey publications, e.g., the *Forma Italiae* series. One answer to the dilemma could be the use of national grid coordinates derived from the *Istituto Geografico Militare's* topographical plans. These would also be an independent means of checking the location information in addition to the verbal descriptions. The volume at hand features sites such as, e.g., the *Villa della Cecchignola* (Nr. 84) which was excavated in the 1930's and the exact location of which is quite uncertain. It should also be noted that the sites Nr. 56 and 85 are inaccurately placed in MDF's general map: Nr. 85 is actually *Villa dei Centroni* (Nr. 56) and *Villa di Casal Morena* (Nr. 85) is located south of it. This is by far the most serious mistake in the locations of the villas.

The second part of the book features the synthetic and statistical part. As mentioned earlier, MDF does not discuss the statistics for the whole settlement archaeology of the Roman countryside and so the representativity of her sample remains unknown. The *Forma Italiae* and *Latium Vetus* series cover most of her research area and even territories outside the city of Rome. If areas included in both MDF's book and in the survey reports are considered, ca. 1000 sites that can be classified as villas are known and this figure excludes all *aree di frammenti fittili* (scatters of tile and pottery), which are also potential settlement sites. Slightly more than half of the sites listed by MDF are from that particular area, which would mean that they represent ca. 5–6 % of the known sites. When certain classes of material are discussed, comparative figures would have also been quite informative. For example, MDF cites productive spaces or installations for ca. 80 % of her sites whereas the same figure is ca. 10 % or slightly higher when all settlement sites are included. Considering the amount of space she uses to discuss villa economics in the synthetic section (ca. 8 pages), it might have been a good idea to consider the representativity of the sample more carefully. Excavated material is, of course, more detailed and informative than most survey materials, but it would also be very important to compare it to the known survey material. Distribution maps and a simple table with figures of the different features might have also been more efficient in illustrating the material than the many lists she produces in notes and in the *Repertorio* section.

MDF's insights, particularly concerning the development of the building types and their various parts, are very worthwhile and they will be important for future research. Her lengthy economic synthesis mostly repeats what has been said by others. The book will certainly be an important reference volume for many years to come, but I feel that many of the conclusions presented need to be considered as working hypotheses to be tested with more representative materials. The *corpus* of excavated and published villas from the surroundings of Rome is much larger than the one hundred sites featured here and their number increases all the time.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Carta archeologica e ricerche in Campania. Fascicolo 1, Comuni di Alvignano, Baia e Latina, Caiazzo, Castel Campagnano, Castel di Sasso, Dragoni, Piana di Monte Verna, Ruviano. A cura di LORENZO QUILICI e STEFANIA QUILICI GIGLI. Atlante tematico di topografia antica Supplemento XV. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2004. ISBN 88-8265-260-2. 452 pp., ill. col., 5 tav. f.t. EUR 150.

Carta archeologica e ricerche in Campania. Fascicolo 2, Comuni di Brezza, Capua, San Prisco. A cura di LORENZO QUILICI e STEFANIA QUILICI GIGLI. Atlante tematico di topografia antica, Supplemento XV. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2004. ISBN 88-8265-315-3. 240 pp., 198 ill. col., 1 piegh. a colori. EUR 115.

Il primo fascicolo comprende un dettagliato resoconto delle ricerche condotte nel territorio delle antiche Cubulteria e Caiatia, a cura di G. Cera (per Cubulteria) e G. Renda (per Caiatia), secondo il modello della *Forma Italiae*. A fine libro D. Nonnis ripubblica in modo più corretto una lamina di bronzo opistografa del III secolo a. C. ritrovata in località Cacciapugli ad Alvignano, importante quale testimonianza dell'adozione nel III secolo del latino in questo comprensorio. I ricchi materiali raccolti da Cera e Renda contribuiscono in modo notevole alla ricerca storica di questo distretto sannita-campano. Nelle schede anche l'apporto dei documenti epigrafici viene rilevato in modo adeguato. – Due formalità: p. 108 nt. 249 scrivi *CIL X 533** invece di 533 (Mommsen ritenne falsa l'iscrizione, che invece sembrerebbe genuina). – p. 222 nt. 653 HYG., non IG. – Per le iscrizioni, Renda cita regolarmente solo Solin, mentre omette spesso *CIL*.

Il secondo fascicolo non comprende un'analisi dettagliata di tutto il territorio dei comuni in questione, ma consiste in due saggi: Fr. Guandalini, Il territorio ad ovest di Capua, e R. Benassai – S. Prisco, La necropoli capuana di IV e III sec. a.C. Nella prima parte è offerto un simile resoconto della zona occidentale del territorio dell'antica Capua, simile a quanto presentato nel fascicolo precedente che sarà di grande utilità per ulteriori ricerche nel campo della storia campana (anche i ritrovamenti epigrafici sono stati trattati in modo adeguato, es. p. 46). Aspettiamo la pubblicazione di altri fascicoli che investano zone non ancora incluse in queste minuziose ricerche.

Heikki Solin

UMBERTO PAPPALARDO con la collaborazione di MARIO GRIMALDI: *La descrizione di Pompei per Giuseppe Fiorelli (1875). Con una cronistoria per immagini e la lettera alla Guardia Nazionale del distretto di Castellammare di Stabia.* Massa Editore, Napoli 2001. 174 pp., alcune ill. b/n. EUR 36,15.

Con la presente riedizione (non si tratta di una mera ristampa: il testo è inalterato, ma stampato di nuovo e provvisto di una nuova impaginazione) Umberto Pappalardo ha reso un gran servizio ai cultori della storia degli studi antiquari campani. La classica *Descrizione* del Fiorelli uscì nel 1875. Nonostante la sua età è ancora oggi utilissima. Dobbiamo veramente essere grati alla Casa Editrice e all'autore per questa iniziativa. Porto un esempio concreto per illustrare la sua importanza ancora oggi. Nella bottega VII 6, 35 Fiorelli 438 (= 160 della riedizione) ci presenta un larario "a guisa di edicola addossato alla parete, con un solo serpente e l'ara in rilievo di stucco, presso cui è graffito MARS". Prima di questa

comunicazione Fiorelli riferisce che "sul pilastro intermedio (vale a dire tra VII 6, 34 e 35) eravi dipinta la Vittoria in piedi, in atto di coronare l'asino itifallico che infora il leone, satirica allusione alla disfatta di M. Antonio nella battaglia di Azio". Non è mia intenzione entrare qui sull'interpretazione della pittura, male intesa dal Fiorelli (da ultimo vedi Th. Fröhlich, *Lararien- und Fassadenbilder in den Vesuvstädten. Untersuchungen zur 'volkstümlichen' pompeianischen Malerei*, Mainz 1991, 65 sg. 327 n. F51). Quello che vorrei qui sottolineare è che, nonostante la chiara collocazione dell'ara e del graffito MARS da parte del Fiorelli, lo Zangemeister, nella sua magistrale edizione dei graffiti pompeiani, *CIL IV 1644* pubblica un graffito che recita appunto MARS tra i graffiti che stanno (e già stavano ai tempi dello Zangemeister) nel Museo di Napoli nel frammento di intonaco che contiene la pittura della Vittoria. Qui Zangemeister ha dovuto confondersi, in un modo o nell'altro, perché nel frammento a Napoli non c'è traccia di tale graffito, lo posso assicurare in base a un minuzioso controllo dell'intonaco, durato più ore a inizio febbraio 2007 (e sembrerebbe escluso che l'intonaco abbia potuto danneggiarsi ulteriormente nel museo partenopeo, in modo tale da far sparire ogni traccia dell'iscrizione). Sarebbe anche strano se Zangemeister non avesse notato il graffito MARS nel posto indicato dal Fiorelli. Perciò mi sembra evidente che Zangemeister si sia sbagliato nel collocare il graffito tra quelli che si trovano nel frammento d'intonaco a Napoli. Probabilmente influenzato dallo Zangemeister, M. Langner nel suo ottimo libro *Antike Graffitizeichnungen: Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung*, Wiesbaden 2001, n. 829 (soltanto in CD-ROM) ha voluto riconoscere nel frammento partenopeo, sopra la figura di un reziario (che effettivamente c'è), la scritta *Mars feliciter* (quest'ultima parola restando per lui molto incerta), ma neanche di questo non sono riuscito a trovare traccia, nonostante una capillare e lunga ricerca. Fortunatamente altri studiosi moderni hanno collocato il graffito, sulle orme del Fiorelli, in modo esatto (per es. V. Sampaolo, *PPM VII* (1997) 207; L. García y García, *Danni di guerra a Pompei. Una dolorosa vicenda quasi dimenticata*, Roma 2006, 109).

Heikki Solin

Volubilis. Eine römische Stadt in Marokko von der Frühzeit bis in die islamische Periode. Herausgegeben von MARTINA RISSE. Mit Beiträgen von HASSAN LIMANE, ABDELFATTAH ICHKHAKH, DETLEV KREIKENBOM, RACHID BOUZIDI und SIGURD MÜLLER. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2001. ISBN 3-8053-2664-5. 120 S. EUR 34,80.

Ich war 1992 in Volubilis und habe von dort bleibende Eindrücke mitgebracht (mitgeschleppt wurde auch, das sei nebenbei erwähnt, eine schwere Magenkrankheit). Die Stadt, 1997 von der UNESCO in die Liste des Weltkulturerbes aufgenommen, gilt als die schönste römische Ausgrabungsstätte Marokkos. Der gute Erhaltungszustand der Ruinen und die großartige landschaftliche Kulisse machen Volubilis zu einem der eindrucksvollsten Orte römischer Zeit im Maghreb. Da es keine neuere zusammenfassende Darstellung der Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bauten gibt, ist die Absicht der Hrsg. zu begrüßen, die Stadt einem gebildeten Publikum vorzustellen. Das Ergebnis freilich ist etwas uneben. Neben gelungenen Teilen, wozu auch die photographischen Aufnahmen zählen, gibt es andere weniger gut bearbeitete Abschnitte. Und nicht einmal in einem populären Buch sollten solche Erörterungen enthalten

sein, wie man sie aus der Feder von S. Müller auf S. 115ff zum marokkanischen Königtum liest. Ein normaler Leser, zu denen der Rez. sich in diesem Fall zählt, lässt das Buch mit einer gewissen Zwiespältigkeit aus der Hand. Jedenfalls gehört es nicht zu den besseren der ansonsten verdienstvollen Reihe.

Heikki Solin

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