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REIJO PITKÄRANTA

LINGVAE LATINAE
IN UNIVERSITATE HELSINGIENSI LECTORI

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AMICI COLLEGAE DISCIPULI

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PUZZLES ABOUT PROCURATORS IN ROME*

CHRISTER BRUUN

There is currently a debate concerning how the imperial city of Rome was governed and public works were managed. An important role in this discussion is played by the imperial officials whose names appear in stamps on Roman lead pipes (*fistulae*), as these stamps, in fact, provide the names of most of the senators and especially of the *equites* whom we find engaged in public works in Rome.¹ In the following, some new and some old stamps will be discussed with a view to opening up new perspectives on the employment of imperial procurators.

1. The activities of Calpurnius Maximus near the Colosseum

A stamp on a *fistula* from Rome naming a certain Calpurnius Maximus as the person holding an official *cura* has been known since the 1890s:

IMP COMMODO ET QVINTILLO COS
SVB C(VRA) CALPVRNI MAXIMI
(CIL XV 7360, found near the Colosseum)

Since Calpurnius Maximus does not indicate his status, it is uncertain

* The research for this paper was carried out while holding a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which is gratefully acknowledged. I am grateful to Louis Hamilton for revising my English; remaining linguistic and other faults are my own.

¹ See C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki 1991, 207–71 for a presentation and discussion of the material. For a study of similar sources from Ostia, see C. Bruun, "L'amministrazione imperiale di Ostia e Portus", in C. Bruun – A. Gallina Zevi (eds.), *Ostia e Portus nelle loro relazioni con Roma* (Acta IRF 27), Roma 2002, 161–92.

whether he was a senator or a Roman knight. Scholars have been divided in this regard, and the presence of a senator by the name of Calpurnius Maximus at the *ludi saeculares* of A.D. 204 does not solve the riddle. Regardless of whether it was a son of his who had senatorial rank in 204, the Calpurnius Maximus of *CIL XV 7360* could perfectly well have been of equestrian status, and this will be the assumption here.²

New information on the elder Calpurnius Maximus was presented in 1993. Again, the evidence is from a lead pipe stamp that has received practically no attention after the first publication.³ The text reads:

(number VIII upside down)

AVR COMMOD PLAVT Q[V]INTILL C[OS]

*[SV]B C CALPVRN MAXIM[I] C[-]*⁴

(*MDAIR* 100 (1993) 497, from the grounds of the Ospedale Militare on the Caelius)

The two stamps resemble each other and both belong in the year 177, as the consular dating makes clear: in that year the ordinary consuls were Aurelius Commodus, the son of the emperor Marcus, and Plautius Quintillus.⁵

The stamps are, however, not identical, and perhaps the most significant difference appears on line 1 which gives the names of the consuls. In *CIL XV 7360* Commodus is styled "Imp(erator) Commodus", while he appears as "Aurelius Commodus" in the new stamp. As the epithet "Imperator" is missing in the new stamp, the stamp was perhaps applied at a somewhat earlier date. It has to be admitted, though, that Commodus is thought to have received his first imperial acclamation already on

² See the survey of scholarly opinions on the matter in Bruun, above n. 1 (1991) 243. See also note 4 below.

³ The stamp has not been registered in *AE* 1993–2001.

⁴ The editor A. Carignani in C. Pavolini, "La topografia antica della sommità del Celio. Gli scavi dell'Ospedale Militare (1987–1992)", *MDAI(R)* 100 (1993) 497–98 n. 169 suggested that, hypothetically, the letter C at the end of line 2 could be the first part of the abbreviated senatorial "Rangzeichen" *c(larissimus) [v(ir)]*. This solution cannot be excluded.

⁵ A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell'impero romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, Roma 1952, 49; and G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, Bonn 1977, 190 register Commodus as consul with M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus in A.D. 177; to my knowledge no suffect consuls have been securely dated to that year (although there undoubtedly were several).

November 27, A.D. 176,⁶ and thus the epithet "Imperator" ought not to have been absent from any official document in A.D. 177 (nor should, of course, the epithet "Caesar" have been missing after A.D. 166). Yet it is more probable that "Imperator" was omitted early in 177 than later on in the year. Halfway through 177 Commodus was then officially made a co-ruler with the title "Imp. Caes. L. Aurelius Commodus Aug.",⁷ and this change in nomenclature is likely the *terminus ante quem* for our two stamps, as the reigning emperor would hardly be referred to without the title "Augustus" even in a consular dating on a *fistula*.⁸

⁶ D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*², Darmstadt 1996, 32, 147, 149; A. R. Birley, "Hadrian to the Antonines", *CAH XI*², Cambridge 2000, 132–94, esp. 180–81. The only source giving a precise date is *Hist. Aug. Comm.* 2.4; in *Hist. Aug. M. Aur.* 16.1 the bestowal of the title "Imperator" is mentioned but not dated. The date of October 28 is given by *Hist. Aug. Comm.* 12.4 (*cum patre imperator appellatus est*), erroneously, it is thought. The same source reports that Commodus celebrated a triumph over the Sarmatians and Germans with his father on December 23 (*Comm.* 12.5). Our other narrative sources for this period, Cassius Dio and Herodian, do not provide information in this regard. Cassius Dio is extant in fragments (excerpts) only, and Herodian does not dwell on such topics. There is no very recent treatment of this problem, but see R. Marino, "Il problema cronologico della *tribunicia potestas* prima di Commodo", *Studi di storia antica offerti a Eugenio Manni*, Roma 1976, 223–39, esp. 225–26, 238–39 (the focus is on the first *tribunicia potestas*, but the author dedicates considerable space to the first imperial acclamation of Commodus as well). O. Hekster, *Commodus. An Emperor at the Crossroads*, Leiden 2002, 38 with n. 114 does not provide clarity (inadvertently, the book claims that Commodus was made both Imperator and Augustus on Nov. 27, 176); the epigraphical sources listed do not help determine when Commodus became "Imperator". Instead, a fragment of the *Acta Arvalium* is quite important, see J. Scheid, *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt. Les copies épigraphiques des protocoles annuels de la confrérie arvale (21 av. – 304 ap. J.-C.)*, Roma 1998, 252–53 no. 88. The text, which Scheid dates to between November 14 and December 5, A.D. 176, calls Commodus *cos. desi[gnatus]* and *particeps imp[erij]*. Scheid suggests that the ceremony celebrated by the Arvalians took place in occasion of Commodus' receiving the imperial acclamation on Nov. 27. It is noteworthy, though, that the unusual expression *particeps imperii* is used.

⁷ Kienast (above n. 5) 147.

⁸ An inventory of the seven known lead pipe stamps from Rome in which an emperor appears in a consular dating (all published in *CIL XV*) shows that either the epithet "Imperator" or "Augustus", or both, always accompany the emperor's name. "Imperator" appears six times (*CIL XV* 7241, 7360, 7361b, 7362, 7364–65), "Augustus" is present four times (*CIL XV* 7361a–b, 7362, 7364). In a *fistula* stamp from Gaul in which Caracalla appears in a consular dating, both *Imp.* and *Aug.* accompany his name (*Gallia* 49 (1992) 90–93). This pattern leads to the conclusion that when the stamp discussed

In any case, that the two stamps are different is a strong indication that they belonged to different hydraulic enterprises (once a stamp had been cut, the *plumbarius* could use it for as long as it served him), separated if not in time then at least in space.

The archaeological evidence indeed proves that the stamps were not part of the same urban project. As noted above, the new stamp derives from the recent excavations on the grounds of the Ospedale Militare on the Caelius, which lies to the south-east of the Colosseum, at a distance of some 500 metres.⁹ *CIL XV 7360*, on the other hand, was found "nei movimenti di terra compiuti allo scopo di spianare la nuova via del Colosseo" (*CIL XV, ad. loc.*).¹⁰ The modern, rather short Via del Colosseo is situated on a spur of the Oppian hill above the Via dei Fori Imperiali, north-east of the Colosseum at some distance from the amphitheatre, but in 1895 when the discovery was made, the street ran down to about where the modern entry to the Metropolitana is situated; Lanciani's *Forma Urbis* shows the topography and even identifies the zone of excavation in 1895.¹¹

The different sizes of the *fistulae*, an internal diameter of merely 4 cm for the pipe from the Ospedale Militare, and 9 cm for the one near the Colosseum,¹² proves that they did not belong to the same conduit. Yet, as far as the task of the procurator is concerned (which really is the aspect that interests us here), one might be tempted to claim that Calpurnius Maximus

here was cut, Commodus' imperial status had likely not yet been clearly established. One can also note that for Quintillus both nomen and cognomen are given. It seems odd that nothing should indicate Commodus' new imperial status, if it was already well established. What I believe to be a revealing parallel can be found in *CIL XV 7319*, a stamp which contains the consular dating for A.D. 161: *Aurel. Caes. III et Comm. II cos.* The same conduit also carried the stamp *Imp. Caes. Aureli Antonini et Aureli Veri sub cura* (etc.), in which we thus find the imperial titulature of the new emperor Marcus (the titulature is surely meant to apply to Lucius Verus as well) after his accession on March 7, 161. The fact that the change in titulature is not reflected in the consular dating must derive from the fact that this particular stamp had been cut before March 7 and continued to be in use. In the same fashion, I imagine that the stamp from the Ospedale Militare was made before the changes in Commodus' titulature became common knowledge.

⁹ See C. Pavolini in Pavolini (ed.) (above n. 3) 447; Carignani (above n. 3) 497, for a description of the find spot.

¹⁰ The quote in *CIL XV* is from G. Gatti, "Roma. Nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio", *NSA* 1895, 346, which registered the discovery.

¹¹ R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Roma 1893–1901 (reprint 1990), pl. 29.

¹² See Carignani (above n. 3) 497 n. 167 and Gatti (above n. 10) 346, respectively.

had been acting as a procurator in charge of the Colosseum (being an analogous case to the Roman knight who was *procurator operis theatri Pompeiani* around A.D. 200 in *ILS* 1430-31), since both *fistulae* were found in relative proximity of that building. This, however, is not the case.

It is true that *CIL* XV 7360 was discovered quite close to the Colosseum, and one certainly cannot exclude that the conduit might have served for instance a fountain in the Colosseum or one just outside. The recently found conduit, however, did definitely not serve the Colosseum. The archaeological context to which the new stamp belonged is much better documented, and the excavation team was able to connect the conduit to a remarkably luxurious *domus* on the site, which, the discoverer suggests, might even have been an imperial residence.¹³

2. Two *fistulae* of Flavius Secundus

Another imperial official, Flavius Secundus, appears in two different lead pipe stamps that are both dated to the very period when Calpurnius Maximus was active. One of these was found on the Quirinal and reads:¹⁴

IMP M AVR ANTON AVG ET L AVR COMM
CAES SVCC FL SECVNDI AEL FEL OFF
 (*CIL* XV 7320)

The other one comes from the vicinity of the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli (i.e., from less than 300 m north of the Colosseum) and carries the text:

SVB CVRA FL SECVNDI [---]
IMP ANTONINI ET COMMODI AVGG NN
 (*NSA* 1922, 222)

Since the emperor Marcus is given almost his full titulature in the first stamp, while Commodus is simply styled "L. Aurelius Commodus Caesar", we must conclude that the *fistula* belongs to a time before Commodus began using the epithet "Imperator". The situation is similar to the one discussed in

¹³ Carignani (above n. 3) 497–98.

¹⁴ The entry in *CIL* XV is based on a report by Pirro Ligorio, the sometimes less than reliable Renaissance intellectual, but the *CIL* editor Dressel was right in trusting Ligorio in this case (he otherwise rarely did), as was demonstrated when a *fistula* naming Flavius Secundus was later discovered (see the following stamp).

section 1 above, although in the present case we are not forced to assume that the stamp in fact dates to early A.D. 177. The *terminus ante quem* for the stamp could well be November 176 (although early 177 cannot be excluded), while the earliest possible date is 166, as already established by Dressel in *CIL XV*.¹⁵ The second stamp, however, dates to the later part of 177, after Commodus had been given the epithet "Augustus".

Thus, the two different stamps of Flavius Secundus not only demonstrably come from separate sites, but their dates must be several months apart.

If we want to establish the chronology of the four *fistulae* discussed so far,¹⁶ we can then say that the earliest stamp is *CIL XV 7320* (Flavius Secundus) which belongs in the period A.D. 166 – November 176 (or possibly a little later). In the period from January to about June 177 belong *MDAIR 1993, 497* (Calpurnius Maximus) and *CIL XV 7360* (Calpurnius Maximus), with the first of these probably slightly earlier. Lastly, we have *NSA 1922, 222* (Flavius Secundus), which postdates June 177. Furthermore, the four *fistula* stamps enable us to establish the following about Calpurnius Maximus and Flavius Secundus in regard to their activities in Rome:

(1) during a period of at least two years (A.D. 176-177), the activities of two imperial officials (who both appear to be of equestrian rank) intersect in such operations in Rome that include the laying out of water conduits of lead.

(2) both officials are found carrying out hydraulic activities on more than one location during this period.

It used to be thought that officials acting *sub cura* in lead pipe stamps were *procuratores aquarum*, but because of their concurrent activities, it is clear that Calpurnius Maximus and Flavius Secundus cannot both be the *procurator aquarum*, and possibly neither of them were. This conclusion supports a suggestion advanced by the present author in some earlier studies.¹⁷ Werner Eck has suggested that such *fistula*-officials instead were

¹⁵ Commodus became Caesar in A.D. 166, see Kienast (above n. 6) 147.

¹⁶ The question of chronology, and the implications thereof, were already discussed in Bruun (above n. 1 [1991]) 243. The topic was pursued further by Carignani (above n. 3) 498 n. 169, who was aware of the implications of the new discovery.

¹⁷ At first in Bruun (above n. 1 [1991]) 263–71; the argument is developed most recently in C. Bruun, "Der Kaiser und die stadtrömischen *curae*: Geschichte und Bedeutung", in A. Kolb (ed.), *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis im römischen Reich*

largely responsible for individual sites and buildings supplied by the stamped water pipe.¹⁸ This idea certainly represents a possibility in some cases, but it does not fit in with (2) above, namely the fact that both Calpurnius Maximus and Flavius Secundus were active in two places which are neither close nor even in the same city region. The lead pipes of the former come from the Augustan regions II and III, those of Flavius Secundus from regions IV and VI.¹⁹

Instead, the situation that presents itself is one in which imperial procurators in Rome are not confined to any precise building, but are in charge of special tasks in the development of the capital's infrastructure. The *fistulae* only tell of hydraulic works, but we should not be blinded by the nature of our sources; it is certainly possible that the water conduits were merely part of larger construction projects about which no texts have survived. These construction projects were imperial in the sense that they were financed with imperial funds (the *patrimonium*), whether intended for the use of the emperor and his family or for public use. The way in which the procurators would have recorded these tasks in an inscription giving their public career probably varied. Perhaps they were sometimes simply called *proc. Augusti*.²⁰

(forthcoming). For agreement see, e.g., W. Eck, "Überlieferung und historische Realität: ein Grundproblem prosopographischer Forschung", in W. Eck (ed.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte*, Köln – Wien – Weimar 1993, 365–96, esp. 388–89; Carignani (above n. 2) 498 n. 169; R. Rodgers (ed. and comm.), *Frontinus: De aquaeductu urbis Romae*, Cambridge 2004, 286; F. Del Chicca (ed. and comm.), *Frontino De aquae ductu urbis Romae*, Roma 2004, 432–33.

¹⁸ See most recently W. Eck, "Zu Inschriften von Prokuratoren", *ZPE* 124 (1999) 228–41, esp. 237–38: "die für einen großen Gebäudekomplex insgesamt oder für bauliche Einrichtungen eines Verwaltungsbereichs verantwortlich waren".

¹⁹ The Ospedale Militare site belongs to the ancient *regio II*, the Colosseum lies in the *r. III*, the *r. VI* embraces the Quirinal while S. Pietro in Vincoli is situated in *r. IV*. For the division of Rome into regions, see *LTUR* IV (1999), s.v. and esp. p. 518 with the foldout map (D. Palombi). In theory, these officials may of course have been given a new assignment in the intervening time. Purely from the point of logic, there are other ways in which the above "anomalies" could be explained. One of the two officials might be a senator, in charge of a special project; then the other could still be a *proc. aquarum*. Other scenarios are also possible. Certainty eludes us, but if the above pages have at least managed to draw some attention to the new material and the possibilities it opens up, they have served a purpose.

²⁰ The question of public works in Rome and the function of procurators and officials in *fistula* stamps is discussed in more detail in Bruun, above n. 17 (forthcoming). One may

3. Two procurators of Fulvius Plautianus²¹

In 1902, the name of Fulvius Plautianus, the powerful *praefectus praetorio* under Septimius Severus, was found on two lead pipes in Rome, on the Quirinal hill. After some initial problems of interpretation²² the stamps were presented as follows:

*FVLVI PLAVTIANI PR [PR C V S]VC C CORN[ELI]
[VI]CTORIS PROC OFF TERENTIVS C[ASSAND]ER
(BCAR 1902, 63 = BCAR 1902, 292 = NSA 1902, 133 = NSA 1903, 20 = AE 1903, 125)*

*Fulvi Plautiani pr(aefecti) [pr(aetorio) c(larissimi) v(iri) s]ucc(ura) Corn[eli] /
[Vi]ctoris proc(uratoris) officinator Terentius C[assand]er (scil. fecit)*

*FVLVI PLAVTIANI PR PR C V SVC C ANNI
PROCVLI PROC OFF TERENTIVS CASSANDER
(BCAR 1902, 292 = NSA 1903, 20 = AE 1903, 126 = ILS 8689)*

*Fulvi Plautiani pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) c(larissimi) v(iri) succ(ura) Anni / Proculi
proc(uratoris) officinator Terentius Cassander (scil. fecit)*

The most remarkable aspect of these stamps is that the name of the praetorian prefect Plautianus is found paired with the names of imperial procurators through the formula *sub cura*. The formula is a familiar one, for many lead pipe stamps in which various imperial officials act *sub cura* are known from Rome, Ostia and Central Italy (cf. above at n. 17). The common characteristic of all these stamps is that they are imperial, i.e. they name the emperor (in the genitive case), and the procurators evidently perform their

note that M. Petronius Sura who acts *sub cura* in the *fistula* stamp *CIL XV 7309* labels himself merely *proc. Augusti* in a dedication to Hadrian (*CIL VI 977*).

²¹ An earlier version of the following section on the *fistulae* of Plautianus was first delivered as a paper in a plenary session at the memorable IXth Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Sofia in 1987. The paper was submitted to the Congress Proceedings about a year later and was updated in 1995. As the proceedings have not yet appeared and are unlikely to do so, I have decided to publish a much revised version of the paper, the content of which was never fully incorporated into Bruun (above n. 1 [1991]) 229–30.

²² The stamp naming Cornelius Victor was noticed earlier than the other stamp and although a preliminary reading was announced at once, it took some time before it had been cleaned and properly read. The stamp of Annius Proculus was neglected at first. When it became an object of study, its text may have helped deciphering the first stamp; see below for references to all the relevant passages in *BCAR* and *NSA* of the years 1902 and 1903.

task for the emperor. The stamps presented above constitute the only exception to this rule, as here imperial procurators are employed for the installation of a conduit carrying the name of someone other than the emperor.

Of course Fulvius Plautianus was no ordinary private citizen. He became one of the two *praefecti praetorio* in A.D. 197 and remained in that position until his death on 22 January, 205. His rank was boosted in other ways as well, as we shall see, and one might at first glance say that Plautianus' appearance in the stamps both underlines the extraordinary position he had gained in the state, and confirms the rule that no common private person could use imperial procurators for their hydraulic works.²³

Plautianus' other distinctions can help date the stamps, and establishing the date will have important consequences. In 197 Plautianus became both *praefectus praetorio* and *clarissimus vir*, the latter epithet an indication that he had been elevated to senatorial rank. As the stamps contain the epithet *c.v.*, they both date to A.D. 197 or later. In A.D. 202 Plautianus was given consular rank, and in 203 he was *consul II ordinarius*. Stefano Priuli suggested twenty years ago that as the rank of *cos. II* is not marked in the stamp, the *fistulae* should date to before the year 203.²⁴ If correct, this gives us a *terminus ante quem* prior to his death in 205²⁵.

It is important here to point to the frequency with which Plautianus adds *cos. II* to his name in brick stamps, another kind of *instrumentum domesticum*, i.e., everyday objects which have limited space for honorific epithets.²⁶ As far as inscriptions on stone are concerned, the mention of *cos.*

²³ Bruun (above n. 1 [1991] 229–30; E.M. Steinby, "Le *fistulae* di Fulvius Plautianus", *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (Coll. ÉFR 193), Roma 1994, 659–660. Thus already G. Gatti, "Notizie di recenti trovamenti di antichità in Roma e nel Lazio", *BCAR* 30 (1902) 56–98, esp. 64.

²⁴ This suggestion was first made by S. Priuli, "Le iscrizioni sulle *fistulae*", in *Il trionfo dell'acqua. Acque e acquedotti a Roma* (Exhibition catalogue, Rome 1986), Roma 1986, 187–95, esp. 192.

²⁵ It should be noted that not everyone is in agreement. Not too long ago Werner Eck instead dated the *fistulae* to 203 or after; he does not seem to have been aware of Priuli's argument, though; see W. Eck, in a note in *LTUR* II, Roma 1995, 106. So did Gatti (above n. 23) 64, but at the time of writing he was under the wrong impression that the stamp contained the formula "*cos. II*".

²⁶ See P. Setälä, *Private Domini in Roman Brick Stamps of the Empire*, Helsinki 1987, 122–27; M. Steinby, "L'industria laterizia di Roma nel tardo impero", in A. Giardina

II is, on the other hand, more of an exception.²⁷

There are also reasons for establishing a later *terminus post quem* than 197 for the stamps. After Plautianus' daughter Plautilla married Caracalla in 202 her father became officially related to the imperial family, and he began using the epithets *necessarius*, *socer* and *consocer Augustorum* (obviously with the approval of the emperor).²⁸ It is this new relation to the imperial family, created through the imperial marriage of his daughter, that best explains Plautianus' appearance together with imperial procurators in the *fistulae*.

A less cogent argument has been made that Plautianus became part of the imperial family even earlier. Fulvio Grosso once suggested that he had received the status of *adfinis* ("related by marriage") already in A.D. 200. But the text Grosso referred to comes from Egypt and uses the expression "oikeios".²⁹ From this it does not follow that he would have been known as *adfinis* in Latin documents at the time (the Latin term in fact never appears in Plautianus' official documents). Moreover, *necessarius* is by far the most common epithet used in inscriptions,³⁰ and therefore it must be the expression which carries the strongest and most significant message. Arguably, only his daughter's imperial marriage and the acquisition of the epithet *necessarius* meant that Plautianus really became aggregated to the imperial family. That in turn would make a new *terminus post quem* of sometime in 202 for his appearance in the *fistula* stamp the most likely situation. Since the epithets of Plautianus are identical in the two stamps, this creates a rather narrow window of time – between four and eight months, depending on when one believes the marriage between Caracalla and Plautilla to have taken place³¹ – during which both procurators would

(ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico* II, Roma – Bari 1986, 99–164 and 438–46, esp. 104–106.

²⁷ See the collection of inscriptions in G. Alföldy, "Un' iscrizione di Patavium e la titolatura di C. Fulvio Plauziano", *Aquileia Nostra* 50 (1979) 125–52, esp. 129–31. Many of them have suffered from *damnatio memoriae* and *cos. II* might in fact have been mentioned; in addition, some of the inscriptions may date from before A.D. 203.

²⁸ See *PIR*² F 554 (Stein) for Plautianus' epithets. On the date of the marriage between Plautilla and Caracalla see below n. 31.

²⁹ F. Grosso, "Ricerche su Plauziano e gli avvenimenti del suo tempo", *RAL* 23 (1968) 7–58, esp. 32.

³⁰ For this argument see Alföldy (above n. 27); cf. Bruun (above n. 1 [1991]) 230.

³¹ The window of time is some eight months if one follows Kienast (above n. 6) 165,

have been operating under him.

We must consider above all the physical context in which these material sources, the *fistulae* and their stamps, originated. Even though the archaeological reports documenting the finds are less complete than one could wish for, there are clear indications that the two *fistulae* belonged to the same edifice (which, in the light of modern research, does not seem to have been the palace of Plautianus³²). The lead pipes were manufactured by the same *plumbarius* Terentius Cassander, and the stamps appear to be identical except for the mention of the procurators.³³ Moreover, the two *fistulae* were found on the same site, when excavating a room some 165 m from the northern opening of the tunnel under the Quirinal (the "Traforo"),³⁴ even though only one, that of Cornelius Victor, was published almost immediately after the discovery in April 1902.³⁵

who dates the marriage to the period 9–15 April, 202. Other scholars consider a later date to be more likely. The only narrative source giving a chronological indication is the epitome of Cass. Dio 77.1, in which several events are lumped together: the *decennalia* of Severus, the marriage, and the return to Rome of the emperor and the ensuing games and gifts to the people. A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus. The African Emperor*³, London – New York 1999, 143–4 considers Severus to have been on his way to Rome, perhaps at Carnuntum, on his *dies imperii* on April 9, while the marriage took place in the capital at a later date; similarly H. Halfmann, *Itinera principis. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*, Stuttgart 1986, 221–22, who concludes that the marriage was celebrated before the end of August.

³² E. Lissi Caronna, "Domus: C. Fulvius Plautianus", *LTUR* II (1995) 105–06 doubts that the site she describes would have been splendid enough around A.D. 200 to qualify as the residence of Plautianus. On the region of the "Traforo" in general, see also P.L. Tucci, "Tra il Quirinale e l'Acquedotto Vergine sulla pianta marmorea severiana: i frammenti 538 a–o", *ARID* 23 (1996) 21–33 with p. 31 for our *fistulae*.

³³ *Carta Archeologica di Roma* II, Firenze 1964, 234 no. H 140 s gives the information, which I have not found anywhere else, that the two *fistulae* both had the diameter of 7 cm.

³⁴ See the description of R. Bonfiglietti, "Gli orti di C. Fulvio Plauziano sul Quirinale", *BCAR* 54 (1926) 145–75, esp. 170: "Egualemente, nello sbancamento del nucleo, nella camera di cui abbiamo parlato ... si trovarono in tempi diversi due frammenti di tubo di piombo, provenienti chiaramente dall'Alta Semita, sui quali si legge il nome del proprietario del luogo C. Fulvio Plauziano". See also *Carta Archeologica di Roma* (above n. 33) *loc. cit.*

³⁵ The sceptic might argue that since only one stamp was published initially, the other stamp had not yet been uncovered and, thus, likely came from a different location. But besides the word of Bonfiglietti (above n. 34), an engineer involved in the tunnel project and generally considered reliable, in my experience *fistulae* are the kind of objects that

What are the ramifications of this double discovery? Gatti in 1902 already made some relevant observations (my translation of the Italian original): "either there were two conduits each handled by a different procurator, or rather, one of them took over after the other had initiated the work but had been prevented by death or some other reason from finishing it".³⁶

Gatti's second and preferred explanation is, of course, quite in line with the common idea of how imperial procurators were employed. When a vacancy appeared, a successor was nominated. It becomes somewhat more complicated when we try to picture this procedure in the context both of the imperial administration and of completing a hydraulic project. If a procurator suddenly dies, how quickly can the emperor find a successor and provide him with the *codicilli* specifying his appointment, and how soon will the new appointee be on the spot in Rome?³⁷ We can only speculate, but clearly a much smoother change would have occurred if we were dealing with a planned substitution, with the new procurator perhaps already designated and waiting for the date on which the man in office was to step down. Even so, it seems somewhat odd, if we consider the situation from the practical point of view, that this localized hydraulic project should have dragged on so long that it would have been affected by the supposed change of procurator, to the extent even that the stamps had to be changed. It is true that even in eight months or less (if we are justified in narrowing down the period to which both stamps belong, as was suggested above at n. 31) much can happen, but one would rather imagine that the hydraulic work had been made in a much shorter time; lead pipe production is not overly complicated.³⁸

would suffer from the "when you've seen one, you've seen them all" effect, i.e., once one stamped *fistula* had been found, the stamp read and the pipe set aside, other similar dirty and ugly objects would be added to the pile without much thought, not least since the inscriptions would have been difficult to distinguish.

³⁶ G. Gatti, "Notizie di recenti trovamenti di antichità in Roma e nel suburbio", *BCAR* 30 (1902) 285–99, esp. 292–93.

³⁷ Making quick decisions in the Fall of A.D. 202 would have been possible, though, as the emperor was present in Rome. According to Halfmann (above n. 31) 218–19 and 222, Septimius Severus, having been in the capital since at least August 202, visited North Africa from late 202 (or early in 203) until June 203, when he returned to Rome; cf. Birley (above n. 31) 140–54.

³⁸ See A. Cochet – J. Hansen, *Conduites et objets de plomb Gallo-Romains de Vienne*

Even though it is not absolutely compelling, one might also explore the other possibility, that two procurators had been involved in the same project. Considering the hierarchical structure of the imperial administration, such a situation seems decidedly odd. Very few positions were collegial. Yet the situation in Rome, as it appears in the *fistula* stamps, is unusual. Even though one might think that the *cura aquarum*, the aqueduct administration, would have used one specially appointed *procurator aquarum* for supervising the installation of lead pipes ordered by the emperor, this was not so. Not unfrequently, the officials that turn up in *fistula* stamps indicate that they work for the *patrimonium*.³⁹ It has, as we saw above, also been suggested that such officials sometimes were simply in charge of a building that was to be supplied by the conduit.⁴⁰ What seems clear is that at any time in Rome, there could be many *equites*, and perhaps some senators as well, who had such duties that their names might turn up in the *sub cura* formula on an imperial *fistula*. Therefore the idea that two procurators were jointly involved in the supervision of an hydraulic project is not impossible. Their "job description" may not have been identical, one may for instance have been in charge of a building, the other of a specific project, and so on. Perhaps they both operated under the supervision of the high-ranking chief *proc. patrimonii*, who may have had the power to direct their activities without having to acquire authorization from the emperor.⁴¹

To open up this perspective is all that can be done at the moment, and to have done so perhaps has some ramifications for the study of the organization of public works in Rome.

All in all, the cases of Calpurnius Maximus, Flavius Secundus and the two procurators of Fulvius Plautianus are all relevant for that obscure and little known subject, the organization of public works in Rome, the elucidation of which has justly been labelled "ein wirkliches Desiderat der Forschung" by Werner Eck.⁴²

(*Isère*) (Gallia Suppl. 46), Paris 1986, 22–67.

³⁹ Bruun (above n. 1 [1991]) 257–59.

⁴⁰ See note 18 above.

⁴¹ Without claiming that they would have carried such titles, one is reminded of the *adiutores* and *subcuratores operum publicorum* that are found in a few instances in Rome; see H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain I–III*, Paris 1960–61, III 1028.

⁴² Eck (above n. 18) 238.

4. A Procurator of the *Patrimonium* or not?

The final case to be discussed here has no connection to the questions explored above, but still concerns the tasks that might have been handled by procurators encountered in lead pipe stamps. A stamp on a *fistula* from the Testaccio district in Rome has been presented in the following fashion:

IMP ANTONINI AVG PII PATRIMONI
PROC CIVLIVS RVFVS [.] C
 (BCAR 34 (1906) 113; 36 (1908) 55 no. 1)⁴³

The reading of the first line presents no problems – *Imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) Pii patrimonii(i)* – but the question is how to expand some of the abbreviated words in line 2. Hans-Georg Pflaum is the author of the proposal to read, in the second line, *proc(urator) C. Iulius Rufus [f(aciendum)] c(uravit)* – in which case C. Iulius Rufus would seem to be a *proc. patrimonii*, although in his title these words appear in the inverse order (a very unusual occurrence).⁴⁴

Or was Iulius Rufus in fact the manufacturer of the fistula: *C. Iulius Rufus [fe]c(it)*? The latter interpretation was some time ago proposed by Werner Eck, who was unconvinced by the first reading.⁴⁵

This new reading however runs into problems when we try to make sense of the words preceding Iulius Rufus' name. We must decide whether *proc.* is in the nominative or in the genitive. The latter option is not possible. It does not make sense to read *patrimonii(i) proc(uratoris)* – we can have *patrimonii* in the genitive indicating the government branch that oversees the property supplied by the *fistulae*, but we cannot have a *procurator patrimonii* in the genitive following the name of the emperor also in the genitive. The procurator cannot have been the owner of property; the emperor was. If the formula *sub cura* had preceded the mention of the

⁴³ In the stamp published in 1906, the beginning of l. 2 was somewhat difficult to read; an identical stamp presented in BCAR 36 (1908) allows a clear reading. The earlier stamp was also published in NSA 1906, 206 and AE 1907, 120, but in both cases with the incorrect spelling "Iunius Rufus".

⁴⁴ Pflaum (above n. 40), I 315 (based on an earlier suggestion by A. Stein); in agreement R.P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, Cambridge 1982, 74 n. 26; Bruun (above n. 1 [1991]) 257.

⁴⁵ Eck (above n. 17) 388 n. 84: "dagegen ist C. Iulius Rufus, genannt Bull.Com. 1906, 113, nicht als *procurator patrimonii* zu verstehen, sondern als Hersteller der *fistula*".

patrimonii procurator, such a genitive would make sense, but it does not, and it seems rather farfetched to assume that the formula has been left out by mistake.

We must therefore assume that *proc.* is in the nominative. It now becomes very difficult not to connect *proc.* with the name Iulius Rufus. Were title and name to stand separately, we would have to supply a verb, for instance *patrimoni(i) proc(urator) (curavit)*, followed by *C. Iulius Rufus fecit*. This appears highly improbable; in this reading, not only is the *proc. patrimonii* anonymous, there is not even any verb to denote that he (or his office) was performing some function.⁴⁶

Eck's interpretation therefore requires us to consider line 1 as complete in itself and to read, in l. 2, *proc(urator) C. Iulius Rufus fecit*. This too creates a unique situation, making the *plumbarius* an imperial procurator. No such cases are known. In addition, it was noted by G. Gatti, the excavator of the Testaccio site, that on two other lead pipes belonging to the conduit of Iulius Rufus there appeared the stamp *oficina Eutychetis* (*BCAR* 34 (1906) 114 = *NSA* 1906, 181 = *NSA* 1906, 206 = *AE* 1907, 120). The person called Eutyches was undoubtedly the manufacturer of the conduit.

Against this background it seems sensible to agree with Pflaum's reading and restoration *proc(urator) C. Iulius Rufus [f(aciendum)] c(uravit)*. At least the formula *faciendum curavit* is the traditional formula by which magistrates and other officials denote public works they are overseeing. *Fecit* is the term which common manufacturers use on lead pipe stamps and on other types of *instrumentum domesticum*.

Having said this, there are two newly discovered texts that provide cause for reconsidering the meaning of *fecit* in lead pipe stamps. In one Ostian *fistula* of Claudian date we read *[Clau]di [C]ae. Aug. Ti. Claudius Aegialus fecit*. If Aegialus is to be identified with the powerful imperial freedman Aegialus under Nero, it seems likely that his task in Ostia was not simply to pour the lead and install the water pipes, but that he was in charge of a larger project sponsored by the emperor (the piece of *fistula* on which the stamp was impressed is enormous).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ It seems very unlikely that the letter C before Iulius Rufus could have stood for *c(uravit)*, that is *patrimoni(i) proc(urator) c(uravit)*, *Iulius Rufus fecit*. It is a theoretical possibility, but has no support in the structure and wording of other *fistula* stamps.

⁴⁷ For the reading of the stamp and the famous freedman Aegialus, see C. Bruun, "Ti.

Secondly, a newly discovered lead pipe from Ponte Galeria between Rome and Ostia carries two stamps, one reads *sub Gnesio [-] / Sotas disp(ensator) fecit*, and the other simply *Antullus* (AE 1995, 249). To judge from the common pattern in *fistula* stamps, the latter stamp should really be read *Antullus (fecit)*, thereby making Antullus the *plumbarius*. This straightforward conclusion is however complicated by the other stamp, in which one reads *Sotas dispensator fecit*. Running a lead manufacture business is not the kind of activity one would normally associate with a *dispensator*, for which position only highly trusted and numerically gifted slaves were chosen. Thus, at Ponte Galeria there are grounds for assuming that *fecit* on the *fistula* assumed a wider meaning, "supervised", not, "was involved in the actual production".⁴⁸ One may add that "*fecit*" of course appears in this wider meaning in numerous inscriptions on stone from all over the empire.⁴⁹

To my mind, the only way to make sense of the stamp of Iulius Rufus is to either read [*f.*] *c.* – or, if it can be shown that the right reading of the stamp is [*fe*]*c*[*it*] – to assume that *fecit* has the same and wider meaning of *faciendum curavit*. Either way, C. Iulius Rufus was not a simple *plumbarius* and must be connected with the imperial *patrimonium*, within which he held a procuratorship of some kind (in the absence of other evidence, I obviously do not propose that he was the *proc. patrimonii* in charge of the whole department).⁵⁰

University of Toronto

Claudius Aegialus e l'acquedotto di Ostia", *ZPE* 122 (1998) 265–72, esp. 267 (= *AE* 1998, 276).

⁴⁸ See the argument presented previously in C. Bruun, "Imperial *procuratores* and *dispensatores*: New Discoveries", *Chiron* 29 (1999) 29–42, esp. 29, 34–37 (= *AE* 1999, 412). One must remember, though, that even the conventional interpretation of "*fecit*" in lead pipe stamps does not imply that the *plumbarius* handled everything himself. The *plumbarius* was surely normally the owner of a workshop and was assisted by slaves or labourers. A fair number of plumbers were in fact female *plumbariae*, see Bruun (above n. 1 [1991]) 343–44.

⁴⁹ See, for instance, *ILS* 5409–11, 5432, 5447, 5460, etc. The Pantheon in Rome provides a classic example: *M. Agrippa L. f. cos. tertium fecit* (*CIL* VI 896 = *ILS* 129).

⁵⁰ It has to be added, though, that it would be most useful to be able to inspect the *fistula* or see a photograph of it. As it is presented, line 2 is clearly shorter than line 1, which is quite unusual. One suspects that part of the text on l. 2 is missing, and this could, in the end, be the reason for some or all of its unusual features.

HORACE ET LA COMEDIE ROMAINE (A PROPOS DE *CARM.* 4,7,19-20)

GUALTIERO CALBOLI

L'ode septième du livre quatrième des odes d'Horace est bien plus que connue, elle est la plus glorieuse des odes horatiennes. Tout le monde a déclamé une ou plusieurs fois: *Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis / arboribusque comae*. Cette Ode est la reine des odes d'Horace, selon le jugement d'Antonio La Penna¹ et elle a été considérée par Housman² le plus beau poème de la littérature ancienne: "That [...] I regard as the most beautiful poem in ancient literature". Je ne veux pas considérer encore une fois cette ode dans sa totalité, parce qu' elle a été traitée d'une façon très minutieuse par mon élève allemand, Benjamin Wolpert, dans un article qui sera publié en Italie.³ Mais je veux prendre en considération une question particulière qui est, bien sûr, liée à toute l'ode, mais qui reste une question spécifique. Il s'agit d'un problème proposé par Carl Becker dans son livre sur la dernière oeuvre d'Horace (*Das Spätwerk des Horaz* 1963)⁴ aux pages 151–158. Il pense que les vers 17–20 sont interpolés par quelqu'un qui connaissait assez bien Horace et a travaillé déjà dans l'antiquité. Pour ma part je ne partage pas cette idée, mais je pense qu'il est intéressant d'en discuter pour apporter quelque nouveauté et pour mieux comprendre le travail d'Horace qui n'est jamais banal. Considérons alors tous les éléments de la discussion en partant du texte de cette ode magnifique (je partage l'opinion de Housman et La Penna plutôt que l'opinion réductive de

¹ A. La Penna, "Orazio e la Morale Mondana Europea", dans *Orazio, Tutte le Opere*, Firenze 1968, p. LXXVII.

² Cité d'après G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition, Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*, New York – Oxford 1985, 497.

³ Dans la revue "Giornale Italiano di Filologia".

⁴ C. Becker, *Das Spätwerk des Horaz*, Göttingen 1963.

Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* 321⁵) et je donne ici tout de suite l'ode intégrale selon l'édition de Klingner (et de Borzsák qui est différente seulement en deux points: au vers 15 *pius Aeneas* Klingner *pater Aeneas* Borzsák *dives Tullus* Klingner *Tullus dives* Borzsák):

1. Hor. <i>carm.</i> 4,7,1–28 <i>Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis</i> <i>arboribusque comae,</i> <i>mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas</i> <i>flumina praetereunt.</i>	1
<i>Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet</i> <i>ducere nuda choros.</i> <i>Immortalia ne speres monet annus et almum</i> <i>quae rapit hora diem.</i>	5
<i>frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aetas</i> <i>interitura, simul</i> <i>pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox</i> <i>bruma recurrit iners.</i>	10
<i>damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae :</i> <i>nos ubi decidimus,</i> <i>quo pius Aeneas, quo dives Tullus et Ancus,</i> <i>pulvis et umbra sumus.</i>	15
<i>quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae</i> <i>tempora di superi ?</i> <i>cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis amico</i> <i>quae dederis animo.</i>	20
<i>cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos</i> <i>fecerit arbitria,</i> <i>non Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te</i> <i>restituēt pietas,</i>	
<i>infernīs neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum</i> <i>liberat Hippolytum</i> <i>nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro</i> <i>vincula Pirithoo.</i>	25

Comme l'a souligné M. Becker (p. 152), déjà Eduard Fraenkel dans

⁵ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides, Untersuchungen über griechische Lyriker*, Berlin 1913.

son beau livre sur Horace (p. 421)⁶ avait relevé que dans ces vers on ne retrouvait pas le cœur du poète: "The lighter mood is not completely absent from the later ode either [en la comparant à l'ode 1,4], but here it appears only in a passing remark (19 f. *cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico quae dederis animo*), which in its context sounds rather conventional; one does not believe that the poet's heart is in it". De même dans cette strophe Collinge et Rudd ont averti quelque chose d'étrange. Collinge (*The Structure of Horace's Odes* 111)⁷ écrit que "Clearly 17–20 look extraneous: the proximity of death has nothing to do with the rest of the ode; and that the bogy, the *heres*, enters oddly here, as does the distressingly wordy advice of 19–20 [...]; and finally the scene is the underworld consistently from v.14 to the end, if 17–20 are mentally subtracted. No doubt we are here dealing with another adventitious two-stanza "inset"". Ce sont là des sensations plutôt que des raisons, mais on ne doit pas les négliger. A son tour Rudd ("Patterns in Horatian Lyric" 383)⁸ présente des observations, lui aussi, critiques, mais plus intéressantes: "I have always been a little puzzled by these lines. The *carpe diem* motive is not sufficiently developed, and so the invitation sounds half-hearted. The tone is also rather discordant. It is one thing to conclude a poem with a whole stanza of satire like *absumet heres* (II, 14), but quite another to introduce a greedy *captator* and then relapse at once into profound melancholy. I suppose we must just remember that Horace was rarely content to describe a scene or create a mood without somehow relating it to the sphere of human activity". Mais une discussion très rigoureuse contre l'authenticité de ces vers a été développée par Carl Becker, qui a fait des observations linguistiques et des observations qui concernent le contenu. A mon avis elles ne sont convaincantes ni les unes ni les autres. Mais on doit les discuter soigneusement non pas seulement parce qu'il s'agit d'observations intelligentes, mais aussi parce qu'il y a vraiment une différence un peu nuancée entre la strophe en question et le reste de l'ode.

Les observations linguistiques de M. Becker (153, n. 15) sont que l'expression *quis scit?* s'adapte plutôt aux *sermones* qu'aux odes; la conjonction interrogative *an* ne se trouve jamais chez Horace sauf en cas de "Doppelfrage" ou de *nescio an* (mais – on peut répondre – *quis scit an?* est

⁶ E. Fraenkel, *Horace*, Oxford 1957 (= 1963).

⁷ N. E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace's Odes*, London 1962² (1961).

⁸ N. Rudd, "Patterns in Horatian Lyric", *AJPh* 81 (1960) 373–92.

le correspondant interrogatif de *nescio an*). L'opposition pédante *avidae manus ~ amico animo* doit être attribuée à un poète postérieur plutôt qu'à Horace ("wäre einem späteren Dichter eher zuzutrauen als Horaz"). De plus *amicus* avec le sens de "dein eigen" est absent dans la langue latine ("fehlt sonst in der Latinität"). Mais on répondra ici encore qu'on peut tout simplement donner au mot *amico* son sens usuel, peut être influencé par Simonides. D'autre part, Carl Becker lui-même a donné un jugement négatif de toutes ces observations qui concernent le style et la langue, en écrivant que les particularités linguistiques ne représentent pas un critère certain ("sprachliche Eigenheiten hier kein sicheres Kriterium bilden", Becker, p. 153). Pour ma part, je pense qu'on ne peut pas nier qu'il y a une certaine différence stylistique entre ces vers et le reste de l'ode, mais on doit essayer d'expliquer les quelques différences qu'on trouve plutôt que les exclure. On doit en chercher une explication au-delà de celle qui a été suggérée déjà par Niall Rudd. Plus intéressantes sont, à mon avis, les observations qui concernent le contenu. Becker voit dans les vers 17–20 une invitation à se donner du bon temps selon le critère du *carpe diem* du *carm.* I 11,6–8 *sapias, vina liques et spatio brevi / spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida / aetas : carpe diem, quam minimo credula postero*. C'est une invitation toute étrangère à ce qui a été dit auparavant, mais qui pourrait même entrer dans une ode comme 4,7, avec une allure épicurienne – reconnaît Becker –, mais qui devrait alors conclure l'ode, tandis que, au contraire, l'ode continue avec une référence à Torquatus, un avocat, un jurisconsulte célèbre, à l'activité duquel se réfèrent sûrement les expressions *de te splendida Minos/ fecerit arbitria et non te facundia*. Il s'agit – comme pense la plupart des chercheurs⁹ – de Torquatus lui-même auquel est adressée l'épître 1,5. Et on verra que là aussi il y a une référence à l'héritier, qui est par ailleurs fréquente chez Horace. Il y a aussi une invitation à un dîner, mais bien modeste (*nec modica cenare times holus omne patella, epist.* 1,5,2), qu'on pourrait interpréter comme due à une certaine sévérité de Torquatus. "Nach dem Ernst der vorhergehenden Gedanken überrascht und befremdet der Ton dieser Aufforderung. [...] Erhebt sich aus der Einsicht in den Unterschied zwischen der Einmaligkeit des Menschenlebens und dem ständigen Kreislauf der Natur die Aufforderung, jeden Tag das Dasein nach Kräften auszukosten und so viel wie möglich davon selbst zu genießen ? Der Kontrast zu ständigen Wiederkehr in der Natur könnte allerdings – in

⁹ Cf. R. Mayer, *Horace, Epistles, Book I*, Cambridge 1994, 136.

epikureischem Sinne – auf eine solche Aufforderung zulaufen; aber dann sollte das Gedicht auch damit enden". Mais, en tout cas, l'invitation au plaisir ("die Aufforderung zum Genuß", p. 154), ne s'adapte pas à cette ode, nous dit M. Becker, et alors l'invitation qu'on trouve aux vers 17–20 ne correspond pas à ce qu'Horace voulait dire. Mais ceci est, à mon avis, un argument faux, car dans les vers 17–20 il n'y a aucune invitation au plaisir: on a vu que pour N. Rudd aussi le *carpe diem* n'a pas été développé. Après ces observations M. Becker a mis en relation entre elles l'ode 4,7 et la suivante ode 4,8 et il a observé que le motif de se donner du plaisir exclurait toute relation entre les deux odes, une relation qui, au contraire, semble évidente et peut comprendre aussi l'ode 4,9, c'est-à-dire le cadeau que le poète peut donner à Censorinus. Alors Horace dans l'ode 4,7 nous dit que l'homme est destiné à la mort sans aucune possibilité de l'éviter et sans que même des dieux, comme Diane, ou un héros, comme Thésée, puissent le libérer des enfers. Seulement le poète est en mesure de pouvoir donner quelque chose qui restera au-delà de la mort (4,8) et il ne s'agit pas de *pateras*, de *grata aera*, de *tripodas*, mais de *carmina*. Et les *carmina* célèbrent les mérites des hommes (des grands hommes) mieux que les *marmora*, car le bien, qu'on a fait, ne reçoit pas sa récompense s'il n'est pas célébré par quelque document écrit par un poète ou un historien (*carm.* 4,8,20–24 *neque, / si chartae sileant, quod bene feceris, / mercedem tuleris. quid foret Iliae / Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas / obstaret meritis invida Romuli?*). Romulus lui-même ne serait pas connu si aucun écrivain ne l'avait célébré dans ses écrits. L'ode suivante, 4,9, dédiée à Lolius représente l'application de ce critère avec la strophe célèbre:

2. Hor. *carm.* 4,9,25–30
*vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
 multi, sed omnes inlacrimabiles
 urgentur ignotique longa
 nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*

*paulum sepultae distat inertiae
 celata virtus. non ego te meis
 chartis inornatum sileri,
 totve tuos patiar labores*

*impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
 obliviones.*

M. Becker (p. 191) en conclusion du chapitre consacré à la vision

générale du livre 4 nous donne une synthèse de cette idée: "Andererseits [nach der pindarischen Thematik] schließen sich die Oden 7, 8 und 9 in der Mitte des Buches zu einer eigenen Gruppe zusammen. C. 4,8 ist eigens für diese Stelle geschrieben, wie sein Metrum – das es den Rahmgedichten der früheren Sammlung zuordnet (c.1,1 und 3,30) – und sein Inhalt zeigt; es ist die stärkste Verkündung der Macht, welche Dichtung haben kann. c. 4,7 bereitet darauf vor: nach dem Gedanken an die naturgegebene Vergänglichkeit des Menschenlebens erhält die Überzeugung, daß die Dichtung den Tod überwinden kann, einen ganz anderen Nachdruck; in c. 4,9 setzen sich die Vorstellungen von c. 4,8 fort". Pour ma part, je partage cette idée qui correspond, à mon avis, très bien à la poétique d'Horace et en particulier à celle du livre 4 des Odes, mais je pense que les vers 17–20 de l'Ode septième s'adaptent très bien à cette construction car il s'agit d'une invitation à la générosité sans se soucier de l'héritier et Horace va donner ce qu'il a, c'est-à-dire la poésie. Mais la condition est qu'on ne pense pas à la présence du *carpe diem* qui serait contraire à l'esprit de ces odes et je répète que le *carpe diem* est, à mon avis, tout à fait absent de cette ode (4,7). La philosophie épicurienne aussi est absente de cette Ode ou du moins elle n'est pas sûrement présente. W. Lebek et M. Erler (et mon étudiant) B. Wolpert¹⁰ se sont occupés, comme beaucoup d'autres, de la philosophie de cette Ode et ils sont arrivés à des conclusions différentes, mais ils sont d'accord sur le fait que la philosophie épicurienne n'est pas très présente ici. On va de la position de Lebek qui ne l'exclut pas complètement à celle de Erler qui soutient qu'on a plutôt affaire au stoïcisme, car l'idée du temps qu'on y trouve est stoïcienne, non épicurienne, et ceci est en accord avec la position philosophique qu'Horace a prise à la fin de sa vie dans les dernières Odes, tandis que dans les Odes de la jeunesse il était bien plus nettement épicurien. Les matériaux réunis par Erler¹¹ sur la position stoïcienne pour ce qui concerne le concept du temps, c'est-à-dire Sext. Emp. *adv. math.* 10,218 (Vol. II, H.Mutschmann, 349) SVF II 331; Cornutus c. 10 *de Crono*, SVF II 1087; Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,64) sont éloquentes et Lebek aussi,¹² en étudiant la position

¹⁰ W. D. Lebek, "Horaz und die Philosophie: Die 'Oden'", dans H. Temporini – W. Haase (Hrsg.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 31.3, 1981, 2031–2092; M. Erler, "Horaz über den Wandel der Jahreszeiten: Epikureische und stoische Motive in *carm.* I 4 und IV 7", *Rheinisches Museum* 123 (1980) 333–36; B. Wolpert (v. note 3).

¹¹ V. note 10.

¹² Lebek (v. note 10).

philosophique d'Horace relativement à cette Ode, va jusqu'à dire que dans cette Ode il y a des affinités avec la pensée d'Epicure, mais il serait risqué d'y voir une adhésion complète à la doctrine épicurienne, car il y a des éléments qui ne s'accordent pas du tout avec cette doctrine comme l'*heres* (qui par ailleurs est propre d'Horace), comme les *di superi* et Minos qui donne des jugements et, enfin, le fait qu'aux morts est nié le plaisir de la vie ("Im Hinblick auf *carm.* 1,4 [c'est-à-dire l'Ode avec laquelle on confronte toujours l'Ode 4,7] verdient Beachtung, daß in *carm.* 4,7 der unepikureische Gedanke, daß dem Toten Lebensgenüsse versagt sind, nicht ausgesprochen wird. So darf man wohl dem späteren der zwei thematisch verwandten Gedichte [c'est-à-dire 1,4 et 4,7] eine größere Affinität zu epikureischem Denken zusprechen. Eine entschiedenere Charakteristik der Torquatus-Ode als durch und durch epikureisch wäre jedoch bedenklich. Denn die das Menschenleben bestimmenden *di superi* oder das Unterweltsgericht des Minos haben im orthodoxen Epikureismus keinen Platz. Und was an dem Gedicht epikureisch gedeutet werden kann, ist nicht ganz ohne Parallelen in sonstigem Schrifttum; sehr nahe steht vor allem Catull.5", W. D. Lebek, "Horaz und die Philosophie" 2085sv.). Naturellement dans la confrontation avec Lucrèce 5,737-747 *it ver et Venus et Veneris praenuntius ante / pennatus graditur, Zephyri vestigia propter / eqs.* qui avait été suggérée par Kießling-Heinze, 425 sv.,¹³ ce sont plutôt les différences que les similarités qu'on doit souligner. D'autre part même Catherine J. Caster dans sa *Prosopography of Roman Epicureans* 91-95,¹⁴ place Horace entre les "Epicurei Dubii" et, comme on l'a dit, épicurien il l'était beaucoup moins à la fin de sa vie. C. Pellegrino ("Hor. *carm.* 4,7,19-20" 514),¹⁵ à son tour, déclare inacceptable la thèse de Erler, mais conteste seulement l'interprétation du temps stoïcien donnée par Erler – mon élève Wolpert (p. 18) a relevé la faute de Pellegrino qui interprète mal le passage de Sext. Emp. *adv. math.* 10,218. Alors il reste seulement à mentionner les antécédents partiels de l'*Epitaphium Bionis* 99-104 et de Simonides. Je le

¹³ A. Kiessling – R. Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus, Oden und Epoden*, erklärt von A. K., 9. Auflage besorgt von R. H., Berlin 1958.

¹⁴ C. J. Caster, *Prosopography of Roman Epicureans, from the Second Century B.C. to the Second Century A.D.*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – New York – Paris 1988.

¹⁵ C. Pellegrino, "Hor. *carm.* 4,7,19–20: *animo/ quae dederis amico*", in M. Cannata Fera – S. Grandolini (a cura di), *Poesia e Religione in Grecia: Studi in onore di G. Aurelio Privitera*, Napoli 2000, 513–19.

donne maintenant avec une traduction française et je le fais pour montrer qu'Horace ici aussi comme toujours dans les Odes a des sources ou, seulement, des antécédents qu'il a suivis en allant bien au-delà de ses modèles:

3. [Moschos], *Epitaphium Bionis* 99 svv. (éd H. Beckby, 290).

αἰαὶ ταὶ μαλάκαι μὲν, ἐπὰν κατὰ κᾶπον ὄλωνται,
ἢδὲ τὰ χλωρὰ σέλινα τό τ' εὐθαλὲς οὖλον ἄνηθον
ὑστερον αὖ ζῶντι καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἄλλο φύοντι·
ἄμμες δ' οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ καρτεροί, οἱ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες,
ὅποτε πρῶτα θάνωμες, ἀνάκοι ἐν χθονὶ κοίλα
εὐδομες εὐ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον.

"Hélas ! les mauves, quand elles se sont flétries dans le jardin, l'ache verdoyante, l'aneth florissant et frisé, revivent de nouveau et poussent une autre année. Mais nous, les grands, les forts, nous les hommes si sages, dès la première atteinte de la mort, sourds, au creux du sol nous dormons un long somme, sans fin et sans réveil" (trad. De Ph. E. Legrand, *Bucoliques Grecques*, Tome II, [Les Belles Lettres], Paris 1967, 162).

Simon. *Amorg. sive Ceus* (Diehl III 63,10-13)

νήπιοι, οἷς ταύτη κεῖται νόος, οὐ δὲ ἴσασι,
ὥς χρόνος ἔσθ' ἥβης καὶ βιότου ὀλίγος
θνητοῖς'. ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα μαθὼν βιότου ποτὶ τέρμα
ψυχῆ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τλῆθι χαριζόμενος.

"Sots sont ceux qui pensent ainsi et ne savent pas que pour les mortels bref est le temps de la jeunesse et de la vie. Mais toi, le sachant, aie le courage de donner de bon coeur en prenant de tes biens".¹⁶

Alors se référer à quelques textes grecs ou latins n'est pas seulement un sport de la philologie moderne, mais c'était un usage pratiqué par Horace lui-même. Revenons maintenant à la question de laquelle nous sommes partis, c'est-à-dire à l'héritier et au vers 17-20 de l'Ode 4,7.

J'indique les passages où Horace a pris en considération la figure de l'*heres* et on verra qu' il ne s'agit pas toujours de la même conception, mais qu'Horace a vu de façons un peu différentes ce thème. Je souligne que l'examen et l'interprétation de ces textes sont fondamentaux, car je pense que Becker a construit son hypothèse en partant d'une fausse interprétation de *car. 4,7,17-20*, mais aussi dans l'interprétation de Becker, qui a mis en

¹⁶ Dans le ψυχῆ [...] χαριζόμενος de Simonide on pourrait voir l'antécédent de l'expression *amico* [...] *animo* d'Horace. C'est un autre point contre l'idée de Becker de casser ces vers.

rapport entre eux 4,7 et 4,8 et 4,9, je trouve des éléments importants pour mieux comprendre toute l'ode 4,7. Voici alors les textes qui concernent l'héritier (*heres*):

4. a) Hor. *carm.* 2,3,17–20
*cedes coemptis saltibus et domo
 villaque, flavos quam Tiberis lavit,
 cedes, et **extractis in altum
 divitiis potietur heres.***

b) *carm.* 2,14,25–28
absumet heres Caecuba dignior
*servata centum clavibus et mero
 tinguet pavimentum superbo,
 pontificum potiore cenis.*
 Cf. Nisbet-Hubbard II 237–39¹⁷

c) *carm.* 3,24,59–62
*cum periura patris fides
 consortem socium fallat et hospites,
**indignoque pecuniam
 heredi properet.***
 Cf. Nisbet-Rudd 295¹⁸

d) *carm.* 4,7,19sv.
*cuncta **manus avidas fugient heredis** amico
 quae dederis animo.*

e) *serm.* 2,3,122sv.
*filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres,
 dis inimice senex, custodis ?*

f) *epist.* 1,5,12-15
*quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?
parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque severus
 adsidet insano : potare et spargere flores
 incipiam patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.*

g) *epist.* 2,2,190-2
*utar et ex modico, quantum res poscet, acervo
 tollam, **nec metuam, quid de me iudicet heres**
quod non plura datis invenerit.*

Le commentaire le plus riche sur ces passages est celui de Nisbet-

¹⁷ R.G. M. Nisbet – M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I*, Oxford 1975².

¹⁸ R. G. M. Nisbet – N. Rudd, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book III*, Oxford 2004.

Hubbard [cité à la note 17] au Nr. (4b) où l'on trouve les précédents orientaux et grecs et des considérations intéressantes: c'est-à-dire, "criticism of the heir are particularly common among the Romans", car à Rome il y avait toute une législation sur l'héritage (*lex Voconia*, *lex Falcidia*, [dig. 5,3-6; 28,5; 41,5 sans considérer les *legata* et les *fidecommissa*]), Horace lui-même avait affaire avec l'héritage ("Horace himself as a freedman's son seems to have had no legal relatives [cf. *epist.* 1.1. 102f.]; after the death of Maecenas he suddenly had to make new arrangements, and left his property to Augustus [Suet. *vit. Hor.* 76f. Rostagni]), il a adressé ses réflexions sur l'héritier deux fois à la même personne, Manlius Torquatus (*epist.* 1,5,13sv. et *carm.* 4,7,19sv.). En tout cas ce motif, très répandu,¹⁹ s'est développé et a produit des idées bien différentes comme on peut le voir dans les passages présentées en (4a-g): l'une (a) tout simplement que l'héritier aura tous nos biens, l'autre (b) que l'héritier ne prendra pas beaucoup de soin à épargner ce qu'on aura épargné très soigneusement pour lui, (c) qu'il ne sera pas digne de l'héritage qu'il recevra, (d) qu'on doit donner avec générosité pour éviter les mains avides de l'héritier, (e) qu'on ne doit pas être épargnant pour laisser à l'héritier, (f) qu'on ne doit pas se laisser conditionner par le souci que l'héritier ne pense du mal de quelqu'un, s'il ne laisse plus de ce qu'il a reçu. Le détail de (4f) est très important pour moi, parce qu'il s'agit d'un jugement de l'héritier sur les biens que le vieux propriétaire va lui laisser, comme il arrive dans une comédie – et je pense au *Faenerator* de Caecilius Statius qu'on verra bientôt. Pour ce qui concerne le comportement, ceci signifie qu'on ne doit pas se soucier de l'héritier, qui sera peut-être indigne de l'héritage, et on doit, par conséquent, donner avec générosité avant sa mort. Les Nrr. (4d, 4f et 4g, qui correspondent au *carm.* 4,7, à l'épître 1,5 et à l'épître 2,2), sont liés entre eux par l'idée qu'ils

¹⁹ Ch. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry, Epistles Book II*, Cambridge 1982, 380: "The lack of absolute perpetuity is what the poets lamented, or is indeed the principle from which the philosophers sought to draw moral conclusions [...]. H[orace] deploys it as a motif in both the Odes and the hexameter poems. But the note of transience is at home especially in the lyrics. So is the motif of the heir succeeding to his predecessor's property". Tout le passage de Hor. *epist.* 2,2,158–94 concerne ce sujet, on y trouve la référence à l'héritier et l'exemple des deux frères (*cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungui / praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus, alter / dives et importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu / silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum, / scit Genius vv.183–87*), tiré de la comédie, sûrement de l'Adelphoe de Ménandre (Adelphoe 2) et de Térence et, peut-être aussi, du *Faenerator* de Cécil.

expriment, c'est-à-dire que l'héritier ne sera pas seulement un héritier, mais un héritier intéressé, et, par conséquent, qu'on ne doit pas se soucier du désir de l'héritier – une conséquence, d'autre part, qui est tirée seulement dans 4f et 4g. Mais ici aussi les pensées sont liées entre elles, bien sûr, mais elles ne sont pas identiques dans la prémisse (l'héritier ne sera pas digne, ses mains seront avides) et la conséquence (on ne doit pas épargner ses biens, au contraire on doit les donner avec générosité). A son tour, 4d et 4g sont liés par le fait qu'ils sont adressés au même destinataire, Manlius Torquatus. En tout cas je ne trouve pas exprimé un autre passage sur lequel se fonde Becker: on doit se donner du bon temps, on doit s'amuser sans épargne. C'est un passage logique, mais qui n'est pas exprimé dans le *carm.* 4,7,17–20 où le poète dit seulement: on ne sait pas si les dieux nous donneront un lendemain et alors tu dois donner avec générosité à tes amis. Il est vrai que la pensée qu'on ne sait pas s'il y aura un lendemain amène le *carpe diem*, mais ici s'est introduite une autre pensée ou une autre image, plus noble et en rapport avec les deux Odes suivantes, 4,8 et 4,9. Le poète est un sage qui donne avec générosité ce qu'il a, c'est à dire la poésie (4,8) et la poésie, à son tour, donne la renommée et ce que les hommes peuvent atteindre d'immortalité (4,9). Au Numéro (2) j'ai déjà donné la référence à l'Ode 4,9, je donne maintenant celle à l'Ode 4,8:

5. Hor. *carm.* 4,8,1-10

*Donarem pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,*

donarem tripodas

[...]

*sed non haec mihi vis, nec tibi talium
res est aut animus deliciarum egens.*

10

*gaudes carminibus: carmina possumus
donare.*

Et quel sera le cadeau du poète, Horace nous le dit clairement dans le *carm.* 4,9,30-34 en se référant à Marcus Lollius, "un homme d'une façon générale réellement médiocre malgré quelques mérites" – je cite de l'article de G. Radke²⁰ et j'emploie ici encore un bon travail d'un autre de mes étudiants allemands, A. Bedke sur l'Ode 4,9.²¹

²⁰ G. Radke, "Le *carmen Lollianum* d'Horace", *Latomus* 45 (1986) 782.

²¹ A. Bedke, "Hor. *carm.* 4,9 *Ne forte credas*", *Hausarbeit au cours de Littérature Latine*

Ici je ne fais pas autre chose que suivre la construction presque mathématique de Becker: les trois odes, 4,7 (la mort prends toutes choses), 4,8 le poète donne ce qu'il a, 4,9 il donne l'immortalité du bon souvenir, sont liées entre elles. Mais je complète cette construction avec un passage indispensable en 4,7 (la mort prend toutes choses, alors on doit donner avec générosité à ses amis; *amico animo* de 4,7,19 correspond complètement à *sodalibus* de 4,8,2). Il s'agit d'un passage tout à fait conséquent. Mais il a quelque chose en plus. L'avidité de l'héritier, qui apparaît dans ce passage est quelque chose de nouveau qui peut être comparé à ce qu'on trouve en (4g). En considérant ce passage, c'est-à-dire, les vers cités à (4g) on peut faire des observations intéressantes. Les vers *utar et ex modico, quantum res poscet, acervo / tollam, nec metuam, quid de me iudicet heres/ quod non plura datis invenerit* (190–92) sont précédés par les vers *cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungui / praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus, alter / dives et importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu / silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum, / scit Genius* vv.183–87 que nous avons déjà cités à la note 19. Alors ici on a affaire à deux frères qui peuvent appartenir sans problèmes à la comédie, je pense aux deux frères qu'on trouve dans les *Adelphes* de Térence, et Horace pouvait trouver aussi dans les *Ἀδελφοί β* de Ménandre et je dis qu'il n'y a pas de problèmes, parce que le genre des 'épîtres' et des 'satires' sont si proches de la comédie qu'Horace a pris dans *sat.* 2,3,264 un vers de Térence et un emiepes dans l'épître deuxième du livre premier, sans considérer les nombreuses références à Térence²² :

6. a) Ter. *Eun.* 49

exclusit, revocat: redeam? Non, si me obsecret.

b) Hor. *sat.* 2,3,264

exclusit, revocat : redeam? non, si obsecret'. ecce

c) Ter. *Andr.* 126

hinc illae lacrimae

d) Hor. *epist.* 1,19,41

hinc illae lacrimae

Je laisse de côté toutes les autres références à Térence qu'on trouve

(Prof. G. Calboli), Université de Bologne 2004 (non publié).

²² V. à cet égard A. Di Benedetto, "Echi terenziani in Orazio", *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli*, N. S. 37 (1962) 35–57; G. Calboli, "Zur Pindarode: Horaz und Terenz", *Philologus* 141 (1997) 100–10.

chez Horace et qui ont été déjà réunies et je reviens au passage de (4g). Il y a là, alors, deux frères, mais il y a aussi un héritier qui se plaint que quelqu'un ne lui laisse pas les mêmes richesses qu'on a reçues: *nec metuam, quid de me iudicet heres / quod non plura datis invenerit*. A vrai dire, dans les *Adelphoe* de Térence on n'a pas même d'héritiers et alors on doit penser à une autre comédie de Térence ou de Cécile, les deux auteurs comiques envers lesquels Horace a montré de la sympathie – et c'est le cas pour Térence – ou du moins du respect comme Cécile, en excluant Plaute contre lequel Horace s'est exprimé d'une façon terriblement dure (*epist.* 2,1,170–76; *ars* 270–74). Mais on doit exclure Térence aussi, car chez lui on ne trouve pas d'héritier qu'on blâme comme en (4g). Il reste alors seulement Cécile et de Cécile on a retrouvé dans les papyrus d'Herculanum une comédie qui s'adapte très bien à cette situation, c'est le *Faenerator* ou *Obolostates*, duquel on connaissait déjà quelques vers (sept fragments transmis six par Nonius et un par Festus, v. les textes, la traduction italienne et le commentaire par T. Guardì, *Cecilio Stazio, I Frammenti*, 69–71; 155–58).²³ Dans le papyrus Herculanensis 78 on a trouvé d'autres parties très importantes de cette comédie. Les fragments sont étudiés maintenant par le Professeur K. Kleve de l'Université d'Oslo, une première analyse a paru dans les *Cronache Ercolanesi* et le Prof. Kleve m'a donné d'autres renseignements.²⁴ La trame de la comédie semble être la suivante: un jeune homme est tombé amoureux d'une jeune fille qui est esclave d'un maquereau et pour l'avoir il emprunte de l'argent à un usurier. L'usurier, qui donne le nom à la comédie, prétend que le jeune homme lui rende l'argent prêté. Le jeune homme cherche à obtenir l'argent de son père, mais son frère, plus âgé que lui, fait opposition pour défendre son héritage. Il y a l'intervention d'un parasite qui, peut-être, s'appelle Laches, mais on découvre que la jeune fille est née libre et citoyenne attique et les deux jeunes peuvent ainsi se marier. Il y a aussi un procès de l'usurier contre le jeune homme qui ne lui rend pas l'argent prêté et du jeune homme contre le maquereau qui gardait comme esclave une jeune fille libre. Et il y a aussi un esclave rusé qui cherche à trouver une solution aux problèmes du jeune homme. Une partie de la trame semble s'être déroulée dans le domaine agricole du père du jeune homme ou dans le village où se trouve ce domaine, un domaine dans lequel le frère aîné travaille en aidant le père.

²³ T. Guardì, *Cecilio Stazio, I Frammenti*, Palermo 1974.

²⁴ K. Kleve, "How to read an illegible papyrus. Towards an edition of PHerc.78, Caecilius Statius, *Obolostates sive Faenerator*", *Cronache Ercolanesi* 26 (1996) 5–14.

Mais je donne la parole au Kleve lui-même²⁵ qui renvoie aux fragments retrouvés: "In the preceding column (6A6) Cunning Slave talks to his *erus* or master, a still further stock character: father of Young Man. Cunning Slave asks for money, but Father is adamant in his refusal, referring to the heir (6A7-8 *cur nummum ter haeres negat; arcesso tuis sestertiis haeres negat* [on peut ajouter 6A9 *nescit dimidii haeres cuius*], Young Man's elder brother. Brother regards the family property as his personal reward (6A14 *facit haeres praemia heredis hos*). We may imagine that Brother has always stayed at home and helped Father, while Young Man has squandered time and money among whores about town". Je n'ai pas besoin de souligner les similarités avec l'héritier, en particulier celui qui se présente dans l'épître 2,2,158–94 (cf. note 19).

Mais, en considérant cette référence à Cécile, on doit se demander quel était le jugement qu'Horace donnait de Cécile. En effet Horace a cité deux fois Cécile, la première fois dans une galerie de poètes anciens qu'il n'accepte pas complètement, mais pour la seule raison qu'ils sont anciens et parmi lesquels il y a Térence lui-même. En cette circonstance il nous dit que Cécile et Térence étaient les premiers, Cécile pour la *gravitas* (πάθος?) et Térence pour l'*ars*. La seconde fois il place Cécile avec Plaute pour la langue ancienne, qu'Horace n'aimait pas en comparaison avec la langue des modernes comme Virgile et Varius. On ne peut pas dire que Cécile soit un des auteurs de référence d'Horace comme Tèrence, mais il semble qu'il le respecte pour ses mérites, en excluant sa langue:

7. a) Hor. <i>epist.</i> 2,1,50–68	
<i>Ennius, et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus,</i>	50
<i>ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur,</i>	
<i>quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.</i>	
<i>Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret</i>	
<i>paene recens? adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.</i>	
<i>ambigitur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert</i>	55
<i>Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,</i>	
<i>dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro</i>	
<i>Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,</i>	
<i>vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.</i>	
<i>hos ediscit et hos arto stipata theatro</i>	60
<i>spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poetas</i>	
<i>ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.</i>	

²⁵ K. Kleve, "To be read in connection with comedy text, Caecilius Staius, The money-lender (PHerc.78)", unpublished paper held in 1998.

*interdum vulgus rectum videt, est, ubi peccat.
 si veteres ita miratur laudatque poetas,
 ut nihil auferat, nihil illis comparet, errat;* 65
*si quaedam nimis antique, si pleraque dure
 dicere credis eos, ignave multa fatetur,
 et sapit et mecum facit et Iove iudicat aequo.*

b) *ars* 53–9

quid autem

*Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus adeptum
 Vergilio Varioque? ego cur, acquirere pauca* 55
*si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
 sermonem patrum ditaverit et nova rerum
 nomina protulerit? licuit semperque licebit
 signatum praesente nota producere nomen.*

A ce point il y a une autre difficulté de laquelle l'on doit tenir compte, c'est-à-dire le genre différent, car les matériaux de référence qui concernent l'héritier viennent de la comédie et s'adaptent plutôt aux épîtres ou aux *sermones* d'Horace qu'aux Odes. Cette difficulté peut être résolue, à mon avis, en employant deux critères: (1) en premier lieu on doit penser qu'il y a vraiment dans les vers 17–20 une certaine intrusion des matériaux qui sont plutôt de la comédie, des épîtres et des *sermones*. Je suis d'accord avec ceux qui ont fait cette observation, mais il s'agit d'une intrusion, pour ainsi dire, qui est fonctionnelle à ce qu'Horace veut dire: on doit donner avec une générosité qui va bien au-delà des barrières des genres, de la tradition, des soucis d'héritage. En deuxième lieu (2) le *Faenerator* de Cécile nous ouvre une autre piste, celle de l'épode 2, où l'on trouve le *faenerator Alfius*, qui fait l'éloge de la campagne, mais cherche à récupérer son argent pour le placer chez quelqu'un d'autre. C'est une situation qui correspond au *faenerator* de Cécile pour ce qu'on peut voir des fragments restés et les épodes sont très proches du genre lyrique, au moins de la lyrique d'Archiloque qui est une bonne partie de la lyrique d'Horace lui-même.²⁶ Alors le *Faenerator* de

²⁶ Sur les questions de l'épode 2, la figure de l'usurier et l'éloge de la campagne par quelqu'un qui est intéressé plutôt à l'argent qu'à devenir un campagnard et le rapport avec Virgile (*géorg.* 2,458–542) v. L. C. Watson, *A Commentary on Horace's Epodes*, Oxford 2003, 75–87. A mon avis le *Faenerator* de Cécile est important aussi pour mieux comprendre l'épode d'Horace, bien plus – je pense – que le rapport avec la rhétorique de l' Ἐγκώμιον γεωργίας (Cairns) et d'autres références hypothétiques.

Cécile et le correspondant grec²⁷ peuvent être considérés, si non des sources d'Horace, du moins quelque chose qui lui donnait une idée et une référence. Ceci revient à dire que, comme par ailleurs dans beaucoup d'emplois de la littérature précédente de la part d'Horace, il y avait tout un réseau de références auxquels le lecteur cultivé pensait lorsqu'il se trouvait devant ces vers, c'est-à-dire les vers 17–20. Il ne s'agit pas seulement de la noblesse des auteurs avec lesquels Horace entrait en compétition, mais de la possibilité de dire plusieurs choses sans tout dire, car le lecteur avait présente à l'esprit toute une situation, comme celle du *Faenerator* de Cécile. Une des préoccupations d'Horace était de dire ce qui était nécessaire et seulement ceci, comme enseignait Homère (*Hor. ars* 148–52).²⁸ D'autre part lorsque Horace composait cette ode pour commencer à dire que toutes les choses du monde passent et seulement la poésie reste et donne l'immortalité, comme il le fait dans les deux odes suivantes, on devait être attentif à ce thème, c'est-à-dire au thème de ce qu'on laissait après sa mort, car ceci touchait les soucis dynastiques d'Auguste. L'empereur commençait peut-être déjà à s'orienter vers C. Caesar, le fils de Julia et d'Agrippa, après la mort de Marcel en 23. Sénèque le rhéteur (*contr.* 2,4,12–13) nous a laissé un témoignage de l'attention de la cour d'Auguste à ce thème. On devait être prudent, éviter d'*incedere per ignes / subpositos cineri doloso* (*Hor. carm.* 2,1,7–8). Il valait mieux que le lecteur fût renvoyé à la situation du *Faenerator* de Cécile sans trop en dire pour qu'il s'imagine la chose par lui-même, sans qu'Horace la dît, bien qu'il ait voulu toutefois mentionner l'héritage de poésie qu'il laissait et qui était son véritable patrimoine.

Mais il y a un autre élément qu'on ne doit pas négliger. La relation avec quelque chose d'imparfait comme ici les éléments tirés de la comédie pouvait faire partie de la perfection d'une oeuvre. On devait être généreux, on devait donner sans se soucier de l'héritier et des biens de la famille, on

²⁷ V. à cet égard T. Guardì, *Cecilio Stazio, I Frammenti*, Palermo 1974, 155.

²⁸ Dans la discussion de ce texte, qui a eu lieu à l'École Normale Supérieure de Lyon, M^{me} S. F. d'Espèrey, qui présidait la séance, a fait une observation très importante: dans le temps où cette Ode a été composée Horace devait être attentif à ne rien dire qui allât contre les questions dynastiques de la maison d'Auguste. Je suis tout à fait d'accord. C'était une matière difficile et dangereuse: il fallait beaucoup mieux faire des allusions indirectes à quelque texte ancien (comme le *Faenerator* de Cécile) que de se lancer dans des déclarations personnelles et "*incedere*" *per ignes / subpositos cineri doloso* comme Horace nous dit que faisait Pollion (*Hor. carm.* 2,1,7–8) dans une matière dans laquelle Auguste et son entourage étaient très sensibles (v. *Sen. contr.* 2,4,12–13).

pouvait laisser de côté les règles, bien autrement que ne le faisait le frère aîné de la comédie, lié d'une façon 'adamantine' à la défense du patrimoine. Le poète pouvait ou aussi bien devait aller au-delà du genre. Une perfection véritable prévoit aussi des moments d'imperfection fonctionnels à la perfection elle-même.²⁹

Université de Bologne

²⁹ Je remercie ici le Professeur Knut Kleve et mon élève, étudiant en Doctorat de Recherche en Philologie Grecque et Latine, Mademoiselle le Docteur Giulia Carosi, qui étudie le *Faenerator* ou *Obolostates* de Cécile. La capacité d'Horace de s'adapter au contexte est bien prouvée par le v. 467 de l'Art Poétique. Ici, pour prouver la folie du poète fou comme Empédocle il a fait le seul hexamètre spondaïque de sa production: *Sit ius liceatque perire poetis; / invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti*. Selon une doctrine stoïcienne (v. F. Sommer, "Lucilius als Grammatiker", *Hermes* 44 (1909) 70–77; G. Calboli, "Le changement de la langue et les ornements du discours", dans M. S. Celentano – P. Chiron – M.-P. Noël, *Skhèma/Figura, Formes et figures chez les Anciens*, Paris, 183 sv.) dans ce passage τὸ μέτρον συνέπαθεν τῷ σημαينوμένῳ.

UNE DÉCENNIE DE LUMIÈRE: BIBLIOGRAPHIE LYCHNOLOGIQUE CHOISIE 1995–2005

LAURENT CHRZANOVSKI

Le texte que nous publions ici se propose de fournir aux chercheurs un outil bibliographique simple, constitué des textes les plus significatifs publiés durant les dix dernières années, classés selon leur thème principal.

Fallait-il, à l'heure des banques de données informatiques, se lancer dans la rédaction d'une nouvelle bibliographie lychnologique imprimée?

Plusieurs éléments nous ont poussé à répondre positivement à cette question. *In primis*, nous avons personnellement tiré un grand profit des rares travaux analogues rédigés par des spécialistes du domaine : d'une part, à vocation exhaustive, le volume magistral de Maria Teresa Amaré Tafalla,¹ publié en 1987 puis revu en 1996, et les deux bulletins de Jean Bussière,² publiés en 1988 et 1991; d'autre part, concentré sur un choix de recherches novatrices, la sélection de Donald Bailey³ parue en 1991. Or, comme on le voit, la dernière de ces études date justement d'une décennie.

Par ailleurs, la banque de données lychnologiques sur laquelle nous travaillons méthodiquement depuis plus de douze ans contient aujourd'hui plus du double des titres signalés par *Dyabola*, référence électronique incontournable en archéologie classique. Nous nous devons de faire bénéficier les lychnologues d'une partie de ce butin.

Les conditions de base sont donc, nous semble-t-il, réunies pour que nous nous livrions ici à un exercice de ce genre. Néanmoins, limités par

¹ M. T. Amaré Tafalla, *Lucernas romanas. Generalidades y bibliografía* (Monografías arqueológicas 26), Zaragoza 1987 et *Lucernas romanas: bibliografía*, Salamanca 1996.

² J. Bussière, *BTA 7. Les lampes préromaines (VIIIe – Ier s. av. J. C.)*, Montagnac 1988, et *BTA 19. Les lampes romaines Ier s.av. – VIe s. ap. J.-C.*, Montagnac 1991.

³ D. M. Bailey, "Lamps Metal, Lamps Clay: a Decade of Publications", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4 (1991) 51–62.

l'espace à notre disposition pour cet article, nous avons dû effectuer une sélection parmi les 923 titres que nous avons référencé pour la décennie 1995–2005. Ce choix, qui ne manquera pas de nous attirer les foudres de quelques collègues dont les textes ont été écartés, fut dicté par quelques critères très simples : nous avons retenu toutes les monographies et les articles de plus de 20 pages, puis nous avons privilégié les recherches qui publient des contextes complets, inédits, ou des discussions spécifiques, ainsi que les études accompagnées d'un riche appendice bibliographique, laissant de côté les textes très brefs ou les catalogues de fouilles ne comprenant qu'un petit nombre de lampes englobé dans l'inventaire d'artefacts d'autres catégories.

Structure de la bibliographie:

- I) Expositions
- II) Ouvrages pour large public
- III) Recueils d'articles
- IV) Recherches sur l'éclairage antique et les combustibles
- V) Recherches iconographiques
- VI) Recherches centrées sur l'épigraphie
- VII) Recherches centrées sur la typologie
- VIII) Recherches centrées sur la chronologie
- IX) Recherches centrées sur les ateliers
- X) Recherches centrées sur l'archéométrie
- XI) Recherches sur des périodes ou des zones géographiques situées en dehors de celles communément admises par l'Archéologie Classique
- XII) Bibliographie par pays (fouilles récentes puis catalogues de musées)

I) Expositions

Contraste 'lumineux' avec le demi-siècle précédent, cette décennie fut marquée par les premières expositions monographiques dédiées au luminaire antique,⁴ à Bologne (Italie) sur les lampes de Pompéi en 1997 (131), à

⁴ Nous ne citons ici que les expositions accompagnées d'un catalogue significatif. Les publications du corpus d'un musée accompagnées lors de leur présentation par une

Harvard (USA) sur les lampes africaines chrétiennes de collections privées en 2002 (103), à Nyon (Suisse) sur un corpus sélectif des plus belles lampes conservées en Suisse en 2003 (44), à Jérusalem (Israël) sur les lampes proche-orientales de plusieurs collections locales en 2005 (91), auxquelles il faut ajouter celles consacrées au feu, à Bergame (Italie) (36) et à la Menorah, à Jérusalem (Israël) (106). Cet engouement des conservateurs de musée pour cette catégorie d'ustensiles est de très bon augure pour la lychnologie, et, au vu du succès rencontré par ces manifestations, il est plus que probable que leur nombre devrait croître durant ces prochaines années.

II) Ouvrages pour large public

Toujours dans le registre divulgatif, nous remarquons quelques livres destinés au grand public, retraçant aussi bien l'histoire des lampes antiques (127) ou romaines (129) que l'épopée de l'éclairage jusqu'à nos jours (129) ; le plus bel ouvrage de cette catégorie, selon nous, est le catalogue choisi des lampes du musée de Trèves (89) rédigé par Karin Goethert à l'occasion de l'achèvement de l'étude complète des lampes du musée, publiée dans une monographie (en 1984) suivie d'une dizaine d'articles typologiques dans le *Trierer Zeitschrift* de 1987 à 1999.

III) Recueils d'articles

Alors qu'il n'y avait eu qu'un seul ouvrage collectif dédié aux lampes jusque là,⁵ les dernières années ont livré deux volumes du plus grand intérêt: les actes d'une section sur le luminaire, tenue dans le cadre du congrès de l'EAA à Bournemouth en 1999, constitués de 8 articles (189), et le volume intitulé *Nouveautés Lychnologiques*, que nous avons publié en 2004, comprenant 22 articles (45).

exposition figurent dans la rubrique musées.

⁵ T. Oziol (ed.), *Les lampes de terre cuite en Méditerranée des origines à Justinien. Table Ronde du C.N.R.S, Lyon du 7 au 11 décembre 1981* (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 13), Paris 1987.

IV) Recherches sur l'éclairage antique et les combustibles

Peu de nouvelles recherches se sont penchées sur les problèmes d'éclairage au sens large. Remarquons deux textes sur l'éclairage public, le premier sur les lampes des porches des temples néo-assyriens (104), et le second sur l'illumination des rues d'Ephèse durant l'antiquité tardive (71). Des essais sociologiques ont traité de l'éclairage en Grèce pré-archaïque (148), dans les communautés chrétiennes de Sicile durant l'Antiquité tardive (183) et dans le monde byzantin (174). Remarquons aussi la publication d'un ostrakon égyptien récemment découvert, dressant la liste exhaustive de tous les types de luminaire d'une église copte (139). Enfin, sur les combustibles, une recherche en laboratoire a pu prouver que, étonnamment, la plupart des lampes minoennes tardives n'étaient pas destinées à fonctionner avec de l'huile, mais bien avec de la cire d'abeille (64).

V) Recherches iconographiques

Les recherches consacrées aux thèmes figurés sont si nombreuses qu'elles mériteraient une recension bibliographique spécifique. Nous n'en retiendrons ici que quelques-unes. Pour les lampes d'époque impériale, signalons les états de la question sur les thèmes isiaques hors d'Égypte (153) l'iconographie cultuelle en général (176), le motif de la Vénus armée (39); les lampes de nouvel-an (90); ou encore les représentations d'éléments architecturaux (178). En ce qui concerne les lampes tardo-antiques, on remarquera l'ouvrage de *Fathi Béjaoui* sur thèmes chrétiens sur la sigillée africaine, dont beaucoup de lampes et de réflecteurs (14), et les discussions consacrées aux motifs chrétiens sur les lampes africaines à deux becs (123) et à la provenance des motifs des lampes dites "chrétiennes" (122); une étude montre également la persistance de sujets mythologiques païens sur les lampes tardoantiques (113) et une autre explore exhaustivement les causes de la présence de lampes avec motif de Menorah à Carthage (121).

VI) Recherches centrées sur l'épigraphie

Les marques d'Asklepiades sur les lampes d'Ephèse (87) et de Surillius sur

les lampes romaines (16) ont fait l'objet d'articles spécifiques, ainsi que les corpus des lampes à estampille découvertes au port d'Olbia (Sardaigne) (167), à Apulum (Roumanie) (11) et à Brigetio (Hongrie) (72). Pour l'Antiquité tardive, nous remarquerons un catalogue choisi des lampes byzantines à inscriptions chrétiennes de Palestine (120) un article publiant un fragment inédit d'Assouan portant l'inscription *Neopist* (82), et un ostrakon égyptien dressant la liste des luminaires d'une église (139).

VII) Recherches centrées sur la typologie

Lampes grecques et hellénistiques: lampes tournées hellénistiques de l'Agora de Thessalonique (27); lampes tournées hellénistiques alexandrines (26); lampes de type "Ephèse": d'Ephèse (87); de Métropolis (95); du Musée de Tyre (96); lampes hellénistiques moulées en Sicile (108) et à Alexandrie (136).

Lampes romaines : Lampes biconiques à vernis noir du Musée National (Rome) (30) et biconiques et cylindriques du site de Calvatone (92); Vogelkopflampen en péninsule ibérique (140); Vogelkopflampen et Firmalampen du Musée d'art et d'histoire (Genève) (42); Firmalampen du Musée des Antiquités Nationales (Saint-Germain-en-Laye) (17); lampes aux parois extra-fines "egg-shell thin" à Beyrouth (144); lampes à engobe vitrifiée en péninsule ibérique (141); typologie des lampes romaines de Cristesti (Roumanie) (125), des lampes romaines tournées en Dacie (163).

Lampes tardo-antiques: Lampes tardo-antiques et byzantines de Dacie (62); lampes tardoantiques et médiévales du Golfe de Naples (85); lampes africaines du Musée National de Naples (12); lampes africaines à deux becs (123); lampes tripolitaines de Medina Doga (Libye) (28); lampes byzantines et omeyyades du Proche-Orient (53) (94) et de Jérusalem (124).

Lampes plastiques: autels céramiques avec lampes adossées (166); nouvelle typologie des lampes en forme de tête de taureau (43); inventaire et discussion sur les lampes romaines plastiques du Musée de Trèves (70).

Lampes de verre: typologie et catalogue exhaustif des lampes de verre en Italie (182); luminaires tardoantiques de état de la question en Dalmatie (38), en Tunisie (79), et en Anatolie (146).

Lampes de pierre: catalogues des lampes de pierre du British Museum (8) et des fouilles de Milet (172); rare lampe d'une mine romaine

en Espagne (142) essai diachronique et bibliographique, de l'Antiquité au XIXe (47).

Lampes métalliques: discussion sur les lampes de bronze étrusques (80); catalogue exhaustif des lampes de bronze de la Dacie (173); catalogues complets des lampes de bronze du British Museum (8), du musée de Bologne (60), du site de Vichy (France) (52), des lampes de bronze avec anse en forme de tête de cheval ou de masque en Carinthie (170). Catalogue des lampes métalliques du Musée de Vérone (118). Etat de la question sur les lampes de fer (81); étude sur la lampe d'or de Pompéi (57).

Menorah: étude exhaustive sur le candélabre à sept branches dans l'antiquité (97) et parcours de la Menorah à travers les âges (106).

VIII) Recherches centrées sur la chronologie

Des discussions chronologiques spécifiques ont abouti à la publication d'articles du plus grand intérêt. En particulier, l'article de Marina Ricci, dressant l'inventaire exhaustif des lampes découvertes dans les épaves (156) deviendra rapidement une référence incontournable. Ce même thème fut repris dans un autre article, plus synthétique (130). Signalons aussi les réflexions sur les lampes romaines d'Alexandrie (135), les productions italiennes tardo-antiques (149) et les datations du luminaire des thermes de Beyrouth (133).

IX) Recherches centrées sur les ateliers

La question des lieux de production, fondamentale pour l'évolution des connaissances lychnologiques, a connu un regain d'intérêt considérable. En particulier, la Gaule et la péninsule ibérique ont fait l'objet d'études approfondies: ainsi possédons-nous enfin de riches renseignements sur les ateliers de Lyon (67) (68) (100) et du Golfe de Fos (157), de Cordoue (21), Merida (160), et d'autres ateliers ibériques (22) (24). Dans les provinces occidentales, on a découvert des ateliers à Colchester (66) et au camp légionnaire de Francfort (Nida) (187), on s'est penché sur la corrélation entre les productions d'Italie septentrionale et de Pannonie (61) et, ce qui est passionnant, on a pu attester la persistance de la production de lampes

tournées et moulées dans l'agglomération avare de Kölked-Feketekapu (Hongrie) (99). Dans les provinces orientales, l'ouvrage d'Arja Karivieri sur les productions athéniennes tardo-antiques (111) est devenu une pierre angulaire des recherches grecques, complété par des analyses de la distribution des lampes athéniennes et corinthiennes (112) et des productions en Grèce centrale (151). Les ateliers d'Ephèse (87), de Paphos (134) et d'Alexandrie (134) (137) ont aussi été étudiés, et un excellent état des connaissances sur les lampes africaines tardo-antiques (150) est paru.

A remarquer aussi, les actes du premier colloque exclusivement consacré au moulage en terre cuite (145), comprenant plusieurs recherches sur les lampes.

X) Recherches centrées sur l'archéométrie

Des analyses chimiques ont été menées et publiées sur les lampes des ateliers de Cordoue (Espagne) (21) de Poetovio (Slovénie) (55) ainsi que sur des échantillons lychnologiques des provinces septentrionales et de Rome (169). Nous avons aussi apprécié le petit volume de Jean Montagu sur les techniques de fabrication des lampes antiques, fruit d'un demi-siècle d'expérience comme maître-potier, puis d'un doctorat sur le sujet (138).

XI) Recherches sur des périodes ou des zones géographiques situées en dehors de celles communément admises par l'Archéologie Classique

Même si ce n'est pas le but premier de cette bibliographie, nous signalerons deux textes qui méritent notre attention: sur le luminaire de la Préhistoire, Sophie de Beaune a dressé un bilan exhaustif des connaissances (56); dans un tout autre registre, Klaus Karttunen a publié toute une série de productions lychnologiques dérivées de types hellénistiques à Ter, en Inde continentale, durant les premiers siècles de l'Empire romain, au plus fort des relations commerciales entre les deux mondes (114).

XII) Bibliographie par pays⁶

Algérie: sites et musées: le catalogue complet de Jean Bussière (33) (34), consacré aux lampes, des premiers exemplaires à la période impériale incluse, s'affirme comme l'un des meilleurs corpus régionaux à ce jour.

Allemagne: musées: Catalogues complets des lampes du Musée de Mayence (116), des collections universistaires de Heidelberg (179), de Iena (171) et de Leipzig (185); inventaire des lampes plastiques du Musée de Trèves (70) et catalogue choisi du même musée (89). Pour l'Allemagne, voir aussi *supra*, IX (187).

Australie: musée: catalogue complet des lampes de l'Abbey Museum, Caboolture (58).

Autriche: voir *supra*, VII (170).

Bulgarie: site: catalogue exhaustif des lampes tardoantiques découvertes à Novae (51).

Canada: collection privée: Catalogue complet des lampes de la collection Anawati (63).

Chypre: site: catalogue complet des fouilles récentes de Palaepaphos (25). Pour Chypre, voir aussi *supra*, IX (134).

Croatie: sites: catalogue complet des lampes des fouilles récentes du forum à Pola (32) et de complexes antiques à Salona (126); discussion sur les luminaires tardoantiques de Dalmatie (38).

Egypte: sites: catalogue complet des lampes Byzantines et arabes des fouilles d'El-Ashmunein (7), et de la nécropole antique et monastère d'Apa Antinos (9).

Musées: Catalogue complet des lampes métalliques du Musée copte du Caire (19) et article méthodologique sur lampes tournées hellénistiques du Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie (26). Pour l'Egypte, voir aussi *supra*, IV (139); VI (82); VII (136); VIII (135); IX (134) et (137).

Espagne: le catalogue complet du luminaire de l'Espagne septentrionale de Angel Morillo Cerdán est assurément l'une des meilleures études régionales à ce jour (143). Sites: catalogue complet du luminaire issu

⁶ La liste est structurée selon les pays actuels, classés par ordre alphabétique. Les catalogues de fouilles sont indiqués en premier, viennent ensuite ceux de collections et de musées. A la fin de chaque paragraphe national, on trouvera les renvois aux textes déjà mentionnés dans les chapitres précédents, avec mention du chapitre concerné, puis numéro de l'article.

des fouilles récentes à Astorga (2) et à la Casa de los Delfines à Colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida-Celsa (15). Musées: catalogue complet des lampes du Museo Municipal de Ceuta (23) et du Museo Nacional de Mérida (161). Pour l'Espagne, voir aussi *supra*, VII (140) (141) et (142); IX (21) (160) (22) et (24).

France: sites: catalogue complet du luminaire des sites de Glanum (18), de Vannes (29), du golfe de Fos (157) et des quartiers d'ateliers récemment découverts à Lyon (67) (68) (100). Musées: catalogue complet des lampes du Musée d'Arles (159), troisième et dernier volume du catalogue complet des lampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale (181), catalogue complet des lampes tunisiennes du Musée de Viuz-Faverges (48), et deux séries de lampes du Musée des Antiquités Nationales (Saint-Germain-en-Laye) (16)(17). Pour la France, voir aussi *supra*, VII (52).

Grande Bretagne: le catalogue complet du luminaire de la Bretagne romaine est certainement l'événement de la décennie pour la lychnologie locale (65). Site: découverte d'un atelier à Colchester (66). Musée: parution du quatrième et dernier volume de Donald Bailey consacré aux lampes du British Museum (8): le *nec plus ultra* des publications de musées.

Grèce: sites: catalogues complets des lampes de Patras et de son Lychnomanteion (152) des lampes romaines du Kerameikos d'Athènes (31) ainsi que de la Grotte de Zeus du Mont Ida (168); catalogues des lampes des fouilles récentes du sanctuaire tardoantique de Théra (20) du complexe de Galère à Athènes (40) d'un puits tardoantique d'Argos (107). Pour la Grèce, voir aussi *supra*, IV (148) et (64); V (113); VII (27); IX (111) (112) et (151)

Hongrie: sites: catalogue complet des lampes signées de Brigetio (72) et des fouilles avares de Kölked-Feketekapu (99). Musée: catalogue complet des lampes du Musée de Veszprem (147). Pour la Hongrie, voir aussi *supra*, IX (61)

Israël: catalogue complet des lampes issues des fouilles de Bet Shean (Scythopolis) (98) et des les échopes d'époque byzantine de l'artère principale du site (1); catalogue complet des lampes des fouilles de Césarée (184) et résumé typologique de celles-ci (177); catalogue des lampes romaines des fouilles récentes du site d'Apollonia Arsuf (186). Pour Israël, voir aussi *supra*, I (91) et (106); VI (120); VII (124) et (97).

Italie: sites: catalogue complet des lampes grecques des fouilles de Sélinonte (102), de tout le luminaire de Gnathia (lampes tardo-républicaines (77), impériales et tardoantiques (78) et médiévales (76); du sanctuaire grec

de Gravisca (84), de celui, italique, de Sepinum (128), des fouilles de S. Lorenzo di Pegognaga (Mantova) (73), des lampes des navires romains de Pise (132), des lampes biconiques et cylindriques de Calvatone (92), et des lampes du VIIe siècle d'un contexte de la Crypta Balbi (Rome) (6). A signaler aussi une discussion sur les lampes de l'Urbs durant les deux premiers siècles de notre ère (158). Musées: le catalogue complet des lampes du Musée de Vérone, rédigé par Annamaria Larese et Daniele Sgreva (117), avec un appendice sur les lampes métalliques (118), est certainement l'un des ouvrages les plus complets à ce jour, en ce qui concerne la bibliographie et la recherche de parallèles (iconographiques, typologiques, épigraphiques). Sont aussi parus les catalogues complets des lampes du Musée archéologique d'Adria (119), du Musée archéologique de Bergame (154), du Musée de Biassono (5), du Musée de la céramique de Deruta (165), du musée communal de Gubbio (54), du Palazzo Ducale di Mantova (74), du Musée "G. A. Sanna" de Sassari (83), et des collections Palma di Cesnola (175) et Pisani Dossi (93). Limités à des catégories précises, nous trouvons les catalogues des lampes de bronze du musée de Bologne (60), des lampes africaines tardives du Musée National de Naples (12), des lampes biconiques à vernis noir du Musée National (Rome) (30), des lampes d'Ostie dans les Musées du Vatican (75). Pour l'Italie, voir aussi *supra*, I (131) et (36); IV (183); V (39); VI (167); VII (108) (30) (92) (85) (12) (182) (80) (60) (118) (57) et (149); IX (61); X (169).

Liban: sites: lampes des fouilles récentes des thermes (133) et du souk (144) de Beyrouth.

Libye: site: catalogue des lampes d'une tombe à hypogée de Medina Doga (28). Musée: catalogue complet des lampes du Musée de Ptolémaïs (69).

Portugal: site: catalogue sélectif des centaines de lampes du sanctuaire de Santa Bárbara (86). Musée: catalogue complet des lampes du Museo Municipal Leonel Trindade à Torres Vedras (59).

Roumanie: sites: catalogues des lampes à estampilles d'Apulum (11) des lampes du site de Cristesti (125) et du *castrum* de Gilau (105). Musées: catalogues complets des lampes romaines du Musée National d'Histoire de Transilvanie (10) et du luminaire de la collection Téglàs (37). Pour la Roumanie, voir aussi *supra*, VII (163) (62) et (173).

Nouvelle-Zélande: musée: catalogue des lampes égyptiennes du Musée Otago (4).

Russie: musée: catalogues des lampes de Chersonèse (49) et de Berezan (50) au Musée Historique d'Etat (Moscou).

Serbie-Monténégro: musée: catalogue des lampes tardoantiques du Musée National de Belgrade (88).

Slovénie: voir *supra*, X (55).

Suisse: sites: catalogues complets des lampes d'Aventicum (180) et des fouilles récentes de de Lousonna (Vidy) (3) et de Vitudurum (155); discussion sur les lampes découvertes dans des entrepôts (109). Musées: catalogue complet des lampes du Musée Romain de Nyon (41); catalogues sélectifs des Vogelkopflampen et Firmalampen (42) et lampes chypriotes (46) du Musée d'art et d'histoire (Genève) de la Collection Müller du Musée d'Olten (110). Pour la Suisse, voir aussi *supra*, I (44).

Tunisie: site: catalogue des lampes de fouilles du Monument Circulaire à Carthage (35). Pour la Tunisie, voir aussi *supra*, V (14) (123) (122) et (121); VII (79); IX (150).

Turquie: sites: catalogue des lampes pré-romaines des fouilles d'Ilion (13) et catalogue complet des lampes des fouilles de Pergame (101) et d'Elis (162). Musées: premier volume du catalogue des lampes du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul, consacré aux lampes archaïques et classiques (115), et catalogue sélectif des lampes d'Ephèse du Musée de Tyre (96). Pour la Turquie, voir aussi *supra*, IV (71), VI (87), VII (95) (146) et (172).

Ukraine: site: catalogue des lampes issues des fouilles du sanctuaire de Beregovoi 4 (189). Pour l'Ukraine, voir aussi de nombreux articles dans le volume dirigé par Denis Zhuravlev, cf. *supra*, III (189).

USA: voir *supra* I (103).

N.B. Et l'avenir?

L'Association Lychnologique Internationale (ILA), fondée en 2003, se propose de faciliter le contact entre chercheurs de notre domaine, et travaille déjà à une liste bibliographique, constamment mise à jour grâce aux informations de ses membres: les nouveautés seront, d'une part, publiées chaque semestre dans le Bulletin Instrumentum (qui fait déjà admirablement ce travail depuis plus de dix ans, et dont l'ILA est désormais partenaire), et, d'autre part, regroupées sur notre site (www.lychnology.org).

Concluons en saluant l'arrivée prochaine, avant la fin de l'année 2005, des actes du congrès fondateur de l'ILA⁷. Avec 58 articles traitant d'innombrables thématiques et couvrant presque l'intégralité de l'extension géographique du monde antique, gageons que ce volume saura plaire à tous les lychnologues, et, nous l'espérons, intéressera bon nombre d'archéologues et historiens.

Chercheur associé à l'UMR 5140 du CNRS, Lattes
Chercheur à l'Historisches Museum Olten

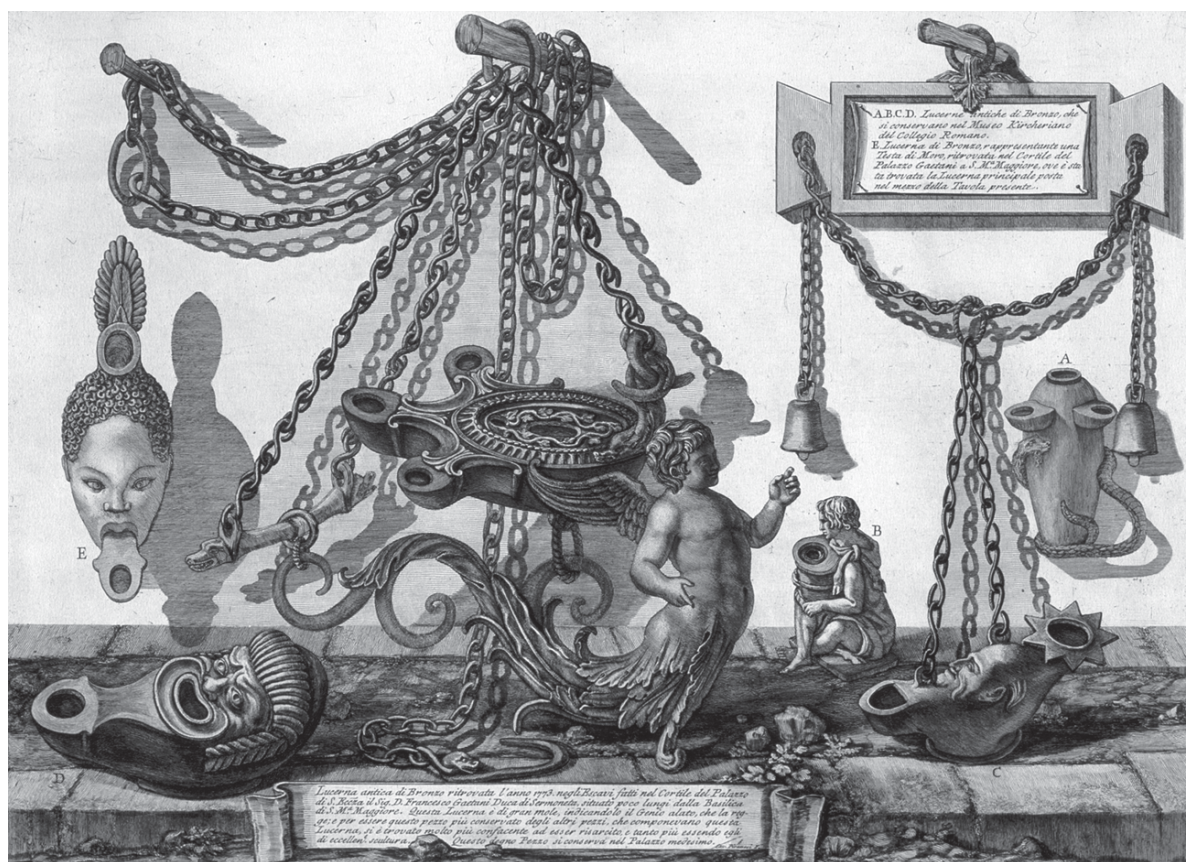


Plate of G.B. Piranesi, *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne ed ornamenti antichi disegnati*, Rome 1778. Photo © National Library of Finland.

⁷ L. Chrzanovski (ed.), *Lychnological Acts 1. Acts of the 1st International Congress on Ancient Lighting Devices* (Nyon – Geneva, 29.9–4.10.2003) (Monographies Instrumentum 30) (ILA Acts I), Montagnac 2005.

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Bosporan mould-made lamps, from Kertch (Crimea), courtesy of Dr Denis Zhuravlev & State Historical Museum, Moscow. Photo © Vassili Mochugovsky

LE METAFORE DELLA TEMPESTA E DELLA BONACCIA NELLA THERIACA DI ANDROMACO IL VECCHIO*

SVETLANA HAUTALA

"La Theriaca contro le vipere, detta Galene" è un poema didascalico in 87 distici elegiaci, scritto da Andromaco il Vecchio, l'archiatra di Nerone. Essa è stata conservata nelle opere di Galeno che la cita per intero due volte, nel libro *De antidotis*¹ e nel *De theriaca ad Pisonem*.² Le notizie che possediamo su Andromaco il Vecchio, sono estremamente scarse fatta eccezione che per le informazioni riportate da Galeno. Quest'ultimo scrive che Andromaco, nato a Creta³ e autore di molti libri sulla medicina e la farmacologia,⁴ era stato scelto da Nerone come medico personale dopo che ebbe preparato per l'imperatore l'antidoto *mithridatium*.⁵ Lasciò un figlio,

* Il presente testo è una versione ridotta del seminario tenuto nel giugno 2005 nell'ambito della scuola di dottorato "Centro interdipartimentale di studi antropologici sulla cultura antica" dell'Università degli Studi di Siena. Ho ricevuto suggerimenti e aiuto da parte di molti: in primo luogo desidero ringraziare la prof. Daniela Fausti, il prof. Maurizio Bettini e il prof. Ivan Garofalo che mi hanno generosamente dato sostegno scientifico e umano. Ringrazio Maria Monteleone e tutti coloro che hanno partecipato al seminario per i commenti e i preziosi suggerimenti. Angela Giardino, Adriana Romaldo e Sonia Macrì con pazienza hanno emendato i neologismi del mio italiano – a loro esprimo la mia sincera gratitudine.

¹ Gal. XIV 32–42 Kühn.

² Gal., *De theriaca ad Pisonem*, VI–VII (= Kühn XIV 233). Purtroppo non avevo l'opportunità di consultare il manoscritto, tutte le citazioni sono tratte dall'edizione del poema – E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Band II. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen [phil.-hist. Kl.] 58), Göttingen 1964, 8–15.

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Andromaco il Giovane, che trascrisse la ricetta del padre in prosa, anch'egli citato da Galeno.⁶ Sappiamo inoltre che Erotiano (fl. c. I sec. d.C.) dedica il suo glossario medicinale Τῶν παρ' Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συναγωγή ad "Andromaco archiatra".⁷ Le opere di Andromaco erano note anche a Servilio Damocrate (fl. I sec. d.C.), che le cita.⁸

Da un punto di vista formale il poema di Andromaco si presenta suddiviso in due cataloghi: uno (righe 5–60) è costituito da un elenco di veleni, morsi di animali velenosi e sintomi delle diverse malattie; l'altro (righe 121–168), invece, enumera gli ingredienti per creare una medicina capace di guarire tutte le malattie e i sintomi riportati nel catalogo iniziale. A volte gli ingredienti sono nominati due volte, ad esempio l'oppio viene dapprima menzionato come veleno, quindi come ingrediente dell'antidoto (anche la vipera, ecc.).

Benché sia stata fin qui poco studiata, "La Theriaca" di Andromaco si presenta interessante per molti aspetti. È notevole ad esempio come Nerone, stando alle testimonianze delle fonti, sostenesse Locusta e la sua scuola d'avvelenatori⁹, ma d'altra parte avesse anche nominato Andromaco, rinnovatore dell'antidoto, suo archiatra. Del poema di Andromaco prenderemo in esame un aspetto, in particolare, ovvero il suo nome *Galene* e le modalità attraverso cui esso si manifesta nel testo.

Andromaco comincia la sua opera così:

Κλῶθι πολυθρονίου βριαρὸν σθένος ἀντιδότοιο,
Καῖσαρ, ἀδειμάντου δῶτορ ἐλευθερίας.
Κλῶθι Νέρων, ἰλαρὴν μιν ἐπικλείουσι, Γαλήνην,

⁶ Gal. XIV 42. Sul rapporto tra queste due versioni – in prosa e poetica – si veda P. Luccioni, "Raisons de la prose et du mètre: Galien et la poésie didactique d'Andromachos l'Ancien", in N. Palmieri (ed.), *Rationnel et irrationnel dans la médecine ancienne et médiévale: aspects historiques, scientifiques et culturels*. Saint-Etienne 2003, 45–75. Debbo la segnalazione di questo articolo a Heikki Solin e a Mika Kajava, li ringrazio inoltre per le loro note critiche.

⁷ *Erotiani vocum Hippocraticarum collectio cum fragmentis*, ed. E. Nachmanson, Göteborg 1918. Sulle altre citazioni di Andromaco nella letteratura medica antica ed araba vd. R. Masullo, "Per l'edizione di Andromaco", in A. Garzya e J. Jouanna (a cura di), *Trasmissione e ecdotica dei testi medici greci*, Napoli 2003, 349–360.

⁸ Gal. XIII 920, Plin. *nat.* 25, 87.

⁹ *Lucustae pro navata opera* (scil. l'avvelenamento di Britannico) *impunitatem praediaque ampla, sed et discipulos dedit*. – Suet. *Nero* 33, 3; sulla Locusta v. anche Tac. *ann.* 12,66; 13,15; Juv. 1,71.

Εὔδιον, ἢ κυανῶν οὐκ ὄθεται λιμένων.

Ascolta la forza vigorosa dell'antidoto dalle molte virtù terapeutiche,
Cesare, datore della libertà tranquilla (senza paura).
Ascolta, Nerone, chiamano Galene,
ilare e sereno, che non si preoccupa dei porti oscuri.¹⁰

La medicina prende il nome da una delle nereidi, Galene, patrona della bonaccia. Esiodo la menziona nella *Theogonia* (244) e Pausania riferisce che era venerata nel tempio di Poseidone a Isthmia.¹¹ Dei tre epiteti della Theriaca – ἰλαρή, Γαλήνη ed εὔδιος – soltanto il primo, "ilare", presenta un significato abbastanza chiaro: la medicina che rallegra (soprattutto se si ricorda che la Theriaca conteneva oppio). Il senso degli altri due aggettivi risulta invece piuttosto difficile da comprendere. Già Galeno dava una spiegazione del nome dell'antidoto attraverso l'uso di alcune opposizioni generali: malattia – tempesta, salute – bonaccia (Gal., *Ther. ad Pis.*15, K. XIV 270–271):

Γαλήνην γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις ἔπεσιν ὁ Ἀνδρόμαχος διὰ τοῦτο, οἶμαι, κέκληκεν, ἐπειδὴ ὡσπερ ἔκ τινος τοῦ κατὰ τὰ πάθη χειμῶνος καθάπερ τινὰ γαλήνην τὴν ὑγείαν τοῖς σώμασιν ἐργάζεται.

Credo che Andromaco, nel carne sopradescritto, abbia chiamata "tranquilla" la teriaca, perchè nei corpi tormentati come da una tempesta di malattie riporta la salute come bonaccia.¹²

I commentatori cinquecenteschi non si discostano da Galeno, affermando ad esempio che : "*Proprium hoc antidoti huius nome galene quod oppressos malis tranquillet, sicut ediverso tristem dicimus rem aliquam, quae tristes faciat homines.*"¹³ Secondo Bartolomeo Maranta: "non per altro Andromaco la chiamò Tranquilla, hilare, et serena, se non, perche à i corpi come da una tempesta de i mali, vessati, induce la bonaccia della sanità; et rallegra l'animo, et la mente ingombrata da qualche morbosa causa: et rasserena le tenebre de i molesti vapori; che la fanno nubilosa:

¹⁰ Androm. 1–4 *ap.* Gal. XIV 32.

¹¹ Paus. 2,1,7–9. Fra le altre menzioni di Galene v. Eur. *Hel.* 1475–1464; Athen. 7,301d; *AP* 5,156; 7,668; 9,544; Luc. *D.mar.* 5.

¹² Galeno, *De theriaca ad Pisonem*, E. Coturri (a cura di), Firenze 1958, 89.

¹³ Iulii Alexandrini à Neustain, *In Galeni praecipua scripta Annotationes, quae Commentariorum loco esse possunt. Accessit trita illa de Theriaca Quaestio*, Basilea 1581, 775 (si è conservata l'ortografia dell'edizione).

riferendo quella parola Tranquilla al corpo, et le altre due all'anima."¹⁴ Sempre Maranta, altrove, può liberamente istituire un paragone tra i veleni e gli antidoti da una parte e la tirannia e la libertà dall'altra: "Io sono stato sempre solito di somigliare i due Antidoti, l'uno detto la Theriaca, et l'altro il Mithridato à due valorosi Capitani, ò vogliamo dire due fortissimi Heroi, come fu Hercole, et Theseo...Et che altro fanno questi due celebratissimi antidoti, se non liberare gli huomini dalla fierezza de i velenosi animali, et da gli tradimenti de i veleni, et dalla tirannide de i morbi, et conservargli nel possesso della loro sanità?"¹⁵

Sembra che le metafore della tempesta e della bonaccia nel poema di Andromaco siano più concrete.

Come si sa, le categorie visuali, presso ogni cultura, hanno la preminenza su quelle degli altri sensi: esistono, ad esempio, transculturalmente molteplici classificazioni dei colori, ma risulta più difficile esprimere linguisticamente odori, sapori, sensazioni tattili o dolorose.¹⁶ Il dolore è inesprimibile. Quando si definisce come "sordo" o "acuto", esso è il risultato di una trasformazione da un certo "analizzatore di dolore", che trasferisce le rappresentazioni di "livello basso", cioè sensitive, a quelle di "livello alto", cioè concettive. Queste ultime hanno caratteristiche simili senza però dipendere dai diversi modi della percezione sensitiva.¹⁷ Tali concetti di livello alto si comunicano attraverso la lingua. Il modello più congeniale a questo campo d'interazione è quello referenziale, il quale collega l'espressione del linguaggio, relativo alla semantica delle sensazioni dolorose, con la realtà extra-linguistica. Il secondo campo d'interazione si trova nella lingua stessa: consiste in un dialogo sul dolore tra l'autore e i lettori. Il punto di riferimento qui non è una cruda informazione sensoriale; lo scopo dell'autore è, piuttosto, quello di suscitare, per via indiretta, l'esperienza del dolore nel lettore. Naturalmente egli avrà bisogno di contare sull'informazione sensoriale, la quale esiste già nella memoria o

¹⁴ B. Maranta, *Della Theriaca et del Mithridato Libri due*, Venetia 1572, 163.

¹⁵ B. Maranta, *op. cit.*, 1.

¹⁶ Sugli usi dei sensi nella medicina antica v. I. Boehm – P. Luccioni (eds.), *Les cinq sens dans la médecine de l'époque impériale: sources et développements*, Lyon 2003. Per il problema di rappresentare metaforicamente il dolore:

I. Garofalo, "La terminologia e la fisiologia del dolore fra Ippocrate e Galeno", *I quaderni del ramo d'oro* 2 (1998), 159–174.

¹⁷ D. Sperber – D. Wilson, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*, Oxford 1986.

nell'immaginazione del lettore. Inoltre l'autore può senza dubbio confidare nella propria arte per descrivere e destare queste sensazioni nel suo lettore.

Tutta la prima parte del poema di Andromaco, fondata sulla descrizione delle diverse sensazioni dolorose, fa appello proprio alla percezione sensoriale. Innanzitutto viene introdotta l'immagine della morte, attraverso un riferimento coloristico: i porti oscuri (κυανοὶ λιμένες – Androm., *Ther.* 4) sono una metafora del Cocito, il fiume delle lacrime e del lutto. Platone descrive il Cocito come un luogo scuro (χρῶμα δ' ἔχοντα ὅλον οἶον ὁ κυανός).¹⁸ Nell'Iliade κυάνεος è il colore del lutto¹⁹ e anche Bacchilide parla della "nera nube della morte" (θανάτοιο κυάνεον νέφος).²⁰ Il Cocito è un porto per eccellenza – così ad esempio in Sofocle il regno della morte si chiama "porto di Ades" – "Αἰδου λιμῆν."²¹

Dichiarato fin dall'inizio che il suo antidoto non si preoccupa dei porti blu scuri, Andromaco servendosi dell'avverbio οὐδέ "neanche", istituisce una relazione tra questa frase e la successiva, paragonando così sintatticamente l'immagine del pericolo di un avvelenamento con la morte:

Κλύθι Νέρων, ἰλαρὴν μιν ἐπικλείουσι, Γαλήνην,
 Εὔδιον, ἢ κυανῶν οὐκ ὄθεται λιμένων.
 Οὐδ' εἴ τις μήκωνος ἀπεχθέα δράγματα θλίψας,
 Χανδὸν ὑπὲρ στυγνῆς χειλὸς ἔχοι κύλικος.
 Οὐδ' εἰ κωνείου πλήσοι γένυν, οὐκ ἀκονίτου,
 Μέμψατο δ' οὐ ψυχροῦ χυλὸν ὑοσκυάμου.
 Οὐ θερμὴν θάψον τε καὶ ὠκύμορον πόμα Μήδης,
 Οὐδὲ μὲν αἰμηρῶν ἔλκεα κανθαρίδων.
 Οὐ ζοφερῆς ἔχιός τε καὶ ἀλγεινοῖο κεράστου
 Τύμματα, καὶ ξηρῆς διψάδος οὐκ ἀλέγοι.²²

Ascolta, Nerone, chiamano Galene, ilare e sereno, che non si preoccupa dei porti oscuri

Neanche (si preoccuperebbe) se uno bevesse avidamente dalla coppa odiosa dopo aver spremuto i fasci nocivi di papavero.

Neanche se riempisse la bocca di cicuta, o di aconito; non farà effetto il succo del giusquiamo gelido

Né il sommacco ardente e la bevanda di colchico²³, che sfiorisce presto,

¹⁸ *Phaed.* 113b8–c1, c8.

¹⁹ *Hom. Il.* 24, 94–5.

²⁰ *Epin.* 13, 64. Sulla simbolica del κυάνεος v. P. Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery and Magic. Empedocles and Pythagorean Tradition*, Oxford 1995, 96–97 con le note.

²¹ *Ant.* 1284.

²² *Androm.* 3–12, *ap.* *Gal.* XIV 32–33.

Nemmeno le ferite delle cantaridi sanguigne.
 Neppure si preoccuperebbe né per i morsi della vipera oscura, né del doloroso ceraste, né del dipsade secco.

Direttamente delle tempeste Andromaco parla ai versi 29–34:

Ῥεῖα, δὲ καὶ στομάχοιο φέροις ἄκος οἰδήναντος,
 Καὶ θοὸν ἰήσας ἄσθμα κυλινδόμενον.
 Ἦ ὅποταν περὶ γαστρὶ κυκώμενον ἔνδοθι πνεῦμα
 Κυμαίνει, κωφὸν κῦμα βιαζόμενον.
 Ἦ ὅτ' ἐνὶ στροφάλιγγι ἀπηνεῖ κυμήνειεν
 Ἔντερον.

Facilmente anche per lo stomaco che si gonfia potresti ricevere il rimedio e potresti guarire l'asma che ruota velocemente.
 Oppure qualora nel ventre all'interno l'aria sconvolta ribolle, onda silenziosa che si sforza (d'uscire).
 Oppure quando in dolorosa colica l'intestino si gonfia.²⁴

Il verbo κυλίνδω, scelto per definire l'asma, si usa nell'epica per la descrizione del rotolare dei flutti: λέυκ' ὀστέα ... εἰν ἄλλ' κῦμα κυλίνδει – "i flutti rotolano nel mare le sue bianche ossa".²⁵ In sostanza, secondo Aristotele, uragano non è altro che vento che ruota con forza:

Γίγνεται μὲν οὖν τυφῶν, ὅταν ἐκνεφίας γιγνόμενος μὴ δύνηται ἐκκριθῆναι τοῦ νέφους· ἔστι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀντίκρουσιν τῆς δίνης, ὅταν ἐπὶ γῆν φέρηται ἢ ἔλιξ συγκατάγουσα τὸ νέφος, οὐ δυναμένη ἀπολυθῆναι. ἦ δὲ κατ' εὐθυωρίαν ἐκπνεῖ, ταύτῃ τῷ πνεύματι κινεῖ, καὶ τῇ κύκλῳ κινήσει στρέφει καὶ ἀναφέρει ᾧ ἂν προσπέση βιαζόμενον.²⁶

Si verifica dunque il tifone quando un uragano in formazione non riesce a separarsi dalla nube (ciò accade per l'impedimento provocato dal vortice) e la spirale si dirige a terra trascinando con sé la nube da cui non riesce a separarsi. E

²³ Otto Schneider riguardo a questo passo notava nel suo articolo "De Andromachi archiatri elegia", *Philologus* 1858, 33: " πόμα Μήδης significat colchicum, estque illud eius veneni nomen aperte petitum e Nicandri Alex. 249." Nicandro nell'*Alex.* 249–250 scrive: "Ἦν δὲ τὸ Μηδείης Κολχηίδος ἐχθόμενον πῦρ, / κείνῳ τις ἐνδέξεται ἐφήμερον – "ma se un uomo assaggerà il fuoco odioso di Medea della Colchide, ben noto colchico". Si tratta della stessa pianta indicata con due nomi diversi, ma c'è riferimento a un solo aspetto, la breve vita della pianta: ἐφήμερον – "che vive un giorno", ὠκύμορος – in Andromaco – "che muore presto".

²⁴ Androm. 29–34, *ap.* Gal. XIV 34.

²⁵ Hom. *Od.* 1, 161–162.

²⁶ Arist. *Met.* 371a9. Vd. anche Thphr. *Vent.* 34; *Aet.* 3,3,4.

dove esso spira direttamente scuote con il suo soffio, e con il suo movimento circolare travolge e solleva con forza ciò in cui si imbatte.²⁷

In tale modo in questo passo centrale del poema, dal punto di vista della spiegazione del nome della medicina – *Galene* –, Andromaco crea una descrizione drammatica, in cui le forze della natura si trasportano dentro al corpo umano, il vento e l'acqua si sollevano, turbinano e ruotano, forzati. La Theriaca guarirà tutti questi sintomi allo stesso modo in cui la nereide Galene calma le tempeste.

La comparazione dei dolori (fisici o morali) alle tempeste non è una rarità nella letteratura classica.²⁸ L'esperienza comune a tutti gli esseri umani insegna che il dolore è periodico, che i suoi attacchi hanno una durata varia, che esso ciclicamente si intensifica e si mitiga similmente alle onde e ai colpi del vento. Sembra che Andromaco voglia sottintendere proprio questa esperienza, trasformandola concettualmente nel suo poema. Ma c'è di più.

Oltre al generico lettore, il poema di Andromaco ha un lettore d'eccellenza cui si rivolge, Nerone. Kudlien datava l'opera di Andromaco al 67 d. C., trattando il verso "datore della libertà tranquilla" come un'indicazione della liberazione della Grecia fatta da Nerone.²⁹ Questo punto può essere sviluppato. Si sa che durante il suo viaggio in Grecia Nerone visitò Istmo,³⁰ dove aveva cominciato lo scavo del canale d'Isthmia (che fu abbandonato da lui in seguito). Secondo quanto tramanda lo pseudo-Luciano, tra le altre bizzarrie teatrali all'Istmo "essendo uscito dal palco, Nerone ha cantato un inno a Poseidone e ad Anfitrite e una canzonetta a Melicerta ed a Leucotea".³¹ Tutte queste sono divinità marine, la figura di Leucotea è un analogo diretto di Galene, perché anch'essa era la patrona della bonaccia.³² Pausania ha visto la statua di Galene nel tempio di Poseidone all'Istmo.³³ Come si sa, il progetto di Nerone era quello di affrancare i marinai dall'obbligo di circumnavigare il Peloponneso

²⁷ Trad. L. Pepe, *Aristotele. Meteorologica*, Napoli, 1982.

²⁸ Vd., ad es., Aesch. *Pr.* 561–563; Soph. *Ant.* 389–391; *Ph.* 1458–1460; Diog. 10,137.

²⁹ F. Kudlien, *Die Stellung des Arztes in der römischen Gesellschaft*, Stuttgart 1986, 88.

³⁰ Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 3,540; Suet. *Nero* 19,2; 37,3; Plin. *nat.* 4,10; Paus. 2,1,5; Philostr. *VA* 4,24; 5,7; 5,19; Cass. Dio 63,16.

³¹ Προελθὼν δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς ὕμνον μὲν Ἀμφιτρίτης τε καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἦσε καὶ ῥῆμα οὐ μέγα Μελικέρτη τε καὶ Λευκοθέα – Ps.- Luc. *Nero* 3.

³² Hom. *Od.* 5,333. Anche Melicerta era il patrono della bonaccia – Verg. *georg.* 1,426.

³³ Paus. 2,1,9.

doppiando il capo Malea,³⁴ tagliando l'Istmo con il canale. Per le navi doveva essere probabilmente molto più sicuro procedere lungo il canale piuttosto che navigare in mare aperto³⁵ e, proprio per questo, Nerone voleva assicurarsi l'appoggio divino, cantando inni alle divinità marine prima di prendere la pala d'oro, datagli dal governatore della Grecia.³⁶ È verosimile che la visita dell'imperatore all'Istmo e il progetto di costruzione del canale siano uno dei piani nascosti del poema di Andromaco, che ne costituiscono la figuratività. Comunque sia, vi sono delle straordinarie corrispondenze.

Houston, cercando di ricreare il contesto culturale del soggiorno di Andromaco alla corte di Nerone, ha notato che a causa del suo amore per la poesia, e per la greicità, Nerone non poteva non apprezzare il poema di Andromaco – nativo di Creta, e per di più esperto nell'arte dei veleni e degli antidoti.³⁷ Procedendo con questa supposizione si potrebbe aggiungere che l'alta istruzione di Andromaco non si limitava alle cose greche, ma si estendeva anche alla cultura romana. Sono già stati evidenziati dei paralleli tra "La Theriaca" e l'episodio dei serpenti nei *Farsalia* di Lucano³⁸, ma nel poema si evincono anche delle reminiscenze della "Medea" di Seneca, proprio nell'episodio della stregoneria. In Seneca Medea fa una corona con nove serpenti³⁹ ed Andromaco elenca nove serpenti contro i cui morsi la sua Theriaca sarà efficace.⁴⁰ Medea usa i veleni che le sabbie di Libia creano,⁴¹

³⁴ Ps.-Luc. *Nero* 1.

³⁵ La pericolosità di doppiare capo Malea è nota a cominciare dall'*Odissea* (3,387; 9,79 – 80). Strabone cita appunto il proverbio Μαλέας δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλάθου τῶν οἴκαδε – Dimentica la tua casa quando tu doppi Malea – Str. 8,6,20.

³⁶ Ps.-Luc. *Nero* 3.

³⁷ G. W. Houston, "Two Conjectures Concerning Nero's Doctor, Andromachos the Elder" in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History VI*, Collection Latomus 217, Brussels 1992, 354–361.

³⁸ Houston, *op. cit.*, 359–360. M. Leigh, "Lucan and the Libyan Tale", *JHS* 90 (2000), 95–96.

³⁹ *tibi haec cruenta sarta texuntur manu, / novena quae serpens ligat* – Sen. *Med.* 771–2 (trad. di G. Giardina).

⁴⁰ Ἐχίον – viperina (Androm, *Ther.*, 11), κεράστης – ceraste (11), διψάς – dipsade (12), ἀσπίς – aspide (14), δρυάς – dryas (15), δρυίνας – dryinas (17), αἰμόρροος – haimorroos (18), ὕδρος – idra (21) e χέρσιδρος – chersidro (23) essendo un serpente che cambia ambiente secondo le stagioni, ἀμφίσβαινα – anfisbena (27).

⁴¹ *et triste laeva comparans sacrum manu/pestes vocat quascumque ferventis creat/harena Libyae* – Sen. *Med.* 680–683.

Andromaco assicura che "affidandosi a questo antidoto, Cesare, puoi non aver paura né camminando sulle sabbie di Libia, né sui prati estivi".⁴² Medea attinge l'acqua dello Stige per il suo filtro,⁴³ all'inizio del suo poema Andromaco proclama che il suo antidoto non si preoccupa del Cocito. Infine, in tutte e due le opere c'è il tema della tempesta. Medea domina le forze della natura e infatti, secondo la sua volontà "tuonarono i flutti, si gonfiò il mare folle mentre taceva il vento",⁴⁴ La medicina di Andromaco calma le tempeste e porta la bonaccia.

Pertanto possiamo in conclusione affermare che le metafore della tempesta e della bonaccia nel poema di Andromaco sono politematiche e includono diversi livelli di comprensione. Attraverso queste simboliche associazioni l'autore stabilisce un triplice dialogo: con tutti i lettori, sulle sensazioni dolorose, con l'altro autore, Seneca, al quale, come mostrano gli esempi riportati sopra, è come se Andromaco "rispondesse"⁴⁵, con Nerone, infine, destinatario principale del poema. Quest'ultimo dialogo fu il più fortunato dal punto di vista della carriera personale di Andromaco.

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⁴² Τῆ πίσυνος λειμῶσι θέρους ἐπιτέρπεο Καίσαρ, / καὶ Λιβυκὴν στείχων οὐκ ἀλέγοις ψάμαθον. – Androm. Ther. 25 – 26 ap. Gal. XIV 34.

⁴³ *tibi iactatur tristis Stygia /ramus ab unda* – Sen. Med. 805–6.

⁴⁴ *sonuere fluctus, tumuit insanum mare/ tacente vento* – Sen. Med. 766–767.

⁴⁵ E' possibile però che Andromaco e Seneca abbiano usato una versione greca di *Medea* a noi sconosciuta.

TEOPOMPO DI CNIDO E LAODICEA AL MARE

MIKA KAJAVA

Nella tarda repubblica, durante gli anni tormentati delle guerre civili, quando gli eserciti romani spesso si muovevano e si scontravano sui territori provinciali, divennero di grande importanza i rapporti che i generali romani mantenevano con personaggi di spicco delle città straniere. È ben noto il legame di Pompeo Magno con Demetrio di Gadara oppure quello che il generale ebbe con il grande Teofane di Mitilene. Per motivi ovvi, i contatti provinciali di Cesare prima si erano stabiliti prevalentemente nell'occidente, ma verso l'inizio degli anni 40, e soprattutto dopo la battaglia di Farsalo (48 a.C.), sembrerebbe emergere, anche nell'oriente ellenofono, un personaggio molto legato a Cesare, cioè Gaio Giulio Teopompo di Cnido: come Teofane, il biografo di Pompeo, anche Teopompo era un uomo colto e letterato. Egli compose almeno un'opera mitografica di cui però nulla è rimasto.¹ I suoi servigi verso Cesare e la sua fedeltà a lui furono tali da far diventare la patria Cnido una città libera.² Tuttavia il ruolo politico e di benefattore del mitografo non si limitò a Cnido, come mostrano le dediche pubbliche in suo onore, erette non solo a Cnido ma anche in altre città greche (Cos, Delfi, Rodi);³ pare infatti che dopo Farsalo, sconfitto Pompeo, Teopompo abbia

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¹ Jacoby, *FrGrHist.* 21.

² Plut. *Caes.* 48,1: Κνιδίου τε Θεοπόμπῳ τῷ συναγαγόντι τοὺς μύθους χαριζόμενος ἤλευθέρωσε.

³ K. Höghammar, *Sculpture and Society* (1993), nn. 49–50 (Cos); *FD* III 1, 527 = Lefèvre, *CID* IV 131 (per la possibilità che si tratti di un riconoscimento per un qualche scritto [mitografico?] su Delfi, cfr. A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften* [1988], 312 sg. E 21); *IG* XII 1, 90 = *IGRRP* IV 1120 (Rodi; cfr. H.-U. Wiemer, *Krieg, Handel und Piraterie. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte des*

assunto un ruolo importante di interlocutore tra Cesare e alcune di quelle città che volevano o dovevano stabilire un rapporto con il vincitore romano.

Il mondo politico e il contesto storico-culturale in cui visse Teopompo, l'evergetismo della sua famiglia, nonché i rapporti con l'amministrazione romana, sono stati discussi di recente in un ricco articolo da parte di Gaétan Thériault.⁴ Invece di riprendere in esame il dossier già studiato in modo esauriente dallo studioso canadese, vorrei prestare attenzione a una delle dediche suddette ritrovate a Cnido, ossia l'iscrizione sulla base di una statua in onore di Teopompo, posta dalla città di Laodicea al Mare in Siria. Il testo sul monumento (ora al Museo Britannico) è il seguente (*I.Knidos* 58):⁵

ὁ Ἰουλιέων τῶν καὶ Λαοδικέ[ων]
 τῶν πρὸς θαλάσσει τῆς ἱερᾶς
 καὶ ἀσύλου καὶ αὐτονόμου Γάιον
 Ἰούλιον Ἀρτεμιδώρου υἱὸν Θεύπο[μ]-
 πον εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν.

Non dovrebbe esservi alcun dubbio che l'amministrazione della città siriana abbia provveduto a onorare Teopompo in riconoscimento dei suoi meriti diplomatici durante e dopo la crisi della guerra civile. Come Antiochia e alcune altre città siriane, Laodicea era stata dalla parte vincente di Cesare. Nel 48/47 a.C., in occasione dell'introduzione di una nuova era locale, cesariana,⁶ la città dovette ottenere nuovi privilegi, mentre altri probabilmente le furono riconfermati. Subito dopo Laodicea ebbe un nome aggiuntivo in onore di Cesare, diventando "Giulia Laodicea" (oppure ὁ δῆμος / ἡ πόλις Ἰουλιέων τῶν καὶ Λαοδικέων). Tale nome potrebbe essere stato assunto durante la visita cesariana in Siria nell'estate del 47 a.C. Si noti anche che nella sua rotta verso l'oriente, Cesare era passato per la città di Cnido dove avrebbe ben potuto incontrare Teopompo. E chi sa se Cesare,

hellenistischen Rhodos [2002], 327 nt. 15).

⁴ "Évergétisme grec et administration romaine: la famille cnidienne de Gaios Ioulios Théopompos", *Phoenix* 57 (2003) 232–256. Cfr. anche l'edizione di W. Blümel, *I.Knidos*, pp. 43 sgg. (e le osservazioni dello stesso in *Arastırma sonuqları toplantısı* 7 [1989] 253 sgg.).

⁵ L'elemento mancante, ὁ δῆμος, doveva essere iscritto su un blocco soprastante. Si noti anche che a Cnido il nome *Theopompos* si scrive quasi sempre nella forma dorica Θεύπομπος.

⁶ H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 26 sgg.

arrivato in Siria, abbia effettuato una visita anche a Laodicea, anche se il suo soggiorno da quelle parti fu breve.⁷ In ogni caso, all'arrivo di Cesare, alcuni brutti episodi del passato, come l'assassinio di un ambasciatore romano nel ginnasio di Laodicea nel 162 a.C., erano probabilmente cancellati dalla memoria collettiva.⁸

Gli epiteti tipicamente ellenistici, *hiera*, *asylos* e *autonomos*, pare che non siano epigraficamente documentati per Laodicea prima della presente dedica cnidia, ma dalle monete risulta che la città li aveva già portati anteriormente. Così almeno *hiera* e *autonomos* appaiono nei tetradrammi d'argento a partire dal 81/80 a.C., l'anno della ritrovata (ma relativa) libertà sotto il dominio del re armeno Tigrane, il quale poco prima si era impossessato della parte settentrionale della Siria seleucida.⁹ Anche il diritto di *asylia*, benché non sembri attestato prima del 53/52 a.C., fu probabilmente concesso a Laodicea già verso l'83/82, se non alcuni anni prima.¹⁰ Comunque sia, l'aggiunta *πρὸς θαλάσσηι* è un'antica denominazione usata per distinguere la Laodicea della Siria dalle altre città omonime, e potrebbe darsi che l'epiteto sia stato usato fin dall'inizio, cioè dalla rifondazione della città da parte di Seleuco I verso l'anno 300 a.C.¹¹

⁷ A. Klotz, *RE* X 238 sg.; Ph.-S. G. Freber, *Der hellenistische Osten und das Illyricum unter Caesar* (1993), 47 sgg. Pur operando principalmente da Antiochia, Cesare trovò tempo per visitare anche altre città, almeno quelle più importanti (*Bell. Alex.* 65,4: *commoratus fere in omnibus civitatibus quae maiore sunt dignitate*).

⁸ Polyb. 32,7,2; App. *Syr.* 46; C. Habicht, *ZPE* 74 (1988) 213.

⁹ O. Mørkholm, *Amer.Num.Soc.Museum Notes* 28 (1983) 89 sgg. Per la possibilità che nel peso civico *IGLS* IV 1271b, del 106/5 a.C., figurino anche il titolo di *hiera* cfr. K.J. Rigsby, *Asyilia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (1996) 501 nt. 99. La notevole attività di coniazione a Laodicea, osservabile per gli anni 65–63 a.C., va probabilmente spiegata per la presenza in quel periodo delle truppe pompeiane sul territorio siriano, cfr. F. de Callataÿ, *L'histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies* (1997), 383 sg.

¹⁰ Rigsby (cit. nt. 9), 502. L'attestazione più antica (53/2 a.C.): H. Seyrig, *Bull.Mus.Beyr.* 8 (1949) 53 n. 3 (peso di piombo; l'elemento ἀσύλου καὶ fu omissso in *IGLS* IV 1271c).

¹¹ Un caso piuttosto antico in McCabe, *Teos* [su PHI CD #7] 31, II 104 (203–190 a.C.), cfr. R.J. Rhodes, *The Decrees of the Greek States* (1997), 457. "Al mare" ricorre anche nelle monete di bronzo del II sec. a.C. (Antioco IV; Alessandro Balas), come pure nei pesi seleucidi del tardo II sec. (*IGLS* IV 1271b [106/5 a.C.]; *SEG* XXXVI 1292; la datazione di quest'ultimo è incerta, ma esso potrebbe ben essere più antico del primo). Un ulteriore epiteto distintivo era quello di τῆς Συρίας (*MAMA* VIII 423 = C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* [1993], 200 n. 71 A; *IG* XII 5, 433 [Paros]; *IG*

Occorre notare inoltre che il nome Giulia (Ἰουλιέων) fu omesso per un breve tempo in seguito all'occupazione della città, probabilmente nell'estate del 43 a.C., da parte di Gaio Cassio. Così troviamo, nella monetazione locale, il nome ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ esclusivamente nel settimo anno della nuova era (42/41 a.C.).¹² Subito dopo, nell'ottavo anno, caduto Cassio, ricorre la leggenda ΙΟΥΛΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ.¹³ Questo sarà, da allora in poi, il nome corrente della città in varie fonti, solo che nelle iscrizioni lapidarie esistenti si preferisce aggiungere l'epiteto distintivo "al mare". Nelle epigrafi post-cesariane sono anche ben attestati i termini *hiera*, *asylos* e *autonomos*. Molto più tardi, in epoca severiana, grazie alla sua opposizione a Pescennio Nigro, Laodicea meritò il titolo di *metropolis* (194 d.C.) per poi ottenere il rango di colonia alcuni anni dopo.¹⁴ Ma questa è un'altra storia.

Come erano inizialmente regolamentati i rapporti tra Laodicea e Roma e su che cosa si basavano? Sappiamo che quelli tra Cnido e Roma furono definiti in un trattato d'alleanza, stipulato tra le due parti l'8 novembre del 45 a.C., in cui, tra le altre cose, vennero molto probabilmente confermate l'autonomia e la democrazia locale.¹⁵ Oltre al passo di Plutarco (nt. 2), la libertà di Cnido viene sottolineata in un decreto (probabilmente) traiano in commemorazione di un'anonima discendente del mitografo: fu appunto Teopompo stesso ad aver ottenuto da Cesare non solo la libertà ma anche l'immunità tributaria.¹⁶ In altre iscrizioni onorarie dedicate a

XIV 681 [Brundisium]).

¹² *RPC* I 634 sgg., nn. 4403A, 4419 e 4438; Seyrig (cit. nt. 6), 31. Data dell'occupazione cassiana: D.R. Schwartz, *Scr. Class. Isr.* 16 (1997) 105.

¹³ *RPC* I 4404 (e 4439?).

¹⁴ Cfr., per esempio, J.-P. Rey-Coquais, in: *L'Africa romana* IV (1987) 600 sg.; F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC – AD 377* (1993), 123; R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum: Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1997), 251 sg. — Vorrei anche ricordare un nuovo documento catanese, frammentario, probabilmente del I sec. d.C., che sembrerebbe una dedica da parte di Laodicea al Mare: K. Korhonen, *Le iscrizioni del Museo Civico di Catania* (2004), 172 sg. n. 27. Di ciò, se sarà il caso, tratterò in altra sede.

¹⁵ *I.Knidos* 33 = F. Canali De Rossi, *Le ambascerie dal mondo greco a Roma in età repubblicana* (1997), n. 442a. Sulla definizione dell'anno del giuramento al Foro di Cesare a Roma, oltre all'edizione di Blümel, cfr. C. Cichorius, *Rh.Mus.* 76 (1927) 328 sg.; Thériault (cit. nt. 4), 237.

¹⁶ *I.Knidos* 71, ll. 1–4: [ἔκγονος ἐοῦσα] / τοῦ κατακτησαμένου τ[ᾶν πάτριον ἐλευ]/θερίαν καὶ ἀνισφορίαν Θεο[πόμπου] / τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου. È inoltre ipotizzabile

Teopompo, a sua moglie e ai suoi figli, si fa riferimento alla città libera e autonoma in cui si vive una vita democratica (cfr. *I.Knidos* 51, in onore di Teopompo, ll. 6/8: Κνίδιοι σωθέντες ἐν ἐλευθέροις [καὶ αὐ]τονόμοι καὶ δημοκρατούμενοι [π]ατρίδι πολιτεύονται).¹⁷ Queste dediche, tutte provenienti da un grandioso monumento circolare, sembrerebbero databili a un periodo immediatamente seguente al ritorno a casa di Teopompo e dei suoi figli da Roma dove essi stessi erano stati presenti al giuramento che comprendeva l'approvazione del trattato.¹⁸ Tuttavia il soggiorno romano di Teopompo non durò molto, in quanto egli fu costretto, ovviamente insieme ai figli, a lasciare la città subito dopo l'assassinio di Cesare. Passati per Alessandria, tutti e tre probabilmente tornarono a casa il più presto possibile (anche se non possiamo dire precisamente quando).¹⁹

Poco è rimasto delle formule incluse nella versione scritta del trattato tra Roma e Cnido (alle righe 9–11 [frg. A] si legge così: ἀνὰ [μέσον δήμου Ῥωμαίων καὶ δήμου Κνιδίω[ν φιλία] / [καὶ] συμμαχία καὶ εἰρήνη εἰς τὸν ἄπ]αντα χρόνον ἀσφα[λῆς καὶ βέ]/[βαι]ος ἔστω [καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ] θάλασσα[ν·]). Invece quello che segue rimane alquanto oscuro. Se vi si potesse restituire, come alcuni pensano, una frase secondo la quale i Cnidii dovevano rispettare il dominio e l'autorità dei Romani (ll. 12–13: [τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ ἀρ]χὴν τοῦ [δήμου το]ῦ [Ῥωμαίων φυλασσέτω]),

(con l'editore Blümel) che le iscrizioni *I.Knidos* 72–77, se provenienti dallo stesso complesso funerario, concernessero ulteriori discendenti di Teopompo. Di Λυκαίθιον Ἀριστοκλείδα (ibid. 75, ll. 5–7) si dice così: [ἐκ δὲ τοῦ] / λαμπροτάτου καὶ ἐ[νδοξοτάτου ?] / παρ' ἀμείν γένους [γεγεννημένη].

¹⁷ *I.Knidos* 52, ll. 9–10 (in onore della moglie): ὁ δᾶμος σωθεὶς ἐν ὁμοιοίαι / καὶ δημοκρατίαι πολιτεύεται; ibid. 54–55, ll. 8–11 (in onore dei figli Ippocrito e Artemidoro): ὁ δᾶμος / ἀνακτησάμενος τὰν πατρίων / ἐλευθερίαν αὐτόνομος ὢν ἐν δημοκρατίαι / πολιτεύεται.

¹⁸ *I.Knidos* 33 A, ll. 6–10. Sappiamo inoltre che Teopompo era stato in contatto personale con Cicerone alcuni mesi prima, nel giugno del 45 (Cic. *Att.* 13,7,1: *Sestius apud me fuit et Theopompus pridie. Venisse a Caesare narrabat litteras; ...*). Rimane invece del tutto incerta l'identità del Teopompo noto da altre due lettere di Cicerone (*Q.fr.* 1,2,9 [59 a.C.]; 2,11,4 [54 a.C.]).

¹⁹ Nelle sue Filippiche (13,33 SB), Cicerone, dopo la frase tratta da una lettera di Marco Antonio, si riferisce, con un certo cinismo, all'oscuro destino dell'esiliato: "*Theopompum, nudum, non expulsum a Trebonio, confugere Alexandream neglexistis*". *Magnum crimen senatus! De Theopompo, summo homine, negleximus, qui ubi terrarum sit, quid agat, vivat denique an mortuus sit, quis aut scit aut curat?* (l'elemento da restituire tra le *cruces* potrebbe essere *domo*).

allora saremmo di fronte a una clausola che definiva i doveri e lo stato giuridico, alquanto iniquo, della città all'interno dell'impero romano.²⁰

Ora mi chiedo se anche Laodicea non avesse stipulato un trattato simile con i Romani. Va notato che la dedica a Teopompo da parte dei Laodiceni sembrerebbe pressappoco contemporanea a quelle succitate dei Cnidii e infatti non si capisce perché i Laodiceni avessero ritardato i loro ringraziamenti verso il grande diplomatico cnidio. Inoltre le condizioni e i destini delle due città, benché non identici, erano comunque simili fra di loro all'inizio degli anni 40 a.C., quando entrambe venivano "liberate" e variamente ringraziate da Cesare. In ogni caso, se non nel quadro di un trattato normativo tra due federati (vd. sotto nt. 41), i dati della nuova situazione politico-amministrativa laodicensa dovevano comunque essere ricordati in forma scritta e ufficiale, e non solo negli archivi della città siriana, ma anche a Roma. Potremmo averne addirittura una prova, indiretta, in un documento molto più tardo.

Ad Atene, nel 132 d.C. (o alla fine del 131), alla presenza dell'imperatore Adriano, ebbe luogo un'avvenimento memorabile, cioè la consacrazione del gigantesco Olimpico, occasione questa che portò a termine un progetto plurisecolare. Come sappiamo, Adriano stesso, ormai chiamato *Olimpio*, fu accolto con onori straordinari che si concretizzarono non solo nella dedica di quattro statue di dimensioni maggiori rispetto a quelle naturali, ma anche in una cospicua quantità di statue dell'imperatore più piccole, collocate lungo il percorso del peribolo del santuario, che erano state decretate ed erette da varie città greche. Tra tali monumenti risulta anche uno posto dalla città siriana di Laodicea.²¹ Dopo il nome dell'imperatore troviamo il nome della città dedicante (ll. 3–7): ἡ πόλις Ἰουλιέων τῶν καὶ Λαο/δικέων τῶν πρὸς θαλασσοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου καὶ αὐτονόμου, / ναυαρχίδος, συγγενίδος, φίλης, συμμάχου, κοινωνοῦ δήμου / Ῥωμαίων, ἐξαιρέτως τετειμημένη δωρεαῖς, καθὼς καὶ ἐν Καπε/τωλίῳ δέλτοι περιέχουσιν. Seguono i nomi degli ambasciatori e di

²⁰ J.-L. Ferrary, in: L. Canfora – M. Liverani – C. Zaccagnini (a cura di), *I trattati nel mondo antico. Forma, ideologia, funzione* (1990), 231 sgg.; Thériault (cit. nt. 4), 238 sg. (con bibliografia anteriore).

²¹ *IG II² 3299 = OGIS 603* (delle ben più di cento statue originariamente erette se ne conservano più di venti: St. Mitchell, *Bonn.Jbb.* 192 [1992] 720; A.J.S. Spawforth, *Chiron* 29 [1999] 348 nt. 49). Sulla questione della scelta delle città autorizzate a fare una dedica, cfr. B. Puech, in: S. Follet (a cura di), *L'hellénisme d'époque romaine: nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches (Ier s. a. C. – IIIe s. p. C.)* (2004), 385 sg.

quei Laodiceni che erano stati incaricati di occuparsi degli onori verso Adriano.²² Dalla frase alla fine del passo risulta che almeno le immunità e i vari privilegi (δωρεαί) con cui i Romani avevano onorato la città di Laodicea "in maniera speciale" (ἐξαιρέτως²³), erano registrati e pubblicati in tabelle di bronzo sul Campidoglio di Roma (il documento originale, ovviamente in tavolette di legno, doveva essere custodito nel vicino archivio statale²⁴). E logicamente dovevano essere ricordati tutti o comunque la maggior parte degli epiteti della città che si usavano al momento dell'inserimento dei dati negli archivi di Roma. Si potrebbe ipotizzare che i rappresentanti dell'amministrazione laodicense, che avevano curato la statua ateniese con la relativa epigrafe, sapessero della presenza delle *deltai* sul Campidoglio anche da un esemplare conservato nel loro archivio locale. Era, infatti, una prassi normale che vari documenti ufficiali, riguardanti città o persone straniere in contatto con Roma (trattati, doni di cittadinanza e di vari privilegi, ecc.), venissero duplicati con i rispettivi esemplari archiviati presso tutte e due le parti. Forse, quindi, i Laodiceni, consultando il proprio archivio civico, poterono assicurarsi della presenza delle suddette *deltai* sul Campidoglio. Per citare un noto caso siriano, concernente il dono della cittadinanza romana e di altri privilegi a Seleuco di Roso,²⁵ possiamo

²² Sul nome di uno di questi (M. Visellius C.f. Col. Priscus), vd. O. Salomies, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 174 nt. 110.

²³ Su questo avverbio, tipico dell'epoca imperiale, cfr. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure. Études de géographie ancienne* (1962²), 393 nt. 2.

²⁴ Cfr. A. Raggi, *ZPE* 135 (2001) 86 sgg., con ampia bibliografia, discutendo l'archiviazione e l'esposizione del 'SC de Asclepiade'. Il termine *deltos* significa una tabella o tavoletta in generale (che frequentemente erano di legno). Quelle del Campidoglio erano di bronzo, come viene spesso specificato nelle iscrizioni (χαλκαὶ δέλτοι, ecc.). Ma occorrono anche altri termini quali χάλκωμα, πίναξ (χαλκοῦς) oppure στήλη (come nel documento di Roso: vd. nota seguente). Quest'ultima, però, se non accompagnata da χαλκῆ, sembrerebbe significare una stele lapidea. Qualche volta si offriva l'opzione di scegliere tra due modi d'esposizione, come nel caso del decreto dei Mitileni, in cui si decise di chiedere il consenso di Augusto per far collocare una copia del *psefisma* in casa sua, e un'altra sul Campidoglio. Quest'ultima poteva essere o una *deltos* o una *stèle* (*OGIS* 456 = *IGRRP* IV 39, b, 22–24): καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ δέ[λτον] / ἢ στήλην τοῦδε τοῦ ψη[φίσμα]/τος ἔχουσιν τὸ ἀντίγραφ[ον]. Sul vocabolo 'stèle' nelle varie fonti antiche, cfr. I. Di Stefano Manzella, in: *Suppl.It. Imagines: Roma (CIL VI) 2* (2003), 24 sg.

²⁵ *IGLS* 718 = Sherk, *RDGE* 58. Il passo è citato secondo la nuova edizione di Andrea Raggi: *ZPE* 147 (2004) 123 sgg.

leggere quanto ordinò Ottaviano nella sua lettera introduttiva (I, 5–6): Τ]ὸ ὑπογεγραμμένα ἐξελήφθη{ι} ἐκ στήλης ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καπετωλίου, / [ἄπερ ἄξιῶ] καταχωρίσαι εἰς τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν δημόσια γράμματα· (un *antigrafon* doveva essere inviato rispettivamente anche a Tarso, Antiochia e una terza città, forse Seleucia). Simili casi ricordanti l'esistenza di documenti diplomatici sul Campidoglio, si conoscono da altre iscrizioni greche.²⁶

Il motivo principale dell'erezione da parte di Laodicea della statua di Adriano ad Atene pare che non sia stato quello di ringraziamento per alcune beneficenze fatte dall'imperatore, si trattava piuttosto di un gesto comune del mondo ellenofono, che si era manifestato attraverso l'attiva partecipazione di numerose città greche.²⁷ Ciò vuol dire che le *doreai* ricordate nel testo non vanno necessariamente interpretate come doni ottenuti da Adriano. Certo, essendo un grande viaggiatore, l'imperatore conosceva bene la terra siriana.²⁸ Sappiamo da un documento latino che egli aveva restaurato la via che da Laodicea partiva verso il nord,²⁹ e ovviamente il suo evergetismo verso le città siriane si era espresso in molte altre forme ancora. Inoltre Adriano era stato governatore della provincia di Siria subito prima di diventare imperatore,³⁰ e forse in quell'occasione aveva anche visitato Laodicea. Una tale visita potrebbe aver avuto luogo nel 116 d.C., quando lo scrittore Flegonte, liberto di Adriano, che viaggiava con la corte imperiale, ricorda di aver visto, a Laodicea al Mare, una donna che aveva cambiato sesso.³¹ Comunque sia, nonostante i vari contatti, diretti e indiretti, che

²⁶ E.g. *I.Kibyra* 1 (trattato con la città di Cibyra); *IGRRP* IV 1692 (SC de Elaeis); Sherk, *RDGE* 16 (SC et foedus cum Astypalaeensibus); Moretti, *IGUR* 1 = *CIL* VI 40890 (SC de Asclepiade); J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982) n. 8 (SC de Aphrodisiensibus). Riguardo al materiale siriano, si veda J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Ann.Arch.Arab.Syr.* 23 (1973) 41 sgg. Cfr. inoltre L. Robert, *Ant.Class.* 35 (1966) 405 sgg. = *Opera Minora Selecta* VI (1989) 29 sgg.

²⁷ A tale iniziativa non era estraneo neanche il nuovo programma panellenico, energicamente promosso dall'imperatore, anche se il numero delle città membri del Panellenio era piuttosto limitato, cfr. C.P. Jones, *Chiron* 26 (1996) 34; Spawforth (cit. nt. 21), 348; P. Weiß, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 617 sgg. (sulla città frigia di Eumenia).

²⁸ H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum* (1986), 188 sgg.

²⁹ *AE* 1994, 1768: ...viam corr[u]ptam restituit. A Laudicie (sic) m(ille) p(assus).

³⁰ E. Dabrowa, *The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus* (1998), 89 sg.

³¹ Jacoby, *FrGrHist.* 257 F 36 IX, cfr. A.R. Birley, *Hadrian. The Restless Emperor*

Adriano ebbe con la Siria, non mi pare necessario assumere che le *deltoi* capitoline avessero ricordato esclusivamente i privilegi accordati da questo imperatore o comunque sotto il suo regno (si osservi che l'iscrizione non contiene alcun riferimento esplicito al ruolo di benefattore di Adriano).³² Poteva trattarsi di una serie di *doreai*, forse date ai Laodiceni in diverse occasioni ma anche risalenti, almeno in parte, a quelle prime garantite con l'ausilio di Teopompo.

Purtroppo non sappiamo nulla degli eventuali avvenimenti che avrebbero potuto comportare ulteriori privilegi ufficiali alla città di Laodicea, a meno che si voglia assumere che la libertà e l'immunità tributaria, accordate, secondo Appiano, dal triumviro Marco Antonio dopo il crollo economico della città durante il periodo cassiano,³³ siano state ricordate nelle *deltoi*. Ciò è possibile, considerando che la concessione di tali privilegi avrebbe potuto essere tra i provvedimenti assunti dai triumviri, che furono confermati dal Senato nel 39 a.C.³⁴ Sappiamo inoltre, da un editto triumvirale (probabilmente anteriore al 2 ottobre del 39), che Ottaviano e Marco Antonio si erano mossi per far fronte all'emergenza vissuta da alcune città, possibilmente a causa della guerra di Labieno. Tra le città elencate c'è anche Laodicea.³⁵

Comunque sia, oltre agli epiteti standard già discussi (*hiera*, *asylos* e *autonomos*), la maggior parte dei termini usati per Laodicea erano ben presenti nel corrente linguaggio amministrativo-diplomatico del periodo tardorepubblicano. Φίλος/η (*demos* o *polis*), ad esempio, viene frequentemente adoperato per i rapporti diplomatici interstatali in epoca ellenistico-romana, e infatti abbiamo una prova esplicita nel racconto di Cassio Dione dell'amicizia che i Laodiceni sentirono per Cesare dopo la sua morte: fu appunto grazie a tale φιλία che il cesariano Dolabella, l'avversario di Cassio, poté entrare nella città per poi impadronirsene senza attaccare

(1997), 75.

³² Un contesto adrianeo è stato recentemente proposto da A. Gebhardt, *Imperiale Politik und provinzielle Entwicklung. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Kaiser, Heer und Städten in Syrien der vorseverischen Zeit* (2002), 170 sgg. Secondo lo studioso, i titoli presenti nell'iscrizione (*nauarchis* e *symmachos* in particolare) parlerebbero in favore di stretti contatti sotto Adriano tra Laodicea e le forze armate romane. Inoltre le *doreai* si riferirebbero a beneficenze attribuibili ad Adriano.

³³ App. BC 5,7: Λαοδικέας δὲ καὶ Ταρσέας ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων.

³⁴ Dio 48,34,1.

³⁵ Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982) n. 7, ll. 3 e 8.

battaglia.³⁶ Anche συγγενής 'parente', spesso accompagnato da φίλος/η, ricorre nei documenti relativi ai rapporti tra due città o tra una città e un impero, ellenistico o quello romano,³⁷ e lo stesso vale per σύμμαχος 'alleato'. Tuttavia bisogna ricordarsi che tali titoli furono spesso assunti dalle città greche (o a loro concessi) anche in epoca imperiale, in particolare nel II e III sec. d.C., come decorazioni di prestigio e anche di propaganda.³⁸

Riguardo all'espressione κοινωνός 'compagno (di qualcuno)' della dedica ateniese, essa risulta praticamente estranea al gergo amministrativo-diplomatico dell'epoca ellenistico-romana. È vero che qualche volta incontriamo nel linguaggio amministrativo l'appellativo κοινωνία come pure il verbo κοινωνεῖν, tuttavia questi termini non sono paragonabili a quelli tecnici quali φίλος/-ία oppure σύμμαχος/-ία. Di per sé un termine antico, e anche letterario, κοινωνός potrebbe essere una novità introdotta in età imperiale nella terminologia diplomatica (si noti, del resto, la forma συγγενίς nel nostro testo, più tipica del Principato e da Polluce giudicata completamente barbarica).³⁹

L'unico tra gli epiteti di Laodicea che potrebbe considerarsi sostanzialmente "imperiale" è ναυαρχίς. Questo aggettivo veniva usato di più per città costiere della Siria, come pure di alcune della Cilicia e Pamfilia, ma (così pare) non di altre del Mediterraneo, e inoltre non risultano attestazioni anteriori al regno di Vespasiano. La maggioranza dei casi ci è nota da monete, alcuni ricorrono in iscrizioni: Dora (Traiano, Antonino Pio), Laodicea (Adriano), Sidone (Vespasiano, Domiziano, Traiano), Tiro

³⁶ Dio 47,30,2: τὴν δὲ δὴ Λαοδίκειαν ἀμαχεὶ διὰ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῶν, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τὸν πρότερον εἶχον, προσεποιήσατο.

³⁷ O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques* (1995); S. Lücke, *Syngeneia. Epigraphisch-historische Studien zu einem Phänomen der antiken griechischen Diplomatie* (2000) (l'iscrizione ateniese posta dai Laodiceni è registrata a p. 146 [S 74a] così: "Ehrendekret der Gemeinden Iulis und Laodikeia..."); D. Musti, in: M.G. Angeli Bertinelli – L. Piccirilli (a cura di), *Linguaggio e terminologia diplomatica dall'antico oriente all'impero bizantino* (2001), 45 sgg. (sul rapporto di "distinzione inclusiva" tra syngeneia e oikeiotes).

³⁸ Molti esempi in J. Nollé, in: C. Schubert – K. Brodersen (a cura di), *Rom und der griechische Osten. Festschr. H.H. Schmitt* (1995), 361 sgg.

³⁹ Per i termini diplomatici in generale e le realtà storico-politiche che con essi si esprimevano, cfr. C.P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* (1999); A. Erskine, in: D. Ogden (a cura di), *The Hellenistic World. New Perspectives* (2002), 97 sgg. Συγγενίς: Poll. *onom.* 3,30 (ἐσχάτως βάρβαρον).

(Traiano, Marco Aurelio), Tripoli (Adriano, Eliogabalo). Le attestazioni provenienti dall'Asia Minore sono piuttosto tarde: Corico, Egea e Side non sono *nauarchides* prima di Gordiano III, mentre a Elaiussa Sebaste il titolo è documentato qualche decennio prima (monete con ritratto di Crispina).⁴⁰ Si è spesso pensato che *nauarchis* abbia a che fare con l'arrivo o la presenza, più o meno permanente, della flotta romana nel porto della città così chiamata. Tuttavia vista la frammentarietà della documentazione, è meglio essere cauti nell'interpretazione. È vero che *nauarchis* va probabilmente spiegato in chiave militare e in contesti relativi alla presenza della flotta romana, tuttavia rimangono piuttosto oscuri i motivi e le modalità del dono o comunque dell'adozione del titolo. Certamente l'epoca flavia non andrebbe considerata il *terminus ante quem non* per l'uso del titolo *nauarchis*. Io non mi stupirei se un giorno venisse alla luce un documento, notevolmente più antico, in cui una città marinara greca, e non solo della Siria, s'intitolasse "signora delle navi".

Tutto sommato, mi pare possibile che le *deltoi* capitoline, ricordate nella dedica ateniese, contenessero, se non la copia intera della versione originale, almeno il nucleo, forse con delle aggiunte posteriori, di un documento risalente al tempo di Cesare e nato grazie alle relazioni diplomatiche di Teopompo di Cnido. Non era necessariamente un *foedus* con delle clausole normative,⁴¹ ma piuttosto un testo in cui si faceva riferimento all'amicizia, all'alleanza e cose del genere, senza però dimenticare la menzione della "libertà" e dei privilegi concessi ai Laodiceni.⁴² Forse si trattava di un *epikrīma* come quello di Augusto

⁴⁰ Ampia discussione del titolo in Gebhardt (cit. nt. 32), 164 sgg. Si ricordi, del resto, che la dea Afrodite era venerata come *Nauarchis* almeno in alcune città lungo la costa settentrionale del Mar Nero: *I.Pont.Eux.* 2,25 (Panticapeo; tarda Repubblica / Augusto); *CIRB* 1115 (Gorgippia; 110 d.C.). Tuttavia, *nauarchis* come titolo delle città non consente di dedurre alcun legame con il mondo religioso-culturale.

⁴¹ Come è stato spesso osservato, da titoli come *filos* (*amicus*), *symmachos* (*socius*), ecc. non risulta automaticamente l'esistenza di un *foedus*, cfr., di recente, A. Coskun – H. Heinen, *Anc.Soc.* 34 (2004) 56.

⁴² Mi pare che Christopher Jones (cit. nt. 39), 118 abbia ragione nel suo commento (almeno nel primo) sulla dedica laodicea ad Adriano: "The epithets reflect Laodicea's loyalty to Julius Caesar in the civil wars and, probably, the presence of Roman settlers among the population". Secondo D. Musti, *Ann.Sc.Norm.Sup.Pisa* II: 32 (1963) 237, "parentela col popolo Romano è naturalmente vantata da *Julia* Laodicea, ecc." Ciò è vero, anche se i titoli, incluso *syngenis*, ricordati nella dedica, potrebbero ben basarsi sulla terminologia cesariana, essendo stati tratti da, o comunque ricalcanti, un documento

concernente Dexandros di Apamea, tetrarca di Siria, il quale era stato definito, sempre in *deltoi* di bronzo al Campidoglio, come *filos* e *symmachos* per via della sua amicizia e fedeltà al popolo Romano.⁴³ Dall'inserimento nelle *deltoi* anche delle varie *timai* concesse ad un suo ricco discendente sotto Traiano,⁴⁴ risulta chiaramente l'esistenza di una serie di tabelle (e di *epikrimata*), nelle quali la parte siriana rimase la stessa per almeno un secolo, se non di più.

Comunque sia, l'indicazione topografica ἐν Καπετωλίῳ si riferisce ovviamente al tempio di Giove Capitolino o alle sue immediate vicinanze dove sappiamo che una grande quantità di documenti di carattere diplomatico erano stati custoditi da secoli, soprattutto trattati e decreti del Senato relativi ai privilegi concessi alle città e ai privati.⁴⁵ Se le nostre *deltoi* erano state tra quelle, migliaia, distrutte dal disastroso incendio del 69 d.C., allora Vespasiano le aveva fatte recuperare, facendo ricorso ai documenti dell'archivio statale romano o, come ultima alternativa, alle copie esistenti a Laodicea.⁴⁶

In conclusione, vorrei ricordare un'altra dedica che la città di Laodicea in Siria aveva fatto a Cnido (*I.Knidos* 94), questa volta in onore di due fratelli, Gaio Giulio Bulacrate e Gaio Giulio Teopompo (iscr. Θεύπομπος),

dell'epoca.

⁴³ J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Ann.Arch.Arab.Syr.* 23 (1973) 41 sgg. (= *AE* 1976, 678; *Bull.ép.* 1976, 718 [Apamea]), ll. 30–34: ...ὑπὸ / [θεοῦ Αὐ]γούστου διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ῥωμαίων / [δῆμον] φιλίαν καὶ πίστιν ἐπικρίματι / [φίλο]ς καὶ σύμμαχος ἀνεγράφη χαλ/[καῖς δ]έλτοις ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* ll. 2–4: [καὶ τὴν αὐ]τοῦ ἀλιτουρησίαν δηλο[υ/μένην] μετὰ ἄλλων τειμῶν χαλκαῖς / [δέλτοι]ς ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. Di questo discendente (Lucio Giulio Agrippa) si dice anche così: βασιλικὰς τειμὰς ἔχων / καὶ προγόνους χαλκαῖς δέλτοις ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ / συμάχους Ῥωμαίων ἀναγεγραμμένους (*AE* 1976, 677, ll. 5–7), cosa che viene a completare l'informazione già fornita da *IGLS* 1314 (Apamea).

⁴⁵ Bibliografia in Raggi (cit. nt. 24), 88 sg. Più menzioni in Cicerone (e.g. *Phil.* 3,30: *decreta in aes incidenda et in Capitolio figenda curaverit*). A volte si aggiunge una frase quale ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπετωλίου. Per le numerose dediche lapidee a Giove Capitolino da parte di città greche, cfr. A. Degrassi, *Scritti vari di antichità I* (1962), 415 sgg.; Moretti, *IGUR I* 5 sgg.; R. Mellor, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 328 sgg.

⁴⁶ Suet. *Vesp.* 8,5: *aerearumque tabularum tria milia, quae simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit undique investigatis exemplaribus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebis scita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis*. Occorrevano, forse, simili operazioni anche dopo l'incendio dell'80 d.C.

figli di Tolemeo. *Theopompos* è un nome tutt'altro che raro, e quindi non sarebbe affatto sorprendente trovare due o più *Gaioi Ioulioi Theopompoi* in una città come Cnido. Ma le cose potrebbero stare un po' diversamente, se consideriamo il fatto che la parte dedicante è la stessa città che aveva già onorato Gaio Giulio Teopompo, figlio di Artemidoro. Che cosa avevano fatto i due fratelli per meritare gli onori di una statua ciascuno, questo non lo sappiamo, ma sicuramente si trattò di una qualche beneficenza verso i Laodiceni o da parte loro o della famiglia (furono onorati εὐνοίας χάριν, come fu pure Teopompo, figlio di Artemidoro – si osservi che il termine *eunoia* è frequente nei documenti che riguardano i rapporti interstatali). Se non si tratta di una semplice coincidenza onomastica, cosa del tutto possibile, mi chiedo se i due fratelli non potessero essere discendenti del mitografo, forse nati da un suo figlio, altrimenti ignoto, di nome Tolemeo. Così uno dei fratelli avrebbe assunto il cognomen del nonno. In ogni caso, Teopompo il diplomatico era già nonno verso la fine degli anni 40 (o comunque al momento dell'erezione del monumento), come sembrerebbe risultare dalla dedica posta a sua moglie Telestira (*I.Knidos* 52, ll. 6–8: ...συνοικήσασα δὲ / καὶ τῶι σωτῆρι τᾶς πόλιος Θευπόμπωι / τέκνων τέκνα παρέστασε τᾶι πατρίδι).⁴⁷ Tuttavia, sarebbe strano se un figlio di nome Tolemeo, sicuramente adulto all'epoca, non fosse stato onorato insieme ai genitori e ai fratelli nel grande monumento circolare della famiglia. Perciò, se la nostra ricostruzione è giusta, i due fratelli, Bulacrate e Teopompo, potrebbero essere stati figli di un Tolemeo, probabilmente lui stesso un Gaio Giulio, che aveva sposato la figlia del mitografo, di nome Giulia Nosside, onorata insieme ai membri della famiglia (*I.Knidos* 53). Nel monumento circolare furono ricordati solo i protagonisti, genitori con figli (*I.Knidos* 51–55), e in ogni caso i nipoti dovevano essere giovanissimi in occasione della dedica. Ma essi, dunque, sarebbero stati onorati più tardi, forse sotto Augusto, quando anche Artemidoro, loro zio materno, divenne oggetto di *timai* straordinarie, anche *isotheoi* (l'istituzione di *Artemidoreia* in suo onore, una statua d'oro *synnaos* d'Artemide Giacintotrofo ed Epifane,

⁴⁷ Secondo l'ipotesi, alquanto fantasiosa, avanzata da F. Canali De Rossi, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche III: Decreti per ambasciatori greci al senato* (2002), 126 sgg., Telestira non era la moglie di Teopompo, bensì la madre che, rimasta vedova, sarebbe andata ad abitare con il figlio, occupandosi successivamente dell'allevamento dei figli di costui (τέκνων τέκνα, ecc.). La moglie di Teopompo (che non figurerebbe affatto nell'iscrizione) sarebbe stata colpita da una sorta di "damnatio memoriae" causata dai conflitti interni alla famiglia.

sepoltura nel ginnasio, ecc.).⁴⁸ E come abbiamo già visto, i Cnidii onorarono una discendente di Teopompo ancora sotto Traiano, alludendo al contributo che costui aveva fornito al benessere della città sotto Cesare. Meriti e beneficenze altrui, se di grande rilievo, difficilmente svaniscono dalla memoria delle generazioni posteriori.

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ADDENDUM (p. 82 nt. 15): un nuovo trattato cesariano, iscritto su tavole di bronzo, tra Roma e la Lycia del 46 a.C., è ora pubblicato con ampi commenti da St. Mitchell in: *PSchøyen* I n. 25 (Papyr. Florentina vol. 35, 2005).

⁴⁸ *I. Knidos* 59, cfr. Thériault (cit. nt. 4), 243 sgg.; J.H.M. Strubbe, in: L. de Ligt – E.A. Hemelrijk – H.W. Singor (a cura di), *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives* (2004), 324. Se ebbe ragione Conrad Cichorius (*Römische Studien* [1922], 297), Artemidoro potrebbe anche figurarsi in un epigramma di Filodemo (*Anth. Pal.* 11,35) come uno dei partecipanti che contribuirono con vari cibi ad una festa tra amici: egli portò con se del semplice cavolo. A proposito, vorrei ricordare, del tutto incidentalmente, che più di 300 anni prima, un'altro cnidio, il medico Crisippo, nel suo scritto περὶ λαχάνων, aveva trattato in dettaglio le proprietà salutari del cavolo (*RE* III 2509 sg.).

CATULLO 116,7: *EVITABIMUS MISSA?*

WŁODZIMIERZ OLSZANIEC

116

*Saepe tibi studioso animo venante requirens
carmina uti possem mittere Battiadae,
qui te lenirem nobis, neu conarere
tela infesta <meum> mittere in usque caput,
hunc video mihi nunc frustra sumptum esse laborem,
Gelli, nec nostras hic valuisse preces.
contra nos tela ista tua evitabimus †amitha:
at fixus nostris tu dabis supplicium.*

7 *evitamus* z. *amitha* O, *amicta* X: *amictu* e

Questo carme presenta numerosi problemi, discussi più volte dai filologi, ma che finora non paiono aver ricevuto una soluzione coerente. Eccone un elenco:

- Le particolarità metriche dei versi 3 e 8: esametro olospondaico *qui te lenirem nobis neu conarere*, l'unico nella poesia latina dopo Ennio, l'autore del tutto estraneo ai *neoteri*,¹ elisione arcaica *dabi'supplicium*, anche questa senz'altro evitata dai *poetae novi*.²

- L'improbabile concatenazione di aggettivo e participio nell'espressione *studioso animo venante*. Le analogie riportate da Fordyce³ – Verg. *A.* 3,70 *lenis crepitans vocat auster*, *A.* 5,764 *creber aspirans auster*, *G.* 4,370 *saxosusque sonans Hypanis* sono meno inusuali, come giustamente osserva Thomson.⁴

¹ Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3,45.

² Cf. Cic. *orat.* 161.

³ C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus, A Commentary*, Oxford 1990 (ristampa), 404.

⁴ D. F. S. Thomson, *Catullus, Edited with a Textual and Interpretative Commentary*, Toronto 1998, 555.

- La mancanza nel v. 1 di un tempo storico che giustifichi l'uso del congiuntivo imperfetto *possem* nel v. 2, per cui quest'ultimo dipende dal participio presente *requirens* (anche qui manca una precisa analogia nella letteratura latina).

Questi elementi contribuiscono a dare al componimento uno stile rozzo, lontano dalla raffinatezza catulliana, il che ha spinto alcuni studiosi a rifiutarne addirittura l'autenticità. Si è anche pensato che si trattasse di un'operetta giovanile oppure scritta in fretta; secondo un'altra ipotesi⁵ – che sembra più probabile e sulla quale tornerò ancora in seguito – Catullo avrebbe voluto parodiare lo stile non limato di Gellio. La soluzione proposta da Wiseman è invece legata ad un'altra ambiguità – la posizione finale del carne nella silloge catulliana. Wiseman vede nei versi 3 e 8 una rottura programmatica con la poetica callimachea ed un annuncio della volontà dell'autore di indirizzarsi verso un nuovo genere letterario: il teatro, in particolare il mimo.⁶ La sua ipotesi ha però fondamenti troppo insicuri per essere presa in considerazione. Penso che sia possibile offrire una soluzione più verosimile, ma per proporla debbo fermarmi prima sulla corruzione del v. 7: *contra nos tela ista tua evitabimus †amitha* – un altro problema largamente discusso di questo carne.

La parola *amitha* non ha ovviamente senso. Nelle prime edizioni a stampa venne accettata la correzione offerta dal gruppo dei codici della metà del secolo XV (**e**) – *amictu* – che ha goduto di ampio successo anche presso gli editori moderni e continua ad avere numerosi seguaci. Attenendosi a questa correzione, il verso si potrebbe tradurre: "Al contrario, noi pariamo i tuoi colpi con il mantello". Tale interpretazione però va rigettata per le seguenti ragioni:

- L'interpretazione del *contra* come avverbio sembra forzata. Colpisce la stranezza dell'intero passo 5–7 (la nota anche Fordyce⁷): "Ora vedo che questa è stata una vana fatica e le mie preghiere non hanno aiutato; al contrario, noi pariamo tuoi colpi con il mantello".

- L'accettazione di *amictu* – il fatto è passato sotto silenzio dai sostenitori di questa correzione – comporta un altro cambiamento: la sostituzione di *evitabimus* con *evitamus*. Tuttavia la forma del futuro, come

⁵ La menziona Thomson (sopra n. 4) 554.

⁶ T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and His World. A Reappraisal*, Cambridge 2000 (ristampa) 186.

⁷ Fordyce (sopra n. 3) 405: "awkwardness of the expression".

osserva Fordyce,⁸ ha qui una certa importanza (l'opposizione *evitabimus – dabis*). *Evitamus* nei codici z sembra invece un evidente tentativo di aggiustare il metro alla trisillabica parola *amitha*.

Secondo Fordyce, poi, la forma *amictu* andrebbe accompagnata da un aggettivo, in analogia con Pac. 186 *chlamyde contorta astu clupeat bracchium*, Petr. 80,2 *intorto circa bracchium palio composui ad proeliandum gradum*. Quindi Camps ha proposto: *contorto tela ista tua evitamus amictu*.⁹ Tuttavia *contorto* non ha nessuna base codicologica ed è difficilmente spiegabile dal punto di vista paleografico.

Resta allora la vecchia congettura di Baehrens: *contra nos tela ista tua evitabimus acta*.¹⁰ Baehrens sospettava che *–mi–* fosse penetrato nel testo come una glossa su *dabis supplicium*, scritta sopra queste parole e poi erroneamente inserita in *acta*. Ma è difficile immaginare la ragione per cui qualcuno avrebbe sentito il bisogno di una simile glossa; il senso del verso 8 è infatti perfettamente chiaro. Ciò nonostante, Baehrens aveva ragione nel pensare che al posto di *amitha/amicta* ci volesse un participio. *Amitha/amicta* in effetti sembra una contaminazione di *acta* con un'altra parola. Si potrebbe ammettere che Catullo avesse scritto:

contra nos tela ista tua evitabimus missa

e – come recentemente ha suggerito Mikołaj Szymański – uno scriba, che non conosceva l'elisione arcaica dell' "s", avesse cercato di trasformare *missa* nel suo sinonimo – *acta*, correggendo la prima parola. *Amitha/amicta* si sarebbe insinuato nel testo per l'erronea lettura di questa correzione.¹¹

Tale elisione, che troviamo anche nel verso seguente, sarebbe un altro esempio dello stile arcaico. Se consideriamo questa lezione come verosimile, la presenza di elementi arcaici nel carne si infittisce. Ai menzionati tratti metrici vanno aggiunti gli altri arcaismi: *qui* del v. 3 e forse anche *uti* del v. 2 (altrove Catullo usa questa forma più vecchia di *ut* una sola volta, nel 63,79, evidentemente per ragioni metriche). Ora, supponiamo che Catullo volesse effettivamente deridere lo stile di Gellio. Accettato questo, si può pensare che proprio l'arcaicità sia la principale caratteristica che connotava la rozzezza di questo stile. La congettura qui proposta

⁸ Fordyce (sopra n. 3) 405.

⁹ W. A. Camps, "Critical and Exegetical Notes", *AJPh* 94, 2 (1973) 137.

¹⁰ E. Baehrens, *Catulli Veronensis liber*, Lipsiae 1885, 2, 610.

¹¹ Comunicazione scritta di M. Szymański.

s'iscrive in tale visione del componimento.

Interpretando il carme in questa chiave, siamo costretti ad escludere una sua presunta natura programmatica. Così il suo posto alla fine della silloge può a fatica trovare giustificazione. Sarei propenso a credere che esso sia stato collocato alla fine dalla raccolta da qualcuno che era stato suggestionato dall'espressione *carmina Battiadae* del v. 2.¹² Avendo presente *Battiades* nel 65,16, che apre la parte elegiaca della raccolta, questi ha ritenuto opportuno collocare il carme alla fine, come una sorta di contrappeso.

Università di Varsavia

¹² Come suggerisce B. Németh, "To the evaluation of Catullus 116", *Acta Class. Debr.* 13 (1977) 31.

UNE ÉPITAPHE FUNÉRAIRE LATINE INÉDITE DE LACEDONIA

FABRICE POLI – DOMENICO QUATRALE*

Le territoire de la commune de Lacedonia (AV)¹ s'est révélé jusqu'à présent

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[Nous avons fait quelques légères modifications, qui nous ont semblé nécessaires, aux formulations proposées par les auteurs. H.S.]

¹ Ce n'est pas le lieu de discuter (dans la mesure où l'inscription ici considérée n'est d'aucun secours dans le débat) de l'équation qui a longtemps été faite entre la moderne Lacedonia et l'antique cité hirpine d'*Aquilonia*, mentionnée à plusieurs reprises par Tite-Live à la fin du livre X (§ 38, 39, 42, 44) et qui fut détruite par les Romains en 296 av. J.-C., à l'occasion de la troisième guerre samnite (Cf. E. Paoletti, *Storici campi di battaglia nel glorioso Sannio antico ovvero la battaglia di Aquilonia*, Trivento 1985). Admise par Mommsen, rédacteur du *CIL IX*, mais aussi à sa suite par d'autres savants, notamment A. Sambon (*Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, Paris 1903, n. 194, 115–116) et E. Vetter (*Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg 1953, 137 n. 200C), cette thèse avait été précédée par une identification avec Agnone (L. Sambon, *Recherches sur les monnaies de la presqu'île italique*, Napoli 1870, 184; R. Garrucci, *Le monete dell'Italia antica. Raccolta generale*, Roma 1885, 99–101), mais a été plus récemment et plus sérieusement concurrencée par une identification avec l'enceinte fortifiée de Monte Vairano: A. La Regina (*Centri fortificati preromani nei territori sabellici dell'Italia centrale Adriatica*, in A. Benac (ed.), *Utvrdena Ilirska Naselja [= Agglomérations fortifiées illyriennes]*, Mostar, 24–26 oktobar 1974, *mesunarodni kolokvij*, Sarajevo 1975, 281) et G. De Benedittis (*L'oppidum di Monte Vairano ovvero Aquilonia*, in AA. VV., *Sannio, Pentri e Frentani dal VI al I secolo a. C. Isernia: Museo Nazionale, ottobre–dicembre 1980*, Roma 1980, 321–322). Concomitamment, d'autres hypothèses ont été proposées, preuve du caractère incertain de la localisation de cette antique cité: on se reportera notamment aux travaux de: E. T. Salmon (*Il Sannio e i Sanniti*, Torino 1985 [traduction de l'édition anglaise: Cambridge 1967], note 69, 293: *Aquilonia* identifiée avec Montaquila); A. Giannetti, "Mura ciclopiche in S. Vittore del Lazio (Colle Marena-Falascosa). Probabile

relativement avare de documents latins. A l'exception des quelques textes qui figurent dans le *CIL IX*, cette cité est restée depuis lors désespérément muette.² La découverte d'une nouvelle inscription est de ce point de vue un événement qui mérite d'être signalé, après un silence épigraphique plus que centenaire et remontant au moins à 1883, date de parution du *CIL IX*.

La nouvelle inscription latine, objet de la présente note, qui est une épitaphe funéraire, se trouve gravée sur un bloc parallélépipédique de pierre commune (hauteur : du côté conservé : 60³, du côté cassé : 41 ; largeur : au sommet : 30 ; à la base : 40). L'objet est de forme légèrement arrondie dans sa partie supérieure, tandis que la partie inférieure gauche est manquante. La stèle est de facture assez grossière, comme l'attestent les bords qui ont été laissés tels quels. L'objet a été découvert de façon sporadique en 1992 sur le territoire de la commune de Lacedonia, dans la localité Serroni. A la suite de sa découverte, l'objet a été transféré dans le Museo Vescovile San Gerardo

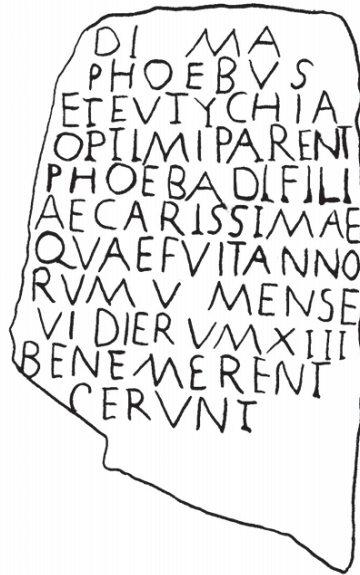
identificazione del sito dell'antica Aquilonia", *RendLincei* 28 (1973) 101–112; T. Raffaele, "Aquilonia e Monte Vairano", *Atene & Roma* 34 (1989) 87–96 (critique des théories défendues par E. T. Salmon et A. La Regina mentionnées ci-dessus); S. Sisani, "Aquilonia: una nuova ipotesi di identificazione", *Eutopia*, N. S. 1 (2000) 131–147 (*Aquilonia* identifiée avec la moderne Pietrabbondante); E. Pistilli, *Aquilonia in San Vittore del Lazio*, San Vittore del Lazio 2003.

Les monnaies de bronze à légende osque **akudunniad** (ablatif de provenance) ne sont pas d'une grande aide dans le débat (voir ci-dessus pour la bibliographie). Outre le fait qu'elles n'ont pas été retrouvées en grand nombre (moins de vingt exemplaires à ce jour), l'on manque d'informations sur leurs lieux de découverte. Aucun exemplaire en tout cas n'a été découvert à Monte Vairano, ni d'ailleurs dans les autres zones pressenties pour être le siège de l'antique cité samnite. Pour le dossier numismatique d'*Aquilonia*, voir A. Campana, "Samnium: Aquilonia (260–250 a. C.)", *Panorama Numismatico* 90 (1995) 321–325.

² Une seule inscription figure dans le corps principal de l'ouvrage (*CIL IX* 968), à laquelle s'ajoutent treize textes figurant dans les *additamenta* en fin de volume (*CIL IX* 6255 à 6267). Lacedonia est par ailleurs absente du premier complément publié par M. Ihm (*EE VIII*, pp. 1–221; le *CIL IX* est traité à pp. 1–69 et 203–208). Lacedonia ne figure non plus dans aucun des volumes de l'*Année Épigraphique* et des *Supplementa Italica*. Le même silence s'observe dans la bibliographie établie par C. Marangio (*L'epigrafia latina della regio II Apulia et Calabria. Rassegna degli studi e indici (1936–1985)*, Galatina 1990. Lacedonia y est traitée p. 109). Dans la suite qu'il a consacrée à cette étude (id., "Gli studi di epigrafia latina sulla regio secunda nell'ultimo decennio [1986–1995]", *Studi di Antichità* 8 [1995] 119–186), l'on trouve (p. 132) une très utile bibliographie ajournée sur les inscriptions du *CIL IX* sus évoquées. En revanche, aucune inscription nouvelle n'est signalée.

³ Toutes les dimensions sont exprimées en centimètres.

Majella de Lacedonia (s. n.). En raison de l'absence de tout contexte archéologique, la datation s'avère délicate ; toutefois, du fait de la présence de la formule *Di(s) Ma(nibus)* qui devient courante sous les Julio-Claudiens, l'on peut fixer le premier siècle ap. J.-C. comme *terminus post quem*.⁴ L'inscription, gravée avec un certain soin, se compose de onze lignes qui sont de lecture aisée. La fracture du support a masqué la première syllabe du dernier mot mais sa restitution ne pose pas de problème. Les abréviations utilisées sont facilement restituables et aucune partie du texte ne semble perdue.



Di(s) Ma(nibus).
Phoebus
et Eutychia
optimi parent(es)
Phoebadi fili-
ae carissimae,
quae fuit anno-
rum V, mense(rum)
VI, dierum XIII,
bene merent(i)
[fe]cerunt.

Cette épitaphe funéraire, dédiée à une petite fille, présente plusieurs particularités dignes d'être relevées. La première remarque concerne la mention aux *Dieux Mânes*, dont il a été question plus haut : l'on note que le

⁴ Consulté par nos soins, M. Olli Salomies propose une datation autour du II^e siècle ap. J.-C. ou de la période sévérienne.

lapicide a utilisé une abréviation *DI MA*, pour le moins peu courante, alors que l'on observe généralement *D M*, *DIS M*, *DIS MAN* et même *DIS MANIB*.⁵ Les parents, de condition servile, comme l'attestent leurs noms *Phoebus* et *Eutychia*, tous deux fort courants, sont désignés par un anthroponyme unique. Si les noms des parents sont largement usités, celui de leur fille est en revanche plus rare. *Phoebas*, ici au datif singulier *Phoebadi*, est un nom de femme.⁶ L'on note par ailleurs que les noms des parents sont suivis de l'expression *optimi parentes*, dont on ne connaît, sauf erreur ou omission de notre part, qu'une seule autre attestation.⁷ La forme *mense*, indication du nombre de mois vécus par la jeune défunte, mérite aussi une mention particulière. Il faut sans doute la compléter en *mensurum* et y voir l'abréviation d'un génitif pluriel rare de *mensis*, à côté des formes *mensium*, *mensuum* et *mensum* documentées dans les textes littéraires. Cette forme *mensurum*, absente des textes littéraires, est parfois attestée en épigraphie.⁸ Une autre solution, peut-être plus probable que la précédente, consiste à voir dans la forme *mense* une faute du lapicide qui, au mépris de la syntaxe, aurait mis la forme à l'accusatif pluriel *menses*. Cette faute de langue est parfois attestée en épigraphie – sur d'autres lexèmes – et une nouvelle occurrence demeure donc en droit possible.⁹ Une autre particularité s'observe aussi dans l'énoncé de l'âge de la défunte: l'on attend habituellement le syntagme *qui/quaе uixit* suivi, à l'accusatif ou à l'ablatif,

⁵ Pour cette formule on consultera avec profit: J. Herman, "'Dis manibus': un problème de syntaxe épigraphique", in B. García Hernández (ed.), *Estudios de lingüística latina: actas del IX coloquio internacional de lingüística latina: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 14–18 de abril de 1997*, Madrid 1998, 397–408; M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, "'Hic situs est" ou "Dis manibus": du bon usage de la prudence dans la datation des épitaphes gallo-romaines", *AC* 71 (2002) 221–227.

⁶ Cf. H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, Berlin–New York 2003², 1100. Pour quelques attestations, voir: *CIL* II 3345; V 1351, 3012, 3381, 8128; VI 9352, 15541, 19993, 22090, 25163, 29191; IX 1484.

⁷ Cf. *CIL* XIV 1272 (Ostia): l'inscription, qui comporte sept lignes, est très mutilée et il n'en subsiste que la moitié gauche. Aux lignes 5 et 6 on lit *optim[i] / parentes*.

⁸ Cf. *CIL* V 2701; IX 820; *AE* 1986, 601. Pour ce génitif, cf. M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, 445 = § 361.2.c.

⁹ *CIL* VI 25444: *D(is) M(anibus) / Rogatus Augg(ustorum) lib(ertus) / fecit uxori sanctis/sim(a)e bene merenti / a me Eutychiaе qu(a)e / et Gatis, quae mecum bixit an/nnis VII, m(ensibus) III, d(iebus) I, qu(a)e fuit an(n)or(um) XXV, me(n)s(ium) / III, dies IIII*. Dans cette inscription, la faute de langue réside dans le dernier mot *dies* qui devrait être écrit *dierum*.

du nombre d'année(s), de mois, de jours (et parfois même d'heures pour les enfants), pour indiquer la longévité du défunt. En revanche l'emploi, comme ici, du syntagme *qui/quaе fuit* accompagné du génitif est rarissime en épigraphie et l'on en relève que de très rares exemples.¹⁰

*Université de Bourgogne –
Insegnante di Letteratura Italiana e Storia ITIS Paleocapa di Bergamo*



¹⁰ Cf. *CIL* VI 14417 : *D(is) M(anibus) / Carpophoro / bene merenti / co(n)iugi q(ui) v(ixit) a(nnos) / mecum XI m(enses) IIII / qui f(uit) an(norum) XXXXII / Muna co(n)iux b(e)n(e) m(erenti)*. Ici l'épouse cite, avant l'âge de son mari, mort à quarante-deux ans, le nombre d'années et de mois qu'ils ont vécus ensemble. On se reportera aussi à la note précédente où l'inscription *CIL* VI 25444 présente aussi la tournure *qui fuit* + génitif.

POLYONYMOUS NOMENCLATURE IN CONSULAR DATING*

OLLI SALOMIES

In this article, my aim is to make some observations on polyonymous nomenclatures of consuls as attested in consular dates. The article has been inspired by some recently published military diplomas containing interesting information on the names of some consuls; I am here thinking, e.g., of a diploma published in 2005 showing that T. Sextius Africanus cos. 112 was also called *Cornelius*, this possibly indicating that his mother was a Cornelia;¹ and of a diploma disclosing that M. Laelius Maximus cos. 227 also had the nomen *Fulvius*, confirming that this man belongs to the vicinity of the Laelii Fulvii *PIR*² L 52 and 53.²

* Military diplomas are indicated with an asterisk (*), suffect consulates with "†". – Note: *FO* = *Fasti Ostienses* (ed. L. Vidman, 1982); *FSept.* = *Fasti Septempedani* (*AE* 1988, 419); *Adoptive Nomenclature* (see n. 3); *Festschrift E. Weber* (2005) = F. Beutler & W. Hameter (eds.), *"Eine ganz normale Inschrift" ... und Ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber* (Althistorisch-Epigraphische Studien 5, Wien 2005); *Pferdehirt* = B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums* (2004); *Scheid* = J. Scheid, *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium* (1998).

¹ W. Eck & A. Pangerl, in *Festschrift E. Weber* (2005) 247–54.

² **RMD* 313. On the connections of this man, see C. Settiani, *Continuité gentilice et continuité familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l'époque impériale* (2000) 152. – Note also the diploma at last disclosing the *nomen* of Urbanus cos. 234, called *M. Munatius Urbanus* in **Pferdehirt* 63 (for the suggestion that this man might be a Munatius, see *Arctos* 17 [1983] 72–4); and the diplomas of AD 231, which call the consul Pompeianus *L. Ti. Claudio Pompeiano* (**RMD* 315; **Pferdehirt* 61; the same constitution), this nomenclature with two praenomina bringing this consul close to the consul of 235, called *L. Ti. Claudius Aurelius Quintianus* in an honorific inscription (*ILS* 1181; unfortunately there are no military diplomas from 235). – For Pompeianus' cognomen *Commodus* see below at n. 90.

By the term "polyonymy", I mean (a) nomenclatures including, in addition to the normal *tria nomina* (praenomen, nomen, cognomen), one or more extra cognomina, this being a type already attested during the Republic (*Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio*, etc.); and (b) nomenclatures including two or more nomina (accompanied by one or more cognomina), a type attested only from the time of Augustus onwards. There are many variations of this type but the two most common subtypes are no doubt *T. Rustius Nummius Gallus* (a consul of AD 34) and *L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba* (consul in 33). The latter type (b) has been studied by me in a short monograph.³ In the book, my point was to classify and analyze nomenclatures as attested in the sources, whatever their nature. In this article, my point of view is different as I now start from a certain type of source (i.e., consular dates) and aim to make observations on certain kinds of nomenclatures in documents representing this source category. As I am especially interested in polyonymous nomenclatures consisting of two (or more) nomina (as contrasted with cognomina), I shall deal with the period between the Julio-Claudians and the later 3rd century. This period coinciding with the period from which there are traces of polyonymous nomenclatures of this type in consular dates. Nomenclatures consisting of one nomen and two or more cognomina are occasionally attested in consular dates even before the period studied here,⁴ but this is understandable as the name type *P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura* was already in use during the Republic. In any case this type, also wellknown during the Empire, is not quite as interesting from my point of view and I shall relegate some of the material to footnotes (cf. n. 59).

As mentioned above, my aim is to make observations on polyonymous nomenclatures which appear in consular dates, and I am doing this in order to find out in which situations and in which documents a polyonymous nomenclature could be used of consuls in dates. However, my aim is not only to illustrate the formal part of consular dating in practice, but

³ O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (1992); referred to in the following as "*Adoptive Nomenclature*").

⁴ E.g., *Corvino Messala* (3 BC) *CIL* VI 10243; *Cn. Cinna Magno* (AD 5) *CIL* VI 851; 10294 = *ILS* 7341. In consular lists compiled in Rome, such as the *Fasti Capitolini*, consuls could already be given several cognomina in the archaic period (e.g., *Ap. Claudius A. f. M. n. Crass(us) Inr[i]gill(ensis) Sabin(us)*, 451 BC; from the time of Augustus note *Q. Caecilius Q. f. M. n. Metellus Creticus Silanus* [AD 7]).

also aspects of the establishment in Rome of consular lists meant for practical use in the Empire, my question here being in which form the names of consuls were communicated to the public in order to be used for dating, etc.

Before entering into details, let us have a very quick look at what the sources seem to say about the particulars of the dissemination of consuls' names. First of all, it appears that the consuls' full names were, even in the case of extreme polyonymy, taken down in the senate, and at least occasionally used in documents issued there.⁵ As for the dissemination of the consuls' names from the capital to the outside world, it does not seem to have been a problem to send out the information on the consuls about to enter into office in time to all provinces until the later third century; it is only from this time onwards that one starts to find consular datings of the type in which the consuls of the preceding year are used.⁶ Moreover, at least up until the middle of the second century, also the names of the suffect consuls were disseminated at least to major centres of the Empire; the latest provincial inscription using suffect consuls seems to be a text from Spain from AD 153.⁷ In Italy outside Rome, the latest inscriptions using suffect consuls seem to date from around AD 175.⁸ Whether this should be interpreted as pointing to the conclusion that the dissemination of the names of suffect consuls simply stopped at some point in the second century, I would prefer not to decide. As for the nomenclature of consuls, although it became more and more common with time to use only the cognomina of the

⁵ See, e.g., *dig.* 5.3.20.6 *Q. Iulius Balbus et P. Iuventius Celsus Tit{ius} Aufidius Oen{ius} Severianus consules (...)* (AD 129); *CIL* VIII 23246, A, 10 *P. Cassius Secundus, P. Delphius Peregrinus Alfius Alennius Maximus Curtius Valerianus Proculus M. Nonius Mucianus co(n)s(ules) (...)* (later referred to in the date as *M. Nonio Muciano*; AD 138).

⁶ *PSI* X 1101 of AD 271 may be the earliest date using the previous year's consuls. Of course, if a consul died just before taking up his office, the news, and the name of the replacing him, may not have reached all the corners of the Empire in due time; cf. N. Lewis & al., *The Documents of the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (1989) no. 28–30, indicating that P. Metilius Nepos was to be cos. II in AD 128 (cf. *PIR*² M 545); *P. Dura* 25, indicating the same for Cn. Iulius Verus in AD 180.

⁷ *CIL* II 2008 = *ILS* 5423 (cf. W. Eck, in *Epigrafia. Actes du Colloque en mémoire de A. Degrassi* [1991] 40; on the interpretation of the consular date in *CIL* VII 802 = *RIB* 1956 = *ILS* 4722, cited there, see *PIR*² R 132). The latest document using suffect consuls produced in Rome seems to be the military diploma *RMD* 189 of AD 206.

⁸ Eck, *op. cit.* (see preceding note) 39, referring to *AE* 1987, 348 from Forum Flaminii.

consuls in dates (e.g., *Mamertino et Rufo* in the case of those of AD 182),⁹ the sources seem to imply that it was still possible in the third century and even later to find information on the *tria nomina* (and not simply on the cognomina) of the consuls in office also outside Rome.¹⁰

Concerning the routes of the dissemination of the consul's names, in some cases one can observe features in consular dating which appear only in one city or only in one province; this seems to point to the conclusion that the names of consuls about to enter office were at least normally first sent out to provincial (or in Italy, to regional) centres and only from these to minor cities, these being responsible for dissemination in their territories.¹¹

But let us now turn to the names of consuls themselves and see what can be concluded on the basis of this material. As I observed above, I shall take into account the following cases:

(a) Consular dates in which a consul has more names than just the *tria nomina* (e.g., *C. Iulio Serio Augurino* *AE* 1972, 282 [AD 132]; or *L. Tutilio Lupercio Pontiano* *AE* 1969/70, 405 [AD 135]). Obviously, I shall also consider nomenclatures in which the praenomen and the nomen have been omitted but which include two cognomina (e.g., *Civica Pompeiano* *CIL* VI 10242 [AD 136]; sometimes only the nomen is omitted: e.g., *Sex. Civica Pompeiano* *CIL* VI 31144).

(b) Years in which a consul is called by one cognomen in some cases,

⁹ Note that, from at least AD 135 (*RMD* 251; cf., from AD 138–9, *CIL* XVI 83; 87; *RMD* 38) onwards, inner sides of military diplomas used this form of dating not constantly but with increasing frequency (cf. *CIL* XVI p. 187).

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., *CIL* XI 6335 = *ILS* 7218 (Pisaurum, AD 256); *CIL* XI 5748 (*ILS* 7220) and 5750 (Sentinum); *CIL* X 3698 = *ILS* 4175 (Cumae, with the *tria nomina* of the consuls of AD 289). Note also the *fasti* of Cales, covering (as preserved) the same year 289 (*Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 269). In Egyptian papyri, one finds remarkably late instances of the consuls being referred to with both nomina and cognomina; cf. R. S. Bagnall & K. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (2004) 173ff. (many instances between AD 295 and 372, not counting the Flavii).

¹¹ Note, e.g., that the second consul of AD 196, normally called *Priscus*, is by mistake twice called *Fuscus* – but only in inscriptions from the territory of Novaria (*CIL* V 6596; 6649; for the significance of this, see H. Lieb, in *Festschrift E. Weber* 299–301); or that the consuls of AD 191, Pedo Apronianus and Bradua Mauricus, of whose nomenclature and order of appearance there are about 5 variants (see below at n. 82) appear as *Pedo* and *Bradua* (in this order) only in inscriptions from Pannonia Inferior (see *ZPE* 110 [1996] 279f.; a new text confirming my earlier observation: *Bölcske. Inschriften und Funde* [2003] 128f. no. 19).

by another in others (below, (f); e.g., a consul of AD 200 being sometimes called *Severus*, sometimes *Proculus*); I take this to mean that the consul had two cognomina in the consular list as published in Rome.

I shall now proceed to a presentation of the material. At this point I must, however, note some cases of apparent polyonymy in consular lists which I think are based on a misunderstanding or on an error of sorts.

AD 125. In his second consulate in AD 125, Valerius Asiaticus may possibly have been referred to as *Paullinus*, this cognomen belonging to Asiaticus' full nomenclature *M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus*,¹² in the Latin papyrus CPL 117 of AD 150. However, only the letters *PA* can be read (only the letter *P* in the other possible reference to this year), and this being a papyrus, the reading and the interpretation of it do not seem to be certain enough.

AD 135. Some scholars assume that P. Calpurnius Atilianus, consul in 135, also had the cognomina *Atticus* and *Rufus* (see *PIR*² C 250, using questionmarks; A. Degrassi, *Fasti consolari dell'Impero romano* [1952] 39; referred to in the following as Degrassi, *Fasti*). This assumption is based on the fact that some ms. consular lists use these names of the consul (*Attico* the "Chronographus anni 354"; *Aquilino Rufo* the "Consularia Constantinopolitana", 'Ακυλίνου the Chronicon Paschale). But the ms. *fasti* are often extremely corrupt (cf., e.g., *Gallicano et Tumulo* for *Glabrione et Homullo* in 152 in the "fasti Vindobonenses priores"), and it seems clear to me that *Atticus* and *Aquilinus* are simply corrupt forms of *Atilianus*; *Rufus* may be a reflection of the cognomen of a consul of 131 (similar confusions and misunderstandings are often attested in the ms. *fasti*).

AD 178. This year, in which D. Velius Rufus is always named in the second place, is normally referred to as *Orfito et Rufo*; but in the praetorian *laterculus* CIL VI 32638, this year is called *Orfito et Iuliano*, the result being that the consul is normally called *D. Velius Rufus Iulianus*. However, although it cannot be ruled out that the consul did have the additional cognomen *Iulianus*, for there are parallels for an alternative cognomen being attested only in one source,¹³ one wonders whether we might not be dealing with a mistake of sorts; cf. *PIR*¹ V 229, where it is suspected that Rufus may have been erroneously furnished with a cognomen belonging to the second consul of 175.¹⁴

AD 206. A case similar to that of Valerius Asiaticus (cf. above) seems to be that of CPL 197 (*P. Mich.* VII 451), where *Prim[o]* (following on III *Id. Decembres*) is interpreted as being the beginning of the consular date which, again, is said to refer to AD 206. Now this year is normally referred to as *Albino* (sometimes *Senecione*; cf.

¹² *Adoptive Nomenclature* (n. 3) 34f.

¹³ Cf. some cases below, type (f) (AD 146, 147 etc.).

¹⁴ Strange, and clearly not altogether correct, things are being said on this matter by R. Hanslik, *RE* viiiA 631 no. 8 (the diploma *AE* 1939, 125 = *CIL* XVI 188 certainly does not seem to illustrate this question at all).

below) *et Aemiliano*, but the full nomenclature of the consul Albinus did in fact include the cognomen *Primus* (*M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus*; see *Adoptive Nomenclature* 110f.). But I very much doubt whether the complete name of the consul could have been known in Egypt and the interpretation of the papyrus seems quite uncertain.¹⁵

AD 214. There is some trouble regarding the names of the consuls of AD 214, L. Valerius Messalla (always named first) and C. Suetrius Sabinus. The amphora *CIL XV 4097* with the date *Sabino et Apoll[inare]* is thought by some scholars to belong to AD 214, thus furnishing an extra cognomen for Messalla (see R. Hanslik, *RE* viiiA 129 no. 258; Degrassi, *Fasti* 60, equipping *Apollinaris* with a questionmark). But the order of the consuls is wrong; on the other hand, a certain Sabinus, always named first, was consul with a certain Anullinus in 216 and it seems much better to refer the date to AD 216 and to assume that *Apollinaris* is a mistake for *Anullinus* (thus E. Rodríguez Almeida, *Los tituli picti de las ánforas olearias de Bética* [1989] 54 no. 26; but in J.M. Blásquez Martínez & al., *Excavaciones arqueológicas en el Monte Testaccio* [1994] 57 no. 53, the date is again given as 214). As for the other consul C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus (to give him his full name), he seems to have been called *Aemilianus* in *ILAlg. II 4506* (*Mesalla et Aemilian.*), a votive inscription from the "Grotte du Taya". As this is certainly not an situation where one would expect consuls to have been called by a name belonging only to the full nomenclature and as, furthermore, *Aemilianus* in any case does not appear in the full nomenclature of this consul, I cannot help assuming that the date in this inscription is based on a misunderstanding of sorts.

AD 227. The consul M. Laelius Fulvius Maximus (for the item *Fulvius*, see n. 2) is called *Maximus* in the *Codex Iustinianus* in most of the references to this year;¹⁶ but in two dates he is called *Aemilianus* (*Albino et Aemiliano* 2, 4, 5; 9, 6, 4). In view of this, he is equipped with the cognomen *Aemilianus* in *PIR*² L 56 and Degrassi, *Fasti* 63. But considering, on the one hand, the fact that it would be striking to find the consul Maximus called *Aemilianus* not in the whole of the *Codex Iustinianus* but only in two passages (and in no other source),¹⁷ and on the other hand, the fact that *Albino et Aemiliano* is the normal way of referring to AD 206, I would very much prefer to assume that the two dates in the *CJ* are based on a confusion with the names of the consuls of AD 206.

AD 229. In J. M. Blásquez Martínez & al., *op. cit.* (see above) 67 no. 75, a date belonging to the early 3rd century is read as *[--- et Coccei]ano II cos.* and this is assumed to refer to Cassius Dio's second consulate in AD 229. But Dio may not have been called *Cocceianus* at all (cf. A. M. Gowing, *CPh* 85 [1990] 49–54), and the date might belong to any year in which a man with a cognomen ending in *-anus* held the consulate for the second time. Now it is true that there does not seem to be any year in which the consul

¹⁵ Cf. the doubts of J. F. Gilliam, *AJPh* 71 (1950) 436 = Id., *Roman Army Papers* (1986) 57.

¹⁶ See the edition by P. Krüger (1954¹¹) p. 492.

¹⁷ *[--- et Ae]miliano cos.* in Rodríguez Almeida, *op. cit.* (above at AD 214) 75 no. 54bis should not, I think, be attributed to AD 227.

named in the second place would fit the requirements, but there is no problem in assuming that, in this case, the date was expressed with the name of only the first consul, a phenomenon widely attested in this period (thus, e.g., *[Iuli]ano II* indicating 224). To continue with Cassius Dio, there is also the question of whether he also had the nomen *Claudius* (and whether it could have been known by people living in Beroea in Macedonia). In the inscription from Beroea, *AE* 1971, 430 = *Ἐπιγραφές κάτω Μακεδονίας* (1998) no. 68, Dio is referred to as *Κλ. Κασσίω Δίωνι*, and combining this with a fairly recently published diploma at last disclosing Dio's praenomen (*RMD* 133: *L. Cassio Dione*), one could arrive at the conclusion that Dio's full name was "L. Claudius Cassius Dio". But although I would not rule out this possibility, I cannot help thinking that the abbreviation *Κλ.* in the inscription from Beroea could be a mistake of sorts, and that the intended reading was *Λ(ουκίω)*.¹⁸

AD 235. The consul Quintianus (cf. n. 2) is called Πομπηϊανός in the ms. *fasti* of Theo (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auct. ant.* XIII p. 377). As Theo preserves some good information, this might mean that the consul, probably a brother of the Pompeianus cos. 231, did in fact also have the cognomen *Pompeianus* (thus *PIR*² C 992). However, in view of the fact that there is quite a lot of confusion in Theo's consular list in these years,¹⁹ it seems clear to me that there is something wrong with Theo's information.

These cases having been dealt with, let us move on to the source material to be used in this article. I shall present the source material on the following pages, the names being presented according to different types. I shall use the same abbreviations as in my *Adoptive Nomenclature* (P = praenomen, N = nomen, C = cognomen) and shall begin with nomenclatures that include two nomina. In this category, we find the types (a) PNNC and (b) PNCNC. These types are attested as follows. (Note that the names are normally given in the ablative although some attestations – i.e., dates in consular *fasti* – use the nominative; obviously, I use the nominative in cases where the only attestation comes from the *fasti*.)

(a) PNNC. This type is attested for several consuls named in wax tablets from the Pompeii area²⁰ and otherwise for consuls in the following years:

¹⁸ The nomen *Claudius* is accepted by Settipani (n. 2) 360 n. 2 and by H.-L. Fernoux, *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie aux époques hellénistique et romaine* (2004) 466–9 no. 37 (but these scholars do not seem to mention the diploma with the praenomen *L.*).

¹⁹ Note the consuls of two different years being combined in AD 236, 237 (Πίος καὶ Κορνηλιανός – 238 + 237), 239.

²⁰ AD 47: the consul C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus is called both *C. Calpetanus Sedatus* and *C. Rantius Sedatus* in a wax tablet from Herculaneum (n. 95). - AD 61: *L. Iunio*

- AD †34: *T. Rustio Nummio Gallo* CIL VI 244 = ILS 7358; AE 1985, 564a (*hospitium* agreement from Spain).²¹
- AD 37: *C. Petronio Pontio Nigrino* CIL II 172 = ILS 190; IGR IV 251 = *I. Assos* 26²² (oaths of the *Aritienses* in Lusitania and of the Assians in Asia to Caligula; for the normal nomenclature of the consul in dates, see n. 94).
- AD †41: *Q. Futio Lusio Saturnino* CIL III 8753 (Salona, inscription in honour of a *praefectus castrorum* set up by veterans, the date being that of the *honesta missio*; the names have been transmitted in a corrupt form); *TPSulp.* 70.²³
- AD †46: (*C.*) *Terentio Tullio Gemino* CIL VI 36850; *FO*.
- AD 68: *Ti. Catio Silio Ital(ico)* CIL VI 1984 = ILS 5025 (*fasti* of the *sodales Aug.*).²⁴
- AD †69: *Cn. Aruleno Caelio Sabino* CIL VI 2051 = Scheid 40.
- AD †70 (?): *Cn. Pinario Aemilio Cicatricula* *CIL XVI 25.
- AD †74: *L. Iunius Vibius Crispus* (*FO*); *T. Clodio Eprio Marcello* *CIL XVI 20.
- AD †77: *C. Arruntio Catellio Celere* CIL X 8038 (letter of the emperor Vespasian).
- AD 78: the consul otherwise called *D. Novius Priscus* is referred to as Δέκμω Ἰουνίω Πρείσκω in IG V 1, 1431 (Messene).²⁵ As the consul must

Caesennio Paeto *TPSulp.* 90; 91 (one also finds the variant *L. Iunio Caesennio*). - AD 62: *T. Clodio Eprio Marcello* tablets from Herculaneum (*PP* 8 [1953] 458; 9 [1954] 69). - AD 62 (?): *Q. Manlio Tarquutio Saturnino* tablets from Herculaneum (*PP* 1 [1946] 381; 8 [1953] 460). - AD 64 (?): *Q. Fabio Antonio Macro* tablet from Herculaneum (*PP* 8 [1953] 456f.; this seems to be an "abbreviated" nomenclature, for the same man has the additional cognomen *Barbarus* in another tablet from Herculaneum (see below at n. 42). - AD 79: *L. Iunio Caesennio Paeto* CIL IV 3340, 154; 155. (L. Calventius Vetus Carminius is mistakenly called *L. [A]ntistio Carminio Vetere* in *TPSulp.* 83.)

²¹ But in the Ostian *fasti*, the man is called *T. Rustius Gallus* (n. 94; 109).

²² In this inscription, the nomina are given in a reversed order (Γαίου Ποντίου Πετρωνίου Νιγρίνου).

²³ For *Lusius* being omitted in a tablet from Herculaneum, see n. 94.

²⁴ Note that *Asconius* is here dropped from the full nomenclature attested in *MAMA* VIII 411. In other dates, Silius Italicus is called either *Ti. Cadius* in the Republican fashion (see *Adoptive Nomenclature* 92; add *Atti Acc. Pontaniana* 39 [1990] 339 no. 305: amphora in Pompeii) or *Silius* (*Frontin. aq.* 102) or *Italicus* (ms. *fasti* and some late sources).

²⁵ Decision by a χωρομέτρης, a freedman of Vespasian, concerning the borders of Messene and Sparta, drawn up in Patrae.

have also had the nomen *Iunius*,²⁶ this must mean that the consul had two nomina in at least some consular lists.

- AD †79: *T. Rubrio Aelio Nepote* *CIL XVI 24; *Pferdehirt (n. 2) no. 3 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions).
- AD †80: *M. Vinicius Iulius Rufus* FSept.²⁷
- AD †81: *L. Iulius Vett(ius) Paullus* FSept.²⁸
- AD †85: *M. Annio Herennio Pollione* AE 1975, 21 (Rome).
- AD †90: *Albio Pullaieno Pollione* *CIL XVI 36; *ZPE 143 (2003) 216ff. no. 3 (diplomas pertaining to the same constitution).
- AD 94 *T. Sextio Magio Laterano* CIL VI 25527 = ILS 7869; FO (*T. Sextius Ma[--]*); CPL 104 = ILS 9059.
- AD †94 *C. Antio Iulio Quadrato* *CIL XVI 38; *Pferdehirt (n. 2) no. 7 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions); the same nomenclature is used of the man in diplomas belonging to his second consulate in 105: *CIL XVI 49 (perhaps also *AE 1999, 1258). Note that the diplomas omit the second praenomen *A(ulus)*, normally present (combined with *Iulius*) in inscriptions referring to this man (cf. n. 29).
- AD †96 *Ti. Catio [Caesio Fron]tone* *CIL XVI 40; *Ti Catio C[---]* *ZPE 152 (2005) 229-31.
- AD †97: *Q. Glitio A[tilio Agricola]* *AE 2002, 1775 cf. ZPE 151 (2005) 186, 191; [*Q. Glitio A]tilio Agricola* *ZPE 152 (2005) 186–92 (probably also *RMD 140). The same nomenclature is used of the man in diplomas from his second consulate in 103 (*Q. Glitio Atilio Agricola* *CIL XVI 48) and also in one referring to him as legate of Pannonia in 102 (*CIL XVI 47).
- AD †99: [*S]ulpicio Lucretio Barba* Fasti fer. Lat. (Inscr. It. 13, 1,152–3).
- AD 103: see AD 97.
- AD 105: [*C. A]ntio A. Iulio Quadrato* CIL VI 2075 = Scheid 64.²⁹ (For diplomas cf. AD 95).

²⁶ Otherwise the presence of the praenomen *Decimus* (typical of Iunii) would be hard to explain; cf. *Adoptive Nomenclature* 94. It must, however, be admitted that it would not be too hard to correct IOYNIΩ to NOYIΩ.

²⁷ The same consul is referred to as *T. Vinicio Iuliano* in the Arval acts (CIL VI 2059 = Scheid 48).

²⁸ Called *L. Vettio Paullo* in CIL VI 328 = ILS 3434; CIL VI 2059. 2060 = Scheid 48, 49.

²⁹ Note that the same nomenclature is used of Iulius Quadratus many times in the Arval acts also in references to him as a member of the college.

- AD 108: *Appio Annio Trebonio Gallo, M. Atilio Metilio Bradua* CIL VI 680; [*Ap.] Annio Tr[ebonio Gallo ---]* *RMD 146.
- AD 112: *T. Sextio Cornelio Afric[ano]* *Festschrift E. Weber (2005) 247–54 (that this consul also had the nomen *Cornelius*, possibly referring to the maternal family, is new information).
- AD †121: [*M. --- Here]nnio Fausto* *RMD 19 (the consul probably had two nomina in this diploma, cf. W. Eck, *RE* Suppl. XIV 47 no. 41a).³⁰
- AD 122: [*L. Corellio Ner]atio Pansa* *AE 2002, 1767, this diploma at last producing evidence for the use of the nomen *Neratius* by the consul known previously as *Corellius Pansa*.³¹
- AD 125: Λουκίῳ Ἐπιδίῳ Τιτίῳ Ἀκυλείῳ IGR I 1019 = *I. Cret.* II 3, 7 (Hierapytna, a decree concerning an association; note that this is the only document mentioning the nomen *Epidius*).
- AD †128: *M. Iunio Mettio Rufo* CIL VI 30901 = *ILS* 1622 (a votive inscription).³²
- AD 132: *C. Iulio (Iunio) Serio Augurino* AE 1972, 282 (*hospitium* agreement from Spain; *Iulio*); *ILTun.* 1281 = *Catalogue ... Bardo* 411 (votive inscription). The first nomen was probably also used in *CIL* XI 3221.
- AD 148: [*L. Octavi]us Salvius Iulianus (FO)*;³³ *C. Bellicio Calpurnio Torquato* CPL 156.
- AD 151: [*Sex. Quintiliis?*] *Valerio [Maximo et Cond]iano* AE 1979, 156 (Teaunum, a building inscription).
- AD †154: *C. Iulio Statio Severo* *CIL XVI 104.
- AD †156: *A. Avillio Urinatio Quadrato* CIL VI 2086 = Scheid 80.³⁴
- AD 160: *App. (Appio) Annio Atilio Bradua* *RMD 105; *277; *AE 1997,

³⁰ But in *AE* 1996, 518 he is only *M. Her[---]*.

³¹ For the assumption that the consul may have been called also *Neratius*, see *Adoptive Nomenclature* 64 n. 11, where the nomenclature "*L. Neratius Corellius Pansa*" is suggested. The diploma shows that the order of the nomina was in fact reversed; if the consul was the son of a *Neratius* and of a *Corellia*, this means that his nomenclature represents those cases in which the maternal nomen precedes the paternal (*Adoptive Nomenclature* 67ff.).

³² As consul, the man is otherwise called (*M.*) *Mettius Rufus (FO; CIL* XV 69).

³³ Note that, although consisting of two nomina, this is an abbreviation of the full nomenclature *L. Octavius Cornelius (P.) Salvius Iulianus Aemilianus (Adoptive Nomenclature* 41).

³⁴ The same nomenclature is sometimes used of this man in the Arval acts also in references to him as a member of the college (but one also finds *Avillius Quadratus*).

1767; *Pferdehirt (n. 2) 39 (diplomas belonging to the same constitution); *CIL VI* 2896 = *ILS* 2109 (all these documents calling Bradua's colleague *T. Vibius Varus*); *CIL XIII* 1751 = *ILS* 4131 (Lugdunum, recording a *taurobolium*).

- 160: *T. Clod(io) Vibio Varo CIL XIII* 1751 = *ILS* 4131; [*T. Clo*]dus *Vibius Varus FO*.³⁵

- AD 162: *L. Titio Plautio Aquilino IAM II* 125 (*hospitium* agreement). This document is the only one giving the consul the additional nomen *Titius*.³⁶

- AD 169: the consul otherwise known as *P. Coelius Apollinaris* seems to have been called *ΜΑΚΟΥ Κοι[λί]ω 'Απουλλιναρίω* in a funerary inscription from Iconium (*AE* 1912, 269 = B.H. MacLean, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum* [2002] 66). This is normally interpreted as meaning that the full nomenclature of the consul was *M. Aquilius(?) Coelius Apollinaris*,³⁷ and perhaps there is no other solution, although it seems more than striking that the full name of the consul should appear only in a context such as this.

- AD 170: the consul normally known as *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, the son of a Gavius, is called [*M.*] *Gavius Ceth[egus]* in the date of an honorific inscription from Tarquinii (M. Torelli, *Elogia Tarquiniensia* [1975] 163 no. 13). This must mean that there existed consular lists in which the consul had both nomina (and that the people in Tarquinii chose the wrong one).³⁸

- AD 184: *L. Cossonio Eggio Marullo CIL VI* 2099 = Scheid 94, iii.

- AD 193: *C. Iulio Erucio Claro CIL X* 4760 = *ILS* 6296 (decree of the decurions of Suessa); *CIL II* 4125 = *RIT* 143 (*sententia* of the governor of *Tarraconensis* in a dispute over land).

- AD 201: the consul normally known as *M. Nonius Mucianus* is called [*M. Nonio Ar*]rio *Muciano* in *CIL VI* 1982/3 (*fasti* of the Palatine *salii*), *M. Arrio Muciano* in *ILAfr.* 26 (building inscription from Bezereos); it seems

³⁵ The nomenclature of Bradua in the Ostian *fasti* is not preserved.

³⁶ Note that in *Adoptive Nomenclature* 100 (no. 22), "(L.) *Titius Aquilinus*" should be corrected to (L.) *Plautius Aquilinus*.

³⁷ Cf. Settapani, op. cit. (n. 2) 225. For the omission of the praenomen *P.* from the nomenclature including the item *M. Aquilius(?)* cf., e.g., Q. Vibius Crispus = L. Iunius Vibius Crispus (*Adoptive Nomenclature* 91).

³⁸ Though note the commentary of Torelli where it is said that *Cornelio* should perhaps be restored between *Gavio* et *Ceth[ego]*. For this man's nomenclature, cf. *Adoptive Nomenclature* 101f.

that the wrong nomen was chosen out of two (cf. AD 170 and 204).

- AD 204: the consul normally referred to as (*M.*) *Annius Libo*, but who may well be identical with a certain *M. Annius Flavius Libo* attested in AD 178 (see *PIR*² A 648), is called *Flabio Libone* in *CIL* VI 2003 (*fasti* of some *collegium*; for the incorrect abbreviation cf. AD 201) and Φλαβίου Ἀννίου Λίβωνος in *P. Dura* 31, l. 22f.
- AD 212: *C. Iulio Camilio Aspro* **RMD* 74; **AE* 2002, 1754 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions).³⁹
- AD 225: [Σερουίου Καλπουρ]νίου Δομιτίου Δέξιτρον *P. Lond.* 1286 (vol. p. iii LXXI and 336); possibly also *CIL* VI 1984 (*fasti* of the *sodales Augustales*).⁴⁰ The nomenclature (*Ser.*) *Domitio Dextro* is attested in many diplomas (e.g., **RMD* 309–312) and in *AE* 1906, 124 (Africa).
- AD 227: *M. Laelio Fulvio Maximo* **RMD* 313 (cf. above n. 2).
- AD 231: *T. Fl. Sallustio Peligniano* **RMD* 315; *Pferdehirt 61 (copies of the same constitution); possibly also *CIL* VI 2108 = Scheid 106.⁴¹
- AD 234: [*M. Cl*]odio Puppienio Maximo *CIL* XIV 4562, 7 (*fasti* of the *Augustales* in Ostia). As far as I can see, this is the latest consular date using two nomina of a consul.

(b) The type PNCNC.

- AD 33: *L. Livio Ocella Sulpicio Galba* *AE* 1978, 295 (statue base from the forum in Lucus Feroniae set up *in honorem domus divinae*); *FO* (this seems to be the only attestation of this name type used of a consul in the Ostian *fasti*).⁴²
- AD ?†64: *Q. Fabio Barbaro Antonio Macro* (*PP* 1 [1946] 381, wax tablet

³⁹ The nomen *Camilius* (which is not maternal, the mother being called Cassia Paterna) is attested for this man (in the consulate colleague of his own father *C. Iulius Asper*) also in *CIL* VI 31716 and *CIL* XI 7729; more often he is called *C. Iulius Asper*. (The nomen *Galerius* [thus in *PIR*² I 334] should not be attributed to him.) For the nomenclature of the man, see K. Dietz, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 504–8.

⁴⁰ In *CIL* VI 1984 (an inscription known only from old transcriptions), the restoration is *Ser. Calpurnio [Dextro]*; but it seems possible, and perhaps preferable, to add the second nomen and to restore [*Domitio Dextro*].

⁴¹ The reading of the editions is *T. Fl[avio P(a)eligniano]*; but because of the date *Sall(ustio) Paeligniano* *CIL* XIV 2267 (indicating that *Sallustius* was the main nomen), I think it might be a good idea to supply *Sallustius* (perhaps abbreviated) in the lacuna.

⁴² But a well-known Ostian personality and patron of Ostia is referred to in other contexts as *M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus* (AD 105; perhaps 106).

from Herculaneum).⁴³

- AD †74: *Q. Petillio Ceriale Caesio Rufo* *CIL XVI 20.

- AD †80: *A. Didio Gallo Fa[bricio] Veientone* *CIL XVI 158; *Pferdehirt 4 (a bit more fragmentary; the same constitution).

- AD †80: ?[*C. Marius Marcellus Oc?*]tavius Rufus. This reading is plausibly suggested by the editor S.M. Marengo for the nomenclature of the consul in the *fasti Septempedani*. For a fuller nomenclature which adds *Publius Cluvius* before *Rufus*, see below.

- AD 81: *L. Flavio Silva Nonio Basso* CIL VI 2059 (lines 17 & 35) = Scheid 48.

- AD ?†83: *M. Larcio Magno Pompeio Silone* *CIL XVI 28.

- AD †83: *Terentio* (sic) *Strabone Erucio Homullo* *CIL XVI 29; probably also *RMD 210 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions).

- AD †86: *Ti. Iulio Candido Mario Celso* *CIL XVI 33. Cf. Candidus' second consulate in AD 105.

- AD †101: *C. Sertorio Broccho Servaeo In[nocente]* *RMD 143. With this diploma, the consul otherwise known as *Q. Servaeus Innocens* (CIL VI 2074 = Scheid 62; *FO*) interestingly acquires a new prefix, probably indicating that he was a *Q. Servaeus* adopted by a *C. Sertorius*.⁴⁴

- AD 105: *Ti. Iulio Candido Mario Celso* CIL VI 2075 = Scheid 64; *CIL XVI 49; ?*AE 1999, 1258. (Cf. the first consulate in AD 86.) The same nomenclature is used of the man as an *Arvalis* many times in the Arval acts.

- AD †108: [*Q. Ro]scio Murena Pompeio Falcone* *REMA 1 (2004) 103ff. This diploma most interestingly introduces a new item to the colourful palette of variants of the nomenclature of Pompeius Falco.⁴⁵

⁴³ But in another tablet *Barbaro* is omitted, this resulting in a nomenclature of the type PNNC (see n. 20).

⁴⁴ Cf. for this man *PIR* S 401. (But there was perhaps another *Q. Servaeus Innocens*, see *RE* iiA 1755 no. 6.) As military diplomas seem to omit second praenomina (cf. *C. Antio Iulio Quadrato* in AD 94 and 105, cf. above, omitting the second praenomen *A. (Iulio)* used in many inscriptions), it seems possible that the full nomenclature of the consul, used, e.g., in honorific inscriptions, was "*C. Sertorius Brocchus Q. Servaeus Innocens*". But there are parallels for the paternal praenomen being omitted when an adoptive name (including a different praenomen) was prefixed to the paternal items (cf., e.g., *L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba* = *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*; *M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus* = *D. Valerius Asiaticus*; *Q. Planius Sardus Varius Ambibulus* = *L. Varius Ambibulus* (*Adoptive Nomenclature* pp. 33, 34, 36).

⁴⁵ Cf. *Adoptive Nomenclature* 121f. Besides the long nomenclature attested in *ILS* 1035

- AD 120: [*T. Aύ]ρηλίου Φούλβου Βοι[ων(ίου) Ἄντ]ωνείνου I. Cret. I 29, 1 (Rhytion, document concerning apparently the territory of a temple of Zeus Σκύλιος); *Tito Aurelio F[ulvo Boioni]o Antonino CIL VIII 8239 = ILLAlg II 8359 (votive inscription). It is most striking that the later emperor Pius is given his complete nomenclature *T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus* (for this nomenclature, see now also *AE* 1994, 1645 from the time of the proconsulate of Asia) in these two inscriptions. (Note that in both cases Pius' colleague, then consul for the second time and thus always named first, is referred to simply as *L. Catilius Severus*, although he did have further names [*Adoptive Nomenclature* 138].)**

- AD †123: *T. Salvio Rufino Minicio Opimiano *RMD 21; ?*RMD 233* (probably copies of the same constitution).⁴⁶ These diplomas are probably (but cf. below on AD 167) the latest to use a nomenclature of this type for consuls.

- AD 137: *P. Coelio Balbino Vibullio Pio CILIII 1933 = ILS 4907 (lex pertaining to an ara in Salona).*⁴⁷

- AD 149: *Q. Pompeio [---- Sosio P]risco AE 1971, 33* (Rome, an *aedicula* being renovated and dedicated by the *magistri* of a *vicus*). One name has to be supplied between *Pompeio* and *Sosio* (see the facsimile in the original publication by S. Panciera, *Arch. Class.* 22 [1970] 138ff., tav. lix), most probably a cognomen. Panciera (p. 146) opts for either *Falcone* or *Senecione*.⁴⁸

(not of any great interest) and the short one, there is the "middle" one consisting of the praenomen and four to five nomina and cognomina. In this category, we had the variants *Q. Roscius Coelius Pompeius Falco* (*ILS* 1036) and *Q. Roscius Murena Coelius Pompeius Falco* (inscriptions from Ephesus and Moesia Inferior; see *op. cit.*). A new variant was added by the honorific inscription from Caunus, *SEG* LI 1514, with *Q. Roscius Coelius Murena Pompeius Falco* (this variant reproducing the long nomenclature in *ILS* 1035 with the omission of the secondary items between *Murena* and *Pompeius*). And now we have a new variant which omits *Coelius*, otherwise present in the "middle" nomenclatures.

⁴⁶ Cf. also the fragmentary diploma edited by W. Eck & A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 152 (2005) 241f. no. 6.

⁴⁷ Note that the consul (normally referred to as *P. Coelius Balbinus*) originated from Salona, this possibly being an explanation for the use of the full form in this inscription from the same city. – In the *fasti* of the *sodales Augustales* (*Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 313), the consul's name is read by A. Degrassi as [*P. Coelio Vibu]llio Balbino*, but this is quite unacceptable and the facsimile in fact suggests the reading [*P. Coe]llio Balbino*.

⁴⁸ *Falco* is the main cognomen of this man's father *Q. Pompeius Falco*, *Senecio* that of

(?) - *c.* AD 167. A diploma, *RMD* 67, on the basis of some indications to be dated *c.* 167, is dated by consuls of whom the first has a cognomen ending in [---]*Juilinus*. As Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus (*PIR*² A 754) must have been consul in about this year, some scholars think that he should (or at least could) be identified with the consul.⁴⁹ To me this does not seem very probable.⁵⁰

(c) Other types which include or presuppose two (or more) nomina.

- AD †80: *C. Mario Marcello Octavio Publio Cluvio Rufo* (PNCNPNC) **CIL* XVI 26.⁵¹

- AD †84: *C. Tullio Capitone Pomponiano Plotio Firmo* (PNCCNC) **CIL* XVI 30.

- AD 94: *L. Nonio Calpurnio Torquato Asprenate* (PNNCC) *CPL* 104 = *ILS* 9059.

- AD †94: *M. Lollio Paulino Valerio Asiatico Saturnino* (PNCNCC) **CIL* XVI 38; *Pferdehirt (n. 2) no. 7 (diplomas pertaining to different constitutions).

- AD 110: *Ser. Scipione Salvidieno Orfito* (PCNC apparently representing PNCNC) **CIL* XVI 57; ?**RMD* 220 (fragmentary; probably copies of the same constitution).⁵²

The nomenclature used of a consul of AD 80 in diplomas, *L. Lamia*

his grandfather Q. Sosius Senecio and that of his son, the consul of 169 (for his use of *Senecio*, see below at n. 81). Only parts of the full nomenclature (which clearly must have included very many items) of Sosius Priscus are attested (*CIL* VI 31753 = 41129; *AE* 1966, 115; cf. *PIR*² P 656).

⁴⁹ G. Molisani, *RFIC* 105 (1977) 166–8 (a firm statement); W. Eck, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 234f. (not with much enthusiasm); A. R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain* (2005) 159 n. 100 (with "perhaps").

⁵⁰ Note that, assuming that Antistius Adventus was mentioned here, one would have to assume that his name was given in the form [*Q. Antistio Advento Postumio Aq*]juilino (a combination of the first nomen and the second cognomen of the type [*Q. Antistio Aq*]juilino – thus Molisani – is out of the question), from which it would follow that this diploma would be by far the latest one to use a nomenclature of the type PNCNC. I also wonder whether there is room in the diploma for a nomenclature of this length.

⁵¹ For a somewhat abbreviated version of the name, see above (b).

⁵² The same nomenclature was possibly also used in *CPL* 165. In other dates using more than just the cognomen, this consul is called *Ser. Scipio Orfitus* (FO) or *Ser. Salvidienus Orfitus* (*CIL* VI 10243; *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters* [n. 6] no. 19, the praenomen being incorrectly *M.*).

Plautio Aeliano (*CIL XVI 26; *158; *Pferdehirt 4), represents the same structure PCNC; however, things are made extremely complicated by the fact that the same consul is called *L. Aelio Plautio Lamia* in the *Acta Arvalium* (CIL VI 2059, 26 = Scheid 48) and (probably) [*L. Aelius Plautius La]mia Aelianus* (thus the reconstruction of the original editor S.M. Marengo) in the *fasti Septempedani*.

I shall now move on to the types consisting of two or more cognomina. I shall begin by presenting briefly the material on consuls registered as such with three cognomina.

(d) The type PNCCC.⁵³

In the case of two consuls, we find consular dates using three cognomina:

- AD 196: *L. Valerio Messalla Thrasia Prisco* CIL X 1786 (decree of the *ordo* of Puteoli). Normally this consul is called *Priscus*; there are also some instances of *Thrasea Priscus* (cf. below, [e]), but none of *Messalla*.

- AD 242: [*C.] Vettio Grato Attico Sabino* CIL VI 37110 (only the date has been preserved). Normally the consul is called *Atticus*, but there are also traces of the use of *Sabinus*.⁵⁴

Furthermore, there are two cases in which a consul seems to be called by three different cognomina in different sources:

- AD 124: the consul normally known as (*C. Bellicius*) *Torquatus* is called *Torquatus Tebanianus*⁵⁵ or *Tebanianus*⁵⁶ in some sources; moreover, he seems to be called *Fla[ccus Torquatus (?)]* in a fragmentary inscription from Antipolis in Gallia Narbonensis.⁵⁷

- AD 195: the consul most often referred to as *Tertullus* is called *P. Iul. Scapu[la]* in Ostia (CIL XIV 4560 ay), *P. Iulio Scapula Tertullo* in Casinum

⁵³ Cf. above n. 4 for instances from the period not under consideration here.

⁵⁴ The year 242 is indicated as *Sabi[ni]ano et Praetextato* in CIL VIII 18836.

⁵⁵ *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters* (n. 6) no. 11; *I. Smyrna* 594 (document pertaining to the second neocory).

⁵⁶ *AnnInst* 1870, 183 no. 181; 190 no. 257 (quarry inscriptions from Africa and Synnada); *P. Hever* 60 (*ZPE* 100 [1994] 550).

⁵⁷ CIL XII 169. This inscription cannot apparently be assigned to AD 143, when the consul Bellicius certainly had the cognomen *Flaccus*. Note that the Bellicii were Narbonensian (Y. Burnand, *Tituli* 5 [1982] 415); their nomenclature may have been better known there than in other places.

(*CIL* X 652*),⁵⁸ *Scapula Tertullo* in another inscription from Ostia (*CIL* XIV 169 = *ILS* 6172) and in a text from Pannonia Superior (*CIL* III 4407); but in an inscription from Moesia Inferior he is referred to as *Scapu[la] Prisco* (*CIL* III 12802), and he is *Priscus* in Moesia Superior (*CIL* III 8184 = *ILS* 4076; *CIL* III 14507 = *IMS* II 53). Clearly the consul must have had all three cognomina; it seems, however, that the element *Priscus* was used mainly in consular lists disseminated in Moesia.

(e) The type PNCC with the variants PCC ("*M. Messalla Corvino*", etc.) and CC ("*Messalla Corvino*"). As this is a fairly common type in the earlier period, in this period being favoured by nobles, I do not feel the need to dwell on the first-century material which I will relegate to a footnote. Here it will be enough to observe that, as in the later periods, it is quite common to find – in addition to dates using both cognomina – dates using only one of them, either always choosing the "main" cognomen (thus *Sulla* for (*Fausto Cornelio*) *Sulla Felice* in AD 52) or choosing one of the two (thus one can find, in addition to (*M. Licinio*) *Crasso Frugi*, the consul of AD 64 referred to as either *Crasso* or *Frugi*).⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Cf. *Arctos* 23 (1989) 176–7.

⁵⁹ Consuls being referred to with two cognomina in the first century after Augustus: AD 20: M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus (*AE* 1983, 515 [*tabula Siarensis*]; otherwise called *Cotta*). - AD 26: Cn. (Cornelius) Lentulus Gaetulicus (short form: *Gaetulicus* [not *Lentulus*]). - AD 27: M. (Licinius) Crassus Frugi (short form: *Crasso*); †*L. Lentulo Scipione* (*SB* XVI 12609). - AD 33: L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (short form: *Sulla*). - AD 34: †*Q. Marc. Barea Sor[anus]* (*FO*). - AD 38: M. Aquila Iulianus. - AD †45: *Ti. Plautio Silvano Aeliano* (*CPL* 170; short form: *Aeliano*). - †AD 51: *L. Calventio [Vet]ere C. Car[mi]nio* (the "C." is, in my view, an error; *TPSulp.* 84). - AD 52: Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix (short form: *Sulla*); L. Salvius Otho Titianus (short form normally *Otho*; *Titianus* in *Frontin. aq.* 13, 2); †*Q. Marcio Barea Sorano* (*AE* 1980, 57; *TPSulp.* 4; 31); †*L. Salvidieno Rufo Salviano* (**CIL* XVI 1). - AD 53: D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus (called *Silanus* in ms. *fasti*, *Torquatus* in *CIL* XV 4614). - AD †55: Cn. (Cornelius) Lentulus Gaetulicus (*Cn. Lentulo* in *CIL* IX 3340, 17). - AD 58: M. (Valerius) Messalla Corvinus (short form: *Messalla*). - AD 64: M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (short form normally *Crassus*, but *Frugi* in *AnnInst.* 1870, nos. 138 and 139; Ps. Seneca *ad Paulum* 11). - AD 65: A. Licinius Nerva Silianus (called sometimes either *Nerva* or *Silianus*: *Arctos* 26 [1992] 111); M. Vestinus Atticus (or *Atticus Vestinus*; short form *Vestinus*). - AD †68: P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (attestations of this form including **CIL* XVI 9 and **RMD* 136; but it is notable that two other diplomas representing the same constitution, **CIL* XVI 7 and 8, use only the first cognomen). - AD †69: *L. Salvio Othone Titiano* *CIL* VI 2051 = Scheid 40 (both cognomina are used of this man in the

Let us now go on to the instances from the second century onwards. I shall first enumerate those years for which dates using two cognomina are known; I shall then continue with those years from which only dates survive which use different cognomina for the same consul.

- AD 102: *L. Iulio Urso Serviano* CIL VI 10244; AE 1993, 468 (Misenum, decree of the *Augustales*); [*U*]rso Serviano CIL VI 2191 = ILS 4695. Short form: *Serviano*.

- AD 106: *Sex. Vettulénus Civica Cerialis* FO. Short form: *Ceriale*.

- AD †106: *Q. Licinio Silvano Graniano* *CIL XVI 52; *Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 154f. (*fasti fer. Lat.*); *Q. Silvano Graniano* *CIL XVI 160 (the diplomas are copies of different constitutions). (In CIL X 5670 we have *Q. Licinio Graniano*.)

- AD †108: [---] *Jtuo Lustrico Bruttiano* *REMA 1 (2004) 103ff.⁶⁰

- AD 109: *A. Cornelio Palma Frontoniano* (*Frontiano* AE 1989, 420) CPL 150; AE 1989, 420 = CIL II² 5, 789 (decree attached to an honorific inscription from Singili(a) in Baetica). Short form: *Palma*.

- AD 110: *Ser. Scipio Orfitus* FO. Short form: *Orfito*. (For other variants of the name see n. 52).

- AD †114: *L. Lolliano Avito* *CIL XVI 61; *RMD 152; *Pferdehirt 17/18; *AE 2002, 1727; *fasti Potentini* (*Picus* 23 [2003] 70). Cf. below under AD 144.

Arval acts also as an *Arvalis*). - AD 73: *L. Valerio Catullo M[essalino]* CIL V 7239 (short form: *Messalino*). - AD †74: *Ti. Plautius Silvan. Aelianus* (FO). - AD 81: *M. (FSept.) Asinius Pollio Verrucosus*; †*C. Scoedius Natta Pinarianus* (CIL VI 163; *C. Natta Pinarianus FSept.*). - AD †82: *L. Sal]vius Otho Coc[ceianus]* (FSept.). - AD 86: *Sex. (sic) Cornelio Dolabella Petroniano* (*CIL XVI 32; other dates: *Dolabella*). - AD †87: *C. Bellico Natale Tebaniano* (CIL VI 2065 = Scheid 55, ii); *Calpurnius (sic) Piso Licinian.* (*Picus* 23 [2003] 68, *fasti* of Potentia). - AD 92: †*Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus* (*CIL XVI 37; *ZPE 148 [2004] 269–73). - AD 94: *L. Nonio Torquato Asprenate* CIL VI 25520 = ILS 7869 (short form: *Asprenas*; an additional nomen *Calpurnio* is added in CPL 104, cf. above, [c]). - AD †98: *Cn. Pompeio Feroce Liciniano* CIL VI 468 = ILS 3395. - Note in this context the paper of P. Tansey, 'The Consuls of 22 B.C. and the *fasti* of the Late Empire', *Tyche* 19 (2004) 213–221; the author suggests that *Celso et Hilario*, a consular pair mentioned in ms. *fasti* between the consuls of 22 and 21, should in fact be interpreted as reproducing the cognomina of the consuls of 22, *Hiberus* being an additional cognomen of M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus and *Celsus* that of L. Arruntius. This is, however, not plausible.

⁶⁰ The man, mentioned in Pliny the Younger, was previously known as "Lustricius Bruttianus" (*PIR*² L 446); it now appears that *Lustricus* was his first cognomen; cf. W. Eck - A. Pangerl, *REMA* 1 (2004) 108f.

- AD 115: *M. Vergiliano Pedone* CIL VI 43/44 = ILS 1634/5; CIL VI 791; *fasti Potentini* (Picus 23 [2003] 70: *M. Vergilianu[s Pedo]*). The variant *M. Pedone Vergilian(o)*: CIL VI 1984). In other dates, the consul is called either *Vergilianus* or *Pedo*.⁶¹
- AD 116: *L. Fundanio Lamia Aeliano Samothrace* 2 ,1, 51 (initiation into mysteries).⁶² In other sources, the consul is called *L. Lamia Aelianus*⁶³ or either *Lamia* or *Aelianus*.
- AD 117: *M. Rebilo Aproniano* CIL VI 2076 = Scheid 67; CIL XV 25; CIL XIV 4235 = ILS 318. Short form: *Apronianus*.
- AD 118: *Cn. Pedanio Fusco Salinatore* CIL VI 2078 = Scheid 68; IG IX¹ 1, 61.⁶⁴ *Cn. Fusco Salinatore* CIL VI 30881 = ILS 5462; RIB 2443. 19 (wooden tablet).⁶⁵ Short form: *Salinator*.
- AD 127: *M. Gavio* (*Claudio* erroneously CPL 151) *Squilla Gallicano* FO; CPL 151; AE 1969/70, 587 (Corinth, list of victors at the Isthmia). *M. Squil(la) Gal(licano)* CIL XV 1430–32.⁶⁶ Short form normally *Gallicanus*, but sometimes *Squilla*.⁶⁷ – Cf. the nomenclature of this man's son, cos. 150.
- AD 127: *T. Atilio Rufo Titiano* CPL 151; AE 1969/70, 587 (cf. above); Le Bas-Waddington III 1619 (Aphrodisias, decree in honour of a poet); *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters* (n. 6) 16. Short form: *Titianus*.
- AD †127: *M. Licinio Celere Nepote* *RMD 239–241 (copies of different constitutions). Main cognomen: *Nepos*.⁶⁸

⁶¹ *Vergilianus*: CIL VI 31148; 32637; quarry inscriptions from Docimium (CIL III 7005a. 7015–7; AE 1994, 1667b; 1668a; 1669; etc.). *Pedo*: CIL XV 20–22 (brick stamps from the *figlinae Brutianae*); ms. *fasti*. – As for the fragmentary inscription from Lanuvium, AE 1911, 95 (*[L. Vips]tano Messalla [T. Stat]ilio Severo [Hadria]no cos.*), which used to be attributed to 115, see W. Eck, *Picus* 23 (2003) 104f.

⁶² This nomenclature was no doubt also used in the *fasti* of Potentia (*Picus* 23 [2003] 70), where only the letters *L. Fun[-]* survive.

⁶³ FO (*[L. Lami]a Aelianus*); CIL VI 31149 = ILS 4833; Phlego, *FGrHist* 257 F 36, IX.

⁶⁴ Daulis, date of the ἀπόφασις of a κριτής in a dispute concerning land and borders.

⁶⁵ In *RIB*, the praenomen is given as *G.*, but in the original publication the reading was *Gn.*

⁶⁶ Brick stamps from the *praedia* of Q. Servilius Pudens (P. Setälä, *Private Domini in Roman brick stamps of the Empire* [1977] 183–5).

⁶⁷ CIL XIV 3679 = ILS 6245; CIL XV 40. 77. 1045. 1210 and many other brick stamps.

⁶⁸ Cf. *[M.] Licinius Nepos* (FO) and *Pferdehirt 23 (same constitution as RMD 241, but with errors). This nomenclature is used of this man also as a *frater Arvalis* (see *PIR*² L 222).

- AD 128: *L. Nonio Torquato Asprenate* CPL 151; AE 1926, 73 = SEG VI 59 (Ancyra, decree of an association); *L. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus* (FO); *Torquato Asprenate* CIL VI 10048 = ILS 5287; CIL XV 1433. *A[sp]renate Torquato* CIL II 5095 = AE 1994, 1014 (votive). In other dates, the consul is called either *Asprenas* or *Torquatus*.
- AD 131: *Ser. Octavio Laenate Pontiano* CIL VI 157; *RMD 157; CPL 160. 220; *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters*(n. 6) 37. *Ser. Laena Pontianu[s]* *Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 335 (*fasti* of some urban *collegium*); *Samothrace* 2,1,54.⁶⁹ *Laenate Pontiano* CIL VI 10048 = ILS 5287; *Documents ... in the Cave of Letters* (n. 6) 25. 26. In other dates, the consul is called *Pontianus* (but *S. Octavio Lenat[e]* CIL XIV 2636 = ILS 6209).
- AD †132: *Ti. Claudi(o) Attico Herodi* (sic) *RMD 247.
- AD 134: *L. Iulio Urso Serviano* CIL VI 31142; AE 1988, 764 (*hospitium* agreement from Spain); *P. Oxy.* 2851 (will). Probably also CIL X 1596 = ILS 4271 (*taurobolium* in Puteoli). Short form: *Servianus*.
- AD 135: *L. Tutilio Luperco Pontiano* CIL VI 31125; AE 1969/70, 405 (decree of the *civitas Riedonum* [Rennes] in Gaul). In other dates, the consul is called (*L. Tutilius*) *Pontianus* (thus *CIL XVI 82), less often *Lupercus*.⁷⁰
- AD 136: *Sex. Vettuleno Civica Pompeiano* CIL VI 975 = ILS 6073; CIL XIV 2112 = ILS 7212; CIL XIV 2852 = ILS 3696; CIL III 720 (Samothrace, initiation); probably also *Inscr. It.* 13, 1, 312f. (*fasti* of the *sodales Aug.*); CIL VIII 24616.⁷¹ *Sex. Civica Pompeiano* CIL VI 31144. ?38185; ?CIL XI 3900a. *Civica Pompeiano* CIL VI 10242 = ILS 7861. Otherwise, the consul is called *Pompeianus* or (less often) *Civica*.⁷²
- AD 141: *M. Peducaeo Stloga Priscino* CIL VI 161; cf. "*Priscino et Stloga*" CIL VI 31149 = ILS 4833. In other dates, the consul is called either *Stloga* or *Priscinus*.⁷³
- AD 143: *C. Bellicio Flacco Torquato* IGUR 741 (funerary); AE 1940, 62 (Ostia). In other dates, the consul is normally called *Torquatus*, sometimes

⁶⁹ Initiation into mysteries. Here the reading is *M.* (= ?) *S. Le[na] Ponti[ano]*.

⁷⁰ *Lupercus*: Arctos 23 (1989) 171 n. 11 (add *IGBulg.* 2057).

⁷¹ Military *laterculus* from Carthage.

⁷² CIL XV 1056 (*L. Ceionius Commodus* being strikingly called *Ceionio*); quarry inscriptions from Docimium (*Varia Anatolica* I [1987] 83 no. 1, etc.).

⁷³ In this year, there is also much variation in the order of the consuls, but there does not seem to be a clear relation between *Peducaeus'* nomenclature and rank.

Flaccus.⁷⁴

- AD 143: *Ti. Claudio Attico Herode* *CIL* VI 20217. 24162. 29335; *IGUR* 741 (cf. above; fragmentary); *AE* 1940, 62 (Ostia). Otherwise, the consul is called *Herode*, less often *Attico* (*Arctos* 26 [1992] 112).

- AD 144: (*L.*) *Lolliano Avito* many sources (cf. this man's father in AD 114). The full name of both the consuls of 114 and 144 was *L. Hedi[us] Rufus Lollianus Avitus* (see *PIR*² H 40; for the father see *Altertümer von Pergamon* VIII 3, no. 22), but these senators are normally referred to as (*L.*) *Lollianus Avitus* both as consuls and in other mentions and it seems clear that, as consuls, their names were published in this form. The case of these Lolliani is thus not really comparable to the type *M. Squilla Gallicanus*, as *Lollianus* seems to come close to a nomen (cf. *L. Lollianus Nicarchus*, *CIL* VI 21493; and below *C. Annianus Verus*).

- AD †145: *L. Lamia Silvano* **RMD* 165; **AE* 2001, 98 (the same constitution).

- AD †145: *L. Poplicola Prisco* **AE* 2001, 98.⁷⁵

- AD †146: *C. Annianus Ver[us]* (*FO*).⁷⁶ Cf. *L. Lollianus Avitus* (above).

- AD 149: *Σαλβιδιήνου Σκειπίωνος Ὀρφίτου* *IGR* III 705 (extracts from the municipal archives at Cyaneae); *Ser. Scipione Orfito* *CIL* VI 327 = *ILS* 3446; *AE* 2000, 344 (c) (Puteoli); *IG* XII, 3, 325 (Thera);⁷⁷ *IGR* III 1275 (letter of an ?emperor). *Scipione Orfito* *CIL* VI 644 = *ILS* 3537.⁷⁸ Short form: *Orfitus* (never *Scipio*).

- AD 150: *M. Gavio Squilla Gallicano* **CIL* XVI 98; *CIL* II 5992 *CIL* II 5992 = *C. Veny, Corpus de las inscr. Balearicas* (1965) 142 (inscription of a tourist in a cave). *M. Squill(a) Gallikano* *AE* 1940, 71 (Rome); *Squilla Gallicano* *CPL* 117; *Σκ[ύ]λλα Γ[αλλικανοῦ]* *Proceedings of the XIV Int. Congress of Papyrologists* (1975) 304 (consular list from Tebtunis).

⁷⁴ *AE* 1974, 207 (funerary); quarry inscriptions from Docimium (*Varia Anatolica* I [1987] 84 nos. 7–9, etc.).

⁷⁵ On the possible full name of this man, cf. P. Weiß, *ZPE* 143 (2001) 261f.

⁷⁶ For thoughts about this man's identity, see R. Syme, *Roman Papers* II 685f.

⁷⁷ Date of the εἰσαγγελία of T. Flavius Clitosthenes Claudianus pertaining to some ἔργα. The consul seems to be called *Λ. Σεργίῳ Σκειπίωνι Ὀρφίτῳ*, but I am not prepared to believe that he had two praenomina. (What J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 13 [1972] 103ff., says on this consul is not acceptable.)

⁷⁸ There also seem to be traces of this nomenclature in *Schriften der römischen Feldmesser* (ed. Lachmann) pp. 244, 253.

Otherwise called *Gallicanus* (but *Squilla* in *CIL XV 3928* [amphora]).

- AD 155: *M. Iunio Rufino Sabiniano* *CIL X 1208* (decree of the decurions of Abella). In other dates the nomenclature is (*M. Iunio*) *Sabiniano* (thus, e.g., **REMA* 1 [2004] 91–6), but *M. Iunio Rufino* in the Arval acts and in a quarry inscription from Africa.⁷⁹

- AD †156: *Straboni* (sic) *Aemiliano* *CIL VI 2086* = Scheid 80. The same nomenclature is also used of this man in Apuleius (*Flor.* p. 27; *Aemilianus Strabo* p. 28; 29 H.).

- AD 157: *M. Civica Barbaro* *CIL VI 376* = *ILS 3670*; *CIL XIV 2410* = *ILS 6190*; **RMD* 102. 103.⁸⁰ In other dates, the consul is called *Barbarus*. The consul's nomen *Vettulenus* does not appear in consular dates and was disclosed only by the publication of *AE 1958, 15* (an honorific inscription from Argos).

- AD †166: [---] *Celso Planciano* **CIL XVI 124*.

- AD 169: *Q. Sossio Prisco Senecione* *CIL XI 405* (honorific inscription from Ariminum). Otherwise, the consul is normally referred to as (*Q. Sosio*) *Prisco*, only occasionally as (*Q. Sosio*) *Senecione*.⁸¹

- AD 174: *Φλάκκω Κορνηλιανῶ* *IG XIV 830* = *IGR I 421* (date of a letter written by people from Tyros settled in Puteoli). In other cases the consul is called (*Q. Volusius*) *Flaccus* (but *Cornelianus* in *CIL XV 4362* [amphora]).

- AD 178: *Ser. Scipione Orfito* **CIL XVI 128*; **RMD* 184; **RMD* 293–4; **REMA* 1 (2004) 68–72 (the first diploma being a copy of a different constitution). In all other dates, the consul is called *Orfitus*.

- AD 182: [*M. Petron*]io *Sura Mam[ertino]* *AE 1903, 154* (Rome, *fasti* of the Palatine *salii*). Otherwise, the consul is referred to as (*M. Petronius*) *Mamertinus*.

- AD †183: *L. Tutilio Pontiano Gentiano* *CIL VI 2099* = Scheid 94, i.

- AD 190: *M. Pe[tronio Sura Se]ptimian[o]* *CIL XIV 4561,1* (*fasti* of the

⁷⁹ *CIL VI 2086* = Scheid 80; *NSA 1883, 44* ("masso di marmo Africano"). One also wonders about *AE 1969/70, 657* from Vaga in Africa, with *Rufino et Severo cos.*; this is attributed to AD 323, but AD 155 can perhaps not be ruled out altogether (although the order of the consuls differs from the normal one).

⁸⁰ This nomenclature is probably also to be restored in *Suppl. It.* 16 Aletrium 9. For the nomenclature *Civica Barbarus*, see *SEG XVI 16*, cf. *XVII 76* (honorific inscription from Athens).

⁸¹ *CIL III 14120* = *ILS 4052* (Gortyn); *AE 1912, 269* = B.H. MacLean, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum* (2002) 66. For *AE 1923, 106* ("*Sen(ecione)*") cf. *AE 1994, 1269*.

Ostian *Augustales*); *Marco Sura Septimiano* *CIL* XIII 1752 = *ILS* 4132 (Lugdunum, recording a *taurobolium*). Other dates use the nomenclature (*M. Petronius*) *Septimianus*.

- AD 191: [*Popil]io Pedone Aproniano* *CIL* VI 1980 (*fasti* of the Palatine *Salii*, the colleague being called *M. Valerio Bradua*); [*B]radua Mauri(co)* *AE* 1966, 188 (the colleague being called *Popilio Pedone*).⁸² Otherwise, the consular pair is called either *Aproniano et Maurico* or *Aproniano et Bradua* or *Pedone et Bradua*, the nomenclature depending on the province where these consular names are used for dating (cf. *ZPE* 110 [1996] 279f.; above n. 11).

- AD †192: *P. Iulio Scapula Prisco* **CIL* XVI 133.

- AD †192 or 193: *L. Iulio Messalla Rutiliano et C. Aemilio Severo Cantabrino* **CIL* XVI 132; *Pferdehirt 44; **AKB* 33 (2003) 259ff. (copies of the same constitution).

- AD 196: the consul L. Valerius Messalla Thrasea Priscus (cf. above, (d) for this name being used in *CIL* X 1786) is called *T(h)rasea Prisco* *CIL* XIV 71 (Ostia, votive); *EE* IX 722 (Labici, only the date being preserved) and in *AE* 1980, 813 = *ISM* V 93 (Ulmetum, votive inscription).

- AD 207: *C. Septimio Severo Apro* *Pferdehirt 48. This consul is normally called *Aper*; the cognomen *Severus*, of great interest, is known only from this diploma.

- AD 209: [*L. Au]rellio Commodo Pompeiano* **RMD* 73 (+ *add.*). The cognomen *Commodus*, taking this consul close to the Antonine dynasty and the consul of 231 (cf. below, [f]), is attested only in this document.

- AD 209: Λολλίω (for Λολλιανῶ) Γεντιανῶ Ἀβείτω (and Λολί(ω) Ἀπείτω [sic]) *SEG* XXX 1149 (Magnesia ad Maeandrum, document concerning *nundinae*, an edict of the proconsul also being cited). In other dates, the consul is referred to as (*Lollianus*) *Avitus* (cf. L. Lollianus Avitus cos. 144, above).

- AD 216: *Sulla Cerialis* *Suppl. It.* 4 Trebula 33; *CIL* IX 4972 (Cures);⁸³ *IGBulg* 47 (ephebic list; in all three cases, the colleague is called not simply *Laetus* but *Maecius Laetus*).⁸⁴ Short form: *Cerialis* (not *Sulla*, except in Dio,

⁸² Cf. G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 226 n. 15 (a votive inscription from Legio in Spain).

⁸³ In both cases, only the dates have been preserved but one can see that they both belong to the sphere of municipal administration.

⁸⁴ The form *Sulla Cerialis* is also used in *AE* 1960, 36 (as legate of Cappadocia). In Dio 79,4,5, he is called Σύλλας.

cf. n. 84). The full name *M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis* (*CIL* III 11743 *add.*) is not attested in consular dates. (For this man's son, see below, AD 234.)

- AD 221: Γ. Βέττιος Γρᾶτος Σαβινιανός Dio, ind. 80 (transmitted in a corrupt form; Γρᾶτος Σαβινιανός Syncell. p. 406,7). In other dates, the consul is generally called *Gratus*, but occasionally *Sabinianus* (*Arctos* 26 [1992] 113).

- AD 227: *M. Nummio Senecione Albino* **RMD* 313; *Inscr. It.* X 1, 84 (decree of the decurions of Pola). Otherwise called (*Nummius*) *Albinus*.

- AD 234: [*M. Su]lla Urbano* *CIL* XIV 4562, 7 (*fasti* of the Ostian *Augustales*). Otherwise called *Urbanus*. For the consul's nomen *Munatius*, see n. 2.⁸⁵

- AD 238: [*. Pontio Pro]culo Pontiano* *CIL* VI 2009 = *ILS* 466 (*fasti* of a sacerdotal college). In all other dates, the consul is called either *Proculus* or *Pontianus*, depending on the province from where the date comes (see *Arctos* 26 [1992] 115).

- AD 242: *C. Asinio Lepido Praetextato* *CIL* VI 37110. The form *Lepidus Praetextatus* seems to have been used in a document written in Syriac (J. Teixidor, *ZPE* 76 [1989] 220, B). Other dates use the form (*C. Asinio*) *Praetextato*.

(f) The type PNCC is also illustrated by those cases in which two cognomina are not attested for a consul simultaneously, but where a consul is sometimes referred to with one cognomen, sometimes with another (cf. already many of the cases in group [e]). Such cases are attested in the following years:

- AD 146: The consul called normally (*Cn. Claudius*) *Severus* is called *Arabianus* in *CIL* XV 3863 (*Claro II et Arabiano*; amphora from Monte Testaccio). Although it would at first sight seem incredible that an otherwise

⁸⁵ Note that only with the publication of the diploma disclosing Urbanus's nomen has it become clear that he is the son of Sulla Cerialis cos. 215, and that the cognomen to be restored in the inscription from Ostia must be *Sulla*. One wonders, by the way, whether Urbanus might not also have been called *Agricola*, for in the inscription *CIL* III 5460 (P. Leber, *Die in Kärnten seit 1902 gefundenen römischen Steininschriften* [1972] 11, with photo), which is certainly from the time of Severus Alexander, one finds the date *Maximo II et Agricola* cos. *Maximo II* points definitely to 234, and as *Agricola* cannot be the name of a suffect consul, one might feel entitled to conclude that Urbanus was in fact also called *Agricola*. However, I personally think that we are dealing with a mistake of sorts (note the consulate of a certain *Agricola* in 230).

unattested cognomen could be attested in a context such as this, there is reason to believe that the name could be correct, for the consul was the son of the first governor of Arabia (see *PIR*² C 1023), making the cognomen *Arabianus* thus plausible (cf. L. Carminius Lusitanicus, the son of a legate of Lusitania: *PIR*² C 434).

- AD 147: The consul known otherwise as (*C. Prastina*) *Messallinus* is called *C. Prast(in)a Pacat(o)* in *CIL* XV 960 (brick stamp). As it cannot possibly be assumed that this Pacatus is a suffect consul in office with the ordinary consul L. Annius Largus, and as it seems most unlikely that we could be dealing with a mistake, it follows that it is hard to avoid assuming that the consul did have the two cognomina.⁸⁶

- AD 158: The consul otherwise referred to as (*Q. Tineius*) *Sacerdos* is called Κλημινος in the ms. *fasti* of Theo (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auct. ant.* XIII p. 375). As the consul's sons were called *Sacerdos* and *Clemens*, it seems clear that Κλημινος is a version of *Clemens* and that the consul did have the two cognomina *Sacerdos* and *Clemens*, for which there is in fact some evidence, although not of an impressive kind, from other sources (*Arctos* 26 [1992] 112f.).⁸⁷

- AD 185: The consul normally referred to as *Bradua* is called *Atticus* in inscriptions from Germania Inferior and Africa.⁸⁸ He is in fact known to have had both cognomina: *PIR*² C 785.

- AD 200: The colleague of C. Aufidius Victorinus is called sometimes (*Ti. Claudius*) *Severus*, sometimes, but less often, (*Ti. Claudius*) *Proculus*. In dates using *Proculus*, the order of the consuls is always Victorinus, Proculus, and this nomenclature is attested only in provinces in which the consul is never called *Severus* (for details, see *Ktéma* 18 [1993] 110f.).

- AD 206: The consul appearing normally as (*M. Nummius*) *Albinus* is called *Senecio* in inscriptions from Moesia Superior and Africa.⁸⁹ He did in fact

⁸⁶ J. Fitz, *Alba Regia* 24 (1990) 51, thinks that *Pacat(o)* is a mistake for *Messalino* (note that a C. Prastina Pacatus is known, *PIR*² P 929, cf. 930). But people in charge of the dating of bricks at brickworks do not make mistakes such as this; a name may be misspelt, but a genuine name is not replaced by another. In *PIR*² P 926 Messalinus is, however, not accorded the cognomen *Pacatus*.

⁸⁷ But inscriptions with the date *Tertullo et Clemente* belong to AD 195, not (as some scholars would have it) to AD 158 (*Arctos* 26 [1992] 112 n. 20).

⁸⁸ *CIL* XIII 8719; *CIL* VIII 14683 = *ILS* 6824.

⁸⁹ *IMS* IV 104; *ILAlg.* II 663. As for the use of *Senecio*, observe also this man being called [*M. (?) Nu*]mmius *Senecio* in *CIL* VI 1982 (being elected *pontifex* in 199). – Cf.

have the two cognomina (*Adoptive Nomenclature* 110f.).

- AD 230: The colleague of Virius Agricola is normally called (*Sex. Catus*) *Clementinus*, but *Priscillianus* in an inscription from Germania inferior and in two ms. consular lists of eastern origin (see *Arctos* 26 [1992] 113; *Ktéma* 18 [1993] 111f.).

- AD 231: The consul normally called (*Claudius*) *Pompeianus*, who is equipped with two praenomina in recently published diplomas (see above n. 2), is called Κόμοδος in the "fasti Heracliani", this showing that he was actually the son of Commodus Pompeianus cos. 209 (see above, (e); cf. *Arctos* 26 [1992] 114f.; *PIR*² P 568).

- AD 253: The consul otherwise known as *Maximus* seems to be called *Publicola* in a votive inscription from Bremenium in Britain, *RIB* 1273 cf. A.R. Birley, *ZPE* 43 (1983) 13–23 (*AE* 1982, 654). This is clearly based on good information, as it is more than probable that this consul is identical with L. Valerius Poplicola Balbinus Maximus (*CIL* VI 1531f. = *ILS* 1190f.; cf. G. Alföldy, *CIL* VI 8, 3 p. 4709f.), a consular senator of this period who did have both cognomina.⁹⁰

- AD 264: In the few dates surviving from this year, the colleague of Albinus is sometimes called *Maximus*, sometimes *Dexter*; cf. *Arctos* 26 (1992) 116.

Conclusions

After this presentation of the material, it is time to move on to some conclusions based on the same material. I shall first have a look at the nature of the documents which use polyonymous nomenclature; then I shall have a look at the geographical distribution of the same documents. I shall then have a word to say on the nature of polyonymy in consular dates as compared with other documents and conclude with a look at two kinds of sources, military diplomas and the *fasti* of Ostia. In what follows, I shall concentrate on polyonymous nomenclatures in the strict sense, that is on those consisting of two or more nomina (types [a], [b], [c]); nomenclatures

also above at n. 15.

⁹⁰ The nomen *Valerius* seems to be attested by *CIL* XI 4999. – The suggestion of S. Dusanic, *ZPE* 144 (2003) 254–60, that the consul Maximus should be identified with a certain Asinius Maximus is not acceptable.

with two or more cognomina will be dealt with in a more cursory fashion. This is based on the fact that, at least after the Flavians, consuls are given two or more nomina only in very special circumstances, whereas it is not that rare to find two cognomina. It thus seems proper to keep types (a), (b), (c) separated from types (d) and (e).

We find nomenclatures consisting of two or more nomina used of consuls in the following types of documents:

(1) Military diplomas (cf. below).

(2) Municipal or other consular *fasti*. Polyonymous names of consuls are found above all in the *fasti* of Ostia (on which cf. below) and in the *fasti Septempedani* recently published (*AE* 1998, 419);⁹¹ on the other hand, other municipal *fasti*, especially those of Potentia use almost exclusively the *tria nomina*.⁹²

(3) Documents pertaining to priesthoods operating in Rome and Ostia and containing references to dates (e.g., the acts of the *Arvales*, the *fasti* of the *salii Palatini* and the *sodales Augustales*, and the acts of the *Augustales* in Ostia).⁹³

(4) Various documents surviving on wax tablets found in Pompeii and in the area. This material ends with the eruption of the Vesuvius in AD 79. Looking at the dates on the wax tablets, one gets the impression that the consuls would have been furnished with the full nomenclature in all cases if they had more names than just the *tria nomina* (e.g., *Q. Fabio Barbaro Antonio Macro* in possibly AD 64),⁹⁴ and certainly these documents show

⁹¹ Type (a) (PNNC) in the *fasti* of Septempeda: cf. above, AD 80 and 81 (these *fasti* in both cases supplying information not found elsewhere). Type (b) (PNCNC): no doubt in AD 80 (Marius Marcellus). In other cases, extra names have been plausibly restored by the editor S.M. Marengo.

⁹² See now the new edition by G. Paci in *Picus* 23 (2003) 68–74 (and the observations of W. Eck p. 74ff.). "*Calpurnius Piso Licinian(us)*" (cos. 87) seems to be the only consul who manages to have an extra name registered in these *fasti*. One must note, however, that many of the consuls in the years covered by the *fasti Potentini* (i.e., AD 86–93, 113–116) may in fact not have had more than the *tria nomina*. But cf., e.g., "*Marrius Celsus*" for *Ti. Iulius Candidus Marius Celsus* in 86, *L. Pullaienus Pollio* for *L. Albius Pullaienus Pollio* in 90.

⁹³ Note consuls being given two nomina in these documents still in the third century (see AD 201, 225, 234, 231).

⁹⁴ *PP* 1 (1946) 381 no. ii (Herculaneum). Note also *ibid.* 8 (1953) 456f. no. xxxv (where, however, *Barbaro* is omitted).

that the full names of all consuls were available for those drawing up documents at such a distance from Rome as Pompeii up to the early Flavian period. But it is important to note that the wax tablets belong to the early period of imperial polyonymy and do not necessarily illustrate later developments. On the one hand, one must observe that, before the Flavians, polyonymy was not very widespread; and on the other, that it was only with time that the habit of abbreviating polyonymous nomenclatures in a systematic and consistent way (*C. Quinctius Certus Publicius Marcellus* = *C. Publicius Marcellus*, etc.) developed. There are some faint signs of the tendency to abbreviate already with the wax tablets (and also in some other documents of the early period),⁹⁵ but clearly this material can be used mainly to show that, in documents such as those preserved on wax tablets, it was normal to use the full nomenclature of the consuls up to the early Flavian period.

(5) Various documents drawn up in the provinces and normally preserved on papyri. These documents are of especial interest inasmuch as they usually come from smaller centres and as they show that at least those people who were responsible for drawing up documents could dispose of quite detailed information on the nomenclature of the consuls in office even as far away as Egypt. One finds consuls being given two nomina in papyri as late as AD 225, in Dura as late as AD 204.⁹⁶ Note that, except for an instance from AD 94 (see n. 96), one never finds in this material more than four names (either two nomina or two cognomina).

(6) Other types of inscriptions. Normally these would be inscriptions from Rome or from neighbouring cities, where full information on the

⁹⁵ See n. 20; cf. [*Q.*] *Futio Sat[ur]nino* (cos. ?41) on a wax tablet from Herculaneum, to be contrasted with *Q. Futio Lusio Saturnino* on a tablet from Puteoli and in an inscription (see *Adoptive Nomenclature* 90). In another tablet from Herculaneum, the consul (in 47) C. Calpetanus Rantius Sedatus is called both *C. Calpetanus Sedatus* and *C. Rantius [Sedatus]* (*AE* 1988, 325; G. Camodeca, in *Epigrafia. Actes ... Degrassi* [n. 7] 49; Id., in *XI congresso internazionale de epigrafia Greca e Latina. Atti* [1999] 530f.). As for other types of documents, observe *T. Rustius Gallu[s]* in the *Fasti Ostienses* for a man otherwise called *T. Rustius Nummius Gallus* (n. 109). C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus (cos. 37) has both nomina in two inscriptions (cf. at n. 22) but is otherwise called (*C.*) *Pontius Nigrinus* or simply *C. Pontius*.

⁹⁶ See above, (a). Cf. also, e.g., AD 94 (above, [c]), the consul Torquatus Asprenas being given two nomina and two cognomina in *CPL* 104. Consuls are also given two cognomina in Egyptian papyri in AD 127, 128, 131, 134 and 150, in Judaea in AD 127 and 131, in Britain in AD 118.

nomenclature of the consuls would be readily obtainable.⁹⁷ But there are also inscriptions from other places. Let us have a quick look at them. We find consuls designated with two nomina in inscriptions belonging to the following categories:

(a) Documents issued by Roman magistrates or other officials.⁹⁸

(b) Documents pertaining to municipal affairs and institutions (in a broad sense) or referring to decrees of such bodies.⁹⁹

(c) Documents pertaining to the establishment of the relationship of *hospitium* and patronage.¹⁰⁰

(d) Other inscriptions not necessarily of a more important nature; consuls are designated with two nomina also in building inscriptions,¹⁰¹ in votive inscriptions,¹⁰² in an inscription of AD 160 from Lugdunum

⁹⁷ For various inscriptions from Rome and Ostia using two nomina of consuls after the first century, see above (a) under AD 128 and 160. Dates with two cognomina above (e), under AD 102, 115, 134, 135, 136, 141, 143, 196 (Ostia); three cognomina in *CIL* VI 37110 of AD 242.

⁹⁸ Consuls with two nomina in *CIL* II 4125 = *RIT* 143 (AD 193, the governor of Tarraconensis pronouncing a *sententia*). Cf., from the first century, the letter of Vespasian *CIL* X 8038 (AD 77; above, [a]). Two cognomina are used in 118 in a judgement concerning land and borders in Daulis (above, [e]).

⁹⁹ Consuls with two nomina in *I. Cret.* II 3, 7 from AD 125 and *CIL* X 4760 = *ILS* 6296 from Suessa from AD 193 (see above, [a]). Cf. a document of AD 120 from Crete concerning the territory of a temple and a *lex* of AD 137 concerning an *ara* in Salona, the consuls being referred to with a nomenclature of the type PNCNC (above, [b]). Decrees (etc.) using two cognomina: see above, (e), under AD 102 (Misenum), 109 (in Baetica), 124 (n. 55, Smyrna), 127 (Aphrodisias), 128 (Ancyra), 135 (in Gaul), 149 (in Lycia), 155 (Abella), 227 (Pola). Three cognomina in a decree from Puteoli from AD 196 (above, [d]). Note also two cognomina being used of a consul in AD 169 in *CIL* XI 405 (honorific inscription set up in Ariminum by the *coll[egium] fab[rum]*), in *IG* XIV 830 = *IGR* I 421 (AD 174, date of a letter written by people from Tyros settled in Puteoli) and in *SEG* XXXII 1149 (AD 209, from Magnesia ad Maeandrum, document concerning *nundinae*). In *CIL* X 652* from Casinum of AD 195 (above, [d]) and in two inscriptions from AD 215 (also above, [d]) only the dates have been preserved.

¹⁰⁰ Two nomina in documents from AD 34, 132 (these two from Spain), 162 (Mauretania; see above, [a]). Two cognomina in a document of 134 from Spain (above, [e]).

¹⁰¹ Above, (a), under AD 151 (Teaunum) and 201 (Africa).

¹⁰² The type PNCNC most strikingly found in an African inscription of AD 120 (above, [b]). Two nomina in an inscription of AD 132 also from Africa (above, [a]). Two cognomina in a text from Spain of AD 191 (above, [e]).

recording a *taurobolium* (above, [a])¹⁰³ and, strikingly, in a funerary inscription from Iconium of AD 169 (above, [a]). For some instances of the use of two cognomina in consular dates attached to inscriptions of a less usual nature cf. also, e.g., above, (e), under AD 116, 131, 136 (Samothrace) and AD 127 (Corinth), 149 (Thera), 150 (tourist on the Balearic Islands).

As for the geographic distribution of consular dates with two nomina, in the material presented above one finds dates of this type in all parts of the Empire. If we look at the instances from the time after AD 150, we find (above, [a]) instances from Italy (AD 193, Suessa), Africa (AD 162, 201), Gallia Lugdunensis (AD 160), Asia Minor (AD 169), Syria (AD 204) and Egypt (AD 225). Instances of consuls being given two cognomina also appear all around the Empire. It appears, then, that even in the Antonine period and later, one could, if one wished, obtain quite detailed information on the nomenclature of consuls well outside the capital in faraway places around the Roman Empire.

Concerning the nature of polyonymy in consular dates, from the material presented above it appears that the main types are either PNNC (above, [a]) or PNCC (above, [e] and [f]). The other types, (b) (PNCNC) and (c) (the rare instances of [d] [PNCCC] can be left out of the discussion at this point) appear only in some documents of the first century, when (as observed above) the habit of abbreviating polyonymous nomenclatures had not yet developed, in military diplomas, and in a few special cases (above, [b], AD 120, 137, 149). In any case, it must be noted that, even in document types which have a tendency to use polyonymous nomenclatures (one thinks especially of military diplomas), one finds in consular dates only polyonymous nomenclatures within certain limits, i.e., one does not find the very long strings of names (e.g., the 38 names of the consul of AD 169) attested for many senators from the late first century onwards.¹⁰⁴ This is illustrated by the diploma mentioning Pompeius Falco as consul in AD 108 (above, [b]); as in many other documents (referring to Falco in other roles), Falco is here given neither the short name (*Q. Pompeius Falco*) nor the long nomenclature attested in *ILS* 1035 but the "middle" variant (cf. n. 45). There is also the case of *[L. Octavi]us Salvius Iulianus* in the Ostian *fasti* in AD 148 (cf. n. 33). The last word, however, cannot be said on this matter as it must be admitted that there are many polyonymous consuls whose consular

¹⁰³ The type PCC in a similar inscription of AD 190 (above, [e]).

¹⁰⁴ Cf., e.g., above n. 5.

dates are not covered by diplomas (one does thus not know how diplomas would have handled men such as P. Manilius Vopiscus Vicinillianus L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus cos. 114), and in any case, after AD 123 (or c. AD 167?)¹⁰⁵ diplomas are not attested as using more than four names (PNNC or PNCC).

There is one more point which I would like to touch upon in this context. The name type PCC (*P. Scipio Nasica*, etc.), familiar during the Republic in references to nobles with two cognomina, is extremely rare both in literary and in epigraphic sources during the Empire, at least in mentions of contemporary persons (as contrasted with historical ones). In consular dates, however, this type is attested surprisingly often (even excluding first-century nobles of the type *Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus*, for whom cf. n. 59); in fact, there are many consuls for whom only this nomenclature is attested (this probably, in most cases, implying that their names were published as such). This begins with M. Aquila Iulianus cos. 48 and goes on with M. Vestinus Atticus cos. 65. Then there are L. Lollianus Avitus cos. †114 (cf. this man's son in AD 144), M. Vergilianus Pedito cos. 115, M. Rebilus Apronianus cos. 117, L. Lamia Silvanus and L. Poplicola Priscus in AD †145, C. Annianus Verus cos. †146, M. Civea Barbarus cos. 157. Of consuls for whom only the nomenclature CC is attested, note Strabo Aemilianus cos. †156 and Sulla Cerialis cos. 216. Moreover, there are consuls for whom a nomenclature of the type (P)CC is attested in addition to the type including the nomen (*Cn. Pedanio Fusco Salinatore* = *Cn. Fusco Salinatore*) at least (to consider only instances after the first century) in AD 102, †106, 110, 116, 127, 128, 131, 136, 149. 150, 174, 191, 234.

The explanation for this most striking phenomenon must, I think, be sought, on the one hand, in the fact that there were several senators and consuls who had two cognomina which they liked to see used in references to themselves; with this I mean men such as Pliny's *Cornutus Tertullus*;¹⁰⁶ and note, e.g., the contrast between the consuls of AD 127, T. Atilius Rufus Titianus and M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus: we have dates using the form *M.*

¹⁰⁵ See above n. 50.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. also, e.g., *CIL* VI 1119, *locus adsignatus ab Iallio Basso et Commodo Orfitiano* (...), and military diplomas referring to governors with *sub Curione Navo* (*RMD* 161, AD 138), *sub Aquila Fido* (*RMD* 39, AD 140), *sub Sisenna Rutiliano* (Pferdehirt 31, AD 151), *sub Maximo Luciliano* (*RMD* 173; Pferdehirt 41; *SCI* 24 [2005] 101ff., AD 160; cf. *AE* 1994, 104).

Squilla Gallicanus, but *Squilla*'s colleague, if three names are used of him, is called *T. Atilius Titianus*,¹⁰⁷ not *T. Rufus Titianus*.

On the other hand, three names were, so to speak, the norm in formal mentions of consuls in dates. Combining this with the observation on consuls keen on being referred to with two cognomina, one arrives at the conclusion that the type PCC might be a good solution, and the proliferation of this type is exactly what we find in consular dates.

I shall finish with a few words on polyonymous nomenclatures in the *fasti* of Ostia and in military diplomas. The normal form one finds used of consuls in the Ostian *fasti* is the *tria nomina*. However, in addition to *L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galb[a]* (AD 33), there are also a few instances of the types PNNC, PNCC, and PCC.¹⁰⁸ However, except for the tendency of already abbreviating polyonymous nomenclatures in the earlier first century when other types of documents had not yet developed the habit,¹⁰⁹ one can discern no logic at all in the use of polyonymy in the *fasti* (note, e.g., that Lateranus cos. 94 is accorded the extra nomen *Ma[gius]*, whereas his polyonymous colleagues Asprenas, Valerius Asiaticus and Iulius Quadratus have just the *tria nomina*). Military diplomas seem to use the full nomenclature of consuls (and also of governors, etc.) regularly until the time of Domitian. But in AD 90, the man called in diplomas (when governor of Moesia Superior in 93–96 and of Pannonia in 98) *Cn. (Pinarius) Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus* is when consul called *Cn. Pompeius Longinus* (*CIL* XVI 36; *ZPE* 143 [2003] 216ff.). From this time on, one observes some names of consuls being presented in an abbreviated, others in a fuller (but at least in the case of Pompeius Falco not in the fullest, cf. n. 45) version. The abbreviated versions are normally abbreviations of lengthy nomenclatures (thus in AD 100, *T. Pomponio Mamiliano*, this standing for *T. Pomponio Mamiliano Rufo Antistiano Funisulano Vettoniano*),¹¹⁰ but one

¹⁰⁷ *CIL* XV 1430–32.

¹⁰⁸ PNNC: *L. Iúnius Vibius Crispus* (AD 74); *T. Sextius Ma[gius Lateranus]* (AD 94); [*L. Octavius*] *Salvius Iulianus* (cf. n. 33); [*T. Clo*] *dius Vibius Varus* (AD 160). – PNCC: *Q. Marc. Barea Sor[anus]* (AD 34); *Ti. Plautius Silván. Aéliánus* (AD 74); [*M. G*] *avius Sq[uilla G]allicanus* (AD 127); *L. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus* (AD 128). – PCC: *Ser. Scipio Orfitus* (AD 110); [*L. Lami*] *a Aelianus* (AD 116). There is also *M. Aquila Iulian(us)* in AD 38, but this is the normal nomenclature used of this consul (cf. above).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *Sex. Tedi* *us [Cat]ullu[s]* and *T. Rustius Gallu[s]* in AD 34, a extra nomen being omitted in both cases.

¹¹⁰ *CIL* XVI 46; *RMD* 142 (for the full name see *PIR*² P 734). Similarly *L. Catilio Severo*

also observes only one name being omitted (thus *Cn. Cornelio Severo* in AD 112 and *L. Tutilio Pontiano* in AD 135).¹¹¹ As for polyonymous names, after AD 90 one finds several instances of both type PNNC ([a]) and PNCNC ([b]) until AD 123.¹¹² After this date, there are no certain instances of PNCNC (cf. n. 50), and the instances of PNNC dry out for about 30 years, to reemerge in AD 154 and 160. After this, there is again nothing until we observe three instances in AD 212, 227 and 231. Now what one can see is that there is, in military diplomas, a general tendency to substitute abbreviated nomenclatures for polyonymous ones, this evolution beginning in the time of Domitian and reaching its end in the early years of Hadrian, after which there are only scattered, but interesting, instances of the type PNNC. To find a logic in these later instances is, however, beyond my powers.¹¹³

University of Helsinki

CIL XVI 163f. (AD 110); *T. Iulio [Maximo]* *RMD* 85 (AD 112); *C. Publicio Marcello* *CIL* XVI 67f., *RMD* 17 (AD 120); *P. Iuventio Celso* *CIL* XVI 74f., *RMD* 34 (AD 129); *L. (sic) Nonio Marcello* *RMD* 260 = Pferdehirt 28 (for the full nomenclatures of these consuls, see *PIR*).

¹¹¹ Severus: *RMD* 223 = Pferdehirt 15 (the full name being *Cn. Pinarius Cornelius Severus*); Pontianus: *CIL* XVI 82 (full name: *L. Tutilius Lupercus Pontianus*). Observe also *Optatus* being omitted from the nomenclature of *L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus* in *RMD* 251 = Pferdehirt 27.

¹¹² PNNC: in AD 90, 94, 96, 97, 108, 112, 121, 122 (see above, [a]). – PNCNC: in AD 101, 105, 108, 123 (see above, [b]). Even after this time, nomenclatures which include two cognomina are quite common (see above, [e]) and are attested until AD 227 (*M. Nummio Senecione Albino* *RMD* 313). – The last governor referred to in a diploma with a nomenclature consisting of two nomina seems to be *Q. Glitius Atilius [Agricola]*, governor of Pannonia in 102 (*CIL* XVI 47).

¹¹³ Note, e.g., that whereas other sources use two nomina of both the ordinary consuls of AD 160, *Ap. Annius Atilius Bradua* and *T. Clodius Vibius Varus*, diplomas consistently refer to Bradua by using both nomina but at the same time call Varus simply *T. Vibius Varus* (see above, [a]).

RE-CONSTRUCTING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF REPUBLICAN ROME

A re-consideration of approach and methodology

KAJ SANDBERG

Introduction

In his review of Andrew Lintott's monograph *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* Henrik Mouritsen is remarkably harsh, styling it "an unashamedly old-fashioned book". The work, in his view, belongs in a nineteenth-century tradition of institutional history and represents a return to an obsolete paradigm of political history. According to Mouritsen the political institutions of republican Rome are best viewed in, as he puts it, "a broader historical and social perspective", contrasting Lintott's effort with Claude Nicolet's classic *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome*.¹ Mouritsen's views reflect notions that are far from uncommon in current scholarship on the politics of the Roman Republic. Whereas nowadays the constitutional basis for the operation of the state machinery is all but neglected,² most of

* I owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Kaius Tuori (University of Helsinki) and, in particular, to Dr. Jyri Vaahtera (University of Turku), for their most valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

¹ H. Mouritsen, *JRS* 91 (2001), 221; A. W. Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic*, Oxford 1999. C. Nicolet's work *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1980, is an English translation (by P. S. Falla) of *Le métier de citoyen dans la Rome républicaine*, Paris 1976.

² Though republican Rome never possessed a constitutional code in the modern sense, it is clearly all justified to speak of a Roman 'constitution'. Political life in the Roman republic was, as Adalberto Giovannini observes ("Magistratur und Volk. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Staatsrechts", in W. Eder (Hrsg.), *Staat und Staatlichkeit in der frühen römischen Republik. Akten eines Symposiums, 12.–15. Juli 1988, Freie Universität Berlin*, Stuttgart 1990, 406), "durch eine Anzahl von unantastbaren

the attention is almost invariably directed towards the non-formal aspects of political life.

The Great Shift of Focus took place in the early 20th century, and has undoubtedly contributed to enhance our understanding of Roman society, but it seems to me that the excessive emphasis on extra-constitutional aspects sometimes leads to reasoning that simply defies common sense. Mouritsen himself provides a striking example of this phenomenon. Reproaching Lintott for making an analytical distinction between the magistracies and the Senate, he argues that such a separation "may strike many readers as artificial, given that they all [scil. the magistrates and senators] belonged to the same social class and in practice were identical".³ As if it were of no significance whatever in what particular capacity a political agent was acting! Would any scholar of (say) modern American history venture anything similar? For instance, would anyone contend that an analytical distinction between the constitutional powers of the US Congress and the Supreme Court in the mid-19th century is largely irrelevant, as these institutions tended to represent the same strata in society, or because some individual judge had been a senator or a representative earlier in his career? Yet no one would deny that modern American politics is also heavily affected by countless extra-constitutional factors. Future scholars studying the current era might well take a keen interest in the influence of private and corporate wealth, the lobbying culture, the role of the media etc., but does anyone sincerely believe that any approach to American politics disregarding the formal powers of the political institutions could yield valid results?

As for scholars who largely disregard the constitutional and legal framework of political life in the Roman Republic, overly stressing its informal features, they seem to be curiously oblivious of the well-known yet frequently overlooked fact that formalism was an intrinsic trait of Roman culture.

Grundsätzen bestimmt, die teils aus der Tradition geerbt, teils in Gesetzen ausdrücklich festgelegt waren. Diese unabänderlichen Grundsätze bildeten in ihrer Gesamtheit ein festes System, das man doch als 'Verfassung' in heutigen Sinne des Wortes bezeichnen darf."

³ Mouritsen 2001, 221.

Roman formalism and *ius publicum*

It is certainly no exaggeration to assert that formalism permeated Roman public life. The best known and most widely cited examples illustrating the rigidity of Roman formalism are found in what, for convenience, might be termed the religious realm, even if we should immediately note that such a categorization is anachronistic.⁴ Performance of religious rites and divination of signs were actually key elements in all public life. A mere sacrifice was a very complex affair, as in addition to all the rites involved – which had to be flawlessly performed – there was a formula that had to be uttered exactly in the prescribed fashion. Any error, any slip from the set formula that is, called for a renewal of the whole rite.⁵

Legal life and the administration of justice were also characterized by marked, if not extreme, formalism. Legal transactions as well as litigation required the observance of carefully specified external forms. Unless clothed in these forms, which usually involved the utterance of solemn *formulae* or other *verba certa*, the will of the parties did not take effect. Moreover, a judge needed the *verba legitima* in order to make his verdict binding.⁶

It is also amply attested that the Romans had a profound concern for the correct conduct of matters pertaining to formal political procedures and the operation of the political institutions. It is clear from the evidence we

⁴ The distinction between religious and political life, which in fact were closely intertwined, is all modern and purely conventional. Reflecting the modern separation of religious and secular matters it was early further affirmed by the organization of a number of successive very influential handbooks on Roman antiquities. Already in W. A. Becker's and J. Marquardt's *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, Leipzig 1843–1846, the *Staatsverfassung* was treated separately from the *Gottesdienst*. The same is true of its later version, Th. Mommsen's and J. Marquardt's collaboration *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, Leipzig 1871–1888, where *Staatsrecht* is presented apart from *Sacralwesen*.

⁵ See above all Plin. *nat.* 28,10–11, with commentary in M. Beard et al., *Religions of Rome II. A Sourcebook*, Cambridge 1998, 129. See also T. Köves-Zulauf, *Reden und Schweigen. Römische Religion bei Plinius Maior*, München 1972, 21–34 as well as J. A. North, "Conservatism and Change in Roman Religion", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 44 (1976) 1–12 esp. 1–5.

⁶ For formalism in Roman law, see W. W. Buckland, "Ritual Acts and Words in Roman Law", in *Festschrift für Paul Koschaker zum 60. Geburtstag I*, Weimar 1939, 16 ff.; G. MacCormack, "Formalism, Symbolism and Magic in Early Roman law", *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 37 (1969) 439 ff.; P. M. Tiersma, "Rites of Passage. Legal Ritual in Roman Law and Anthropological Analogues", *Journal of Legal History* 3 (1988) 9 ff.

have that errors of form frequently made void political actions. For instance, if such errors occurred during an election, the magistrates elected had to lay down office and the election had to be held anew. The annalistic tradition has preserved the memory of many occurrences of magistrates who, having been elected or appointed *vitio*, were substituted.⁷ Even if a *magistratus vitio creatus nihilo setius magistratus*,⁸ and even if the names of consuls elected *vitio* were included in the *fasti consulares*, such magistrates always had to abdicate.⁹ In legislation there were also fixed rules that had to be carefully followed. Indeed, statements as to the legality of the actions of the parties involved in law-making were, it seems (on the evidence we have), a regular feature of the preambles to Roman laws.¹⁰ In the *lex Quinctia*, a consular law of 9 BC which alone preserves the text of an entire *praescriptio legis*, this key element is expressed in the phrase *consules populum iure rogaverunt populusque iure sceivit*.¹¹ In the epigraphically best preserved preamble, belonging to the so-called *Lex Gabinia Calpurnia de insula Delo* of 58 BC, the same element is rendered [*A. Gab*]iniu[s *A. f. L. Calpurnius L. f. Piso co(n)s(ules) populum*] iuure r[ogaverunt populusq(ue) iuure sceivit].¹²

⁷ See, for instance, Liv. 5,17,2 f. (military tribunes 397 BC), 6,27,5 (censors 380), 6,38,9 (consul 368), 8,15,6 (dictator and *magister equitum* 337), 8,17,3 f. (dictator and *magister equitum* 332), 8,23,14 (dictator and *magister equitum* 326), 9,7,14 (dictator and *magister equitum* 320), 10,47,1 (tribunes of the plebs 292), 22,33,12 (dictator and *magister equitum* 217), 23,31,13 (consul 215), and 30,39,8 (plebeian edils 202). See also *Fast. Cap. s. a. 162 BC: P. Cornelius P. f. Cn. n. Scipio Nasica C. Marcius C. f. Q. n. Figulus vitio facti abdicarunt. In eorum loc(o) facti sunt P. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Lentulus Cn. Domitius Cn. f. L. n. Ahenobarb(us)*.

⁸ Varro *ling.* 6,30.

⁹ See J. Linderski, "The Augural Law", *ANRW* II 16.3 (1986), 2163 n. 48 and 2165 n. 54 as well as J. Vaahtera, *Roman Augural Lore in Greek Historiography. A Study of the Theory and Terminology* (Historia-Einzelschriften 156), Stuttgart 2001, 23 with n. 74.

¹⁰ The texts of extant republican laws, preserved in bronze or (more rarely) in stone, are now conveniently collected and commented (along with extensive bibliographies) in *RS* = M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes I–II* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 64), London 1996. This work replaces older collections of law texts in C. G. Bruns & O. Gradenwitz, *Fontes iuris Romani antiqui*⁷, Tübingen 1909; S. Riccobono et al., *FIRA = Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani I–III*, Firenze 1940–1943 and P. F. Girard, *Les textes de droit romain*, Paris 1937.

¹¹ Apud Frontin. *aq.* 129 (*RS* 63).

¹² *CIL* I² 2500 = *RS* 22, line 1 f. Also the preamble of the *Lex Fonteia* (*RS* 36), a law belonging to the period of the second triumvirate, partially survives in Greek translation.

In Greek versions of Roman law texts *iure*, it seems, translates either δικάως or κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον.¹³

Ius was clearly at the very core of the conceptualization of a much formalized political life. And the mere existence of a concept such as *ius publicum* puts modern efforts to play down the constitutionality of the Roman Republic in a very odd light. To the Romans this concept, along with that of *mos maiorum*, was a key concept when it came to the *res publica*. There are also, in our sources for the Republic, references to persons who are specifically described as well versed in *ius publicum*.¹⁴ Such references do not only attest to the existence of a distinct body of organized knowledge pertaining to the constitution, but also that this knowledge did matter. That the constitution was important, and that there was a strong tradition of legalistic thinking attached to it, is also evident from the fact that a number of antiquarian scholars are known to have written treatises on political institutions and, indeed, their *powers*. The production of C. Sempronius Tuditanus and M. Iunius Congus included works on the magistracies. The Augustan scholar L. Cincius wrote about the assemblies, *De comitiis*, and about the powers of the consuls, *De consulum potestate*. Only fragments, in many cases mere titles of works, survive of this scholarly literature, but their implications are all clear.¹⁵

Only minute fragments survive of other preambles: *Lex agraria* of 111 BC (*CIL* I² 585 = *RS* 2): --- *princi]pium fuit, pro tribu Q. Fabius Q. f. primus scivit*; *Lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus* of 81 BC (*CIL* I² 587 = *RS* 14): --- *principium fuit, pro tribu ---*; *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* of 71–68 BC (*CIL* I² 589 = *RS* 19): *C. Antonius M. f. Cn. Corne[lius ---] – C. Fundanius C. f. tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) de s(enatus) s(ententia) plebem --- preimus scivit*; *Veleia Fragment II* (*RS* 29): --- *co[---] plebes<q(ue)> i[ure scivit ---]*.

¹³ *CIL* I² 2500 = *RS* 22, line 39; *Lex Fonteia* (*RS* 36), frgg. (a) + (b), face (i), line 5. For Roman political language in Greek guise in general, see H. J. Mason, "The Roman Government in Greek Sources. The Effect of Literary Theory on the Translation of Official Titles", *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 150–159 and, above all, Id., *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions A Lexicon and Analysis* (American Studies in Papyrology 13), Toronto 1974, 126. See also my own observations in K. Sandberg, *Magistrates and Assemblies. A Study of Legislative Practice in Republican Rome* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 24), Rome 2001, 45 f.

¹⁴ Cic. *Mil.* 70: *iuris publici, moris maiorum, rei denique publicae peritissimus* (Cn. Pompeius Magnus); Cic. *Brut.* 267: *cum auguralis tum omnis publici iuris antiquitatisque nostrae bene peritus fuit* (Ap. Claudius Pulcher).

¹⁵ The fragments of antiquarian and legal writers who wrote on constitutional matters are collected in F. P. Bremer, *Iurisprudentiae antehadrianae quae supersunt* I–II, Leipzig

The Great Shift of Focus and its consequences

Formal political actions were, as we have seen, required to be performed *iure*. Do we always know what that entails, in actual fact? Or what it meant if they were done *vitio*? Is it justified to presuppose that modern scholarship has been able to craft a reasonably sound model of the working of the political system of republican Rome, in any specific period? It will be argued here that the scholarly exploration of this system was interrupted prematurely long ago, and that prevailing models are essentially built upon pioneer work that did not undergo adequate scrutiny before *Staatsrecht*, in its classic form, turned into an increasingly unfashionable field of research.

It is an indisputable fact that current notions of the nature and structure of the political system of republican Rome are largely based on research done in the 19th century, when the study of republican politics focused extensively on political institutions and their formal interaction. This was the era of the *Isolierung* of Roman (public) law, which was explored by scholars like Rubino, Becker and Marquardt.¹⁶ The greatest of the pioneers in the field of Roman public law was, of course, Theodor Mommsen, who in addition to producing a huge amount of analytical research, authored one of the most imposing scholarly syntheses ever created. In his *Römisches Staatsrecht* he did not only amass the results of the research in the field, but in effect codified the Roman constitution as a unified system of positive law.¹⁷ This monumental work still constitutes the foundation for our perception of the legal and institutional structure of the political system of republican Rome. Even if numerous subsequent surveys of the political system of the Roman Republic have appeared, and even if

1896–1901. For a discussion of their efforts, see E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*, London 1985, 234 and 247 f.

¹⁶ For the early study of Roman public law, see e.g. A. Giovannini, "Magistratur und Volk. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Staatsrechts", in W. Eder (Hrsg.), *Staat und Staatlichkeit in der frühen römischen Republik. Akten eines Symposiums, 12.–15. Juli 1988, Freie Universität Berlin*, Stuttgart 1990, 406–36 and Id., "De Niebuhr à Mommsen. Remarques sur la genèse du "Droit public"", *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 3 (1992) 167–176. See also Y. Thomas, *Mommsen et l'"Isolierung" du droit*, Paris 1984.

¹⁷ For a thorough discussion of Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*, see J. Bleicken, *Lex publica. Gesetz und Recht in der römischen Republik*, Berlin 1975, 16–51. Another important discussion is G. Crifò, "A proposito della ristampa del *Droit public romain* di Mommsen", *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 52 (1986) 485–91.

such works continue to be published regularly, the constitutional model of the Roman Republic created by Mommsen and his predecessors remains largely intact.¹⁸ The analysis of the political institutions and their formal interaction, found in Mommsen's *magnum opus*, has to a remarkably small degree been modified by later research. Does this mean that the nineteenth-century scholars got it all right?

The protracted scholarly neglect that has befallen the political system of the Roman Republic can no doubt be ascribed to the fact that entirely new concerns occupy the minds of scholars interested in Roman politics. The Great Shift of Focus was a major change of paradigm that took place in the early decades of the 20th century, following upon the publication of Matthias Gelzer's study *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik*.¹⁹ This immensely influential work, the main theses of which were further elaborated by Friedrich Münzer in *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*,²⁰ brought about an entirely new conception of the working of Roman politics. Since then it has been more or less universally maintained that the structures of political power in republican Rome are found not

¹⁸ The first two volumes of Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* appeared in their first edition already in 1871. A bibliography of important post-Mommsenian treatises of the political system of republican Rome should include at least the following items: E. von Herzog, *Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung* I, Leipzig 1884; A. H. J. Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, London 1901; E. Meyer, *Römischer Staat und Staatsgedanke*, Zürich 1948; F. De Martino, *Storia della costituzione romana* I–V, Napoli 1951–67; H. Siber, *Römisches Verfassungsrecht in geschichtlicher Entwicklung*, Lehr 1952; U. von Lübtow, *Das römische Volk. Sein Staat und sein Recht*, Frankfurt 1955; A. Burdese, *Manuale di diritto pubblico romano*, Torino 1966; J. Bleicken, *Die Verfassung der römischen Republik. Grundlagen und Entwicklung*, Paderborn 1975; F. Càssola & L. Labruna, *Linee di una storia delle istituzioni repubblicane*, Napoli 1979; W. Kunkel, *Staatsordnung und Staatspraxis der Römischen Republik* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft Abt. 10. Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums III.2), herausgegeben und fortgeführt von H. Galsterer et al., München 1995; J. M. Rainer, *Einführung in das römische Staatsrecht*, Darmstadt 1997; Lintott 1999 (above n. 1).

¹⁹ M. Gelzer, *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik*, Leipzig 1912 (= Id., *Kleine Schriften* I, Wiesbaden 1962, 17–135). Note also M. Gelzer, *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik*, 2. durchges. Auflage mit Vorwort von J. von Ungern-Sternberg, Stuttgart 1983. For an English translation, by R. Seager, see *The Roman Nobility*, Oxford 1969 (repr. Oxford 1975).

²⁰ F. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, Stuttgart 1920. The work has recently appeared in an English translation by T. Ridley, an edition including most valuable additional material: *Roman Aristocratic Parties and Families*, Baltimore 1999.

primarily in the political institutions, but in the fabric of social bonds traversing Roman society. Though political life at Rome articulated itself within a well-defined formal system featuring a range of institutions with carefully specified powers, the political behaviour of the Romans – on this view – was ultimately determined by social factors. In this model the fundamental determinants of political life were *amicitiae*, mutual loyalties (among peers), and *clientelae*, relationships founded on the dependence of the humbler citizens on the leading families of Rome. According to this interpretation of the nature of political power the formal interaction between the political institutions was of no more than secondary import, as Roman politics was essentially a contest between various *factiones* within the ruling aristocracy, the *nobilitas*.²¹

The Gelzerian approach to Roman politics, which immediately was recognized as a major breakthrough, soon gained additional impetus from subsequent developments in political historiography. In his ground breaking studies of British eighteenth-century politics and society, Lewis Namier stressed the importance of looking beyond the constitutional framework of the British state by comprehensively analyzing the underlying sociological structure of its political life and, above all, of the individual MP's, their connections and economic interests.²² In the classical field the prosopographical method, as it was termed by Namier, was further established in 1939 by another landmark study, Ronald Syme's work *The Roman Revolution*.²³ At this point the method had really come to its own. Subsequent study of the political history of the Roman Republic has, to a great extent, assumed the form of prosopographical research focusing on careers, political alliances and other groupings within the nobility. Howard Scullard's study *Roman Politics* (1951) is, despite its title, essentially a prosopographical survey. The same is true of a number of other influential works by, among others, Filippo Càssola, Erich Gruen and Robert

²¹ For the impact of Gelzer's ideas, and their background, see R. T. Ridley, "The Genesis of a Turning-Point. Gelzer's Nobilität", *Historia* 35 (1986) 474–502 and C. Simon, "Gelzer's "Nobilität der römischen Republik" als "Wendepunkt"", *Historia* 37 (1988) 222–40.

²² L. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2 vols., London 1929; Id., *England in the Age of the American Revolution*, London 1930.

²³ R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939.

Develin.²⁴

No one would reasonably deny that politics, in any historical society, must be studied as comprehensively as possible. It is, therefore, remarkable that the study of the extra-constitutional aspects of Roman politics is not currently being supplemented by more research focusing on the legal and institutional foundation of political life. Despite some efforts during the past decades, notably by Fergus Millar, to restate the importance of the constitution and of the due operation of the formal institutions in the political system,²⁵ it is not as of yet possible to detect a significant renewed interest in the basic institutional structures of the Roman Republic.²⁶ A resurgence of this kind of research is, in my opinion, badly needed.

I believe that a fresh look at the political system of the pre-Sullan Republic – with all ideology, prejudice and dogma set aside – is likely to provide valuable new insights. There seems to be a large amount of arbitrary assumptions and unfounded preconceptions to get rid of in the very foundations on which the current scholarly understanding of this system rests. Some of these elements are derived from an excessive reliance on the

²⁴ H. H. Scullard, *Roman Politics, 220–150 BC*, Oxford 1951 (second edition, London 1973); F. Càssola, *I gruppi politici romani nel III secolo a.C.*, Trieste 1962; E. S. Gruen, *Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts, 149–78 BC*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968; Id., *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1974 (reprint with new introduction, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1995); R. Develin, *The Practice of Politics at Rome, 366–167 BC* (Collection Latomus 188), Bruxelles 1985.

²⁵ See, in particular, F. Millar, "The Political Character of the Classical Roman Republic, 200–151 BC", *JRS* 74 (1984) 1–19; Id., "Politics, Persuasion, and the People before the Social War (150–90 BC)", *JRS* 76 (1986) 1–11; Id., "Popular Politics at Rome in the Late Republic", I. Malkin & W. Z. Rubinson (eds.), *Leaders and Masses in the Roman World. Studies in Honor of Zvi Yavets*, Leiden – New York 1995, 91–113 and Id., *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, Ann Arbor 1998.

²⁶ For a survey of the discussion, which to a considerable extent has focused on the role of the people, see M. Jehne, "Zur Debatte um die Rolle des Volkes in der römischen Politik", Id. (Hrsg.), *Demokratie in Rom? Die Rolle des Volkes in der politik der römischen Republik* (Historia Einzelschriften 96), Stuttgart 1995, 1–9. See also E. Gabba, "Democrazia a Roma", *Athenaeum* 85 (n.s. 75, 1997) 266–71. Among later contributions to the debate we should note K.-J. Hölkeskamp, "The Roman Republic. Government of the People, by the People, for the People?", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 19 (2000) 203–23; H. Mouritsen, *Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic*, Cambridge 2001, and A. M. Ward, "How Democratic Was the Roman Republic?", *New England Classical Journal* 31 (2004) 101–19.

rich sources for the last decades of the Republic,²⁷ others from the cumulative efforts of nineteenth-century scholars, who sometimes were overly keen to recover new data for historical scholarship.

Nineteenth-century scholarship

As is well known, the 19th century was an immensely dynamic era in the history of science and scholarship, also in that of the humanities and classical scholarship. Most importantly, the era saw the birth of modern critical history, and entirely new disciplines, such as archaeology and anthropology, developed. During the course of the professionalization of scholarship, as it became necessary to demarcate various disciplines from each other, methodology was extensively discussed and refined. The scholarly discussion also essentially attained its current organization as the great periodicals were founded and scholars started to meet at recurring conferences. All this, in combination with the fact that the number of scholars multiplied, led to a rapidly increasing growth of the sheer amount of scholarly works published each year. Moreover, a lot of new evidence for the Ancient World became known. This was not only the age of the great "expansion of the past", as stunning archaeological discoveries were made and linguistic research provided the keys to the primary sources for pre-classical cultures, but the written sources for classical antiquity were also supplemented in a very conspicuous way. Evidence that up to this point had been largely inaccessible to the scholarly community, notably the vast epigraphic material of the Graeco-Roman world, was published in the great *corpora* which still provide classical scholars with the bulk of their documentary sources. And before the century came to its close Greek (and to a lesser extent Latin) papyri from Egypt were systematically excavated for and published.

The knowledge of the Ancient World increased enormously during the course of the 19th century. New data were recovered in an unprecedented way. There was, obviously, a strong sense of progress, and

²⁷ I do not believe that data concerning constitutional practices in the last decades of the Republic, after Sulla's revision of the constitution, are necessarily indicative of earlier conditions. For my empirical method, see Sandberg (above n. 13) 20 ff. and K. Sandberg, "Consular Legislation in Pre-Sullan Rome", *Arctos* 38 (2004) 135–39.

this left a conspicuous mark on classical studies. There was an increasing emphasis on recovering and, indeed, reconstructing what had been lost. The lost titles of Greek and Roman authors now reappeared on the shelves in the scholarly libraries, in the many fragment collections that were published. Fragment collecting, culminating in the heyday of *Quellenforschung*, became a most fashionable pursuit among classical scholars.²⁸ Not only were fragments of historiography and other kinds of literature searched for, the *testimonia* for the legal and political systems were also collected. The constitution of republican Rome attracted a great deal of interest, especially in the German states where constitutionalism was an emerging political force. Liberal intellectuals perceived the Roman constitution – which defined and, most importantly, circumscribed the powers of the magistrates – as a model for their own states. Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*, reflecting the liberal values of its author, is also a most interesting document of German nineteenth-century history.²⁹

The laws of the Roman Republic also attracted a lot of attention in the 19th century, again no doubt mirroring the fascination for the idea of popular sovereignty and a *libera res publica*. However, with the exception of a fairly limited epigraphic record pertaining exclusively to the Late Republic, the sources for the legislation of the republican period consist primarily of scattered mentions and more or less vague reports in historiography and other kinds of literature from the Late Republic and the Empire. On the basis of this meagre material the legislation of the Republic was reconstructed in stunning detail. Laws were given names and contents, and their authors were identified on the basis of the most inconclusive data.³⁰ Yet, known by their by now conventional names (of which only a fraction are actually recorded in the primary sources), given in the format familiar from the Justinian Code and other legal sources, the comitial laws of the Republic entered into the common consciousness of the classical

²⁸ The search for fragments and the reconstruction of lost works had, as Glenn Most points out, become systematic already with Bentley, but it was only in the early 19th century, with the schools of Welcker and Boeckh, that this industry really came into its own, see his preface to the volume G. W. Most (ed.), *Collecting Fragments – Fragmente sammeln*, Göttingen 1997, viii.

²⁹ See, à propos, A. Heuss, *Theodor Mommsen und das 19. Jahrhundert*, Kiel 1956; H. Grziwotz, *Der moderne Verfassungsbegriff und die 'römische Verfassung' in der deutschen Forschung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt 1986.

³⁰ See, for instance, my examples in Sandberg (above n. 13) 85–93 and *passim*.

scholars of the period. An inventory of these statutes, compiled by the Italian scholar Giovanni Rotondi, soon evolved into something akin to a canon of Roman laws.³¹ By collecting relevant passages Rotondi inarguably made an important contribution towards the study of Roman politics in general and legislation in particular, but in his endeavour to summarize modern research (the efforts of nineteenth-century scholarship) he admitted items of speculation and conjecture too freely. By providing generations of scholars with inaccurate data concerning the activity of the magistrates of the Republic, he also contributed to blur the interpretation of the political system of republican Rome.

Magisterial activity as a key to the republican constitution

The main difficulty facing scholars working on problems pertaining to Roman public law is that there never was a proper collection of the rules and conventions pertaining to political life. The concept itself of assembling such regulations into a written authoritative code was not alien to the Roman world. Many Roman *coloniae* and *municipia* were in fact granted charters which in great detail specified the powers and duties of their magistrates, the procedures for the meetings of their councils and electoral assemblies etc.,³²

³¹ G. Rotondi, *Leges publicae populi Romani*, Milano 1912. A count of comitial statutes mentioned by name in the *Digesta* yields only about 35 laws, most of which belong in the last decades of the Republic or the Early Empire. The rest of the legal sources, historiography and other literary sources do not provide many additional law titles. As for the epigraphic record, a few inscriptions mention laws by name, but only two fragmentary *indices* of republican laws survive: *Lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus* (CIL I² 587 = RS 14): [*Lex Cornelia*] *de XX q(uaestoribus)*; *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (CIL I² 589 = RS 19): [*Lex Antonia*] *de Termesi(bus) Pisid(is) Mai(oribus)*. Neither preserves the full name of the law. In the former case the restoration is based on Tacitus' report (*ann.* 11,22,6) that the number of quaestors was raised to twenty *lege Sullae*. The conventional reconstruction of the latter *index* rests on the fact that a certain C. Antonius M. f. is mentioned first in the prescript's listing of the tribunes who put the law before the *plebs*. Rotondi's canon contains well beyond seven hundred laws and bills, all of which carry a name; no less than 544 carry a name embodying the *gentilicium* of the (actual or supposed) proposer. For a lengthy discussion of the classical and modern designations of Roman statutes, see Sandberg (above n. 13) 64 ff. See also my inventory of recorded and reconstructed law titles, *ibid.*, 152–173 (Appendix II).

³² These kinds of documents, which contain most detailed provisions on administration

but the Roman state itself lacked anything of the sort. Moreover, in surviving ancient literature there is very little explicit testimony concerning the rules and conventions that applied in political life. There is no Roman work comparable to the *Athenaion politeia*, a detailed description of the political system of fourth-century Athens recovered from a papyrus found in Egypt in 1890.³³ Polybius' partially preserved account of the Roman constitution, in the sixth book of his history, is not specific concerning constitutional technicalities, representing primarily a treatise on the idea of the mixed constitution in the tradition of Greek political theory. Cicero's dialogues *De re publica* and *De legibus*, which deal with the ideal constitution, obviously contain a range of very valuable data, but neither provides detailed information on the actual political system.

All modern reconstructions of the Roman republican constitution must rest, first and foremost, on the observations that can be made of the operation of the state machinery. The main body of evidence offering this kind of data is constituted by accounts of political life in historiographical sources. For the Late Republic there is a considerable amount of invaluable information on the political system also in other kinds of literature, such as in the many letters and speeches of Cicero, as well as in a number of epigraphic documents which in a few cases offer intriguing insights. Generally speaking, information of relevance for political and constitutional history is both fragmentary and scattered, dispersed throughout the written record that has come down to us. It is practically impossible to conceive of a systematic and all-comprehensive collection of this kind of data, as the information in question qualitatively ranges from explicit statements concerning central political institutions to more or less inconclusive allusions on all kinds of secondary matters. In fact, Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* represents a most admirable effort to collect and deal with the myriad of details in a systematic manner. As far as I know, no one has attempted

and jurisdiction, have been recovered especially in Spain and Italy. The best known charter is the so-called Flavian municipal law. Our knowledge of this law, which was previously based primarily on the *Lex municipii Salpensani* and the *Lex municipii Malacitani* (inscriptions from Spain), was augmented by the discovery in 1981 (in the province of Seville) of a new, fuller version, the *Lex Irnitana* which was published by J. González in *JRS* 76 (1986) 147–243.

³³ The work is commonly attributed to Aristotle, but the authorship is in fact a matter of debate. For a commentary on this text, see P. J. Rhodes, *Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1993.

anything similar since, that is, largely independently of a pre-existing theoretical model.

A crucial body of evidence, obviously, is constituted by data relating to magisterial activity, a category of material which must be deemed as one of the principal avenues to the republican constitution. As the Senate, technically a mere advisory body, and the popular assemblies met solely at the pleasure of a magistrate, the magistrates were, in a sense, the only true agents in the formal political system. In studying the powers and functions of the magistrates, and their interaction with other institutions, it is always most important to establish *what* is being done, and *by whom*. However, despite the assiduous toil of generations of scholars devoted to Roman public law, this kind of decisive information is not as readily available to scholarship as it should be, and clearly could be. The problem is that scholarly conjecture has been allowed to blend with empirically established data. This state of affairs means that the building blocks present in modern reconstructions of the political system of republican Rome are difficult to separate from each other in order to be tentatively re-arranged in new ways. Sometimes it can be remarkably hard to spot elements representing modern conjecture and to distinguish them from authentic material, or data attested for in the primary sources.³⁴

Every attempt to create a model of the political system of republican Rome must by necessity involve reconstruction that does not entirely rest on empirical data. In order to induce coherency in material often consisting of contradicting data, a scholar must sometimes reject some data or make unwarranted assumptions, occasionally even suppositions that are at variance with explicit statements in the primary sources. All this is fully legitimate, provided that it is clear from the argumentation on what grounds it is being made and, above all, that it is made perfectly plain what the testimony of the sources is. By means of an apparatus of notes, or some other kind of appropriate documentation, the scholar offers to other scholars the possibility to control his or her interpretations of the relevant source material. Curiously enough, this option is not present in some of the most important scholarly aids for scholars studying Roman politics in the republican period. The record of magisterial activity in pre-Sullan Rome, or rather, the way it has been documented by modern scholarship, is everything but firmly based on the testimony of the primary sources.

³⁴ See Sandberg (above n. 13) 12 f.

Essential aids for anyone wishing to find information about the republican magistrates and their actions (that is, without having to read through the entire literary canon with relevance for the Roman Republic) are various modern *fasti* of these magistrates and, not least, scholarly lists of statutes. As I have pointed out elsewhere, many such tools have admitted elements of conjecture and speculation which have contributed to perpetuate a number of current views of the Roman political system which have no foundation in the primary sources. I contend that our picture of what the various magistrates were typically doing in their year of office has been blurred by a general failure to keep empirically established data in the centre of attention. Robert Broughton's work *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*,³⁵ which (especially in the pre-digitized world) fundamentally "transformed the possibilities for research on Roman politics",³⁶ does provide a most valuable inventory of the evidence for the magistrates of the Republic and their actions, but despite its meticulous documentation it is, in many single instances, overly reliant on earlier scholarly tools, above all the list of statutes in Rotondi's work.

Rotondi's work has only recently been replaced by new lists. The volume of Dieter Flach covers the Early Republic down to the Licinio-Sextian legislation, that of Marianne Elster the Middle Republic.³⁷ A work by an international team of scholars planned to replace Rotondi's list in its entirety, *Les lois des romains*, is apparently well under way, under the direction of Jean-Louis Ferrary and Philippe Moreau.³⁸ However, I find it most unfortunate that all these works, which will be indispensable works of reference for years to come, have retained the "nomonomastics" of Rotondi

³⁵ T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* I–II, New York 1951–52, with *Supplementum*, New York 1960 (revised edition, Atlanta 1986). For an excerpt from Broughton's autobiography documenting his work on the magistrates, see J. Linderski (ed.), *Imperium sine fine. T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic*, Stuttgart 1996, 31–33. A few examples of earlier modern *fasti*: J. Seidel, *Fasti aedilicii von der Einrichtung der plebejischen Ädilität bis zum Tode Caesars*, Breslau 1908; G. Niccolini, *I fasti dei tribuni della plebe*, Milano 1934.

³⁶ J. Briscoe, *JRS* 78 (1988) 268.

³⁷ D. Flach, *Die Gesetze der frühen römischen Republik. Text und Kommentar*, in Zusammenarbeit mit S. von der Lahr, Darmstadt 1994; M. Elster, *Die Gesetze der mittleren römischen Republik*, Darmstadt 2003.

³⁸ For a full presentation of the project, see <http://www.enssib.fr/bibliotheque/documents/dessid/rrblecaudey.pdf>

and his generation of legal historians. By presenting the laws by their conventional (but usually reconstructed) names, neatly arranged in chronological order, they do not only give the impression that the evidentiary basis for our knowledge of republican legislation is more substantial than what it actually is, but also contribute to perpetuate many poorly founded notions pertaining to the contents, chronology and authorship of these laws. This is particularly true of reconstructed law titles embodying *gentilicia* of the (supposed) proposers, as the attribution of republican laws entails more difficulties than what has usually been recognized.³⁹

Political leaders or Lacedaemonian kings?

A fresh look at the consulship of republican Rome, which after Mommsen's analysis has received very little scholarly attention from the point of view of its constitutional position and development,⁴⁰ is no doubt likely to yield important new insights into its historical evolution. In a series of studies I have proposed that the current appreciation of this magistracy, especially in the pre-Sullan period, is not compatible with the evidence we have, but based upon modern surmise involving a host of unwarranted suppositions. I have, above all, suggested that the role of the consuls in civil legislation before Sulla's reforms is much smaller than what is usually thought. A scrutiny of the primary sources cited as evidence for consular legislation in this period yields that such legislation frequently is, in fact, of uncertain authorship or, indeed, altogether conjectural.⁴¹

There has been a conspicuous bias among modern scholars to connect poorly documented legislation, or even altogether hypothetical laws (usually postulated by modern scholars in order to account for some recorded

³⁹ For a discussion of the problems involved, see Sandberg (above n. 13) 41–44.

⁴⁰ Among the few original studies devoted specifically to the consulship we should note E. De Ruggiero, *Il consolato e i poteri pubblici in Roma*, Roma 1900 (rist., Roma 1968) and A. Giovannini, *Consulare imperium* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 16), Basel 1983.

⁴¹ See Sandberg (above n. 13) 45–96; see also Sandberg (above n. 27) 140 ff. Also Richard Mitchell observed that consular legislation is frequently most dubious, see *Patricians and Plebeians. The Origin of the Roman State*, Ithaca – London 1990, *passim*.

innovation), with consuls or other curule magistrates. As I have demonstrated, these kinds of laws actually make up a significant share of legislation attributed to such magistrates. Whereas the classical authors are quite consistent in representing the tribunes of the plebs as the principal law-makers of the entire pre-Sullan Republic, the record of consular activity in surviving historical accounts is essentially a record of feats in war. This is certainly no mere reflection of a historiographical tradition significantly preoccupied with martial *res gestae*, because it is all clear that the supreme magistrates of much of this period spent most of their year in their military provinces. However, the scholarship of the 19th century, transmitted by Rotondi and other scholarly aids, has brought into circulation a number of very dubious consular statutes that, having taken on a life of their own, are hard to cancel from the collective awareness of scholars. It is evident that this body of hypothetical laws has influenced scholarly views of the political system, perpetuating the (in my view) erroneous notion, that consuls before the Sullan reforms were significantly engaged in civil legislation, which was passed in the centuriate assembly or in a tribal assembly at the disposal of curule magistrates.⁴²

I have shown that consuls and other curule magistrates of the pre-Sullan period cannot be connected with procedure in the legislative popular assemblies, unless we deal with legislation concerning military matters or foreign relations.⁴³ This, I contend, suggests that the consuls' formal role in civil affairs was much limited in the centuries preceding the last century BC, if not *de iure* at least *de facto*. That is, I do not share Richard Mitchell's view that the dichotomy *domi-militiae* reflects an original feature of the Roman

⁴² I have endeavoured to demonstrate that, before the Sullan revision of the constitution, the *comitia centuriata* was an exclusively military assembly possessing no civil competence, and that the only tribal assembly was the *concilium plebis*, which met solely under tribunician presidency, see above all Sandberg (above n. 13) 105–10 as well as (containing a lot of new argumentation) Sandberg (above n. 27) 148–53. See also K. Sandberg, "The concilium plebis as a Legislative Body during the Republic", in U. Paananen et al., *Senatus populusque Romanus. Studies in Roman Republican Legislation* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 13), Helsinki 1993, 74–96 and "Tribunician and Non-Tribunician Legislation in Mid-Republican Rome", in C. Bruun (ed.), *The Roman Middle Republic. Politics, Religion and Historiography, c. 400–133 BC. Papers from a Conference at the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, September 11–12, 1998* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 23), Rome 2000, 121–40.

⁴³ See, for instance, Sandberg (above n. 13) 58 ff. and (with additional argumentation) Sandberg (above n. 27) 141 ff.

political system, that the consuls lacked civil competence, and that civil legislation always was an exclusively tribunician domain. In my opinion it is not possible to discard the traditions, conspicuously present in all surviving Roman historiography, of a political struggle between patricians and plebeians, which also serves well to explain many particularities in the constitution of the Classical Republic. I have argued that, during the course of the Conflict of the Orders, the sphere of action of the consuls was increasingly confined to the military realm of public life, whereas they in civil life gradually lost their initiative to the tribunes of the plebs. It was, I believe, only the Sullan revision of the constitution that made the consulship a predominantly civil office. Only at this point did it become customary for the consuls, and for all the praetors, to permanently reside at Rome during their year in office.

The prevailing current model of the Roman consulship prior to Sulla's reforms appears to be a modern construct made necessary by a widespread preconception that plebeian officials cannot have been responsible for the bulk of the legislation already before the *lex Hortensia* of 287 BC. Mitchell is quite right in observing that such a view is altogether arbitrary, and should be substituted with a model which better accords with the evidence.⁴⁴ Moreover, as this presumption is largely based on the reluctance to accept that the Roman aristocracy relied on plebeian officials for legislation, it is interesting to note that no scholar has ever cast into doubt the historicity of the tribunician *ius intercessionis*, which was undeniably a *telum acerrimum* in Roman political life.⁴⁵ The tribunes of the plebs were not entitled to lead the Roman legions, but early became key figures in domestic politics. It is significant that Augustus, creating the basis for the Emperor's power, resolved to make the *tribunicia potestas*, and not the *imperium consulare*, a perpetual element of this power base.

Not fully appreciating the fact that the political system of republican Rome did not constitute a single unitary hierarchy but actually consisted of two parallel organizations, scholars have been too prone to regard the consuls as the ancient Roman counterparts to modern political leaders. Of course, it is inevitable that analogies always influence the historical interpretation of the past, but maybe we should make a more conscious effort not to view republican Rome with modern eyes. Is it really necessary

⁴⁴ Mitchell, *Patricians and Plebeians*, 191.

⁴⁵ Liv. 3,55,1. See my remarks in Sandberg (above n. 13) 142.

to postulate consular participation and supervision in all areas of public life? A consideration of the constitutional experience of classical Sparta could no doubt provide potentially fruitful points of comparison.

As is well known, in the Lacedaemonian state the powers of the dual kingship were much limited in the civil realm of public life, especially in time of peace. The political initiative largely rested with the ephors, five annually elected magistrates whose extensive powers included the right to check the royal exercise of power. In the martial realm, however, the powers of the kings were almost unlimited. This kind of constitution is clearly echoed in Polybius' representation of the political system of Rome, which he perceived as a mixed constitution, where the powers of the exponents of the monarchic element, i.e. the two consuls, were effectively checked by the other elements in the constitution in the city, but practically unlimited in the field.⁴⁶ There are other interesting parallels between Sparta and Rome. In Sparta the meetings of the Apella were originally presided over by the kings, but later this popular assembly met under the presidency of the ephors. That is, laws and other enactments passed by the popular assembly, which just like the Roman assemblies could only approve or reject the proposals put before it, normally originated with the ephors, and not the kings. In Rome this is paralleled by the domination of the tribunes in legislation. It is also interesting to note that Sparta too had a council of elders, the Gerousia, which much like the Roman Senate (the very words share a similar formation) had a central position in policy making and possessed important judicial functions.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Pol. 6,12. For a detailed commentary of Polybius' account of the Roman political system, see F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius I*, Oxford 1957, 635–746.

⁴⁷ Recent years have seen a substantial flow of publications on political institutions and the constitutional development of the Lacedaemonian state. A short bibliography of relevant works may include the following titles: D. A. Miller, "The Spartan Kingship. Some Extended Notes on Complex Duality", *Arethusa* 31 (1998) 1–17. L. Thommen, *Lakedaimonion Politeia. Die Entstehung der spartanischen Verfassung* (Historia Einzelschriften 103), Stuttgart 1996; E. Baltrusch, *Sparta. Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Kultur*, München 1998; M. Meier, *Aristokraten und Damoden. Untersuchungen zur inneren Entwicklung Spartas im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und zur politischen Funktion der Dichtung des Tyrtaios*, Stuttgart 1998; P. Oliva, "Politische Praxis und Theorie in Sparta", W. Schuller (Hrsg.) *Politische Theorie und Praxis im Altertum*, Darmstadt 1998, 30–42; N. Richer, *Les éphores. Études sur l'histoire et sur l'image de Sparte (VIIIe–IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ)*, Paris 1999; G. Cuniberti, "Lakedaimonion Politeia", *SIFC* 18 (2000) 99–111; M. Kōiv, "The Origins, Development and Reliability of the Ancient

There can be no doubt that Polybius' whole understanding of monarchic power, which he recognized in the Roman dual consulship, is extensively based on his perception of the Spartan kingship. Before the inception of the Hellenistic age, Sparta was clearly the most famous and best known of the small number of contemporary monarchies in the Greek world. Its peculiar constitution had attracted the curiosity of other Greeks long before Polybius' time. In the early fourth century BC the Athenian writer Xenophon wrote a treatise of the Spartan political system.⁴⁸ This system figured prominently also in works on political theory which were undoubtedly familiar to Polybius. In fact, in the first known proper discussion of the mixed constitution, in Aristotle's *Politica*, Sparta is singled out as a particularly good example of a state with this kind of constitution.⁴⁹ His pupil Dicaearchus of Messana wrote a now lost discussion of the mixed constitution, entitled *Tripolitikos*, which probably was focusing primarily on the Lacedaemonian state.⁵⁰

Tradition about the Formation of the Spartan Constitution", *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 1.3 (2000) (<http://www.ut.ee/klassik/sht/2000/koiv2.pdf>), 27 pp.; S. Link, *Das frühe Sparta. Untersuchungen zur spartanischen Staatsbildung im 7. und 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, St. Katharinen 2000; S. Sommer, *Das Ephorat. Garant des spartanischen Kosmos*, St. Katharinen 2001; E. Lévy, *Sparte. Histoire politique et sociale jusqu' à la conquête romaine*, Paris 2003.

⁴⁸ A new edition of the *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* is S. Rebenich, *Xenophon. Die Verfassung der Spartaner*, Darmstadt 1998. Also a new commentary has been published recently: M. Lipka, *Xenophon's "Spartan Constitution". Introduction, Text, Commentary*, Berlin 2002.

⁴⁹ Aristot. *pol.* 2,1265b–1266a. For a discussion, see R. A. De Laix, "Aristotle's Conception of the Spartan Constitution", *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 12 (1974) 21–30.

⁵⁰ Walbank (above n. 46) 639 ff. There is a vast scholarly literature dealing with Polybius' account of the political system of Rome, and with the theory of the mixed constitution in antiquity. Important discussions include K. von Fritz, *The Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity. A Critical Analysis of Polybius' Political Ideas*, New York 1954; G. J. D. Aalders, *Die Theorie der Gemischten Verfassung im Altertum*, Amsterdam 1968; P. Catalano, "La divisione del potere in Roma", *Studi in onore di G. Grosso*, Torino 1974, 667–91; C. Nicolet, "Polybe et les institutions romaines", *Polybe. Neuf exposés suivis de discussions*, Vandœuvres – Genève 1974, 209–65; W. Nippel, *Mischverfassungstheorie und Verfassungsrealität in Antike und früher Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 1980; C. Nicolet, "Polybe et la "constitution" de Rome. Aristocratie et démocratie", C. Nicolet (éd.), *Demokratia et aristokratia: À propos de Gaius Gracchus. Mots grecs et réalités romaines*, Paris 1983, 15–35; Millar (above n. 25) 1–19; A. W. Lintott,

Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed current scholarly approaches to the politics of the Roman Republic, arguing that the constitutional and legal basis for political life does not receive the attention it deserves. I have also argued that the prevalent models of the political system of the pre-Sullan Republic, which still largely rest on nineteenth-century pioneer work, are built upon inadequate foundations. Not only are they overly reliant on data pertaining to post-Sullan conditions, they also rest heavily on notions which clearly represent preconceptions and modern conjecture. A fresh look at the political system of the pre-Sullan Republic, focusing exclusively on the actual evidence, is likely to provide interesting new insights.⁵¹

Åbo Akademi University

"Democracy in the Middle Republic", *ZSS* 104 (1987) 34–52; Id. 1999, 16–26 and 214–25. See also, G. M. Rogers, "Introduction. Polybius Was Right", F. Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East I. The Roman Republic and the Augustan Revolution*, edited by Hannah M. Cotton & Guy M. Rogers, Chapel Hill – London 2002, xi–xvi. For my own views of Polybius' account, see Sandberg (above n. 13) 29–33 and Sandberg (above n. 27) 154–157.

⁵¹ As the director of the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae (the Finnish Institute at Rome) from August 2006, I will lead a research project on the political system of the pre-Sullan Republic.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CCXXIII. IMMER NOCH NEUE COGNOMINA

Hier eine weitere Auslese. Zu den im folgenden gebrauchten Abkürzungen und diakritischen Zeichen s. *Rep.*² 475. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 189.¹

Acinianus: *AE* 2002, 1260 *c* (Nicopolis ad Istrum; aufs 2. oder den Anfang des 3. Jh. datiert) *figulus f(aciendum) c(uravit) Acinianus*. Kann als Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Acinius* aufgefasst werden; dieser ist aber nur wenig verbreitet.

Actilla: *Rep.* 288. Dazu *IGLS* 2957 (Heliopolis) *Longina Actilla*. Kajanto 349 führt ähnliche Bildungen aus *Actus* an: *Actianus*, *Actinus*, und zu ihnen gesellt sich *Actilla* zwanglos. Man fragt sich jedoch, ob für diese Bildungen möglicherweise die beliebten griechischen Namen *Acte* und *Actius* als Ausgangspunkt gedient haben mögen (auch Kajanto weist auf *Actius* hin, aber *Acte* war in Rom noch beliebter).

! *Ambustus*: Kajanto 245 als Cognomen eines Zweiges republikanischer Fabii (zwischen 406 und 315), sonst nirgends bezeugt. Was hat *CIRB* 1278, 25 (Tanais, 220 n. Chr.) Αμβουστου (Gen.) damit zu tun? Die Beurteilung hängt davon ab, ob man einerseits den republikanischen Fabii Ambusti einen solchen Berühmtheitsgrad beimisst, dass es zulässig ist, einen späten Nachzügler in Skythien Anfang des 3. Jh. anzunehmen, und ob andererseits einige einheimische Parallelen ausreichen, den Namen als epichorisch einzustufen: Ιραμβουστου (Gen.) *CIRB* 1242, 18 (ebenfalls aus Tanais, 188 n. Chr.).² Nun waren die Fabii Ambusti im römischen

¹ Mein herzlicher Dank geht an Peter Kruschwitz, der meinen Text einer sprachlichen Durchsicht unterzogen hat. Mika Kajava und Olli Salomies haben meinen Text in bewährter Weise durchgelesen. Hugo Beikircher danke für die Durchsicht von CCXXIX.

² L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste*,

Bewusstsein wohl kaum so bekannt, dass man im skythischen Beleg ohne weiteres eine entfernte Erinnerung an sie erkennen darf. Demnach liegt hier kein Fall des sonst bekannten Namenbrauchs vor, auch in Provinzen sonst wenig geläufige Cognomina berühmter Römer in bewusster Anlehnung an die erlauchten Namensträger zu gebrauchen.³

Ἀμπλιανή: *Anal. Bolland.* 31 (1912) 198. 208 (Beroe-Augusta Traiana in Thrakien, ca. 320–324 n. Chr.). Aus dem ebenfalls seltenen Cognomen *Amplus -a*, bei Kajanto 274 zweimal als Männer-, einmal als Frauennamen verzeichnet; dazu *CIL* VI 36472 (Frauennamen).

Aquileienseis: Kajanto 196 mit vier Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu *ILJug.* 1150 (Poetovio). *ISM* III 2, 31 (Männernamen). *CIL* III 1214 vgl. *AE* 1971, 385 = 1982, 833 (Praefectus einer Auxiliareinheit, severisch).

Argutus: Kajanto 249 mit 6 Belegen. Dazu *IRCatal* II 75 (iesso, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). *ISM* II 343 (Tomis, 2./ 3. Jh.).

Aurora m.: *AE* 1975, 76 (Rom, 2./ 3. Jh.) *Valerio Aurorae liberto*. Kajanto 216 verzeichnet nur den Frauennamen mit drei Belegen; dazu noch *AE* 1989, 395 = *HEp* 2, 39 (Emerita).

Auruncus: Kajanto 180 mit Postumus Cominius Auruncus, cos. 501. Dazu *CIL* VI 1882 vgl. 32287 *Auruncus(?) lib.* (der Name in der verschollenen Inschrift ist verschiedentlich überliefert, doch liegt die Konjektur *Auruncus* auf der Hand). Die in *Rep.*² 299. 497 irrtümlich zweimal angeführte Ableitung jetzt in Pilhofer, *I. Philippi* 222. 226.

Baeticus: Kajanto 198. Literarische Belege: *Sil.* 16, 464. *Mart.* 3, 77, 1. 3, 81, 1. *Cod. Iust.* 4, 14, 2 (215 n. Chr.). Sonst üblich etwa in Rom und Umgebung, auch in Hispanien (trotz Kajanto): *CIL* II 395. *AE* 1905, 24. 1972, 254. 1975, 504.

Barbarianus: Kajanto 313 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ILBulg.* 263 (Sostra, 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Barbario: Kajanto 313 mit 6 Belegen. Dazu *Vives* 254 (Pax Iulia). *ILJug* 17171. 1718. *AE* 1983, 748 (Dalmatien, derselbe). *ISM* I 193 I, 95

Praha 1955, 101 § 117 zerlegt den Namen in *Ιραμ-βουστος*. Die Herkunft von *Αμβουστος* aber bleibt unsicher; auch Zgusta 188 § 274 lässt die Frage der Herkunft offen.

³ Zu dieser Namengewohnheit H. Solin, "Un aspetto dell'onomastica plebea e municipale. La ripresa di nomi illustri da parte di comuni cittadini", in: *Varia epigraphica. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia, Bertinoro, 8–10 giugno 2000*, Faenza 2001, 411–427. Beispiele aus dem griechischen Osten auf S. 421.

(Istros, 138 n. Chr.). *CIRB* 36, 27 (Pantikapaion, 275–278 n. Chr.).

Barbatio: Kajanto 224 mit zwei späten Belegen. Dazu Popescu, *Inscr. Gr. et Lat. DAC. Scyth. Min.* 272 e, 3 (Salsovia, 4. Jh. n. Chr.). *PLRE* III 170 (gebürtig in Thrakien, Offizier in Belisarius' Leibwache 545–547 n. Chr.).

Bracarius: Kajanto 198 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 25000.

**Britannio* Kajanto 201 aus Cassiod. *hist.* 4, 36 ist zu entfernen. Der fragliche Mann, Augustus 350 n. Chr., hiess *Vetranio*; *Britannio* beruht auf einem Missverständnis der falschen Lesart der Cassiodor-Stelle, wo *Ω bretanio* bietet, die Emendation aufgrund von Socr. 264, 13 Βετρανίωv ist aber unerlässlich.⁴

Brundisinus -a: Kajanto 193 mit vier Belegen für den Männernamen und fünf Belegen für den Frauennamen. Der Name ist besonders häufig in Brundisium anzutreffen: *AE* 1978, 205. 229 (Männernamen). 1980, 304 (Frauennamen). Anderswo: *CIL* VI 14107 (*Brendesinus*). *NSc* 1919, 322 Nr. 63 (Rom). *ICUR* 23847 vgl. *Analecta epigraphica* 375 (Dat. Βρενζεινο).

!*Cacus*: Kajanto 216 mit vier Belegen. Von ihnen auszuschneiden *CIL* VI 2854, wo *Gaius* zu lesen ist; vgl. 32613.

!*Caecus*: Kajanto 238, der ausser dem Censor einen Beleg aus *CIL* III 14756 anführt, der aber unsicher bleibt. Was hat damit *AE* 2002, 974 f–h (Stempel auf Eisenstangen von Wracken, gefunden im Mittelmeer vor dem Rhône-Delta, Herstellungsort wohl in der Narbonensis zu suchen, beiderseits um Christi Geburt) *Caeci* (Gen.) zu tun? Könnte hier das ausser dem des Censors sonst nicht sicher belegte Cognomen vorliegen?⁵ Oder haben wir es mit dem Gentilnamen *Caecius* zu rechnen?⁶

Caesaria: Kajanto 178 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *RAC* 44 (1968) 140 (Rom). *AE* 1991, 1651 (Clupea in der prov. proc., chr.). *IGLS* 1147 (Seleukeia Pieria).

Caesarius: Kajanto 178 mit einem heidnischen und sieben christlichen Belegen. Dazu *I. Jordanie* II 83 (christl.).

Caesoninus: Kajanto 161 mit Belegen allein aus dem Senatorenstand (republikanische Calpurnii Pisones und *PIR* S 698). In Kleinasien: Heberdey

⁴ Der Mann in *RE* VIII A 1838 Nr. 1 (dort weitere Belege für die Form *Bret-*). *PLRE* I 954 Nr. 1.

⁵ Möglicherweise entsprechend der oben unter *Ambustus* thematisierten Namensitte.

⁶ Die Editoren des Fundes L. Long – C. Rico – C. Domergue, *Africa Romana* 14 (2002) 182 wollen hier unbedingt ein Cognomen erkennen.

– Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* (1896) 68 (Hierapolis Kastabala) [M. A]ὐρ. Καισωνεῖνος Δημήτριος β[ο]υλητῆς, Sohn von M. Αὐρ. Δημήτριος ὁ καὶ Στράβων βουλητῆς. Wie der Mann aus Hierapolis den Namen erhalten hat, ist nicht zu ermitteln.

Calendarius: Kajanto 219 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 193 (fem. Καλανδαρία). 38 (2004) 167. Dazu *CIL* VIII 8420 (scheint ein zweites Cognomen zu sein). *ILAlg* II 7382 (byz.).

Camars: Kajanto 190 mit zwei Belegen, davon ein Senator. Ein weiterer Senator: *PIR*² L 356 (Septimius Severus).

Campus: *Arctos* 32 (1998) 238 aus Luceria. Dazu *AE* 1920, 46b (Mauretania Caesariensis).

Κανδιδία: *IGB* III 1632 (Beroe – Augusta Traiana in Thrakien, 2./3. Jh.) Κανδιδέα. Wohl so aufzufassen; auch der Mann führt das lateinische Cognomen *Valentinus*. Kajanto 227 weist für den Männernamen *Candidius* einen einzelnen afrikanischen Beleg nach.

Candidinus: Kajanto 227 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *RIU* 1424, ein miles cohortis Maurorum. *Candidina*: *Rep.*² 498.

Captianus: *AE* 1957, 204 (Volubilis, severisch) *C. Sertorius Captianus proc(urator)*. Auch *Captus* ist selten; Kajanto 350 verzeichnet davon nur zwei Belege, und auch von ihnen bleibt *CIL* VI 5847 unsicher;⁷ dagegen Martyrol. Hier. 5 Kal. Mai. in Capria (Diakon).

Caralitanus -a: Kajanto 193 mit zwei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu *CIL* VI 210 (Centurio der X Prätorianerkohorte, 208 n. Chr.), wohl derselbe in *EE* VIII 644. *AE* 1981, 183 (Nomentum, *Pompeia C.*).

Carnuntina: *RIU* 147. Kajanto 204 kennt nur den Männernamen *Carnuntinus* (mit zwei Belegen).

!*Casperianus*: *Rep.*² 498 (ein Primipilaris, belegt in Amasea). Denselben Namen will K. J. Stark, *Personal Names* (s. oben zu *Caelestinus*) 132 in palm. CSPRYNS erkennen.

Celerianus: Kajanto 248 mit fünf heidnischen und zwei christlichen (samt drei femininen) Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 167 mit zwei weiteren Belegen. Dazu noch *AE* 2002, 882 (Londinium). *SEG* XLV 985 A, 35 (Chersonesos auf der Tauris, 174 n. Chr.).

⁷ Möglicherweise ist die Variante *Carpus* vorzuziehen, aus Gründen, die ich in dem in Vorbereitung befindlichen Buch über die epigraphischen Studien der frühen Neuzeit näher behandeln werde.

Celsianus: Kajanto 230 mit 10 Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 1902 *b* = *SEG* LI 1783 B/C 14 (Hierapolis Phryg., Hadrian).

Celtiber: Kajanto 198 mit hauptsächlich hispanischen Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 27881 (Sklave).

Cognitus: Kajanto 278. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 194. 37 (2003) 175 mit östlichen Belegen. Dazu noch *AE* 2002, 1315 *b* = *SEG* LI 472 (Messene, 70 n. Chr.).

Κομῑτᾶς: Kajanto 256. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 168. Dazu Beševliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.* (1964) 119 (Odessos, 6. Jh. n. Chr.) Κομητᾶς (wenn denn nicht zu dem altgriechischen Namen Κομήτης (aus κομήτης), in Bechtel, *HPN* 483 in der dorischen Form Κομᾶτας zitiert).

Κομῑτῑσσα: *Arctos* 38 (2001) 168. Dazu *I. Jordanie* II 97 (558 oder 573 n. Chr.).

Consentius: Kajanto 194 mit vier christlichen Belegen. Dazu Greg. M. *epist.* 9, 74 (defensor patrimonii in Campanien).

Cosconiana: *AE* 2002, 1677 (prov. proc.). Vom Männernamen *Cosconianus* verzeichnet Kajanto 145 drei Belege; dazu *CILA* II 3, 9717. *HEp* IV 105. *RIB* 1534.

Crinitus: Kajanto 223 mit zwei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu der Männernamen *AE* 1931, 47 (Neapolis in der prov. proc., christl.). 2002, 1137 (Pann. sup.); der Frauennamen *AE* 1983, 123 (Ostia).

Crispianus: Kajanto 223 mit 3 Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 195 mit zwei weiteren Belegen). Dazu *EAM* 25 (Aiane, 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Crispinianus: Kajanto 223. Dazu *AE* 1969/70, 71 (Rom, 372 n. Chr., Grammaticus). *Inscr. It.* X 5, 453 *AE* 1975, 547 (IIIvir in Verona?). *HEp* IV 114. *ILJug* 306. *RIU* 304 (veteranus). 436 (Legionszenturio). 943 (veteranus). Suppl. 24. *IDR* III 5, 592 (Apulum). *ILAlg* II 7456. 7527. *ILT* 574. *AE* 1993, 1591 (Apameia Syr.) *duplicarius alae I Ulp(iae) Cont(ariorum)*.

Κρισπῑνῑος: *I. Leukopetra* 116, 9 (Beroia, 309 oder 311 n. Chr.) Κρισπῑνῑος ὁ καὶ Ἰνάχιος. Wegen des örtlichen und zeitlichen Kontexts kaum als Gentilname aufzufassen.

Cumanus: Kajanto 191 mit drei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen.⁸ Dazu *TPSulp* 120 [*C*]umanus (Name

⁸ Zu streichen ist (wie auch Kajanto vermutet) der Freund des Ti. Gracchus, C. Blossius, denn *Cumanus* in seinem Namen ist eine echte Herkunftsbezeichnung.

oder Herkunftsbezeichnung?). *ILAlg* II 5141 (Männernamen).

Cumquodeus: Kajanto 216 mit einem Beleg.⁹ Dazu *P. Tjäder* 2 (570 n. Chr.) *numerarius in scr(i)n(io) suburbicar(io) et canon(um)*. Greg. M. *dial.* 4, 27 Rechtsanwalt in Rom, Ende 6. Jh. n. Chr.

Dacianus: Kajanto 203 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *SB* 5608 (Theben, 8. Jh. n. Chr.).

Dalmata: Kajanto 203 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1989, 601 (Salona). *ILJug* 831 (Burnum) *M. Aurel. D., protect(or) co(n)s(ularis)*.

Deodatus -a: Kajanto 217 mit drei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu *Conc. Gall.* a. 511–695 p. 65 (*PLRE* III 395): *vir inlustris* in Gallien 529 n. Chr.

Domnianus: Kajanto 362 mit einem christlichen in der Form *Domnianus* überlieferten Beleg. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 176 (christl. *Domnanus*). Die Grundform Δομνιανός Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* 658 Nr. 605 [Aὐρ.] Φιλόδ[η]μος Ἀντω[ν]εινιανός Δομν[ι]ανός Εὐμενεὺς βουλευτῆς (Sohn Flaccus). *P. Iand.* 118 (3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Domnina: Kajanto 362. *Arctos* 38 (2001) 171. Dazu *AE* 1962, 109 (Aquincum, *Aurelia D.*). *IGLS* 703. 923. 924. 1029.

Domninus: Kajanto 362. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 176. 38 (2004) 171. Heidnisch noch *IGUR* 1672; aus dem Osten *IGLS* 2679. *I. Jordanie* IV 125.

Domnus: Kajanto 362 mit einem heidnischen Beleg (*CIL* XI 3266). In der Tat war *Dom(i)nus* nicht so üblich wie *Domna* (nur selten wird *Domin-*geschrieben).¹⁰ Doch wird er durchaus gebraucht, besonders im griechischen Osten: *Nuova sill. epigr. Rodi e Cos* (1925) 473 (Kos). – *I. Perinthos-Herakleia* 178 (4./5. Jh.). Αὐρ(ῆ)λιος Δόμνος Ἡρακλεώτης. *CIRB* 1262 (Tanais, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). *IPE* I² 484 Αὐρήλιος Δόμ[v]ος οὐετρανός (Chersonesos). – Öfters in Kleinasien: Jonien: *I. Ephesos* 1090 Πάφ[ιος?]. – Mysien: *I. Kyzikos* 253 Γ. Κόρρτιος Δόμινος. – Lydien: *RECAM* II 9 Ἀτταλεάτης. – Karien: *I. Mylasa* 613 (480 n. Chr.). – Phrygien: *CIG* 3883h. – Aizanoi: *MAMA* IX 116. 161; M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, Mainz 1986, 85 Nr. 202. – Appia: *MAMA* X 111. *SEG* XXVIII 1104 (christl.). – Dorylaion: *AM* 25 (1900) 431 Nr. 54. Haspels, *The*

⁹ In der Zitation verbessere 7, 35 in 7, 32.

¹⁰ Kajanto verzeichnet nur zwei Belege für *Domin-* (*CIL* X 3395. V 6192), doch erscheint diese Schreibweise etwas öfter: *CIL* VI 2149 (von Iulia Domna; so auch XIII 5085. VIII 24031. 24091. *IGB* 5214. *AE* 1901, 61 = 1916, 101 aus Neferis in der prov. proc.). 22417. XII 3020. Δόμινος *I. Kyzikos* 253.

Highlands of Phrygia (1971) 356 Nr. 149. *SEG* XIV 790. – Pessinus: *Bull. ép.* 1970, 601 (4. Jh. n. Chr.). – Augustopolis: *JRS* 2 (1912) 253 Nr. 9. – Häufig in Laodicea Combusta und sonst in Ost-Phrygien: *MAMA* I 72 (vgl. *SEG* XXXV 1362; unsicher). 142 (heidn.). 197. 224. 261. 264. 324 (chr.). VII 39. 41. 61. 261. 347. 430. 475 (heidn.). 75. 104d. 537. 551. 459. 569. 573 (chr.). *SEG* VI 362. – Bithynien: *I. Kalchedon* 86 (christl.). – Paphlagonien: *Studia Pontica* III 70 (Neoklaudiopolis). 213 (Euchaita). – *I. Sinope* 135 Πόντιος Δόμνος. – Galatien: *RECAM* II 2. 4. 21. 131 (2mal). 203. 241. 263. 265. 267. 310. 349. 352. 366. – Lykaonien: *MAMA* VIII 23 (= *CIL* III 12142). 137 (heidn.). 65. 221a. 280. 293 (chr.). *I. Lykaonien* I 368. – Ikonion: *CIG* 3998. *JHS* 22 (1902) 342 Nr. 66. *RECAM* IV 94. 160. 194. 208. Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey* 198 Nr. 207. 208. – Pisidien: *SEG* II 756 (5. Jh. n. Chr.). – Termessos: *TAM* III 1, 626 (3. Jh. n. Chr.). – Antiocheia Pisid. *IGRR* III 303 Ἰούλιος Δό[μ]νος. – Kilikien: Heberdey – Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* 95. *MAMA* III 306. 353 (Korykos, beide chr.). – Hierapolis Kastabala *SEG* XXXIX 1509 (3. Jh. n. Chr.). – Kappadokien: Vater des Sophisten Julian aus Kaisareia unter Konstantin (*RE* Suppl. III 411). – Üblich im syrischen Gebiet, wo er sich mit einem semitischen theophoren Namen aus der Wurzel *d'm* deckt:¹¹ *CIG* 4528 (bei Libanos). *Bull. ép.* 1954, 241 (6./7. Jh.). *FD* III 1, 204 Φλ. Δόμνος Ἀντιοχεύς βουλευτής. *IGLS* 168 (Nikopolis). 597. 616 (beide Antiochene, chr.). 921. 922 (Antiocheia). 1378 (Larissa, 202/203 n. Chr.). 1547 (4. Jh. n. Chr.). 1578 (517/8 n. Chr.), derselbe 1584. 2112. *SEG* XLVI 1964 (Golan). XLIX 1998 (Epiphaneia, 442 n. Chr.) dortiger Bischof. Ferner mehrere andere Bischöfe Ende 3. bis 5. Jh. n. Chr.: von Antiochien (3. und 5. Jh.), Apameia, Gabala; weitere Bischöfe, wohlgermerkt unbekannter Herkunft, sind bezeugt für Aspendos, Bosphoros, Kukusos, Maximianopolis, Metropolis, Orkistos, Pannonien, Strido, Trapezus; ferner Presbytern und Märtyrer.¹² – Jüdischer Arzt des 5. Jh. n. Chr., *RE* V 1526 Nr. 3 = *PLRE* II 375 Nr. 2. – Ägypten: *P. Lond.* II S. 297 Nr. 239 (4. Jh. n. Chr.). *P. Oxy* IX 1204 (299 n. Chr.). *P.*

¹¹ Vgl. z. B. F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *RStudFen.* 19 (1991) 3–21. Aber nach K. J. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, Oxford 1971, 132 ist palm. DWMNYN' gleich lat. *Domnina*. Und Δόμνος fehlt in H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930.

¹² Die Belege finden sich bequem in *ThLL Onom.* III 215. – Im einzelnen ist der Artikel *Dom(i)nus* etwas unkritisch und enthält mehreres, was eher als Appellativ *dominus* zu beurteilen ist.

Select. 3 (156 n.Chr., Arsinoite nome). *O. Heid.* 288 (röm.). *SB* 9615 (spät). *SEG XLIX* 2168 (Paneion, spät.). *P. Genova* 41 (7./8. Jh.). *Prosop. Arsin.* 1679 (Δῶμνος, 7. Jh.). Möglicherweise aus Alexandrien stammt der Töpfer Δόμνος (chr.).¹³ – Doch fehlen westliche Belege durchaus nicht: *IGUR* 31 (Freigelassener des Commodus). 1197 (Vater Δόμνος, Tochter Δόμνα). *CIL* XI 3266. XII 4324 vgl. S. 845 (Narbo, 206 oder 263 n. Chr.?) *L. Iunio Domno.* II 6273. *AE* 1909, 24 (Masclianae in Afrika, Name?). – In jüdischen und christlichen Gemeinden im Westen: ¹⁴ *JIWE* II 435 (Δόμνος). 540 ([Δ]όμνος π[ατ]ῆρ συναγωγ[ῆς Β]ερνάκλων).¹⁵ *ICUR* 3434 (*Donnus*). 18150 (*[D]omnus*; die Ergänzung scheint sicher zu sein). 19818 Δόμνος Ματρώνη συμβίω.¹⁶ Martyrol. Hier. 5 Id. Iul. (in Rom). *CIL* V 1593 = *I. Aquileia* 3344 (Deutung nicht ganz sicher).¹⁷ – Unbekannter Herkunft sind mehrere Namenträger, die im Codex Iustinianus angeführt werden: 4, 16, 6. 6, 2, 13. 7, 45, 9. 7, 27, 7. 10, 52, 4. 12, 35, 7 (alle 2. Hälfte des 3. Jh.). Ferner einige spätantike Beamte: Pomponius D., rationalis Aegypti 299–300 n. Chr. (*PLRE* I 267 Nr. 3); agens in rebus im Osten im Jahre 358 (*PLRE* I 267 Nr. 1); consularis Siciliae 368: Cod. Theod. 8, 5, 29;¹⁸ ex duce im Osten: *Oros. apol.* 6, 1. 7, 6 (var. lect. *Dominus*), war im Jahre 415 in

¹³ Vgl. M. Vallerin, *Syria* 71 (1994) 171–204, bes. 174 (in seinem Verzeichnis fehlen Exemplare u. a. aus Ephesos (*I. Ephesos* 572) und Side (*I. Side* 245)).

¹⁴ Unsicher bleiben *ICUR* 17773h, wo der Editor aus den Buchstaben DMNO (von denen vom vermeintlichen N nur ein winziger Rest angedeutet wird) diesen Namen rekonstruiert. 20058 *[Do]mno*, wo ebenso gut etwa *[Hy]mno* ergänzt werden kann (freilich ist *Hymnus* in den altchristlichen Inschriften Roms nicht belegt, vgl. aber *Hymnis*, *ICUR* 26387). 20561 (gemalte Inschrift), wo der Editor, gegen die Lesung des Erstherausgebers, (πρὸ) ζ' ΠΠ ... ΔWNNOC I ... zu lesen geneigt ist; wie er aber selbst bemerkt, ist vielleicht eher πρὸ ζ' Καλ[αν]δῶν Νοεν[βρίων] zu verstehen. 20999 *D̄M̄FIL*, was der Editor als *D(o)m(no) fil(io)* deutet.

¹⁵ Trotz der griechischen Sprache und der Stellung des Mannes als Würdenträger in der Synagoge braucht er kein östlicher Einwanderer zu sein, kann es aber. Dasselbe trifft für den ersteren zu. Beide Inschriften sind ungefähr aus dem 3. Jh. oder etwas später.

¹⁶ Die Frau führt einen lateinischen Namen, die Familie war also romanisiert, d. h. es besteht, trotz der Verwendung des Griechischen, kein Anlass, hier den syrischen Namen anzunehmen.

¹⁷ Hingewiesen sei noch auf einen frühmittelalterlichen Beleg aus Spanien: I. Velázquez Soriano, *Las pizarras visigodas* (1989) 45 II, 5 aus dem 7. Jh. Hochmittelalterliche Belege aus Italien in G. Savio, *Monumenta onomastica Romana medii aevi (X–XII sec.)* II (1999) 318 Nr. 37589–37596, hauptsächlich aus dem 10. Jh.

¹⁸ *RE* V 1526 Nr. 1 = *PLRE* I 267 Nr. 2.

Jerusalem.¹⁹ Zuletzt sei mehrerer Adressaten des Libanios gedacht (s. *RE V* 1526 Nr. 2). Wenigstens im Westen (und auch in Kleinasien) war der Frauenname üblicher als *Domnus*, und dieser war deutlich populärer im Osten als im Westen. Auch wenn in östlichen Belegen teilweise der semitische Name vorliegen kann, ist Δόμνος auch ausserhalb des syrischen Raumes, besonders in Kleinasien,²⁰ derart verbreitet, dass doch ein guter Teil der Namenbelege als lateinisch, direkt auf *dominus* bezogen, bewertet werden muss. Möglicherweise wurde *Domnus* in der späteren Antike, aus welcher der grösste Teil der Namenbelege stammt, im Westen deswegen eher vermieden, weil ihm eine Art Tabuvorstellungen innewohnte: in der heidnischen Umgebung wurde *dominus* vor allem von Kaisern oder anderen Würdenträgern gebraucht, in der christlichen wiederum war es Gott vorbehalten. Auch die massenhafte Verwendung von theophoren und metonymisch als Anthroponyme gebrauchten Götternamen in Kleinasien, Syrien und Ägypten kann dazu beigetragen haben, dass *Dominus* in diesen Gebieten so beliebt wurde. Auch im Griechischen wurde nicht Κύριος umfassend als Personennamenname gebraucht;²¹ dagegen waren Ableitungen wie

¹⁹ *PLRE II* 375 Nr. 1.

²⁰ Kaum als epichorischer Name deutbar; von einem solchen Namen und ähnlichen Bildungen fehlt bei Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Praha 1964 jede Spur.

²¹ Bechtel *HPN* 513 belegt den Namen aus Mytilene: *IG XII* 2, 323 (hellenist.). Sonstige Belege (auzuscheiden der in *LGPN IIIA* angeführte vermeintliche spartanische Beleg aus *I. Priene* 316, der rätselhaft bleibt): Samos *IG XII* 6, 153 (2. Jh. v. Chr.). *I. Ephesos* 2327 Κύρις (ob Personennamen?). *I. Anazarbos* 352. *RECAM IV* 69 (Ikonion). *I. Tyana* 10. Häufig in Ägypten: *CIG* 5032 = *SB* 8505 (severisch). *P. Flor.* 71. 87 (4. Jh. n. Chr.). *P. Mich.* 224, 6346 (2. Jh. n. Chr.). *O. Wilck.* 1190 (röm.). Herkunft unbekannt *SEG XLVIII* 2128, 16 (4./5. Jh.). – Wie bei *Domnus -a*, ist auch Κυρία häufiger belegt, freilich nicht im griechischen Mutterland: 2mal in Thrakien und 2mal im Bosporanischen Reich (laut *LGPN IV*). Üblich in Kleinasien: *CIG* 4249 (Tlos). *MAMA I* 79. 272. 291. III p. 56. IV 263. VII 119. 154. 209. 261. VIII 173. 237. IX 176 (Aizanoi, 256/6 n. Chr.). Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey* 167, 159 (Phrygien); *Wolfe Expedition* 382, 557. 389, 564 (Phrygien). *IK* 62, 623 (Neapolis in Phrygien, chr.). Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscr. de Phrygie* (1978) 2 (eine Aurelia aus Laodikeia in Lykaonien). *JHS* 19 (1899) 194 (Lykaonien). *SEG I* 453 (Lykaonien). *RECAM IV* 11 (Ikonion). Heberdey – Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* (1896) 51. – Jerusalem *SEG XLVI* 2012 (vor 70 n. Chr.). Ägypten: *P. Michael.* 33 (5. Jh. n. Chr.). *P. Oxy* 498 (2. Jh. n. Chr.). 914 (486 n. Chr.). 1901 (6. Jh. n. Chr.). *PSI* 175 (426 n. Chr.). *SB* 7662 (1. Jh. n. Chr.). – Herkunft unbekannt: *CIG* 6960. – Im Westen kommt der Name wie folgt vor: In Rom selbst ist *Cyrius* nicht mit Sicherheit belegt, dagegen *Cyria* 2mal (s. mein *Namenbuch*² 443). Dazu *CIL XIV* 1638 (oder *cyria*?). XII 3549. *SEG IX* 848 (Karthago). *Amm.* 29, 5, 28 (373 n. Chr.), Schwester

Κύριλλος Κυρίων einigermaßen verbreitet, und so auch *Dominus* und andere. Deswegen konnte im Westen der Frauename *Domna* sich wenigstens in christlichem Brauch leichter durchsetzen als *Domnus*, und im Osten beide, da in der griechischsprachigen Umgebung die 'Bedeutung' des Namens kein solches Hemmnis für seine Verwendung darstellte. – Ich habe die obige Übersicht wissentlich lang werden lassen, um zu zeigen, wie die Vernachlässigung der östlichen Dokumentation das Bild von der Verbreitung eines gegebenen lateinischen Namens verzerren kann.

Δομνοῦς: *IGLS* 2113 (sicher Frauename). Zu diesem Frauennamensuffix vgl. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 170f. Der Name ist in diesem Fall aber eher als semitisch zu bewerten; vgl. oben zu *Domnus*.

Egnatianus: Kajanto 146 mit sieben Belegen. *Rep.*² 499. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 171. Dazu *IGLS* 719 (Rhosos) Ἰγνατιανός.

Ἐννίων: Glaskünstler, in Sidon tätig, 1. Jh. n. Chr. S. z. B. *SEG* XXXII 1625. XLI 1768. XLIII 1228. XLV 2254. XLVIII 2079. LI 2228f.²² Ich sehe keine andere Erklärungsmöglichkeit als eine Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Ennius*, der auch im griechischen Osten belegt ist: *I. Ephesos* 664B Ἐννιος Ῥοῦφος ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας. *CIL* III 266 (Ancyra, *Hennius*). 12141 = *MAMA* VIII 19 (Lystra in Galatien) *C. Ennius Rufus Ennio Rufo patri et Enniae sorori et Ennio fratri et Enniae matri*.

Epetina: *ILJug* 2220 (Salona). Zur Deutung vgl. den folgenden Namen.

Epetinus: *AE* 1978, 744 (Dyrrhachium) *Ti. Claudius Epetinus*. Ableitung aus dem Toponym *Epetium* nahe Salona. Das entsprechende Ethnikon ist identisch: *Epetini* in *CIL* III 12815. Die Stadt war ursprünglich eine griechische Gründung, doch in der Kaiserzeit voll romanisiert, und das Cognomen muss nach den von Kajanto festgelegten Prinzipien als lateinisch klassifiziert werden.

Fadianus: Kajanto 146 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *IGB* 1923 (Serdica). Vom Frauennamen *Fadiana* verzeichnet Kajanto einen Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 11705. – Der Grundname (der direkte Ausgangspunkt für *Fadianus* ist der Gentilname *Fadius*) *Fadus:* Kajanto 178 mit drei Belegen; weitere östliche

eines mauretanischen Fürsten. Martyrol. Hier. 15 Kal. Iul. (in Aquileia). *IGLRom* 305 Κυρία (Spiegel, gef. in Sucidava). Der Männername: *CIL* X 6565 (364/375 n. Chr.) *Lol(lius) Cyrius princ(ipalis) cur(iae)*.

²² Zu ihm vgl. D. B. Harden, *JRS* 25 (1935) 164–169; *Syria* 24 (1944–1945) 88f.; *Bull. ép.* 1996, 120. 2002, 122.

Belege *Arctos* 35 (2001) 197. 38 (2004) 172. Dazu noch eine unpublizierte Inschrift aus Byzantion; s. *LGPN* IV 339, wo zwischen Dat. von Φάδος und Nom. fem. Φαδῶ geschwankt wird; da aber der Name vorzüglich als lateinisch erklären lässt und als Männername auch sonst im griechischen Osten vorkommt, dürfte auch hier der lateinische Männername vorliegen, obschon der Kontext nicht feststeht.

Finitianus: Kajanto 352 mit vier norischen und pannonischen Belegen. *Rep.*² 499 aus Savaria. Dazu *AE* 2002, 1095 c (Vasengraffito, Virunum).

Flaccinus: Kajanto 240 mit fünf Belegen für den Männernamen (fünf für den Frauennamen). Dazu Männername *AE* 2002, 209 (Rom) Φλακίνο(v) (scheint so zu deuten zu sein). *AE* 1965, 74 (Lusitanien). 1975, 490 (Conimbriga). 1977, 361 (Lusitanien). 1992, 1008 (Hispanien). *CILA* II 246. *IRMusNav* 48. *AE* 1977, 675. 676 (Sarmizegetusa). 1924, 45 (Teos). – Frauennamen *Aquae Flaviae* 287. *CILA* II 1055. 1080. *HEp* VIII 588. X 532. *AE* 1973, 381 (Raetien). *ILAlg* II 5209.

Forensis: Kajanto 208 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *SI* 3 Locri 5 (Patron von Locri, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). *AE* 1961, 607 (Sitifis).

Formianus -a: Kajanto 181 mit zwei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu *AE* 1993, 759 a (Torcello, Wasserleitungsrohr, Ende 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Aemilia Formiana*.

Frequentianus: Kajanto 289 mit einem Beleg aus *CIL* V. Dazu *AE* 1994, 1414 Sirmium (b. f. cos., 209 n. Chr.). 2002, 1124 (Neviodunum in Oberpannonien, ca. 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Gaiana: Kajanto 172. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 173 mit kleinasiatischen Beispielen. Weitere östliche Belege kommen aus Makedonien, s. *LGPN* IV 76; ferner *IGB* III 1018 (Philippopolis).

Gemellianus: Kajanto 295 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *Athenaeum* 39 (1961) 71 (Rom).

Generinus: *AE* 2002, 971 (Narbonensis, 544 n. Chr.). Vorausgesetzt, dass die Lesung stimmt, haben wir hier ein neues Cognomen, das sich wohl nur als lateinisch erklären lässt. Zugrunde liegt entweder *gener* (nicht als Name bezeugt) oder *genus*, woraus der Name mit dem selbständigen onomastischen Suffix *-inus* gebildet wäre. Im ersteren Fall könnte man vergleichen etwa *Patrinus* (soweit nicht zu einem unbelegten *patrinus*), *Comitinus*, auch *Paterninus*, *Paterc(u)linus*. In dem letzteren Fall wären heranzuziehen bedeutungsmässig *Gentinus* (*AE* 1959, 195) zu *gens* (wenn

nicht zu *Gentius*), morphologisch *Honorinus*, *Leporinus*, *Litorinus*, *Temporinus*, alle aus Appellativa von -s-Stämmen gebildet. Und im Sprachempfinden der Namenbeobachter konnte auch das mit positivem Sinngehalt behaftete Cognomen *Generosus* vorschweben; -inus und -osus nebeneinander z. B. in *Candidinus* – *Candidosus*, *Gaudinus* – *Gaudiosus*, *Micinus* – *Micosus*, *Priminus* – *Primosus*, *Urbicinus* – *Urbicosus*.

Germanio: Kajanto 201 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *RIU* 1047 (Freigelassener).

Graniola: *Rep.* 340. Dazu *AE* 2002, 969 (Narbonensis, christlich) *Craniola* (wohl hierher zu stellen).

Grumentinus -a: Kajanto 193 mit je einem Beleg für den Männernamen und Frauennamen. Dazu *Inscr. It.* III 1, 174 (Frauenname).

Habetdea: *CIL* X 7744 (Carales, chr.) *Abeddea*. Sexus steht nicht fest, es wird sich aber um die feminine Motion von *Habetdeus* handeln (wenn denn nicht als semitisch zu bewerten, wegen der Endung -*dea*; man könnte ja den Frauennamen, der eigentlich *Habetdeam* lauten müsste, als weniger passend zum christlichen Gottesbegriff denken).

Hiemalis: *A E* 2002, 1023 (Treviri, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Zu *hiemalis* gebildet. Vgl. *Hibernus Hibernalis*, *Autumnalis* (*ZPE* 43, 1981, 251), *Vernalis*.

Hispanilla: Kajanto 199, der keine hispanischen Belege verzeichnet. Nunmehr kennen wir solche: *AE* 1976, 277. *Epigr. Cantabra* 64 (*Isp-*).

Ινγένης: *ISM* I 211 (Istros, ein Ulpus). *IGB* I² 47 c, 27 (Odessos, ein Aurelius). Könnte eine Kontamination von *Ingenuus* und den Namen auf -γένης darstellen. Vgl. etwa *Primigenes*, oft im östlichen Reichsteil belegt (*Rep.* 383. *Arctos* 37 [2003] 184), Kontamination von *Primigenius* und *Πρωτογένης*.

Italus. Aus dem Senatorenstand führt Kajanto 180 einen Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XI 377 C. *Cornelius C. f. Quir. Felix Italus* (= *PIR*² C 1357).

Iulitta: Kajanto 171. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 203. Dazu noch *AE* 1981, 159 (Ostia). *ILJug* 1339. *ILAlg* II 4020. *IG* X 2, 1, 706 (Thessalonike).

Laenilla: Kajanto 210 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1980, 279 (Brundisium). 1981, 158 (Ostia). *I. Byzantion* 563 (Selymbria, 2./3. Jh.).

Lauricius: Kajanto 334 mit drei Belegen (samt einem Frauennamenbeleg). Dazu *CIL* II² 7, 531 (Corduba). *PLRE* I 497 Bassidius Lauricius, v. c., comes et praeses Isauriae 359 n. Chr. *I. chr. Macéd.* 252 (Philippi). *I. Jordanie* IV 138 Λαυρίκιος ἑγγραψα. Frauenname: *ICI* VII 45

(Dertona).

Λιβωνιανός: *Rep.* 351 aus Ephesos. Dazu *ILAlg* II 9496 P. *Fullonius Li[b]onianus* (die Ergänzung dürfte über alle Zweifel erhaben sein). *AE* 2001, 1902 b = *SEG* LI 1783 B/C 13 (Hierapolis Phryg., Hadrian) Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Ἀπολλωνίδης Λιβωνιανός.

Λοπικίνα: Popescu, *Inscr. Gr. et Lat. Dac. Scyth. Min.* 46 (Tomis, 5./6. Jh.). Ist wohl *Lupicina*. Den Männernamen *Lupicinus* belegt Kajanto 328 zweimal in heidnischen, 6mal in christlichen Inschriften.

Lucas: *Rep.* 353. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 205. 38 (2004) 177. Jetzt kann ich einen frühen Beleg nachweisen: T. Dremsizova-Nelchinova – G. Tocheva, *Antikhni terakoti ot Bulgariia*, Sofia 1971, 108 (Terrakotta, Amphipolis, 2./1. Jh.) Λουκᾶ (Gen.).

Luc(i)ensis: Kajanto 189 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *Mart.* 1, 2, 5.

Lucrinus -a: Kajanto 192 mit drei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu als Männername *CIL* VI 14655/6. 27879.

Lupianus: Kajanto 327. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 177. Dazu noch *AE* 1958, 97 (Eburacum, centurio ex evocato). 1975, 591 (Avaricum). 1977, 609 (Dalmatien). 1989, 437 (Segobriga). 2002, 1115 (Dalmatien). *ILJug* 665. *AIJug* 399 (Poetovio). *AE* 1994, 1408 (Sirmium). *RIU* 879. – Frauennamen: *HEp* II 661 = III 361b. *IRCPacen* 107.

Lutatianus: Kajanto 149 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.*² 500. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 177. Dazu *AE* 1978, 858 (Belalis Maior in der prov. proc.). *IGLS* 1361 (Apameia) *Sep(timius) Luta<t>ianus e[qu]es alae Britannicae*.

Μαγνοῦς: *IGLS* 1367 (Apameia, 169 n. Chr.) Μαγνοῦ, ἄλυπε χαίρει. 2825 (Heliopolis) μνησθῆ Μαγνοῦς. Wenn es sich nicht um eine nachlässige Schreibung des üblichen Männernamens *Magnus* handelt, liegt ein mit dem Suffix -οῦς gebildeter Frauennamen vor. Dieses Suffix wird zuweilen auch lateinischen Namen angehängt; vgl. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 170f.

Mallianus: Kajanto 149 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1991, 901 (Tyndaris). *I. Lipara* 370.

Marsianus -a: Kajanto 185 mit drei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu *PME* D 26 Q. *Domitius Marsianus* aus Bulla Regia (Mark Aurel).

Marsicus: Kajanto 185 mit fünf Belegen.²³ Dazu *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 98 (Προυσιεὺς ἀπὸ Ὑπίου).

²³ Bei Kajanto lies "VI five" statt "V five".

Martialis als Frauenname: Kajanto 212 mit zwei Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *CIL* VI 22258.

Mauricianus: Kajanto 206 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ILAlg* II 10251 (Castellum Elefantum). *PIR*² M 70 Μαυρικιανὸς Μήνιος, *a commentariis*(?) des Praefectus Aegypti 209 n. Chr.

Mauricius: Kajanto 206. Oft bei spätantiken Beamten: *PLRE* I 569f Nr. 1–2. III 854–862 Nr. 1–10.

Maurilio: Kajanto 206 mit einem heidnischen un drei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 19423.

Maurilius: Kajanto mit 206 mit einem Beleg (6. Jh. n. Chr.). Dazu *ICUR* 17097 = *CIL* VI 9226 (überliefert Dat. NONIO MANRYLIO).

Maurilla: Kajanto 206. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 182. Dazu *AE* 1980, 470 (Florentia). 1967, 159 (civitas Izaeditanorum). 1981, 558 (Hispania). 2002, 731 (Baetica) *Maurila*. *CILA* II 461 (Italica). *ERCantab* 76 (Iuliobriga). *HEp* VI 102 (Emerita).

Maurula: Kajanto 206 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 17585.

Mellina: *ILAlg* II5963 (Thibilis, unfrei Geborene) *Melline fil(iae)*. Der Männername *Mellinus*: *Rep.* 361.

!*Mellis*: Kajanto 130; in den Namenlisten selbst hat Kajanto vergessen, die Belege einzutragen (sie würden zunächst auf S. 284 neben *Melleus*, *Mellitus* usw. gehören).²⁴ Ich kenne deren zwei, beide aus Afrika: *CIL* VIII 2782 (Lambaesis, 2.Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *Mellis Diogenis f.*, Frauenname im Genetiv oder Dativ; *Bull. arch. Comité Trav. hist. et scientif.* 1911, CLXXVIII = *ILTun.* 1710, 55 (Thabraca, christlich) *Mellis in pace* (wohl Frauenname, da auf dem Grabstein ein betendes Mädchen dargestellt wird). Diese Belege wird Kajanto im Sinne gehabt haben. Er stellt den Namen zu *mel*, aus dem er mit dem beliebten griechischen Frauennamensuffix *-is* abgeleitet wäre. Ob diese Ableitung ganz stichhaltig ist, steht dahin, denn Cognomina, die direkt aus *mel* mit einem selbständigen Namensuffix abgeleitet wären, gibt es sonst nicht (*Melleus* gehört zu *melleus*, *Mellitus* zu *mellitus* und *Mellosus* zu *mellosus*). Da aber andererseits genaue Entsprechungen von epichorischen afrikanischen Namen fehlen, muss man sich mit dieser Erklärung begnügen (und zur Sippe um *mel* gehörige Namen sind üblich in Afrika).

²⁴ Kajanto stellt hierher auch *Mellarius*; dies Cognomen gehört aber besser zu S. 321 in die Gesellschaft von *Ceparius*, *Pomarius*, usw. Dagegen ist in Kajanto 284 hinzuzufügen *Mellinus -a* (s. oben gleich oben unter *Mellina*).

Memorinus -a: Kajanto 255 mit zwei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu Männername *HEP* VI 98. *IGLS* 1357 (Apameia): M. errichtet den Grabstein einem Soldaten der legio II Parthica Severiana. Frauennamen *RIU* 969 (Sopianae, 3. Jh. n. Chr.). *Tabellae Sulis* 3.

Merga: Brescia. *L'età romana. La città, le istituzioni*, Milano 1998, 29 (C. Stella), 98 (A. Valvo) aus der spätrepublikanischen oder augusteischen Zeit *C. Clodiu[s - f. -] / Merga* (vor MERGA findet sich ein Spatium [danach wiederum ein Punkt], der Name ist also ohne weiteres intakt, auch weil man nicht sieht, wieso der Name auf zwei Zeilen verteilt wäre).²⁵ Das Cognomen könnte mit *mergae -arum* "Mähgabel, mit der das gemähte Getreide in Haufen zusammengestreift wird" in Verbindung stehen; die Glossarien kennen auch den Singular: *merga = furca*. Cognomina, die zu Bezeichnungen von Haushaltsgeräten gebildet sind, gibt es sowohl in der lateinischen als auch in der griechischen Anthroponymie. Selbst aus *furca* ist abgeleitet *Furcatus*, belegt aus Teos in Jonien (*AE* 1924, 45; kaiserlicher Freigelassener). Wenn das zugrundeliegende Appellativ ein Femininum der ersten Deklination ist, kann das Cognomen, wie so oft im Lateinischen, ein Männernamen werden: etwa aus demselben semantischen Bereich *Dolabella*, *Falcula*, *Groma*, *Regula*. Normalerweise sind diese Bildungen aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen, was den Genuswechsel nur verständlicher macht.

Minervinus -a: Kajanto 213 mit vier Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu der Männername: 58. *BRGK* 161 (Bonna, 226 n. Chr.) *optio principis leg. I M(inerviae)*. *AE* 1950, 233 (Berytus, aus Emesa). Frauennamen: *Inscr. It.* I 1, 32 *Tabellae Sulis* 9.

Munda: Kajanto 232 mit drei Frauennamenbelegen. Dazu *I. Lipara* 458.

Mundus: Kajanto 232 mit 12 Belegen. Dazu *IGLS* 188 A (Beroia, christlich).

Nemonianus: *Rep.* 363. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 211. Dazu *O. Claud.* 358 (curator im Mons Claudianus oder centurio unter Antoninus Pius) Νεμωνιανός. *SB* 15455 (Myos Hormos, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Domitius Nemonianus*. Dass die beiden Belege aus Ägypten kommen, ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass am Namen *Nemonius* mit Ableitungen nicht Ägyptisches haftet (s. *Arctos* 35 [2001] 239f). An sich ist die Namensippe *Nemonius*

²⁵ Der Text auch in *AE* 1995, 603. 1999, 728.

reichlich gerade im Osten belegt, wo sie eine gräzisierte Form von *Numonius* vertritt, und ist dann in dieser Form durch östliche Einwanderer zurück nach Italien gelangt, wo *Nemonius* besonders in Campanien und Rom gut belegt ist.²⁶

Nerullus: Kajanto 176 mit einem Beleg (samt drei Frauennamenbelegen. Dazu E. I. Solomonik, *Novie epigraficheskie pamiatniki Khersonesa*, Kiev 1964, 111, 12 (Chersonesos auf der Tauris, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Νέρυλλος.

Nervicus: Kajanto 201 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *ICUR* 13347 (384 n. Chr.).

Nocturnus: Kajanto 220. *Rep.*² 501. Dazu *AE* 2002, 1038 (Gelduba in der Germania inferior). Der Frauenname: *I. Lingons* 525 (Freigelassene) *No<c>turna*.

Nomentana: *CIL* VI 18973 *Gellia Noment[ana]*.

Nomentanus: Kajanto 182 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *CIL* X 7490 (Lipara). 8053, 248(?). *AE* 2002, 1252 (Olbia in Skythien, 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Nominatus: Kajanto 279. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 212. Dazu *AE* 1977, 265b (Ravenna) *Iulius Nominat(us)*. *IGB* V 5129 (Mesambria, 4. Jh. n. Chr.).

Nonnosus -a: Kajanto 366 mit drei Belegen für den Männernamen und sieben für den Frauennamen. Dazu Männernamen: *AE* 1975, 411c' (Aquileia, christl.). 1992, 1361 (Noricum, 533 n. Chr.) *diac(onus)*. Frauenname: *CIL* X 1525. III 14368, 18 (christl.). XIII 2420 (christl.).

Numantina: Kajanto 199 mit einem Beleg (2 für den Männernamen). Dazu *IRCatal.* II 26. 29 (Aeso, dieselbe).

Numerius: *Rep.* 370. Dazu noch *IG* X 2, 1, 868 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) Νουμέριος (Vater Νουμήνιος). *I. Byzantion* 255 (2./1. Jh. v. Chr.) Νεμέριος. Heberdey – Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* (1896), 244 Αὐρ. Ἰ[ερ]ωνυμιανὸς Νουμέριος und Αὐρήλιος Δημητριανὸς Νουμέριος; wohl der letztere wird noch 146 Nr. 246 als Συεδρεὺς angeführt.

Numidius: Kajanto 206 mit drei (oder fünf) Belegen.²⁷ Dazu *ICUR* 14512 [*ex a]gente in rebus*. *AE* 1901, 168 = 1994, 427 (Capua, 360 n. Chr.). *CIL* VIII 18072 (Lambaesis) *librarius principis*. *ILAlg* I 2071 (Madaura).

Octavus: Kajanto 293 mit fünf Belegen (samt einem Frauennamenbeleg). Dazu *IGLS* 743 (1./ 2. Jh.).

²⁶ Das ist die Ansicht von Olli Salomies.

²⁷ Zwei Belege sind im Genetiv und haben die Endung *-di*, können also auch zu dem an sich nicht regelgerechten Nominativ *Numidus* gehören.

Ofellianus: Kajanto 152 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VI 647 VI, 7. *AE* 2002, 1606f = *SEG* XLIV 1489 (Kellis in Ägypten) Αὐρήλ[ιος] Ὀφελλιανός.

Onerata: *AE* 1977, 504 (Isca in Britannien). 2002, 634 a (Turris Libisonis, christlich). *CIL* VIII 24377. I. *Altava* 162. Der Männername *Oneratus* 2mal bei Kajanto 353, dazu *Arctos* 37 (2003) 183 aus Athen. Es liegt kein Grund vor, hier eine Nebenform des üblichen Cognomen *Honoratus -a* zu erblicken.

Opilio: Kajanto 323 mit zwei Belegen vor der Spätantike. Dazu *AE* 2002, 556 b (Altinum, 1. Jh. n. Chr.). *IRCPacen* 10 (Ossonoba, ca. 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Oppianus: Kajanto 152 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1977, 265a II, 16 (Ravenna, Faber). 2002, 1315 a (Messene, 70 n. Chr.).

Paconianus: Kajanto 152 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu *AE* 2002, 1684 (Sicca Veneria) *M. Herculanius P. fil. Quirina Calvinus Paconianus praefectus cohortis prime aequitate Hispanorum*, etc.

Papilio: Kajanto 333 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2002, 1720 (Rom(?), Freigelassener, 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

Picus: Kajanto 216 = 332 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *NSc* 1916, 104 Nr. 93 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *C. Mecenias P. CIL* II² 875 (Mirobriga).

Pinus: Kajanto 335. Auch im griechischen Osten: *IG* II² 2191, 113 (193–195 n. Chr.). *SEG* XXXVII 972 (aus Chios, 161/162 – 172/173 n. Chr.). 973 (ebenfalls aus Chios, 171/172 n. Chr.). H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* (DAW 237 = Ergänzungsband zu TAM 19), Wien 1994, 241 (74/75 n. Chr.) (kaum als kleinasiatisch zu beurteilen).²⁸

Polinus: Kajanto 162. Dazu *AE* 2002, 1104 (Noricum).

Portensis: Kajanto 182 mit sieben Belegen (davon vier aus Ostia). Dazu *AJPh* 48 (1927) 24 (Rom). *IRPCadiz* 425 (Gades). *AE* 1985, 951 (Caesarea Mauret., christl.).

Portus: *AE* 1965, 231 (Thamugadi) *M. Annus Portus*.

Praestantius: Kajanto 276 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ILAlg*

²⁸ Ich übergehe hier die Frage, ob *Pinus* aus *pinus* gebildet wurde, wie Kajanto meint, oder ob es eine Ableitung aus *Pius* darstellt; so J. Reichmuth, *Die lateinischen Gentilicia und ihre Beziehungen zu den römischen Individualnamen*, Diss. Zürich 1956, 76 und M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, Zürich und Stuttgart 1959, 66. Doch spricht einiges für die letztere Ansicht, so die Schreibung *Piina* in *CIL* III 2602.

II 7876 (Cuicul). *I. Byzantion* 296 (3. Jh. n. Chr.) Αὐρ. Πολύτιμος ὁ καὶ Πρεστάντιος.

Praetorianus: Kajanto 317. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 181. Dazu *I. Sestos* 27 (Kallipolis) [Π]ραιτωρ[ια]νός (die Ergänzungen haben viel für sich).

Procillianus: Kajanto 177 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 215. 38 (2004) 181. Dazu *IGLS* 4016bis (Arados) Δομίτιος Λέων Προκιλλιανὸς ὁ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός, derselbe *AE* 1969/1970, 610, Statthalter von Syria Phoenice 207 n. Chr., *RE Suppl.* XIV 114 Nr. 63a.

Προκκληιανός: Heberdey – Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* (1896) 74. Wenn -ηιανός die sog. regelrechte Schreibung vertritt, dann ist das Cognomen als eine Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Proc(u)leius* zu bewerten. Auf ähnliche Weise ist ohne weiteres auch *AE* 1929, 144 (Misenum) *Antonius Procleianus centurio classis paraetoriae Misensis* zu urteilen.

Pudentinus: Kajanto 264 mit zwei Belegen (samt einem Beleg für *Pudentina*). Dazu *I. Messina* I 63 Nr. 18. *RIB* 91. Sexus bleibt unsicher: *CIL* VIII 21648.

Punicus: Kajanto mit fünf Belegen (von denen nur einer in Afrika). Dazu *ILAlg* II 5588.

Πουπλάς: Α' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Ἐπιγραφικῆς. Πρακτικά (1999), Thessaloniki 2001, 18 Nr. 2 (Thessalonike, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Demitsas 821, 10 (Sirra, 155 n. Chr.). Vgl. Ποπλάς *Rep.* 381.

Raeticus: Kajanto 204 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1996, 1128 (Vindonissa, Soldat).

Regillianus: Kajanto 316 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ISM* III 74 B, 23 (Kallatis, 241–244 n. Chr.).

**Reperitanus* Kajanto 209 aus *CIL* VIII 14626 ist auszuscheiden; zu lesen ist *Repentinus*: G. Camodeca, *ZPE* 43 (1981) 45.

Respectianus: Kajanto 355 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *IMS* I 125 *IGB* 863 (Durostorum, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Revocata: Kajanto 356 mit zwei Belegen (vom Männernamen 10 Belege). Dazu *AE* 1966, 122 (Faventia). Üblich in Pannonien: *AE* 1965, 50 = 1967, 377 (Aquincum). *RIU* 634 (Brigetio, chr.). 1227. 1228 (Intercisa). *Suppl.* 232. Sonst: *ILAfr* 177, 9. *ILAlg* II 3431 *Reocata*. *SEG* VIII 45, 6 (Hadrianopolis, 4./5.Jh.) Ῥεβοκᾶτα.

*Ῥωμάντιλλα *Rep.* 392 aus *NSc* 1948, 83 ist auszuscheiden: unten S. 178. In der Inschrift ist Ῥωμάνιλλα zu lesen, welcher Beleg bei Kajanto

182 nachzutragen ist (dort dreimal aus heidnischen und fünfmal aus christlichen Inschriften verzeichnet).

Romulianus: Kajanto 179 mit 10 Belegen. Dazu *IGLS* 991 (Daphne, christlich).

Rufas: Kajanto 229 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 185. Dazu *IGB* 1690 e, 19 (Pizos, 212 n. Chr.).

Rustinus: *Rep.* 394 aus Hispanien. Dazu *IGB* 1756, 7 (Beroe-Augusta Traiana, 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Sabidianus: Kajanto 154 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XXIV 531, 4 (Edessa, 180 n. Chr.).

Saguntina: Kajanto 200 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1966, 559 (Sitifis, christl.).

Sallentinus -a: Kajanto 193 mit je einem Beleg für den Männer- und Frauennamen. Dazu P. Da Bra, *Iscrizioni latine della basilica di S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*, Roma 1931, 146 Nr. 80 (Männernamen, 2./ 3. Jh.). *AE* 1978, 767 (Byllis in Epeiros) *Salle[ntinus]* (andere Ergänzungen kommen kaum in Frage).

Sarmatio: Kajanto 204 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *CIL* III 1968 (Salona, 303 n. Chr.) *Aur(elius)*.

! *Sarmatius*: Kajanto 204 mit einem unsicheren Beleg. Jetzt sichergestellt durch *Epigraphica* 28 (1966) 39 Nr. 41 (Rom).

Sarninus: *Rep.* 397. Dazu M. H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae*, Oxford 1965, 241 Nr. 1571 b (Amphorenstempel, gef. in Usk in Britannien).

Scaptina: *AE* 2002, 1171 (Vindobona).

Scodrina: *AE* 1978, 749 (Dyrrhachium) *Novia Scodrina*. Abgeleitet aus dem Toponym *Scodra* im südlichen Dalmatien, zweifellos als lateinisch einzustufen (vgl. oben zu *Epetinus*). Das Ethnikon lautete im Lateinischen *Scodrenses* (Liv. 45, 26). *Scodrina* könnte eine sonst nicht belegte Nebenform des Ethnikons vertreten oder aber ist mit dem rein onomastischen Suffix *-inus -a* gebildet.

! *Seno*: Kajanto 188 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 8186. 27454 (Freigelassener). *Bull. com.* 61 (1933) 119 Nr. 151 (Rom). *ICUR* 6323. Wenigstens die stadtrömischen Belege sind aber als *Zeno(n)* zu verstehen, besonders in Fällen, wo der Nominativ *Senon* lautet.

Septicianus: Kajanto 155 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*² 503 (Senator). Dazu *AE* 2002, 556 a (Altinum, 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

Σεργίων: *IG* II² 8903 (1. Jh. v. Chr.) Δημητρία Σεργίωνος Θράττα.

Ist der Name aus *Sergius* abgeleitet? Das bleibt etwas unsicher; notiere auch die verhältnismässig frühe Zeit des Belegs.

! Σεργωνᾶς: *Arctos* 38 (2004) 184 aus *SEG XLVI* 1985 (Golan) kann syrisch erklärt werden (s. *IGLS* II p.213). So auch der Frauennamen Σεργώ *I. Jordanie* II 74.

Servilla: Kajanto 170 mit vier Belegen. Wohl hierher zu stellen Σέρβυλλα *IG X* 2, 1, 502 (129 n. Chr.).

Sextiana: *Rep.* 402 (aus Rom). Dazu *ERPSoria* 81.

Solanus: Kajanto 339 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.* 405. Dazu *AE* 2001, 555 (Prätorianer aus Nicopolis, ca. 215–225 n. Chr.). *IGLS* 2799 (Heliopolis) im Gen. *T. Fl. Solani Lampontis* (ob eher der Gentilname *Solanus* vorliegt?).

Summus: Kajanto 277 mit drei Belegen. *Rep.*² 504. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 220. Dazu *IG X* 2, 1, 437 (2./3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Tertianus: Kajanto 292 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *EAM* 187, 18 (146 n. Chr.). *IGB I*² 11 (3. Jh. n. Chr.). II 486 (2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Tiberius: Kajanto 175. *Rep.*² 504. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 188. Dazu noch *IGB IV* 2329 (Herakleia in Makedonien, 2./3. Jh. n. Chr.). *SEG LI* 2005 (Antiocheia, 131 n. Chr.). *IGLS* 2005 (Epiphaneia) Τιβέρι(ος)?

Tittianus: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 221. Dazu *AE* 2002, 1501 (Dura-Europos, 193 n. Chr.) *Ael. T., dec. coh. II Ulp. eq. Com.*

Turritanus -a: Kajanto 209 mit je einem Beleg für den Männer- und den Frauennamen. Dazu *NSc* 1895, 485 Nr. 163 = *ILCV* 2936A (Syracusae, 418 n. Chr.; der Stein hat *LVERRITANVS*).²⁹ Frauen: *AE* 2002, 634 *a* (Turris Libisonis, christlich) [*T*]urritana. *Mourir à Dougga* (2002) 667.

Tusculanus -a: Kajanto 183 mit vier Männernamen- und zwei Frauennamenbelegen. Dazu *AE* 1958, 182 (Rom). *IRCPacen* 593. Frauen: *AE* 1984, 135 (Rom, Freigelassene). *ICUR* 14674.

Βαριλλῖνος: *AE* 2002, 1350 *b* (Bithynion-Klaudiupolis, 198 n. Chr.) στρ(ατηγὸς) Δομίτι(ο)ς Βαριλλεῖνος. Zu *Varillus -a* Kajanto 242.

Venneianus: Kajanto 160 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *I. Paestum* 100–102 (Anfang 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *M. Tullius Cicero V.*, Vater und Sohn (geschr. in 102 *Benn*-).

Vigilantius: Kajanto 359 mit einem heidnischen und drei christlichen Belegen. *Rep.*² 505 aus *PLRE* II und III. Dazu *I. chr. Macéd.* 39 Βιγιλέντιος.

Vindemiator: Kajanto 362 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ILJug* 2211

²⁹ Der Beleg steht in *Rep.*² 500 unter *Lurritanus*, ist aber dort zu entfernen.

(Salona) *Videmator*.

Vindemitor: *Rep.* 423 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *HEp.* III, 324 (Segobriga).

Vindemius: Kajanto 364 mit drei heidnischen und drei christlichen Belegen (samt 11 Belegen für den Frauennamen *Vindemia*). Dazu *ICUR* 18095. Feissel, *I. chr. Macéd.* 92 (Thessalonike).

Virgula: Kajanto 337 mit sechs Belegen als Männername. Dazu *AE* 2002, 397 *b* (Trebula Mutuesca, 60 n. Chr.).

CCXXIV. FALSCHER NAMEN

Aphroditenus. Dieser Name ist vindiziert worden für eine Inschrift aus Narbo: E. Dellong, *Carte archéologique de Gaule. Narbonne et le Narbonnais* 11/1, Paris 2002, 407 Nr. 184* mit Photo Abb. 477 und *AE* 2002, S. 751 im Index der Cognomina. Anhand des publizierten Photos liest man ohne jegliches Zögern *d. m. / [A]froditeni / [co(n)]iugi merenti*. In *AE* wird im Anfang der 2. Zeile ein abgekürzter Gentilname angenommen, die Abkürzung könnte aber nur etwa zwei Buchstaben betragen, weswegen ebenso gut angenommen werden kann, dass da kein Gentilname stand, um so mehr wenn man *[co]iugi* ohne *n* ergänzt. *Afroditeni* ist natürlich Dativ von *Aphrodite*.

Dominanda. So hat der Editor in der fragmentarischen lateinischen, aber mit griechischen Lettern geschriebenen Epitaph *ICUR* 16156 ergänzt: Δομιν[ανδα], was ganz in der Luft hängen bleibt. Daran ändert nichts, dass im Martyrologium Hieronymianum pr. Kal. Iul. (in Rom) eine Frau dieses Namens angeführt wird, denn es handelt sich um eine okkasionelle Bildung, die in einen fragmentarischen Kontext zu überführen methodisch nicht erlaubt ist.

Lacinius. S. unten S.194.

Naustrebius. Dieses Monstrum, aus der altinatischen Fluchtafel *Epigraphica* 34 (1972) 55–68 belegt, wurde schon von Solin, *Analecta epigraphica* 52f und Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* 29 richtig erklärt: zu verstehen ist *Naus (= Gnaeus) Trebius Severus*. Trotzdem geistert dieser falsche Name weiter in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion umher: G. Cresci Marrone, in *AKEO. I tempi della scrittura. Veneti antichi. Alfabeti e documenti*, Montebelluna 2002, 242f Nr. 61; daraus *AE* 2002, 556 *a* (sogar

von *Severus* getrennt).

Ῥωμόντιλλα.³⁰ In der Nachfolge des Erstherausgebers P. Griffo, *NSc* 1942, 83 Nr. 4,³¹ will I. Bitto in ihrer Edition der Inschriften von Messina 20 diesen Namen festlegen (daraus *SEG* LI 1380).³² Ein interessanter Einfall der beiden Editoren. Sie wollen einen Nexus von N und T erkennen, aber der vermeintliche Querstrich von T ist nichts anderes als eine Beschädigung des Steins (ähnliche Narben finden sich auch in anderen Buchstaben), und dass die zweite Hasta von N etwas länger ist, beweist nichts, denn im ganzen ist die Ausführung der Schrift etwas nachlässig. Es ist eindeutig Ῥωμόνιλλα zu lesen. Vor allem aber bliebe ein Cognomen *Romantilla* unerklärlich. Es kann weder durch das Lateinische noch durch das Griechische eine plausible Erklärung finden. Möglicherweise haben die beiden Editoren den Begriff der Romantik, des Romantischen im Sinne gehabt, dieser Begriff ist aber erst modern.³³

CCXXV. VERKANNTÉ IDENTITÄTEN

CIL VI 11190 *Aeteia C. I. / Thymele* ist wohl mit letzter Sicherheit dieselbe

³⁰ Der Name fehlt in *LGPN* IIIA. Die Gründe dafür sind nicht durchsichtig. Manche lateinische Namen aus griechischen Inschriften Siziliens sind aufgenommen, andere nicht, ohne dass eine Folgerichtigkeit erkennbar wäre.

³¹ Daraus ahnungslos *Rep.* 392.

³² I. Bitto, *Le iscrizioni greche e latine di Messina* I, Messina 2001, 74–76 Nr. 20 Κλ. Ῥωμόντιλλα (so wäre besser zu akzentuieren statt -ίλλα, wie bei Bitto). Merkwürdigerweise macht die Editorin von ihr eine Clodia und von ihrem Vater Κλ. Θησεύς einen Clodius, obwohl aus 23 deutlich hervorgeht, dass dieser ein Claudius war (sein Vater heisst *Ti. Cl. Claudianus*). Grosse Konfusion, die so weit geht, dass die Editorin von "Claudio Teseo" spricht, aber im Text von 20 und 21 Κλ(ωδίους) [und mit dieser Akzentuierung!] Θησεύς schreibt. – Eine Clodia Romana in Nr. 4 stammt aus einem anderen Grabbezirk.

³³ Ausgangspunkt ist spätlat. *romanice* 'auf Romanisch', d. h. in der romanischen Volkssprache (*REW*³ 7370. *FEW* X 452–457). Daraus afr. *romanz* (Tobler – Lommatzsch VIII 1438–1444) als Adjektiv 'romanisch'; als Substantiv 'romanische Volkssprache; literarisches Werk in der Volkssprache, Erzählung'. Frz. *romantique* ist Ableitung davon, und aus dem Frz. kommt dt. *romantisch* (Kluge²³ 691). Anders Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* (1928) 770: frz. *romantique* aus dt. *romantisch* oder engl. *romantic*. Zu diesen Worten im Deutschen vgl. noch *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* III (1977) 473–482.

Inschrift wie 11844 *Anteia C. l. / Thymele*. Die erstere wurde im Jahre 1736 von Domenico Giorgi "in vinea Perrucchi extra portam Pincianam" gesehen, die zweite einige Jahrzehnte später von Gaetano Marini, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 9131 f. 12 in "villa Pelucchi". Der Fundort ist zweifellos derselbe. Es handelt sich um die an der via Salaria gelegene Villa Pel(l)ucchi, wo in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts mehrere Inschriften notiert wurden; endgültig wird die Identität dadurch sichergestellt, daß sich 11190 dort von Lanciani für das Jahr 1757 aufgezeichnet findet (soweit die Lanciani vorliegende Schede wirklich *Aet-* hatte); über Lancianis Quelle bin ich nicht näher unterrichtet.³⁴ Welche der zwei Lesarten, *Aeteia* oder *Anteia*, den Vorzug verdient, ist schwer zu sagen. Der zuverlässigste der drei Gewährsleute ist Marini,³⁵ andererseits steht für *Aeteia* neben Giorgi indirekt auch Lancianis Quelle. Die beiden Gentilnamen sind in Rom gleich häufig belegt. Letzten Endes kann also nicht mit Sicherheit festgelegt werden, ob die Frau eine *Aeteia* oder eine *Anteia* war.

CIL VI 14133 stellt eine unvollständige und schlechte Abschrift von 7804 dar. Die Inschrift wurde im Jahre 1697 im Kolumbarium der villa Corsini von Pietro Santi Bartoli in seinem berühmten Bildwerk *Gli antichi sepolcri*, tav. 19 noch als unversehrt gesehen und um dieselbe Zeit ebendort von Fabretti 71, 59 (*Villa Corsina*) aufgenommen. 14133 schöpft aus Maffeis *Museum Veronense*, der eine nachlässige Fassung wiedergibt, deren rechter Teil abgebrochen war. – Mir sei noch eine Bemerkung textkritischer Art beizusteuern gestattet. Die letzte Zeile von 7804 wird von Henzen *Q. Calpurnio Q. l. Euphemio* wiedergegeben. Das Cognomen wird aber verschiedentlich überliefert. Henzen wählt Bartolis Lesung, während Buonarroti *EVPHEMERVS* und Fabretti *EVPHEMIONI* (beide ebenfalls mit Nexus von H und E) bieten. Da in der römischen Anthroponymie (dies trifft besonders für griechische Bildungen zu) das Suffix *-io* vielfach üblicher war als *-o*, wäre man geneigt, hier Fabretti zu folgen, der die Inschrift zweifellos selbst gesehen hat (wenigstens zitiert er keine Gewährsleute); und in der Tat ist *Euphemio* in Rom belegt (*CIL* VI 6655).

CIL VI 21206 steht vollständig 7482 aus vigna Amendola. Als 21206 von Detlefsen im Lateranmuseum aufgenommen wurde, fehlte der Anfang

³⁴ R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità* VI, Roma 2000, 147.

³⁵ Und Marini gibt ANTEIA (die Stelle wurde für mich eigens von Marco Buonocore kontrolliert).

der beiden Zeilen und vom Ende der ersten Zeile ein Buchstabe.

CCXXVI. VARIA URBANA

1. *CIL* VI 977* scheint echten Stoff wiederzugeben. *a* (und der linke Teil von *b*) wurde von Pighius, *Cod. Berol. pict.* A 61 f. 148v (f. 145v in der alten vom *CIL* verfolgten Numerierung) *in aedib(us) Mapheorum* (d. h. im Haus der Familie Maffei) mit drei anderen Inschriften untereinander wiedergegeben; gesehen hat er alle. Die anderen sind *CIL* VI 5846, 5871 und 875*, alle zweifellos echt.³⁶ Warum auch 977* *a* nicht echt sein sollte, versteht man nicht. Der Wortlaut *Memphis / Pompeiae libraria / v. a. XX* enthält nichts, was für eine Fälschung spräche. *Librariae* sind in stadtrömischen Inschriften bezeugt (in Rom *CIL* VI 8882, 9301, 9525, 37802); sonst möglicherweise noch in Gades (*CIL* II 1743 *B[a]jebia Veneria [lib]raria*). Welcherlei Gewerbetreibende diese *librariae* waren, steht in keinem Einzelfall fest, ob eine Spinnmeisterin (also aus *libra*) oder Schreiberin (aus *liber*).³⁷ Bedenken als eventuelle Quelle für unsere Inschrift könnte *scr(iba) libraria* in dem ligorianischen Falsum *CIL* VI 941* = *ILMN* I 632 erregen (solche Dienstbezeichnungen waren charakteristisch für Ligorios Vorgehen in seiner Fälschungsarbeit), doch steht *libraria* allein gut, während eine *scriba libraria* sonderbar wäre. Nebenbei sei noch erwähnt, dass *Pompeius -a* ein Günstlingsgentilicium Ligorios ist; dieser Umstand kann aber auf keine Weise als Argument für eine Fälschung gebraucht werden. – *b*, von Pighius nur zur Hälfte wiedergegeben, kann auch einen echten Text darstellen; in Ligorios Fassung lautet er *M. Atius Atiae l. Valens*. Der Typ der Angabe der Freilasserin durch ihr gleichlautendes Gentile ist zwar nicht üblich, läßt sich aber durchaus belegen: *CIL* VI 21462 *Q. Lollius Lolliae l. Hiero*; vgl. auch 9375 *P. Clodius A. et Clodiae l. Bromius*. In diesem Zusammenhang sei noch ein Fall erwähnt, der wohl nur als hierher gehörig erklärbar ist: *AJPh* 32 (1911) 179 Nr. 69 (Rom, etwa 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *d. m. Cn. Domiti D(---) lib. Hymni*. Da *D* unmöglich der Vorname *Decimus* sein kann (es wäre recht überraschend,

³⁶ Zu 875* vgl. H. Solin, "Ligorianiana und Verwandtes", in *E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften*, herausgegeben von R. Günther und S. Rebenich, Paderborn 1994, 341.

³⁷ Zur Frage vgl. R. F. Rossi, *Diz. ep.* IV (1958) 956.

wenn in der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit der Patron und der Freigelassene unterschiedliche Vornamen führten; außerdem ist *Decimus* ungebräuchlich in der gens Domitia). Deswegen ist es vorzuziehen, *D(omitiae) lib.* verstehen. – Auch *c* hat an sich nichts Anstößiges, und was mehr zählt, dieser Text wurde von Henzen aus Spon, *Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis*, Lugduni 1685, 224 in *CIL VI 9298a* veröffentlicht (unverständlich bleibt aber, warum Henzen *a* und *b* unter die Falsae verbannt hat). Marcia war wohl Frau des Paullus Fabius Maximus, Konsul 11 v. Chr., von deren Sklaven oder Freigelassenen auch sonst Zeugnisse vorliegen: *CIL VI 5273. 7884. 23822*. – Spon sagt, er habe die Texte *ex sched(is) Barber(inis)*. In der Hauptquelle dieser Barberinischen Scheden, *Cod. Vat. Lat. 9139*, finden sie sich nicht, wie die Durchsicht des Kodex ergab (sonst schöpft Spon häufig aus Barberinischen Scheden, die sich in diesem Kodex finden); folgerichtig muss Spons Quelle ein verlorengegangener Teil dieser Scheden sein. Sie gehen hauptsächlich auf Ligorio zurück, wie die ganze Fassung von VI 977*, die aber als echt eingestuft werden muss, auf Ligorio beruht.

2. Ein paar Quisquilien zur Edition lateranischer Inschriften durch A. Marinucci, in V. Santa Maria Scrinari, *Il Laterano imperiale II. Dagli "horti Domitiae" alla Cappella cristiana* (Monumenti di antichità cristiana II ser. 11), Città del Vaticano 1995, 261–282.

A 19. In B 2 wird [---]aegethus gelesen, aber aus dem Photo zu schliessen kann der erste Buchstabe nicht A sein. In *AE* 1995, 210b wird vermutungsweise an *Megeth(i)us* gedacht, was an sich naheliegend wäre, doch auch hier ist der erste Buchstabe ein Stein des Anstosses, der nicht ein M zu vertreten scheint (so muss man zumindest anhand des freilich unscharfen Photos S. 275 meinen). Ich habe den Namen aus der zweiten Auflage des Namenbuches weggelassen, weil ich das M für zu unsicher hielt. – In A ist das in *AE* vermutete *Stabilio* sicher und müsste auch in den Indices stehen.

A 25. Wohl [no]mencl(ator) zu verstehen. Dieselbe Abkürzung in *CIL VI 1074. 5352. 9690*. – A 33 (fehlt in *AE* 1995) schon *IGUR* 142. – A 36 (fehlt in *AE* 1995 und *SEG XLV*). 2 verbirgt eher wohl ein onomastisches Element, also Εὐγεν[---].

CCXXVII. LIGORIO, PIO UND DAS PROBLEM DER FALSAE

In der neapolitanischen Version des ligorianischen antiquarischen Werkes findet sich l. 39 ff. 117–119v (= pp. 199–204) eine Anzahl Abschriften von Inschriften, die wohl alle der Sammlung des Kardinals Rodolfo Pio von Carpi gehörten.³⁸ Aufgestellt waren sie zum grössten Teil in Pios berühmtem Weingarten auf dem Quirinal;³⁹ nur drei Inschriften gehörten zur Sammlung des Palastes von Pio in der via dei Prefetti auf dem Campo Marzio,⁴⁰ nämlich *CIL* VI 8794, 11615 und 19676. Darüber hinaus (sieht man von den ff. 119–119v wiedergegebenen sonst nirgends überlieferten Stücken ab) sind fünf Inschriften allgemein in Pios Sammlungen überliefert, d. h. sie waren entweder im Palast oder im Garten aufgestellt (*CIL* VI 12566, 16919, 21876, 29647, 29954).⁴¹

In diesem Zusammenhang interessiert uns die Problematik der Fälschungen. Die Corpuseditoren, Henzen an der Spitze, haben all diejenigen Inschriften, die sich in diesem Teil des ligorianischen Werkes befinden, in den Band der Falsae verbannt, wenn sie allein durch Ligorio überliefert sind, auch wenn der Wortlaut der Inschrift an sich einwandfrei ist. Dies war das bewährte Verfahren jener Zeit. Gefährlich aber, weil mehrere von den unter die Falsae verbannten aus anderen Gewährsleuten

³⁸ Henzen ist in seinen topographischen Angaben oft ungenau und inkonsequent. Um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen, schreibt er im Lemma von 10659 "S. I. LIGORIVS PANVINIVS (in vinea cardinalis Carpensis MVRATORI, errore ut videtur)", ohne der Tatsache Rechnung zu tragen, dass Ligorio sie unter carpsischen Inschriften hat.

³⁹ Über die Antiquitäten des Weingartens existiert eine glänzende Studie von Chr. Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Abh. Akad. Heidelberg 4), Heidelberg 1917, 43–84.

⁴⁰ Zu den im Palast aufgestellten Inschriften vgl. H. Wrede, "Ein imaginiertes Besuch im Museo da Carpi", in *Le collezioni di antichità nella cultura antiquaria europea*, Varsavia – Nieborów 17–20 giugno 1996, a cura di M. Fano Santi, Roma 1999 (RdA Suppl. 21), pp. 18–30.

⁴¹ Im Lemma von *CIL* VI 20206 wird behauptet, Ligorio gebe die Inschrift im Museum des Kardinals von Carpi an. Aber mit dem Museum wird die Sammlung im Palast bezeichnet, während Ligorio deutlich angibt, die Inschrift befinde sich im Garten auf dem Quirinal. Die Inschrift wurde auch unter die Falsae in VI 2096* aufgenommen, aber im dortigen Lemma wird die Sachlage richtig wiedergegeben. – Im Lemma von 14215 liest man "In museo aut in horto cardinalis Carpensis OMNES", doch kein einziger Zeuge schreibt die Inschrift dem Museum zu, sondern sie wird einhellig im Garten überliefert.

bekannten Inschriften auch als echter Stoff den Eingang in den eigentlichen Stammband gefunden haben. Bei der Sammlung Carpi ist noch zu bedenken, dass das Fehlen einer Nebenüberlieferung bei manchen Inschriften einfach darauf beruht, dass die Sammlung bald nach dem Tod des Kardinals 1564 aufgelöst wurde und sehr viele Stücke schnell verloren gingen.

Die von Ligorio f. 117–119v zusammengestellten Inschriften scheinen eine kohärente Einheit zu bilden und so gut wie alle der Sammlung des Kardinals zu gehören. Ich gebe zuerst ein Verzeichnis der dort enthaltenen Texte.

f. 117 (= p. 199) beginnt mit der Überschrift "De Monsignore de Carpi" und enthält eine Zeichnung der Grabara *CIL* VI 19296 (verschollen),⁴² die einen guten Teil der Seite in Anspruch nimmt. Viele gute zeitgenössische Autoren, wie Smetius, Pighius, Knibbius, Torrentius, Manuzio, überliefern die Inschrift im Garten des Kardinals.

f. 117v (= S. 200) beginnt mit derselben Überschrift. Enthalten sind *CIL* VI 29303; 10222; 8447; ⁴³ 14215; 33018. Alle haben eine reiche Nebenüberlieferung zeitgenössischer Gewährsleute, die alle (von Ligorio selbst abgesehen, der sie nur allgemein bei dem Kardinal ankündigt) die Inschriften dem Garten zuschreiben.

f. 118 (= S. 201). Auf dieselbe Überschrift folgt eine zweite: "Seguono le iscrizioni de la vigna di Monsignor R(everendo) di Carpi, le quali sono di qu(es)ti sepolchri guasti della via Appia".⁴⁴ Enthält *CIL* VI 18020 (= 1870*), 8901 (= 1806*), 28004 (= 2900*), 20762 (= 2130*), 2294*, 24370, 21591, 21652, 14216 (= 1518*), 15253, 20206 (= 2096*), 8993, 27099. Von diesen werden 15253,⁴⁵ 18020 (= 1870*), 20206, 20762, 28004, 2294* nur von Ligorio überliefert; dagegen 8901, 8993, 14216, 21591, 21652, 24370, 27099 auch von anderen zeitgenössischen Autoren,

⁴² Eine andere alte Zeichnung hat uns Giovannantonio Dosi überliefert in einer kürzlich bekannt gewordenen Handschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Florenz, hrsg. von G. Tedeschi Grisanti, "Dis manibus, pili, epitaffi, ed altre cose antiche": un codice inedito di disegni di Giovannantonio Dosio", *Boll. d'Arte* 18, 1983, 92, c. 31; dort werden weitere Zeichnungen angezeigt.

⁴³ Im Lemma fehlt die Angabe, dass auch Ligorio die Inschrift im Garten angibt.

⁴⁴ Den genauen Fundort hat Ligorio wohl erfunden.

⁴⁵ Giovanni Zaratino Castellini (vgl. M. Palma, *DBI* 21, 1978, 755f) hat Ende 16. oder Anfang 17. Jh. die Inschrift gesehen und davon folgende Notiz hinterlassen: "Rep. in colle Quirinali a card. de Carpo episc. Faventino; a. 1558 Faventiam missa". Das kann wohl nur meinen, dass Castellini die Inschrift in Pios Garten gesehen hat.

und zwar alle in Pios Garten.

f. 118v (= S. 202) mit der Überschrift "Seguono le iscrizioni della medesima vigna et tolte dalla via Appia". 23068, 1549*, 27631 [= 25400], 12796, 27361, 2608*, 18005 (= 1864*), 2520* (= 867*), 371*. Von diesen werden 371*,⁴⁶ 1549*, 2520*, 2608* nur von Ligorio in Pios Garten überliefert, 12796, 23068, 27361, 27631 auch von anderen zeitgenössischen Autoren. 18005 wiederum ist nie in Pios Sammlungen gewesen (s. weiter unten).

f. 119 = (S. 203) beginnt ohne Überschrift: 11662 (= 1140*), 29954, 8794, 22191, 15833 (= 1675*), 18174, 11615*b* [= 10419], 16919, 26286, 1625*, 13731, 11615*a*. Von diesen werden 11662, 13731, 15833, 18174, 1625* nur von Ligorio überliefert, 11615*a*, 11615*b*, 16919, 22191, 26286, 29954 auch von anderen zeitgenössischen Autoren (im Garten, im Palast oder nur allgemein bei Pio).

f. 119v (= S. 204) beginnt ebenfalls ohne Überschrift. Links: 21876, 25360, 29647, 12566, 24226, 24652, 10659, 1101*; rechts: 27802 (= 1468*), 2953*, 1495*, 28994, 19676 (= 3614*). Am Ende steht eine Zeichnung der Grabara 19891 mit der Beschriftung "Accanto la via Aurelia nella vigna di Madama Camilla dell'Anguillara"; ob sie je in Carpis Sammlung gewesen sein könne, bleibt sehr unsicher und sogar unwahrscheinlich.⁴⁷ Vor diesem Stück endet also das den carpischen Inschriften gewidmete Kapitel der Handschrift. Von den in f. 119v wiedergegebenen Inschriften werden 10659, 24226, 24652, 28994, 1101*, 1495*, 2953* nur von Ligorio überliefert, 12566, 19676, 21876, 25360, 27802, 29647 auch von anderen zeitgenössischen Autoren (im Garten, im Palast oder nur allgemein bei Pio).⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ausserdem gibt Pighius die Lokalisierung "Carpi". Stammt diese Notiz möglicherweise von Ligorio?

⁴⁷ Der einzige Umstand, der für eine carpische Zugehörigkeit sprechen könnte, ist, dass Muratori 1541, 13 den Stein bei Pio anzeigt, und er hat den Text aus den vatikanischen Scheden des Manuzio (da die Inschrift sich nicht in den Vatikanischen Handschriften des Manuzio findet, muss es sich um verlorengegangene manutianische Scheden handeln). Im Prinzip wäre es nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, dass Manuzio die Inschrift in der Tat bei Pio gesehen hätte; in dem Fall würde Ligorios Angabe entweder gefälscht sein oder den früheren Aufbewahrungsort darstellen.

⁴⁸ Wenn Muratori einige Texte der Sammlung Pios zuschreibt, so bedeutet das keine selbständige Überlieferung, denn Muratori hängt in jedem Einzelfall von Ligorios Neapolitaner Handschrift ab.

Die erste Frage, die man sich stellt, ist die nach der topographischen Einheit der in ff. 117–119v enthaltenen Inschriften. Nach den entsprechenden Überschriften sollen die ff. 117–118v ausschliesslich Inschriften aus Pios Sammlungen umfassen, und freilich zeigt die reichliche Nebenüberlieferung zeitgenössischer (oder allenfalls späterer) Autoren, dass so gut wie alle Inschriften in der Tat Pios Sammlung gehörten. Unter diesen Inschriften gibt es eine einzige, die Ligorio irrtümlich Pios Sammlung einverleibt hat, nämlich 18005 = 1864* in f. 118v, die nie der carpischen Sammlung angehört hat.⁴⁹ Von den f. 118 verzeichneten Inschriften, die einer zeitgenössischen Nebenüberlieferung entbehren, wird die Zugehörigkeit zu Pios Sammlung wahrscheinlich für 15253,⁵⁰ 18020,⁵¹ 28004;⁵² bei 20206, 20762 und 2294* ist sie nicht durch andere Zeugen beweisbar, aber durchaus möglich.⁵³ Was die f. 118v stehenden Inschriften angeht, die keine Nebenüberlieferung aufweisen, ist ihre Zugehörigkeit zu

⁴⁹ Das zeigt unwiderrufflich die Textgeschichte der Inschrift: sie wurde in einem Weingarten ausserhalb der Porta Maggiore von Manuzio angezeigt, und von seinen Zeitgenossen Pighius, Knibbius, Boissard und Torrentius im Palast der Familie Delfini, wo sie lange Zeit verblieb. Bei dieser Lage der Dinge ist es absolut ausgeschlossen, dass der Stein je bei Pio hätte sein können. – Zur Inschrift vgl. S. Orlandi, *Un contributo alla storia del collezionismo. La raccolta epigrafica Delfini* (Opuscula epigraphica 4), Roma 1993, 23 Nr. 96; dies., *MGR* 17 (1992) 259 Nr. 112 (wo über *Quintilia* [dessen Lesung sicher ist] diskutiert wird, aber *Quintilia* ist einfach Cognomen; die Verwendung von Gentilnamen als reine Cognomina war ein nicht ganz seltenes Phänomen in der kaiserzeitlichen Nomenklatur).

⁵⁰ Vgl. oben Anm. 42: Castellini zufolge (um 1600) soll die Inschrift in Pios Garten gefunden worden und dann nach Faenza gekommen sein. Pio war im Jahre 1528 zum Bischof von Faenza ernannt worden (C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica mediæ ævi*, III, Monasterii 1910, 211), und auch wenn er 1544 zugunsten seines Bruders Teodoro auf diesen Bischofsstuhl verzichtete, hat er nahe Verbindungen mit der Stadt bewahrt; u. a. bezog er aus dem Bistum von Faenza weiterhin Kirchengüter, die ihm jährlich (in 1561) 600 Scudi einbrachten.

⁵¹ Die Inschrift geriet später nach Meldola, mit welchem Ort Pio nahe Verbindungen hatte: sein Onkel Alberto hatte Meldola zu Lehen gehabt, das nach Albertos Tod in 1531 im Besitz der Familie blieb. Er selbst war Gründer der Accademia degli Imperfetti di Meldola in 1544 und hatte Einkommen aus den Feudalrechten des Gebiets von Meldola.

⁵² Auch diese Inschrift geriet nach Meldola.

⁵³ 20206 war später in Forlì, also in einer weiteren Stadt der Emilia Romagna, ist demnach vergleichbar mit den nach Faenza und Meldola gewanderten Texten, deren es noch mehrere gibt. 20762 wurde Anfang des 17. Jh. nahe Todi gesehen. Für 2294* liegt keine andere Überlieferung vor.

Pios Sammlung durchaus möglich, wenigstens spricht nichts dagegen. Nur 2608* wird von Ligorio an einer anderen Stelle in demselben Buch des Neapolitanus im "rion detto di Campo Martio dentro alla chiesa di san Biasio, della Compagnia de Matarazzi" überliefert, wohl irrtümlich. Die in ff. 119 und 119v enthaltenen Inschriften können nicht ohne weiteres als carpisch eingestuft werden, denn sie entbehren einer topographischen Überschrift (die man eigentlich erwarten würde, vergleicht man die weiterführende Überschrift in f. 118v), aber eine grosse Zahl, genau die Hälfte, der Inschriften kann durch zuverlässige Nebenüberlieferung Pios Sammlung zugeschrieben werden.⁵⁴ Auch in manchen Fällen, in denen es keine weiteren selbständigen Zeugen für carpische Zuweisung gibt, gewinnt diese durch anderweitige Argumente an Wahrscheinlichkeit: 10659,⁵⁵ 24226 und 28994 sind wie viele andere Steine nach Pios Tod ins Palazzo Farnese gelangt, hauptsächlich wohl durch Vermittlung von Fulvio Orsini und in seine Sammlung (er wohnte im Palast), um von dort dann mit den übrigen Farnesischen Kunstwerken nach Neapel zu kommen; ähnliches Schicksal hat 13731, heute in Neapel, deren Zugehörigkeit zur Farnese-Sammlung nicht dokumentarisch nachgewiesen werden kann, aber nicht unwahrscheinlich ist.⁵⁶ – 15833 gelangte später nach Meldola (vgl. oben). – 24652 gehört zu einer Gruppe von neun Inschriften, von denen Metellus, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 6039 f. 260–260v (zwei von ihnen wiederholt in 251v) die von einem Sequaner Petrus Varondellus im Jahre 1547 im Haus von Antonio Gigli (Antonius Lilius) gemachten Abschriften wiedergibt,⁵⁷ bis auf einer (29099, später im Haus eines Ottaviano Zeni vom Anonymus Chisianus angezeigt) gelangten sie in die Sammlung des Kardinals, in der

⁵⁴ Ein Grund für das Fehlen der Überschrift kann sein, dass ff. 119 und 119v nicht nur Stücke aus dem Garten umfasst, sondern auch aus dem Palast (wozu manches Stück nur allgemein bei Carpi überliefert ist); sie sind also in der Hinsicht vermischten Inhalts.

⁵⁵ Diese Inschrift ist an sich durch keinen alten Gewährsmann im Palazzo Farnese überliefert, trägt aber das Sigel "FAR. 49" und findet sich unter den Farnesischen Stücken im Inventar des Archäologischen Museums von Neapel vom Jahre 1796, *Cod. Panorm.* 4 Qq D 49, muss also folgerichtig einmal im Palazzo Farnese gewesen sein.

⁵⁶ Zum häufig bezeugten Übergang von carpischen Inschriften ins Palazzo Farnese vgl. H. Solin, in *ILMNI* 24f.

⁵⁷ Die Sylloge von Varondel umfasst die ff. 256v–262v und beginnt mit der Präskript "Romanae quaedam inscriptiones, exscriptae a Petro Sancti-claudiano Varondello Sequano 1547. Propriam versuum distinctionem servavit". Die uns interessierende topographische Überschrift in f. 260 lautet "In Antonii Lili domo retro Ara coeli".

sie von guten Autoren nachgewiesen sind – warum nicht auch 24652? – Zum Schluss sei notiert, dass Muratori von dieser Gruppe fünf Inschriften Pios Garten zuweist: 10659, 11662 (= 1140*), 1495*, 1625*, 2953*. Er schöpft aus Ligorio, woher er aber die zusätzliche Information hat, steht dahin.⁵⁸ Wenn man die bekannte Notorietät Muratoris bedenkt, ist es vorzuziehen, seinen Angaben nicht allzuviel Glauben zu schenken, d.h., wenn die fünf Steine als carpisch eingestuft werden dürfen, sie nur allgemein Pios Sammlung zuzuschreiben.

Der Gedanke liegt nicht fern, dass Ligorio in ff. 117–119v nur carpische Steine zusammenzustellen beabsichtigte. Dass dort die sicher nicht zugehörige 18005 eingeschlichen ist, ändert den Gesamteindruck nicht. Andere Steine, die den Eindruck wecken könnten, nicht carpisch zu sein, gibt es nicht. Mit dieser Tatsache engst verbunden ist die Frage nach den Fälschungen. Da Ligorio hier nur carpische Steine zusammenstellen wollte, müssen auch die Falsae auf dem Stein existiert haben, d. h. sie waren nicht blosse Kopien auf dem Papier. Aber wie viele von den von Henzen unter die Falsae verbannten Texten sind wirklich Fälschungen? Mit Sicherheit eine Fälschung ist, soweit ich übersehe, nur 371* (f. 118v). Die übrigen allein unter den Falsae publizierten Texte (2294* in f. 118; 1549*, 2520* [= 867*] und 2608* in f. 118v; 1625* in f. 119; 1101*, 1495* und 2953* in f. 119v) können alle guten Stoff wiedergeben. Sie sind von Henzen hauptsächlich wohl deswegen unter die Falsae verbannt worden, weil sie nur von Ligorio aufgezeichnet sind, also keine selbständige Nebenüberlieferung aufweisen können. Dies ist aber ein gefährliches Argument, denn viele von den von Henzen ursprünglich unter den Falsae publizierten Inschriften haben sich nachträglich durch Bekanntwerden neuer Zeugen oder durch anderweitige Argumente als echt entpuppt und so auch Eingang in den Stammband gefunden. Andere Texte sind von Henzen aus unbegreiflichen Gründen als Fälschungen athetiert worden; überhaupt ist sein Urteil oft schwankend. Ein einleuchtendes Beispiel liefert 19676 = 3614* (f. 119v): Sie hat eine gute Nebenüberlieferung in Metellus und Manuzio, aber aufgrund der Vergleichung des Steines selbst (er befindet sich seit Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts im Archäologischen Museum in Neapel) und des Wortlauts

⁵⁸ Unter 1625* (1452, 9) gibt er neben Ligorio als Quelle Doni an; dieser sagt seinerseits 13, 10, er habe die Inschrift "ex schedis Manutii". Es dürfte sich um verlorene vatikanische Scheden von Manuzio handeln, auf welche auch Muratori gelegentlich hinweist.

kam Henzen 3614* (aus Mommsens Abschrift, aber gegen ihn, der in *IRN* 7025 an der Echtheit nicht zweifelte) zu dem Ergebnis, es handele sich um eine Fälschung. Der Stein ist aber ohne den geringsten Zweifel echt.⁵⁹

Hier noch ein paar Bemerkungen zu den nur unter den Fälschungen publizierten Inschriften.

1101* kann gut echt sein; das wird auch von Henzen zugegeben.

1495* braucht nicht als eine Fälschung bewertet zu sein.⁶⁰ Ist Ligorio von sich aus imstande gewesen, das Cognomen *Ma* richtig als indeklinabel zu handhaben?⁶¹

1549*. Hier ist die Beurteilung verwickelter. Der Wortlaut könnte Bedenken gegen die Echtheit erwecken, doch ist das stärkste Argument für eine Fälschung gerade das Fehlen anderer Zeugen. Auch der Wortlaut *D. M. ille matri* (Epithet) *illi* ist nicht alltäglich, doch vertretbar.

1625* könnte auch echt sein.⁶² Notiere die Form des Gentilnamens *Mummeius*, die Ligorio sonst kaum gekannt hat.⁶³ Andererseits kann das Fehlen des Vornamens im Namen des Verstorbenen auffallen, doch passiert es nicht ganz selten, dass der in der Inschrift Erstgenannte, auch wenn er der

⁵⁹ Henzen zufolge wären die Namen *Imbrusus* und *Iasus* suspekt, in Wirklichkeit spricht aber das einmalige Anthroponym *Imbrusus* stark für die Echtheit (woher hätte der Fälscher, d. h. Ligorio den Namen herholen können, der weder als Name des Baches auf Samos noch des Heros in der lateinischen Literatur erwähnt wird, abgesehen von *Plin. nat.* 5, 135, der den Bachnamen mit anderen samischen Hydronymen auflistet?). Der Neffe des *Imbrusus* heisst *Iasus*, und die zwei Namen bilden eine Art Namenpaar, hätte aber Ligorio wirklich so etwas erfinden können? Besonderen Wert legt Henzen auf die Dekoration des Schrifträgers, die ihm sehr verdächtig ist, doch lassen sich ähnliche Ornamente oft besonders in julisch-claudischer Zeit finden (s. D. Manacorda, *Un'officina lapidaria sulla via Appia*, Roma 1980). Als Fälscher denkt Henzen an erster Stelle an Ligorio, aber der Text hat einen anderen alten Zeugen, nämlich Metellus, dessen Autograph *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 6039 f. den Text bei Pio anzeigt. An sich kann diese Nebenüberlieferung nicht als ausschlaggebend für die Echtheit bewertet werden, denn auch die guten Autoren des 16. Jh. haben die auf dem Stein existierenden Fälschungen normalerweise als solche nicht erkannt. Vgl. H. Solin, *Namenpaare*, Helsinki 1990, 57f.; "Ligorigiana und Verwandtes", zit. Anm. 33, 351.

⁶⁰ Vgl. H. Solin, "Ligorigiana und Verwandtes", zit. Anm. 33, 344.

⁶¹ Vgl. was Muratori 1316,9 hierzu zu sagen hat: "Vereor, nec (sic!) CAESIA legendum sit, et vitiatum fuerit illius cognomen".

⁶² So Solin, "Ligorigiana und Verwandtes", zit. Anm. 33, 344.

⁶³ Ihm war der Name in *CIL* 200 VIII, 66 kaum gegenwärtig, denn in seiner Abschrift *Neap.* I. 34, 108–110 fehlt VIII, 65–69. *CIL* VI 22628 ist erst seit Sirmund und Castellini bekannt.

Errichter ist, einen Vornamen führt, während die nachfolgenden Personen ihn nicht haben.

2294*. Der Wortlaut ist tadellos. Also eher echt? Der Vorname *Gaius* war in Gebrauch in der gens *Mamilia*, aber *Ligorio* konnte keine der Inschriften, wo ein *C. Mamilius* vorkommt, kennen.

2520* (= 867*). Auch diese Inschrift kann echt sein. Bedenken könnte die Endklausel erwecken, die Henzen "pio fratri . t. t. l." wiedergibt; nach *FRATRI* ist da aber ein deutliches *S*, also *s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*. Der Ausdruck *pio fratri* mit dieser Wortstellung steht gut, vgl. *CIL* VI 28518.

2608* scheint echt zu sein. Vertritt den Typ einer oben gerundeten Stela aus der frühen Kaiserzeit. Dass nach dem einleitenden *ossa* der Name des Verstorbenen im Nominativ folgt, ist kein Stein des Anstosses,⁶⁴ im Gegenteil könnte dieser verhältnismässig seltene Usus auf Echtheit hinweisen.

2953* kann den Wortlaut von zwei guten Grabinschriften wiedergeben. Bei der ersten könnte man gewissen Vorbehalt machen wegen des Gentilnamens *Vestiaria*, den *Ligorio* aus der Dienstbezeichnung *vestiaria* hätte nehmen können, doch war *Vestiarius* ein gut bekannter Gentilname. Der Wortlaut der zweiten Inschrift ist tadellos. *D. M. ille fecit illi* vertritt einen gängigen Typus. Wäre *Ligorio* hier als Fälscher tätig gewesen, so hätte er wunderbare Arbeit geleistet.

Die obige Analyse hat gezeigt, dass *Ligorio* in ff. 117–119v eine kohärente Einheit carpischer Inschriften zusammenzustellen beabsichtigte. Die Zahl der Fälschungen darunter scheint minimal gewesen zu sein. Man beachte, dass unter den Inschriften typische ligorianische Produkte fehlen; die Texte stellen ganz normale Grabinschriften gemeiner Leute dar. Hätte *Ligorio* sich wirklich die Mühe gegeben, unter den sicher echten Texten seine eigenen Produkte zu streuen, ohne sie mit seinen spezifischen Zügen wie exotischen Dienstbezeichnungen zu schmücken?

CCXXVIII. LUPUS QUADRATORUM

D. M. / Primitivae conservae / et coniugi bene merenti / Lupus quadratorum. So lautet eine von A. Ferrua, *RPAA* 55/56 (1982–1984

⁶⁴ *ossa* gefolgt unmittelbar vom Namen des Verstorbenen im Nominativ: *CIL* VI 5966. 6328. 10137. 11454. 26949. 35162. 35896. 38505.

[1985]) 431 Nr. 25 herausgegebene Mosaikinschrift aus dem Grabbezirk von S. Tecla in Rom. Demnach sieht Ferrua in Lupus einen Sklaven der *quadratores*. Ähnlich urteilen in Ferruas Nachfolge die Editoren von *AE* 1988, 124 und Feraudi-Gruénais.⁶⁵ Zu verstehen ist wohl eher *Lupus Quadratorum*. Freilich war es nicht üblich, das Patronencognomen allein im Plural hinzuzufügen, der Typ existiert aber: *L. Calpurnius duom Pisonum libert. Apollonius* (*CIL* VI 6001), *Q. Fabius Maximorum l. Amicus* (*CIL* VI 9219); der Name des Sklaven wird vom bloßen Gentilnamen der Herren begleitet: *CIL* 8730 *Archelavos M. Considi et Considiarum*; 19637 vgl. *Arctos* 25 (1991) 142 *Ianuaris Nerat(io)r(um) ser.*; 24206 *Coeranus Pinniorum*; *Bull. com.* 90 (1985) 285 Nr. 28 *Felix Aniciorum*;⁶⁶ öfters in Ziegelstempeln der gens Domitia (z. B. *CIL* XV 988. 993. 996. 1000). Die Gewohnheit, den Namen der Patrone durch bloßes Cognomen auszudrücken, dürfte von vornherein besonders bei Senatoren vorkommen; und in der Tat gehören beide oben angeführten Beispiele den Fabii Maximi und den Pisonen. So wäre man versucht, in den Quadrati Vertreter einer senatorischen Familie zu sehen. Die Inschrift wird sowohl von Santa Maria Scrinari als auch von Ferrua in die Mitte des 3. Jh. datiert (von Feraudi-Gruénais allgemein ins 3. Jh.),⁶⁷ doch lassen weder die Fundumstände noch die Typologie der Mosaiken kaum eine so genaue Datierung zu. Jedenfalls

⁶⁵ Fr. Feraudi-Gruénais, *Inschriften und 'Selbstdarstellung' in stadtrömischen Grabbauten* (Libitina 2), Roma 2003, 115 Nr. 177. Feraudi-Gruénais verweist in ihren bibliographischen Angaben zur Inschrift auf FÉVRIER, 1965, 435, d. h. P.-A. Février, "Mosaïques funéraires chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord", in *Atti del VI congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Ravenna 23–30 settembre 1962* (Studi di antichità cristiana 26), Città del Vaticano 1965 (so muss der Beitrag zitiert werden), doch behandelt Février dort unsere Inschrift nicht.

⁶⁶ Etwas anders stehen Fälle wie *Fructuosus Paebiorum actor* (*CIL* VI 9115) und *Montanus dispens. Norbanorum* (33849), weil der Patronenname auf die Dienstbezeichnung bezogen werden konnte. Beispiele vom Gebrauch des Gentilnamens im Namen von Freigelassenen: *Cic. Cluent. 49 libertus Fabriciorum Scamander*; *CIL* VI 5976 *Pedania duor. Pedaniorum liberta Delphis*; 9375 *P. Clodius A. et Clodiae l. Bromius*; 21462 *Q. Lollius Lolliae l. Hiero*; 23125 *Numisiaes et Septiciaes duarum sororum l. Chloe*; 33265 *Helena M. Heruci et Freniae l.*; 37380 *Caecilia duarum Scriboniarum l. Eleutheris*; *AE* 1941, 87 = *I.Köln* 354 *Aquilo C. et M. Versulati(or)um l.* Vgl. auch oben S. 182 *M. Atius Atiae l. Valens*.

⁶⁷ V. Santa Maria Scrinari in ihrem Grabungsbericht, *RPAA* 55–56 (1982–1984 [1985]) 411; A. Ferrua, *ebda.* 430f. Ihre Beurteilung basiert sowohl auf Analyse des Mosaiks als auch epigraphischen Befundes. Ich wäre aber nicht so sicher.

bewegen wir uns in der aurelisch-severischen Zeit; die Grabanlage selbst war zwischen Ende des 1. und der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jh. in Gebrauch.⁶⁸ In Frage kommen könnten zum Beispiel die Ummidii Quadrati, auch wenn ihre ἀκμή früher anzusiedeln ist, doch sind aus der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. noch mehrere Ummidii Quadrati bekannt, die als Kandidaten zu Patronen des Lupus möglich wären: der Ehemann von Cornificia, Schwester des Marcus Aurelius, sein Sohn (an der Sachlage ändert nichts, daß möglicherweise dieser in *CIL* VIII 22691 *Quadratianus* genannt wird) sowie dessen Adoptivsohn, gestorben 182 n. Chr. bei einer Verschwörung gegen Commodus (zu ihnen s. Syme, *RP* II 685–690). Die Familie war vielfach mit dem Kaiserhaus verschwägert und hatte nachweislich Besitztum in Rom (*LTUR* II 206. III 48). Eine angesehene Familie, deren Sklaven sich wohl als *servi Quadratorum* bezeichnen konnten. Trotz der Dürftigkeit der Zeugnisse einer derartigen Namengewohnheit ist die oben gegebene Auslegung nicht implausibel.

Um zu Ferruas Deutung zurückzukehren, er deutet *quadratorum* als Gen. plur. eines sonst nirgends belegten Wortes *quadrator*, das Synonym für *quadratarius* oder *marmorarius* wäre (*quadratus*, das auf Menschen bezogen 'dick, untersetzt' heißt, kommt nicht in Frage, denn derartige *quadrati* konnten ja nicht eine Sklavenbesitzergruppe ausmachen); Lupus wäre also Sklave eines Vereins von Steinmetzen gewesen. Das leuchtet nicht besonders ein; man müßte nicht nur ein neues Wort fürs Latein in Kauf nehmen, auch ist es schwierig, eine derartige Bezeichnung von Sklaven anzunehmen; der Typ existiert freilich: *Apollonius sociorum ser.*;⁶⁹ *Carpus socior(um) vicens(imariorum)*;⁷⁰ *Cosmion Augustalium corpor(atorum) Misenensium ser.*⁷¹ Doch würde ein *quadratorum servus* doch etwas sonderbar anmuten, denn Lupus hätte Sklave eines Collegiums von einfachen Steinmetzen sein müssen, von Collegien einfacher Steinmetzen wissen wir aber kaum etwas;⁷² die uns bekannten Fälle beziehen sich

⁶⁸ Santa Maria Scrinari 397.

⁶⁹ *CIL* VI 37440. Nämlich der Genossen des Collegiums der Grabanlage.

⁷⁰ *CIL* VI 8587. Der Typ ist üblich in der Freigelassenennomenklatur.

⁷¹ *AE* 2000, 344.

⁷² Vgl. immerhin *CIL* VI 9550 *colleg(ium) marm(orariorum)* und 10019 = *IGUR* 1567 ἀεὶ μαρμαραρίων γένος σῶζε, Σέρραπι: ein kleinasiatischer Grieche, der im Jahre 204 n. Chr. nach Rom gekommen war, um als Künstler an den Säkularspielen mitzuwirken, bittet den Gott Serapis um das Wohlergehen der Marmorbildhauer. Zu vergleichen ist

normalerweise auf Zünfte mit einer gehobeneren Stellung im korporativen Leben.

CCXXIX. ZUR FLUCHTAFEL *AE* 1998, 210 = 2002, 209

In der von G. Bevilacqua, *Epigraphica* 60 (1998) 114-132 (*AE* 1998, 210) herausgegebenen und von D. Jordan, *ZPE* 141 (2002) 141-147 (*AE* 2002, 209) neu behandelten stadtrömischen lateinischen, aber mit griechischen Lettern geschriebenen Fluchtafel aus dem 4. Jh. n. Chr. bleibt noch einiges zu erklären. Vielleicht das Interessanteste findet sich in Zeile 2, wo Bevilacqua ein magisches Wort $\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\phi\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\epsilon$ erkennen will, während Jordan hier zwei Namen, $\Lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ und $\Phi\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\omicron$, sieht. Den letzteren erklärt er als *Flaccinus*, was zweifellos einleuchtet. Aber die Erklärung des ersteren als *Lacinius* überzeugt nicht (auch die Lesung stimmt nicht, denn das Schluss-N fehlt, wie man an Apographon und Photo feststellen kann).⁷³ Jordan verweist auf Kajantos Cognominabuch 345, dort wird aber nur ein einziger Beleg für den Männernamen *Lacinia* aus *CIL* V 3310 gegeben. Kajanto bezieht den Namen auf *lacinia*, aber auch wenn dies das Richtige treffen sollte (was unsicher bleibt), so versteht man noch nicht, wieso aus *lacinia* neben *Lacinia* noch ein Männername **Lacinius* gebildet worden wäre; höchstens könnte man hier das spätantike Suffix *-ius* etwas frei gebraucht sehen. Dies aber leuchtet nicht besonders ein. Ich sehe hier den Imperativ, geschrieben $\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\epsilon\iota$, vom Verbum *lacinio* 'zerreißen'; *lacinio* ist eine nur aus Gloss. IV 358, 35 bekannte Nebenform von *lancino*. Auch wenn sie sonst nicht belegt ist, bereitet es keinerlei Schwierigkeiten, den Gebrauch einer solchen Form in der spätlateinischen Volkssprache anzunehmen; auch *lancino* wird in den Handschriften öfters mit *lac-*wiedergegeben.⁷⁴ Es bleibt aber die Schwierigkeit, dass der Schreiber, der sich hier an eine Gottheit wendet, sich später selbst als sechs verschiedene Dämonen oder sechs verschiedene Formen eines Dämons bezeichnet. Die

IGUR 1566, eine Ehreninschrift, die ihm seine Kollegen, οἱ τεχνεῖται, 'die Künstler', setzen. Dieser Fall bezieht sich auf eine Künstlerzunft; auch im ersteren kann es sich um etwas mehr als um einfache Steinmetzen handeln.

⁷³ Und was soll "a normal syncopated spelling of the accusative" in $\Lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ sein (so Jordan 144)?

⁷⁴ Vgl. *ThLL* VII 2, 919, 22.

Schwierigkeit wird aufgehoben, wenn man sich den dämonischen Schreiber als einer höheren Gottheit unterlegen vorstellt, die unbenannt bleibt und nur durch diesen Imperativ angeredet wird.

Sonst mache ich auf den von Jordan freilich mit Vorbehalt angenommenen Namen *Refectorius* in Zeile 25 aufmerksam (aber S. 147 spricht er von *Refector!*). Dort ist geschrieben Πεφεκιτορος, wobei Bevilacqua einen Namen *Refecitoros* postuliert, Jordan hingegen eine entstellte Form von *Refectorius* sehen möchte. Diese Erklärung ist nicht ohne weiteres von der Hand zu weisen; gebildet wäre der Name direkt aus dem Appellativum *refectorius* 'erquickend', das aus spätlateinischen Quellen bekannt ist (Ambr. *epist.* 1, 3, 14, freilich nicht auf Menschen, sondern auf *quies* bezogen). Ich habe meinerseits *Arctos* 35 (2001) 216 an einen sonst nicht belegten Namen *Refector* gedacht, der hier in einem gräzisierungsbefehl, auf φακτωναρουσι zu beziehenden Genetiv erschiene; φακτωναρουσι wiederum wäre ein fehlerhaft für -ριους oder -ριως geschriebener Akkusativ: also "ich verfluche die *factionarios* des Refector"? Jordan aber zerlegt φακτωναρουσι in zwei Teile, φακτωνα = *factione(m)*, und ρουσι/α = *russe/am*. Beide Erklärungen haben etwas für sich.

Die Pferdenamen sind interessant und stellen einen bedeutenden Zuwachs zu den bisher bekannten Pferdenamen aus stadtrömischen Urkunden dar.⁷⁵ Z. 13 gibt nicht *Licitiosus* wieder (ein solcher Name wäre unerhört, es gibt ja kein Wort **licitiosus*), sondern ist gleich *Licentiosus* (wie schon Bevilacqua richtig gesehen hat und woran auch Jordan mit Vorbehalt denkt), als Personennamen ganz okkasionell belegt,⁷⁶ aber als Pferdenamen nicht unpassend.⁷⁷ Was den darauf folgenden Namen angeht, so bleibt, nach dem Photo zu urteilen, die Lesung recht unsicher, und Jordans Deutung *Lucuntilus* für *Lucuntulus* scheint nicht vertretbar. Auf dem Photo erkenne ich Λουκουλ+++, wo ein üblicher Name aus der Sippe *Lucullus* wie

⁷⁵ Die aus *CIL* VI sind zusammengestellt von L. Vidman in seinem Cognominaindex S. 358f. Ferner können angeführt werden: *CIL* VI 30364, 4 *Pherenicus*; XV 7210 *Barbarus*; *IGUR* 1214 Εὐθύδικος; *AE* 1983, 65 *Selmoni* (Kasus steht nicht fest); *Via Imperiale* (Tituli 3) 1 *Euticus, Italus, Myr]---*, *Ra]---*, *[---]esilaus, Anatolicus*. Dazu kommt noch eine Handvoll von Namen in den sog. Sethianischen Fluchtafeln. Ausserrömische Belege von Namen von Rennpferden sind zusammengestellt von: M. Darder Lissón, *De nominibus equorum circensium. Pars occidentalis*, Barcelona 1996.

⁷⁶ Name eines Gladiatoren: *CIL* VI 10206 (wohl als sprechender Name aufzufassen). XIII 1608 (Frauennamen).

⁷⁷ Als solcher auch belegt: *CIL* VI 10056, 15.

Lucullinus Lucullianus gestanden haben könnte (leider kann man auf dem von Bevilacqua publizierten Photo gerade nach ΛΟΥΚΟΥΑ nichts Sicheres eruieren). - Ist Z. 15 der erste Name richtig gelesen (pace Bevilacqua)? Auf dem Photo kann man nach dem ersten Buchstaben kaum etwas eruieren. Jedenfalls wäre ein Name *Lexiosus* ein Monstrum, und nicht besser steht es mit Bevilacquas Vermutung, er sei aus *lectiosus* gebildet worden wäre, existiert doch weder in der antiken noch in der mittelalterlichen Latinität ein solches Wort. – Z. 19. ΛΟΥΚΟΥ bleibt unerklärlich. Ich habe an *Lusor* (als Cognomen bezeugt) gedacht, auf dem Photo erkennt man aber ein deutliches K (notiere aber *Lusor* Z. 26). – 23 Die Lesung (und somit auch die Deutung) des ersten Namens bleibt in der Luft hängen. Was den letzten Namen angeht, würde ich das Ende eher -ασίους lesen. – 24 Statt eines Monstrums *Romonensis* (Jordan macht geltend, dass der Name mit R- begonnen hätte, aber wenigstens auf dem Photo ist kein Deut von R erkennbar) würde man eher etwa an *Crotonensis* oder *Narbonensis* denken (beide als Cognomina bezeugt). – Z. 26: nach dem Photo zu schliessen, ist die Lesung des ersten Namens ganz unsicher. Und am Ende der Zeile ist es schwierig, zwischen einem Namen aus der Sippe *Tiberius* (Bevilacqua) und *Stibar-* (Jordan) zu entscheiden. – Z. 27 Der erste Name bleibt ängstlich.

Zu den restlichen Namen (Jordan zufolge Anthroponyme). Z. 20 *Lampadius* ist über jeden Zweifel erhaben, aber der Rest bleibt dunkel; weder die von Bevilacqua noch die von Jordan vorgebrachten Vorschläge überzeugen sonderlich. – Z. 21: Der letzte Name bereitet Schwierigkeiten, hat aber entweder mit *Veneta* (Bevilacqua) oder *venator* (Jordan) etwas zu tun. Leider lässt das Photo keine erfolgreiche Nachprüfung zu. Der davor stehende Name ist, wie Jordan gesehen hat, *Pansa* und hat nichts mit gr. πᾶσα (Bevilacqua) zu tun.

Eins bleibt noch zu sagen. Die zusammengehörigen Pferde führen sehr oft Namen mit demselben Anfangsbuchstaben. So beginnen alle Namen in Z. 13-19 mit L, die in Z. 22 mit A, die in Z. 23-24 mit R. Wie ist das zu erklären? Hatten die Pferdebesitzer eine Manie, ihre Pferde so zu benennen? Liegen hier magische Zwecke vor? Oder gibt es andere Gründe? Vielleicht sollte man auch in Z. 20 eher drei weitere Pferdenamen erkennen und nicht Personennamen, wie Jordan zu denken geneigt ist.

CCXXX. ZU INSCRIFTEN VON MESSINA

Die folgenden Bemerkungen sind durch die Lektüre der neuen Edition messinischer Inschriften inspiriert: I. Bitto, *Le iscrizioni greche e latine di Messina*, I (Pelorias 7), Messina 2001. Ich übergehe manche Quisquiliae, wie etwa die überraschend nachlässige Wiedergabe griechischer Inschriften, was die Akzente und Spiritus angeht, oder belanglose Ausführungen in den Einleitungen zu einzelnen Textgruppen, und gebe unten nur ein paar Beobachtungen. Es sei auch gesagt, dass die onomastische Fertigkeit der Editorin viel zu wünschen übrig lässt.

S. 23–25 Nr. 2. Der Editorin ist entgangen, dass die richtige Lesung *Vesonianus* schon in *Analecta epigraphica* 118 gegeben wurde. Ein Einblick in das hier publizierte Photo bestätigt sie.

36–39 Nr. 9. Was heisst MONETA? Die Lesung ist sicher, und aufgrund der ersten Zeile kann man annehmen, dass links etwa 6–7 Buchstaben fehlen. Der Buchstabe vor M war wohl entweder A oder M, weniger wahrscheinlich R. Soweit ich übersehe, gibt es zwei Erklärungsmöglichkeiten (die Ausführungen der Editorin entbehren jeder Grundlage). Ich gehe davon aus, dass nach *[post]erisque suis* noch ein weiterer Verstorbener genannt wird. Entweder ist *Moneta* ein Cognomen, das freilich nicht im üblichen Gebrauch war (Kajantos *Latin Cognomina* 215 = 343 kennt davon nur einen Beleg aus Aquitanien, und auch dort könnte epichorisches Namengut vorliegen);⁷⁸ in dem Fall hätte die Frau einen etwa sechs-sieben Buchstaben langen Gentilnamen gehabt: *[---] a Moneta*. Oder aber es ist *a moneta* zu verstehen; davor war der Name des Sklaven angebracht, der im Dienste der Münzstätte beschäftigt war; wenn der Name nicht allzu lang war, gab es Raum noch für die (notwendigerweise abgekürzte) Dienstbezeichnung. Üblicherweise sagte man im Zusammenhang *de moneta* (z. B. *CIL* VI 675. 8465) oder *ad monetam* (z. B. *CIL* II 4609. XIII 1499), aber der winzige Rest vor M verlangt A oder M. Jedenfalls war MONETA mit dem vorangehenden Wort eng verbunden, da zwischen ihnen kein Trennpunkt war, der sonst gebraucht wurde (deswegen würde ich in Zeile 2 eher *[---]ati f.* statt *[---]a Ti. f.* schreiben).

⁷⁸ Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* II 623 führt den Beleg auf; er zerlegt ihn in zwei Teile: *Mon-eta*. – Überhaupt war es keine übliche Sitte, Epitheta römischer Götter als Personennamen zu gebrauchen; Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 215 kennt nur eine Handvoll, und auch von ihnen sind viele anders zu verstehen.

63 Nr. 18. Statt *Fl(aviae) Meviae Merope* lies *et Meviae Merope*.

75 Nr. 20. Statt Ῥωμαντίλλα lies Ῥωμόνιλλα; dazu vgl. oben s.180.

113f Nr. 42 (= *CIL* X 7080). Die Frau hiess natürlich *Numonia Alexandra*. Sie war nicht aus Alexandrien. Ein Einblick in die Indices des *CIL* hätte die Editorin vor dem Fehlgriff bewahrt.

Universität Helsinki

SOME NOTES ON THE GREEK TERMINOLOGY FOR PANTOMIME DANCERS AND ON ATHENAEUS 1,20d-e

MARJAANA VESTERINEN

Pantomime, a highly specialized, dramatic dance form, attained great popularity in the Roman Empire.¹ It dominated the theatrical stage, along with mime performances, until the sixth century AD, and the status of the best performers was publicly recognized, although they were sometimes criticized by the ancient learned audience. The ancient authors connected the early phases of this dance form and its coming to Rome with two names, Pylades of Cilicia and Bathyllos of Alexandria. This article focuses on what Athenaeus says about these men and especially about the "styles" of pantomime performances which they were alleged to have developed (Ath. 1,20d–e).

Scholars commonly tend to use Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai* as a source either for other literature or for cultural matters, not regarding it as a work in its own right.² The way the text itself is read and interpreted reflects this attitude; i.e., the author, his context and aims seem to be ignored. I argue that the way Athenaeus writes about the famous pantomime dancers is not meaningless. His special attention to the Alexandrian Bathyllos as the introducer of pantomime dancing to Rome is an interesting detail, whether a true claim or not, and may be seen partly as a reflection of Athenaeus' own background.

¹ For a general account of pantomime, see, e.g., E. Wüst, "Pantomimus," *RE* XVIII 3, 833–69 (still the basic modern source with abundant references to ancient sources). I wish to thank Prof. M. Kajava for his valuable remarks.

² This tendency is noted by G. Bowersock in the foreword of D. Braund, J. Wilkins (eds.), *Athenaeus and his World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*, Exeter 2000.

The Greek terminology for pantomime

Pantomime was essentially dancing, without which no pantomime performance would have been possible. The essential nature of dancing in pantomime performance is shown in the Greek vocabulary. The most common word for a pantomime dancer was ὀρχηστής, a word generally used for dancers, except when a choral dancer (χορευτής) was meant.³ On the other hand, in inscriptions, the phrase ὁ τραγικῆς ἐνρῦθμου κινήσεως ὑποκριτής ("actor of rhythmical tragic movement") is used⁴, emphasizing the close link of pantomime with drama. Likewise, pantomime dancing was sometimes called ἡ τραγικὴ ὄρχησις ("tragic dancing") instead of just ὄρχησις ("dancing"). "Tragic dancing" does not need to be understood literally, referring to the relation of pantomime with tragedy alone, but as a kind of a reminder that it was question of dramatic dancing having its roots in Greek drama in all its forms. This term, "tragic dancing," and its reference to the somewhat different styles of pantomime appears in Athenaeus (1,20d).

The word παντόμιμος rarely occurs in Greek sources, being more frequent in its Latin form (*pantomimus*).⁵ Lucian, writing in the mid-2nd century AD⁶, ascribes the word to Ἴταλιῶται⁷ who, according to him, not

³ There is need for a study with a thorough analysis of the use of the various words referring to pantomime dancers. The earliest use(s) of *orchestes* as firmly identified with a pantomime dancer has not been pointed out in any study, and this would be a very difficult, if not even an impossible task. This is also related to the question of the last references to a pantomime dancer with the word *orchestes*, a question which, in fact, is closely related with the use of the word *orchestes* in general: the word *choreutes* became the general word denoting a dancer at some point.

⁴ E.g., *Fouilles de Delphes* III 1, 155; *I. Magnesia* 165 (late Roman). These texts, among others, are discussed in L. Robert, "Pantomimen im griechischen Orient," *Hermes* 65 (1930) 106–114 = *OMS* I 654–662.

⁵ E.g., E. J. Jory, "The drama of the dance: Prolegomena to the iconography of Imperial pantomime," in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Roman Theatre and Society*, Ann Arbor 1996, 2 n. 2. In Latin, *histrion* was also used for a pantomime dancer. Cf., e.g., H. Leppin, *Histrionen. Untersuchungen zur sozialen Stellung von Bühnenkünstlern im Westen des Römischen Reiches zur Zeit der Republik und des Principats*, Bonn 1992, 8–10. The first occurrence of Latin *pantomimus* is dated around 20 BC (*CIL* X 1074; Pompeii).

⁶ Luc. *Salt.* was written perhaps in the 160s, cf. M. Kokolakis, "Pantomimus and the treatise περὶ ὀρχήσεως (*de Saltatione*)," *ΠΛΑΤΩΝ* 11 (1959) 4–7.

⁷ The term refers to the inhabitants of Magna Graecia. Kokolakis suggests that *italiotai*

unreasonably, call the dancer *pantomimos* because of what the dancer does: οὐκ ἀπεικότως δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰταλιῶται τὸν ὄρχηστὴν παντόμιμον καλοῦσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δρωμένου σχεδόν⁸. By this, Lucian refers to the practice that the dancer dances all the central dramatic roles, and in this way, he is "a mime of everything," i.e., *pantomimos*. The Greek word *pantomimos* was used in some rare cases elsewhere as well. It occurs in only two inscriptions: one coming from Priene and dated to the 80s BC⁹, and the other, although a restored reading, from Delphoi, dated to 84–60 BC.¹⁰ Jory suggests that these occurrences may refer to these dancers being *italiotai*.¹¹

In papyrological evidence, *pantomimos* occurs once in a contract of performers and is of a considerably later date than these two inscriptions (*P. Flor.* I 74, dated to AD 181). Grassi, ignoring the occurrences of *orchestai* in the Egyptian sources, has stated that there seems to be little trace of pantomime dancers performing in Egypt at all, because the word *pantomimos* occurs only once.¹² Even without the documents with either

refers to Romans and not to Greeks in Italy (Kokolakis (above n. 6) 4 n. 5). It is no wonder that many representatives of the itinerant τεχνῖται with Ἰταλιώτης as the *ethnikon* occur in Hellenistic inscriptions, cf., e.g., M. Nocita, "Italikoι e italiotai in Oriente, alcune considerazioni," in M. L. Lazzarini, P. Lombardi (a cura di), *L'Italia centro-meridionale tra repubblica e primo impero. Alcuni aspetti culturali e istituzionali* (Opuscula epigraphica 11) 2003, 102–103.

⁸ Luc. *Salt.* 67.

⁹ *I. Priene* 113, 66 (παντόμιμος Πλουτογένης). The text is discussed in Robert (above n. 4) 114–117 = *OMS* I 662–665.

¹⁰ *Klio* 17 (1922) 177, n. 161 (ed. pr. in *BCH* 5 (1881) 388, no. 6): παντόμιμος (?) Φιλιστίων Δυρραχῖνος. For a discussion, see L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 11–13.

¹¹ J. Jory, "The masks of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," in P. Easterling, E. Hall (eds.), *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Cambridge 2002, 240 n. 8.

¹² T. Grassi, "Musica, mimica e danza," *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* 3 (1920) 132. She also suggests that the word μῖμος, when used in the papyri, is a synonym of *pantomimos*. The word *orchestes* occurs in six published documents from Egypt, all except one are papyri and dated to the Roman period: *OGIS* I 51 (3rd century BC), *P. Stras.* V 341 (AD 85), *P. Oxy.* III 519 (2nd century AD), *P. Oxy.* III 526 (2nd century AD), *P. Oxy.* XIV 1676 (3rd century AD), *SB* IV 7336 (3rd century AD). One document from the 2nd century AD with an *orchestes* will appear in the *P. Oxy.* –series published by myself. Some of these occurrences clearly point to a theatrical context and thus strongly suggest that pantomime dancers are meant. The earliest occurrence of *orchestes* in the above-mentioned cases (*OGIS* I 51) is an honorary inscription of the Artists of Dionysos listing various theatrical performers, among them an *orchestes*.

pantomimos or *orchestes* used, I would consider it self-evident that pantomime performances were as common in the Egyptian *metropoleis* as they were elsewhere in the Empire. It is of interest that the two pantomime dancers of *P. Flor.* I 74 were hired to perform in a village and probably at a private festivity as opposed to a large scale (theatrical) festival, which was the common context for pantomime performances, although pantomime dancers were known to perform at symposia.¹³ But why use the term *pantomimos* when clearly the most common Greek word for a pantomime dancer at that time in Egypt, as anywhere else, was *orchestes*? There seems to be no explicit answer. The connection of these performers with *italiotai* does not sound convincing, or at least is very difficult to prove either way. Perhaps *pantomimos* was simply more suitable in that circumstance because of its unambiguousness – we have to remember that *orchestes* was a general word for dancers, not only for pantomimes. However, it is possible that the use of *pantomimos* in Greek – in other instances as well, not only in *P. Flor.* – shows Roman influences, i.e., that παντόμιμος was a "translation" of the Latin *pantomimus*, which of course, originated from the Greek.

Athenaeus and the dance styles

The Greek terminology for referring to pantomime dancers varied in antiquity, as just discussed. A kind of confusion can also be detected in the statements about the division of pantomime into two "original" dance styles: the authors describe one style as more serious, and the other as more "light-minded," at least when it comes to the themes of the performances. The two styles of pantomime go back to the two famous dancers, Pylades of Cilicia and Bathyllos of Alexandria, who were said to have introduced pantomime to Rome around 22 BC.¹⁴ Of these men, Pylades was mentioned more often

¹³ As discussed, e.g., in Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 7,8 = *Mor.* 711a–713f.

¹⁴ Ath. 1,20d–e is the earliest literary text which suggests an Augustan date for the dance genre. In the 4th century, Jerome, in his translation of and annotation to Euseb. *Chron.* recording the year 22 BC, gives a precise date when Pylades introduced pantomime dancing to Rome. In the much later *Suda*, s.vv. ὄρχησις παντόμιμος and Πυλάδης Κίλιξ, the coming of pantomime is placed in the reign of Augustus, and Pylades is named as the inventor of the dance form (εὐρέθη). If we want to speak in precise years, Jory suggests 23 BC as the year of pantomime entering Rome, rather than 22 BC, when life in Rome was not easy with famine, flood, fever, and when the official attitudes to

than Bathyllos, perhaps simply because Pylades wrote a treatise on (pantomime) dancing,¹⁵ thus securing the better survival of his name.

Athenaeus concentrates on the division of pantomime dancing into two styles ascribed to these famous dancers. He describes Pylades' style as lofty or solemn (ὀγκώδης), full of emotion (παθητική) and requiring many roles (πολυπρόσωπος). Bathyllos' style is only compared to this as being lighter in mood (ίλαρωτέρα) and resembling the ὑπόρχημα:

τῆς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον ὀρχήσεως τῆς τραγικῆς καλουμένης πρῶτος εἰσηγητῆς γέγονε Βάθυλλος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ὃν φησι νομίμως¹⁶ ὀρχήσασθαι Σέλευκος. τοῦτον τὸν Βάθυλλον φησιν Ἀριστόνικος καὶ Πυλάδην, οὗ ἐστὶ καὶ σύγγραμμα περὶ ὀρχήσεως, τὴν Ἰταλικὴν ὀρχησιν συστήσασθαι ἐκ τῆς κωμικῆς, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο κόρδαξ, καὶ τῆς τραγικῆς, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο ἐμμέλεια, καὶ τῆς σατυρικῆς, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο σίκιννις ... ἦν δὲ ἡ Πυλάδου ὀρχησις ὀγκώδης παθητικὴ τε καὶ πολυπρόσωπος, ἣ δὲ Βαθύλλειος ἰλαρωτέρα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπόρχημα τι τοῦτον διατίθεσθαι. (Ath. 1,20d–e.)

Now the first to introduce this "tragic dancing," as it was called, was Bathyllos of Alexandria, who, as Seleukos says, danced professionally. Aristonikos says that this Bathyllos, together with Pylades, who wrote a treatise on dancing, developed the Italian style of dance out of the dance of the comedy called *kordax*, of the tragedy called *emmeleia* and of the satyr-play called *sikinnis* ... Now Pylades' dancing was solemn, expressing passion and variety of character, whereas Bathyllos' was more jolly; in fact he composed a kind of *hyporchema*. (Transl. after C. B. Gulick, slightly modified, in Loeb.)

Athenaeus' account echoes, at points even word for word, what

theatrical shows were not favorable. See E. J. Jory, "The literary evidence for the beginnings of imperial pantomime," *BICS* 28 (1981) 148–149. For the impact of Pylades and Bathyllos on pantomime dancing in general, see E. J. Jory, "The achievement of Pylades and Bathyllus," in J. Davidson, A. Pomeroy (eds.), *Theatres of Action. Papers for Chris Dearden*, Prudentia Suppl. 2003, 187–193. For the names of pantomime dancers and their occurrences, see H. Solin, "Zum Problem der sog. nomina artis im antiken Rom," in *Onomastik, Akten des 18. Internationalen Kongresses für Namenforschung, Trier, 12.–17. April 1993, Band III Namensoziologie*, hrsg. D. Kremer (Sonderdruck aus *Patronymica Romanica* Band 16), Tübingen 1999, 15–23 (esp. 15–18, on Pylades and Bathyllos). I wish to thank Prof. Jory and Prof. Solin for kindly providing me with the copies of their articles.

¹⁵ Ath, 1,20e; *Suda*, s.v. Πυλάδης Κίλιξ.

¹⁶ Thus, in the manuscripts. Herwerden's emendation, παντομίμους, is discussed in Jory, "The literary evidence" (above n. 14) 159 n. 22.

Plutarch had written earlier on these two dance styles.¹⁷ As the citation shows, Athenaeus speaks of both dance styles under the heading ἡ Ἰταλικὴ ὄρχησις, which, according to him, both Pylades and Bathyllos put together from dramatic dances, i.e., the *kordax* of the comedy (ἐκ τῆς κωμικῆς), the *emmeleia* of the tragedy (ἐκ τῆς τραγικῆς) and the *sikinnis* of the satyr-play (ἐκ τῆς σατυρικῆς).¹⁸ Thus, in contrast to Plutarch, Athenaeus does not mention *kordax* explicitly in connection with Bathyllos,¹⁹ although the close relationship of Bathyllos with *kordax* is made by Athenaeus as well when he calls the dancing of Bathyllos *hyporchema*; elsewhere Athenaeus states that the *hyporchema* was related to *kordax*.²⁰

The term "tragic dancing" is used by Athenaeus in two slightly different meanings. First, it comprises the whole genre of pantomimic dancing, which – according to him – was first introduced by Bathyllos and which he also seems to call "Italian dancing" (ἡ Ἰταλικὴ ὄρχησις). Athenaeus explicitly states that the "Italian dancing" was put together from all the Greek dramatic dance-forms by these two men. I suggest that, by using τραγικὴ ὄρχησις as a synonym for "Italian dancing," a mixture of the three Greek dramatic dance-forms, Athenaeus wanted to stress that the "Italian/tragic dancing" was closely related to traditional Greek drama, and thus was good and valuable. As Bathyllos' relation to "tragic dancing" in this meaning is highlighted, Athenaeus simultaneously emphasized the good quality of Bathyllos' dancing – otherwise characterized by its light mood and perhaps not as highly-esteemed as the more "serious" dancing of Pylades. Second, the term "tragic dancing" is used specifically in its traditional meaning as the dance of tragedy, i.e., as a synonym for *emmeleia*: [ἡ τραγικὴ ὄρχησις], ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο ἐμμέλεια.

One may notice a slight contradiction in Athenaeus' meanings. If we maintain that *tragike orchesis* equates with *emmeleia*, as it normally does

¹⁷ In Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* 8.3 = *Mor.* 711e–f), the styles are called "Pyladic" (ἡ Πυλάδειος ὄρχησις) and "Bathyllic" (ἡ Βαθύλλειος ὄρχησις). Both authors describe the dancing ascribed to Pylades with identical adjectives (ὀγκώδη, παθητικὴ and πολυπρόσωπος). It is likely that Plutarch and Athenaeus relied on a common source, perhaps on Aristonikos. Cf. Jory, "The literary evidence" (above n. 14) 150.

¹⁸ Note that, in the *Suda*, s.v. Πυλάδης Κίλιξ, only *kordax* and *emmeleia* are mentioned and the latter is erroneously identified with the satyr-play.

¹⁹ Plut. *Mor.* 711e stating that the Bathyllic dancing is close to *kordax* (ὀπτομένη τοῦ κόρδακος).

²⁰ Ath. 14,630e. Cf. Jory, "The literary evidence" (above n. 14) 150.

and as Athenaeus clearly expresses in his second usage of *tragike orchesis*, then this term would not be very suitable for referring to the light dancing of Bathyllos. However, Athenaeus first uses *tragike orchesis* when discussing the dancing of Bathyllos. It has been suggested that Bathyllos' comic style no longer existed in Athenaeus' time, and thus his use of "tragic dancing" in connection with Bathyllos is anachronistic.²¹

Perhaps, however, Athenaeus was more conscious of the words he used for these dancers than scholars have believed, i.e., the connection of "tragic dancing" and Bathyllos was not haphazard, "a slip of the pen." Athenaeus' concentration on Bathyllos is noteworthy since Pylades was perhaps a more successful dancer and whose career and influence in Rome was notorious.²² Athenaeus explicitly mentions the place of origin of Bathyllos, his fellow-countryman, whereas Pylades' roots are left out.²³ He also presents Bathyllos in a slightly more favorable light than Pylades, by crediting Bathyllos with the introduction of pantomime dancing to Rome. Interpreting Athenaeus presents challenges, though, because he cites earlier authors (perhaps a reason to justify the neglect of the author himself by modern scholars). The authors to whom he refers in this connection, Seleukos and Aristonikos, were both Alexandrian grammarians and probably contemporaries of the dancers,²⁴ and it is possible that the emphasis on Bathyllos was originally expressed by these grammarians, or by Seleukos especially. This, however, is highly speculative since Athenaeus is the only source for Seleukos on this matter and Athenaeus writes how Seleukos simply states that Bathyllos danced professionally. We also have to remember that Athenaeus chose his sources, thus providing himself opportunities to emphasize those aspects he thought were important.

Keeping in mind that Athenaeus, a learned man with a Greek education originating from the Greek city of Naukratis, came to Rome and made a career there, the presentation of Bathyllos may have been a

²¹ Jory, "The literary evidence" (above n. 14) 149. See also Robert (above n. 4) 111 = *OMS* I 659.

²² Pylades' fame is reflected in the common use of *Pylades* as a stage name by pantomime dancers. E.g., Robert (above n. 4) 111–112 = *OMS* I 659–660; Solin (above n. 14) 15–17.

²³ It is also possible that Pylades was so well known that this information would have been superfluous.

²⁴ See Jory, "The literary evidence" (above n. 14) 149.

conscious choice and a noteworthy detail in Athenaeus' passage. It is a reminder that these two men, Bathyllos and Athenaeus, are representatives of good, Greek education in their respective fields: Bathyllos with his "tragic dancing" and Athenaeus with his literary output. With these skills, they both left Egypt for Rome to entertain the Romans in an esteemed manner. In general, despite the fact that Athenaeus comes from Egypt, he refers to his native country in a quite limited and even arrogant way when it comes to the non-Greek levels of society. Athenaeus praises the great Hellenistic city, Alexandria, his own hometown Naukratis and the rich flora and fauna of the country, but his Egypt is limited to the Greeks and their past, in accordance with the Second Sophistic.²⁵ Bathyllos is one more representative of the Greek character of Egypt presented in a favorable light by Athenaeus.

University of Helsinki

²⁵ For a discussion of Athenaeus and Egypt, see D. Thompson, "Athenaeus in his Egyptian context," in Braund, Wilkins (above n. 2) 77–84. The whole *Deipnosophistai* has, however, an ahistorical touch as if Athenaeus had created "the perfect (because timeless) sympotic world," as described by M. Henry, "Athenaeus the ur-pornographer," in Braund, Wilkins (above n. 2) 504. The Second Sophistic is detectable in other aspects of the *Deipnosophistai* as well: the book seems to focus on presenting the authorized literary corpus detected in its huge number of quotations from ancient authors, its overall subject matter (*symposion*) as well as its reflections on especially Plato's *Symposion* (cf. J. Wilkins, "Dialogue and comedy: the structure of the *Deipnosophistae*," in Braund, Wilkins (above n. 2) 23–24).

CALIGULA, PTOLEMY OF MAURETANIA, AND THE DANGER OF LONG HAIR

DAVID WOODS

The purpose of this note is to offer a new interpretation of the passage where Suetonius claims that Caligula had king Ptolemy of Mauretania executed simply because the splendour of his cloak (*abolla*) had attracted popular attention during the games one day (*Calig.* 35,1–2):

*Vetera familiarum insignia nobilissimo cuique ademit, Torquato torquem, Cincinnato crinem, Cn. Pompeio stirpis antiquae Magni cognomen. Ptolemaeum, de quo re<v>tuli, et arcessitum e regno et exceptum honorifice, non alia de causa repente percussit, quam quod edente se munus ingressum spectacula convertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpureae abollae animadvertit. Pulchros et comatos, quotiens sibi occurrerent, occipitio raso deturpabat.*¹

While the testimony of Dio (59,25,1) allows us to date this execution to AD40, it throws no light on the substance of Suetonius' allegation since it merely asserts that Caligula had Ptolemy executed because he was rich.² Hence most scholars have traditionally dismissed this tale as a typically fanciful product of the hostile source used by Suetonius for much of his material on the Julio-Claudians, and have sought to explain Ptolemy's death in political terms instead. In particular, it has been argued that he was suspected of involvement in the alleged plot by Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, governor of Upper Germany, in late AD39 apparently, and executed accordingly.³ In contrast, Malloch has recently attempted to argue

¹ Ed. M. Ihm, *C. Suetonius Tranquillus: Opera* I, Leipzig 1933, 174. All text cited from this edition.

² On Ptolemy, see *PIR*² P 1075. He had been the sole king of Mauretania since c.AD23/24. On his family background, see now D.W. Roller, *The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene: Royal Scholarship on Rome's African Frontier*, London 2003.

³ See e.g. D. Fishwick, "The Annexation of Mauretania", *Historia* 20 (1971) 467–87; D.

that this passage should be accepted pretty much at face value.⁴ He concludes that Ptolemy used his cloak to flaunt his inherited and personal military glory, and that Caligula had him executed because he felt insulted and threatened. Unfortunately, his arguments do not bear close scrutiny.

His first argument is that Ptolemy used his cloak to remind everyone of his military success against Tacfarinas in North Africa, as a result of which the Senate had awarded him the trappings of a triumphator in AD24 (Tac. *Ann.* 4,26), but he avoids committing himself as to how exactly the cloak reminded people of this success. Tacitus notes only that the Senate awarded Ptolemy an ivory scepter and an embroidered toga, and does not mention a cloak of any type, so that Malloch stops short of claiming that Caligula had Ptolemy executed for wearing the very cloak which the Senate had awarded him back in AD24. Instead, he seeks to identify Ptolemy's cloak as a *paludamentum* or a type of garment strongly reminiscent of a *paludamentum*, a garment which reminded people of Ptolemy's receipt of the awards in AD24, but had not necessarily formed part of the awards itself. So why did Suetonius not use this exact term *paludamentum* instead of the vaguer and less common *abolla* which did not necessarily have any military connotations at all? Malloch argues that Suetonius has deliberately altered the original term so as to obscure its military symbolism and to make it seem that Caligula punished Ptolemy simply for the way that he dressed.

Fishwick and B.D. Shaw, "Ptolemy of Mauretania and the Conspiracy of Gaetulicus", *Historia* 25 (1976) 491–94; A.A. Barrett, *Caligula: The Corruption of Power*, London 1989, 117–18. Alternatively, it has been argued that he may have been plotting to shake off his status as a client king. See e.g. J.C. Faur, "Caligula et Maurétanie: La Fin de Ptolémée", *Klio* 55 (1973) 249–71. There is some controversy also surrounding the location of Ptolemy at his arrest and execution, whether at Lyons or in Rome. In general, see D.W. Hurley, *An Historical and Historiographical Commentary on Suetonius' Life of C. Caligula* (APA American Classical Studies 32), Atlanta 1993, 134–35; also D. Wardle, *Suetonius' Life of Caligula: A Commentary* (Collection Latomus 225), Brussels 1994, 271–72. A. Ferrill, *Caligula Emperor of Rome*, London 1991, 151, accepts the story entirely at face value, maintaining that 'there is no need to 'make sense' of this story; it is merely another of many examples of the Emperor's insane jealousy and greed'. Such an approach simply ignores the historiographical complexity of the text.

⁴ S.J.V. Malloch, "The Death of Ptolemy of Mauretania", *Historia* 53 (2004), 38–45. M. Hofmann, *RE* 23,2 (1959), 1780–82, s.v. "Ptolemaios von Mauretanium", also accepted the passage at face value, but he suggested that Ptolemy was wearing the robes of a high-priest of Isis. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that Ptolemy was a high-priest of Isis, but even if he was, there is nothing to suggest that the spectacle at which he appeared had any connection with Isis.

But this does not really answer the question. Why choose to use the term *abolla* in particular instead of any other potential replacement – *amictus*, *chlamys*, *laena*, *lacerna*, *paenula*, *pallium*, *sagum*, *tegimen* ?⁵ Indeed, there is an important hidden assumption here, that the ultimate literary source for this story had been written in Latin rather than Greek.

His second argument relies on the context. He compares Caligula's targeting of Ptolemy to his attacks upon other distinguished persons because of their inherited military glory as described by Suetonius in the preceding line. The problem here is that the events are not really comparable. Caligula only removed their *cognomina* from a certain Torquatus, Cincinnatus, and Pompeius Magnus, whereas he actually killed Ptolemy and not because of any name which he bore but because of an item of clothing, or so it seems. Furthermore, the *cognomina* of Torquatus, Cincinnatus and Magnus clearly evoked the military glory of a famous ancestor⁶, whereas even if Ptolemy's cloak were identifiable as a *paludamentum*, it would not necessarily have symbolized anything other than his personal military pretensions. Indeed, one must question whether any of Ptolemy's contemporaries would necessarily have accepted that his ancestors had achieved any military glory at all. True, his mother was the daughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, but history knew them primarily as the losers of the last civil war which had culminated in their defeat at the battle of Actium in 31BC. As for his father, he was the latest member of a useful but minor royal house, most famous for their losses once more. His grandfather Juba I had committed suicide following his defeat at the battle of Thapsus in 46BC (App. *B. Civ.* 2,100), and the young Juba II had been led in triumph through Rome by Julius Caesar (App. *B. Civ.* 2,101). His subsequent return as king of Numidia, then Mauretania, was due entirely to the charity of Augustus (Dio 53,26,2). So there was no real military glory behind Ptolemy, nothing to cause the great-grandson of Augustus himself to feel any envy whatsoever.

Finally, would Ptolemy really have been so stupid as to risk upstaging the emperor himself in any possible way, least of all an emperor whose

⁵ Suetonius uses the following terms for 'cloak': *chlamys* (*Tib.* 6,3; *Calig.* 19,2 and 25,3; *Nero* 25,1), *lacerna* (*Aug.* 40,5; *Claud.* 6,2), *paenula* (*Calig.* 52; *Nero* 48,1; *Nero* 49,4; *Galba* 6,2), *paludamentum* (*Iul.* 64; *Aug.* 10,4; *Claud.* 21,6; *Galba* 11; *Vit.* 11,1), *palla* (*Calig.* 54,2), *pallium* (*Aug.* 98,3; *Tib.* 13,1; *Claud.* 2,2; *Nero* 48,4), *sagum* (*Otho* 2,1), *sagulum* (*Aug.* 26,1; *Vit.* 11,1).

⁶ See Wardle (above n. 3) 268–70.

cruelty and suspicious frame of mind had become increasingly obvious ? After all, this was an emperor who had just had his old friend and brother-in-law Lepidus executed and his two sisters Agrippina and Livilla banished to the Pontian islands (Dio 59,22,6–8), apart from his numerous other executions and acts of cruelty. As a distant cousin, Ptolemy had no reason at all to feel confident about his position. Hence if he did offend Caligula in some way, it has to have been an accidental insult, as a result of a chance event that he could not reasonably have anticipated.

As Malloch himself argues, the context of the anecdote is important, but I suggest that the key to the interpretation of Suetonius' description of the death of Ptolemy lies in the succeeding rather than the preceding line, in the description of how Caligula used to order the backs of their heads shaved if he happened to meet any handsome men. This was apparently because he was extremely sensitive about his own baldness, to the extent even that he forbade anyone to look down upon him from a higher place as he passed by (*Calig.* 50,1). I suggest that Suetonius' ultimate source for the death of Ptolemy had originally described his execution for a similar reason, because Caligula was jealous of his fine head of hair, and that is why these two descriptions of Caligula's actions are situated one after the other in the way that they are. Two points are important here. First, the regular citation of Greek by Suetonius points to the ultimate origin of much of his material in a Greek source.⁷ Second, it is clear that the author of this source enjoyed displaying his inventiveness in the use of the Greek language. The key passage here occurs in the life of Caligula also, where Suetonius describes Caligula's alleged preparations for a triumph as he planned his return from the Channel coast in early AD40. He apparently used a Greek term which struck Suetonius, or rather his immediate source, as unusual, and no other use of this term is known even today (*Calig.* 47):

Conversus hinc ad curam triumphi praeter captivos ac transfugas barbaros Galliarum quoque procerissimum quemque et, ut ipse dicebat, ἀξιοθριάμβευτον,

⁷ The material has been collected and discussed by G.B. Townend, "The Sources of the Greek in Suetonius", *Hermes* 88 (1960) 98–120, who argued that Suetonius used a subsidiary source which was hostile to the Caesars, adopted an unchronological presentation, was excessively interested in the scandalous, and used Greek. He identified the author of this source as Cluvius Rufus. D. Wardle, "Cluvius Rufus and Suetonius", *Hermes* 120 (1992) 466–82, defends the reputation of Cluvius Rufus as a serious annalistic historian, which leaves the identity of the author of the hostile Greek source open once more.

ac nonnullos ex principibus legit ...

Yet it strains credibility to believe that Caligula should really have spoken Greek to his senior officers as he planned that most Roman of celebrations, the triumph, in that part of the empire least affected by Greek language and culture, let alone that he should have attempted to coin a new word as he did so. This word belongs to the author of the Greek source from which this anecdote is ultimately derived rather than to Caligula himself. A subsequent translator has misunderstood the attribution of a certain statement to Caligula where the substance of the words alone was important to mean that he had spoken those exact Greek words. The same problem occurs earlier when Suetonius attributes another otherwise unknown Greek term to the authorship of Caligula, although he does not provide the context for the alleged statement so that it does not strike one as quite as improbable as the previous example (*Calig.* 29,1):

Nihil magis in natura sua laudare se ac probare dicebat quam, ut ipsius verbo utar, ἀδιατρεψία, hoc est inverecundiam.

It is my suggestion, therefore, that the same Greek author displayed a similar inventiveness in the use of another unusual term in an unusual, if not unique, sense, that he claimed that Caligula had Ptolemy executed because he was ἄβολος.

The adjective ἄβολος seems to have been used almost exclusively of horses, either of young horses that had not yet shed their foal-teeth, or of older horses that no longer shed them.⁸ But there is no etymological reason why its use ought to have been confined to the shedding of teeth. I suggest, therefore, that our Greek author used it of Ptolemy in order to denote the fact that he had not yet begun to lose any hair, that is, that he had a full head of hair still, despite the fact that he was probably in his mid-forties.⁹ Suetonius, or, more probably, an intermediate source, did not understand

⁸ H.G. Liddell and R. Scott (eds.), *Greek-English Lexicon With a Revised Supplement*, Oxford 1996, 3.

⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 4,23,1 describes Ptolemy as too young for responsibility (*iuventa incurioso*) at the time of the war against Tacfarinas c.AD17–24. Coins issued by King Juba II during the 30th year of his reign (AD5) show him with a diademed young child identifiable as Ptolemy, while other coins reveal that Ptolemy was bearded by Juba's 36th year (AD11). See J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955, nos. 375 and 383.

this, but was struck by the similarity of the Greek ἄβολος to the Latin term *abolla*, and assumed that it was meant to describe the wearing of an *abolla*. Hence he translated the text to mean that Caligula had Ptolemy executed for wearing an *abolla*, and sought to clarify the reason for this action by adding a reference to the bright purple colour of this cloak.

The fact that a hostile Greek source should originally have intended us to believe that Caligula had Ptolemy executed as a result of jealousy at his hair rather than at his fine cloak does not immediately strike one as very useful in shedding any better light on this problem. Unless one subscribes to the depiction of Caligula as an almost completely mad or bad emperor, it is no more convincing that he should have killed anyone because of their hair alone than because of their cloak. Yet one possibility does suggest itself. The Latin noun *caesaries* was used to describe long or luxuriant hair, and the adjective *caesariatus* to describe someone possessed of such long or luxuriant hair.¹⁰ The potential for dangerous puns is obvious. This suits the context for the crucial incident as preserved by Suetonius, at the games. Emboldened by their numbers and anonymity, a section of the crowd may well have hailed Ptolemy as the true 'Caesar' to the immense displeasure of the bald Caesar himself.¹¹ Ptolemy's reaction to this witticism would have been crucial, but may well have proved the last straw for an emperor who was already suspicious of his loyalty, already desirous perhaps of adding his kingdom to the empire.

A final point is necessary. In a section where he lists examples of Caligula's alleged brutality, Suetonius describes an occasion when he apparently selected men to be fed to some wild-animals which he had gathered for games simply by identifying them by their position in a line between two bald men, 'from baldhead to baldhead' (*Calig.* 27,1):

Cum ad saginam ferarum muneri praeparatarum carius pecudes compararentur,

¹⁰ P.G.W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1982, 254.

¹¹ Caligula's relations with the general public were fraught. Suetonius claims that he sometimes used to draw back the awnings in the theatre at the hottest time of the day and forbid anyone to leave, or remove the usual equipment and substitute old fighters set against mangy wild beasts (*Calig.* 26,5). As always, Suetonius may be generalizing on the basis of one incident alone of either type. Whatever the case, such behaviour is best interpreted as an attempt to punish the crowd for some offence rather than, as has been argued, an attempt at austerity. Wardle (above n. 3) 245 suggests that Caligula may have wished 'to punish perverse audiences who often spurned good entertainment', but the offence may have been more personal.

ex noxiis laniandos adnotavit, et custodiarum seriem recognoscens, nullius inspecto elogio, stans tantum modo intra porticum mediam, a calvo ad calvum duci imperavit.

At the very least, his use of this phrase reveals the continued sensitivity of Caligula to this subject. Nevertheless, while the expression 'from baldhead to baldhead' may have been proverbial, this does not itself suffice to explain why he should have chosen to use it on this occasion in particular.¹² On the one hand, one could choose to interpret his use of it here at face value as presented by Suetonius, that he used it simply to refer to two bald men who happened to stand at opposite ends of a line. On the other hand, this whole incident may have a much more direct bearing upon the death of Ptolemy in circumstances already outlined than may initially seem to be the case. Typically, Suetonius describes this event only in brief and without a full political or chronological context, but Dio is no more helpful (59,22,3). One wonders, therefore, whether Caligula was not really ordering the deaths of a group of men whose heads he had ordered to be shaved beforehand. His cry 'from baldhead to baldhead' may have been intended to mock their new 'baldness' rather than to identify some fraction of their number to be fed to the beasts. The joke, if we may call it that, is that he wanted them all to be fed to the beasts. He did not have to read the charge made against each individually because they had all been arrested at the same time for the same offence. It is possible, therefore, that these men may have been arrested because they had been identified as members of the crowd who had mockingly identified Ptolemy as the true 'Caesar', and that they had had their heads shaved before their final execution in order to humiliate them in the same way that they had humiliated the emperor. If this possibility is allowed, then the real mistake made by Ptolemy may have been in trying to intervene on their behalf with the emperor. That would have made it seem as if he was deliberately trying to curry the favour of the mob, and in a context where a section of this mob had already hailed him as 'Caesar', even in jest, this would have been fatal.

In conclusion, it is arguable that the anecdote concerning the death of Ptolemy of Mauretania derives from a Greek source which had described Ptolemy as ἄβολος in reference to his full head of hair, but that a subsequent Latin translator misunderstood this term to describe the wearing of an *abolla* instead. In reality, Ptolemy was probably put to death because

¹² In general, see Hurley (above n. 3), 112; Wardle (above n. 3), 246–47.

of a witticism by the mob at the games punning upon his long hair (*caesaries*) and the office of emperor (*Caesar*), and his reaction to the same.

University College Cork

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GIOVANNI COLONNA: *Italia ante Romanum Imperium. Scritti di antichità etrusche, italiche e romane* (1958–1998). 6 volumi. Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, Pisa 2005. ISBN 88-8147-232-5. XXVII, 2694 pp. EUR 2250.

Giovanni Colonna è uno dei grandi dell'odierna etruscologia, studioso della storia arcaica italiana e romana. Ne è un'eloquente testimonianza la raccolta dei suoi scritti realizzata per celebrare i suoi 70 anni. Essi costituiscono una selezione molto ampia dei suoi scritti, comparsi in oltre 40 anni di attività davvero instancabile e offrono un contributo fondamentale alla conoscenza dell'Etruria e dell'Italia preromana, considerate nei loro vari aspetti, e della Roma più antica, senza dimenticare protagonisti e momenti importanti della storia degli studi. Eccone il contenuto:

I. Tra storia e archeologia: 1. 1. *Etruria e popoli italici* (prima parte). L'Etruria meridionale interna dal villanoviano alle tombe rupestri; La cultura dell'Etruria meridionale interna con particolare riguardo alle necropoli rupestri; Ricerche sull'Etruria interna volsiniese; La scoperta di Aleria etrusca; Ricerche sugli Etruschi e sugli Umbri a nord degli Appennini; Per un inquadramento culturale della Sabina arcaica; I Greci di Adria; Basi conoscitive per una storia economica dell'Etruria; *Scriba cum rege sedens*; La presenza di Vulci nelle valli del Fiora e dell'Albegna prima del IV secolo a.C.; La posizione di Bagnoregio nell'antico territorio volsiniese; Problemi dell'archeologia e della storia di Orvieto etrusca; La Sicilia e il Tirreno nel V e IV secolo a.C.; Presenza greca ed etrusco-meridionale nell'Etruria mineraria; Virgilio, Cortona e la leggenda etrusca di Dardano; I Dauni nel contesto storico e culturale dell'Italia arcaica; Apollon, les Étrusques et Lipara; Società e cultura a Volsinii; Il Tevere e gli Etruschi; Gli Etruschi della Romagna; Una proposta per il supposto elogio tarquiniese di Tarchon; Etruschi e Umbria a nord del Po. – 2. 1. *Etruria e popoli italici* (seconda parte). Nuove prospettive sulla storia etrusca tra Alalia e Cuma; Città e territorio nell'Etruria meridionale del V secolo a.C.; Doni di Etruschi e di altri barbari occidentali nei santuari panellenici; Il santuario di Cupra fra Etruschi, Greci, Umbri e Picenti; La società spinetica e gli altri *ethne*; Alla ricerca della "metropoli" dei Sanniti; Appunti su Ernici e Volsci; *Volsinio Capto*. Sulle tracce dei donari asportati da Orvieto nel 264 a.C.; Etruschi sulla via delle Alpi Occidentali. – 2. 2. *Roma e i Latini*. Sull'origine del culto di Diana Aventinensis; E. Gjerstad e la Roma arcaica; The Later Orientalizing Period in Rome; Naissance de Rome; Un aspetto oscuro del Lazio antico: le tombe del VI–V secolo a.C.; Quali Etruschi a Roma; Etruria e Lazio nell'età dei Tarquini; I Latini e gli altri popoli del Lazio; Praeneste arcaica e il mondo etrusco-italico; Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, l'*Ager Romanus antiquus* e i santuari del I miglio; Roma arcaica, i suoi sepolcreti e le vie per i Colli Albani.

II. Arte, artigianato, architettura: 1. Placche arcaiche da cinturone di produzione capenate; Urne peligne a forma di cofanetto: contributo allo studio dei rapporti etrusco-

sabellici; Arte italica; Il ciclo etrusco-corinzio dei rosoni: contributo alla conoscenza della ceramica e del commercio vulcente; La ceramica etrusco-corinzia e la problematica storica dell'Orientalizzante Recente in Etruria; Tuscania, monumenti etruschi di epoca arcaica; La pittura tarquiniese di VI e V secolo a.C. alla luce delle nuove acquisizioni; Tra geometrico e orientalizzante; Su una classe di dischi-corazza centro-italici; Ceramica geometrica dell'Italia meridionale nell'area etrusca; Problemi di arte figurativa di età ellenistica nell'Italia adriatica; Rapporti artistici tra il mondo paleoveneto e il mondo etrusco; *Parergon*: a proposito del frammento geometrico dal Foro; Tarquinio Prisco e il tempio di Giove Capitolino; Alle origini della statuaria etrusca: la tomba delle Statue presso Ceri; I templi del Lazio fino al secolo V a.C. compreso; Per una cronologia della pittura etrusca di età ellenistica; Urbanistica e architettura etrusca; Il maestro dell'Ercole e della Minerva: nuova luce sull'attività della officina veiente. – 2. Gli artigiani a Roma e nel Lazio nell'età dei re; Riflessi dell'epos greco nell'arte degli Etruschi; Gli Etruschi e l'"invenzione" della pittura; Il posto dell'Arringatore nell'arte etrusca di età ellenistica; Le due fasi del tempio arcaico di S. Omobono; Gli scudi bilobati dell'Italia centrale e l'ancile dei salii; *Membra disiecta* di altorilievi frontonali di IV e III secolo a.C.; Brandelli di una gigantomachia tardo-arcaica da un tempio etrusco; I sarcofagi chiusini di età ellenistica; Strutture teatriformi in Etruria; Arte etrusca; I carri dell'Italia centrale; Larice Crepu vasaio a San Giovenale; Un Ercole sabellico dal Vallo di Adriano.

III. Epigrafia, lingua e religione: a) Forme e usi della scrittura: Una nuova iscrizione etrusca del VII secolo e appunti sull'epigrafia ceretana dell'epoca; Sul valore del segno a croce in etrusco; Il sistema alfabetico dell'etrusco arcaico, Nuovi dati epigrafici sulla protostoria della Campania; L'aspetto epigrafico del Lapis Satricanus; L'anforetta con iscrizione etrusca da Bologna; Un "trofeo" di Novio Fanno, comandante sannita; Il fegato di Piacenza e la tarda etruscità cispadana; L'écriture dans l'Italie centrale à l'époque archaïque; Il bicchiere con iscrizione arcaica da Castelletto Ticino e l'adozione della scrittura nell'Italia nord-occidentale; L'iscrizione etrusca del Piombo di Linguadoca; Le iscrizioni di Nocera e il popolamento pre- e paleosannitico della valle del Sarno. – b) Lingua e società: Nomi etruschi di vasi; A proposito del morfema etrusco *-si*; Firme arcaiche di artefici nell'Italia centrale; Nome gentilizio e società; *Duenos*; *Graeco more bibere*: l'iscrizione della tomba 115 dell'Osteria dell'Osa; Note di lessico etrusco; Un'iscrizione da Talamone e l'opposizione presente/passato nel verbo etrusco; Identità come appartenenza nelle iscrizioni di possesso dell'Italia preromana; Etrusco *θapna*: latino *damnum*; Il lessico istituzionale etrusco e la formazione della città specialmente in Emilia Romagna; Vasi per bere e vasi per mangiare (a proposito di alcuni nomi etruschi di vasi); Ceramisti e donne padrone di bottega nell'Etruria arcaica; Etruschi a Pitecusa nell'Orientalizzante antico. – c) Divinità, culti e santuari: *Selvans sanxuneta*; La dea etrusca *Cel* e i santuari del Trasimeno; Santuari d'Etruria; I culti del santuario della Cannicella; Note preliminari sui culti del santuario di Portonaccio a Veio; Riflessioni sul dionisismo in Etruria; Le iscrizioni votive etrusche; A proposito degli dèi del Fegato di Piacenza; Il *dokanon*, il culto dei Dioscuri e gli aspetti ellenizzanti della religione dei morti nell'Etruria tardo-arcaica; Divinités peu connues du panthéon étrusque; Culti dimenticati di Praeneste libera.

IV. Pyrgi e storia della ricerca: 1. *Varia Pyrgensia*: Fistula iscritta da Pyrgi; Ripostiglio di monete greche dal santuario etrusco di Pyrgi; Il santuario di Pyrgi alla luce

delle recenti scoperte; La donazione pyrgense di Thefarie Velianas; The Sanctuary at Pyrgi in Etruria; Nuovi elementi per la storia del santuario di Pyrgi; La via Caere-Pyrgi; Breve nota sull'altorilievo mitologico di Pyrgi; Soggetto, stile e cronologia dell'altorilievo mitologico de Pyrgi; Notizie sulla ricomposizione dell'altorilievo tardo-arcaico del tempio A e sulla sistemazione della sala pirgense di Villa Giulia; la dea di Pyrgi: bilancio aggiornato dei dati archeologici (1978); "Tempio" e "santuario" nel lessico delle lamine di Pyrgi; Altari e sacelli. L'area Sud di Pyrgi dopo otto anni di ricerche; L'Apollo di Pyrgi; Pyrgi. – 2. Vicende, momenti e protagonisti della ricerca: A proposito della "Regia" di Acquarossa; Il contributo dell'antica Carta Archeologica alla conoscenza dell'Etruria meridionale; Osservazioni su due iscrizioni vulcenti del VII secolo; In margine alla mostra sul Lazio primitivo; Archeologia dell'età romantica in Etruria: I Campanari di Toscanella e la tomba dei Vipinana; A proposito del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna; Ancora sulla Fibula prenestina; Il Museo di Etruscologia dell'Università di Roma; Le copie ottocentesche delle pitture etrusche e l'opera di Carlo Ruspi; Dalla chimera all'Arringatore; Riflessi delle scoperte etrusche nell'Europa dell'800: l'avventura romantica; Winckelmann, i vasi "etruschi" dall'Aventino e il tempio di Diana; Ricordo di Massimo Pallottino; Ricordo di Jacques Heurgon; Ricordo di un'amica. – 3. *Minima varia*: proposte e discussioni: Le origini di Populonia; Anio da Viterbo; Un Sulcitano a Roma; Alfedena e l'espansionismo dei Sanniti; La Roma proto-urbana; I Volsci a Satricum; L'archeologia italiana nell'Egeo; Il Lucus Ferentinae ritrovato?; I cinque colli di Narce; Il tumulo di Corvaro e l'archeologia di Varrone; Agnone e l'alto Trigno nel contesto del Sannio pentro; Le mostre archeologiche tra presente e passato. – 4. Dalla stampa quotidiana: Roma medio repubblicana; Scavi clandestini ed edilizia selvaggia; La tomba dei Caronti a Cerveteri.

Sarebbe un'impresa impossibile cercare di caratterizzare, nel quadro del limitato spazio concessomi dalla redazione di questa rivista, la produzione scientifica di Giovanni Colonna che ha lasciato profonde tracce nello studio della storia arcaica della penisola appenninica. Ai lettori di *Arctos* interesseranno in particolare i contributi raccolti nel terzo volume su temi epigrafici, linguistici e di storia religiosa. Questo volume ospita contributi di grande importanza non solo su epigrafi etrusche, ma anche su quelle italiane e latine. Per prendere qualche esempio, Colonna ha, sulle orme del Pallottino, definitivamente dimostrato la latinità della nota iscrizione di Tita Vendia, graffita su un'olla della fine del VII secolo rinvenuta a Caere o nell'agro falisco-capenate, spesso ritenuta falisca, di grande importanza per gli studi onomastici e paleografici. O che cosa dire del contributo sui nuovi dati epigrafici sulla protostoria della Campania? O del convincente accostamento dell'etr. *θapnas* con il lat. *damnum* (pp. 1863 sgg.)? Mi sia permesso fare qui una piccola osservazione sull'articolo "L'aspetto epigrafico del *Lapis Satricanus*": a p. 1660–2 Colonna propone la tesi che la nota iscrizione di Ardea della seconda metà del VI sec. (*CIL* I² 474), da sempre letta e interpretata "ego K. Anaios, in latino classico *ego K(aeso) Annaeus*, vada piuttosto intesa *ego kanaios*, perché in età così remota non si potrebbe giustificare l'uso abbreviativo del prenome. E in questo Colonna ha senza dubbio ragione. *Kanaios* dunque sarebbe un gentilizio. Ma se così è, si sente la mancanza del prenome. Perciò io sceglierei un'altra strada: leggerei *ego Kavidios*, e spiegherei *Kavidios* come un aggettivo possessivo "appartenente a Gavidos". *Gavidus* sarebbe un antico nome individuale, più tardi scomparso, formato da un aggettivo

gavidus, non attestato, ma che sembra essere alla base del verbo denominativo *gaudeo* (cf. ciò che ho scritto in *Linguistica è storia. Scritti in onore di C. de Simone*, Pisa 2003).

Va espressa una profonda gratitudine ai curatori dei volumi, e non meno all'editore Prof. Fabrizio Serra che con la sua lungimiranza ha reso possibile la loro pubblicazione. Auguriamo all'opera un'ampia diffusione tra i dotti che si occupano delle antichità dell'Italia preromana e romana.

Heikki Solin

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN: *Schriften und Nachlass*, Band 5, 1: *Ville e Palazzi di Roma. Antiken in den römischen Sammlungen. Text und Kommentar*. Bearbeitet von SASCHA KANSTEINER, BRIGITTE KUHN-FORTE und MAX KUNZE. Herausgegeben von ADOLF BORBEIN und MAX KUNZE. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2003. ISBN 3-8053-2975-X. XXVI, 451 S., 498 Abb. EUR 72.

Die unter der Ägide der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, der Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt und der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft herausgegebene Winckelmann-Gesamtausgabe schreitet zügig vorwärts. Der hier vorgelegte Band gewinnt besonders dadurch an Wichtigkeit, dass hier zum ersten Mal die Notizen Winckelmanns zu den Antiken in den Villen, Palästen und Museen in Rom und Frascati durch eine kritische Edition veröffentlicht werden. Sie sind in einem Pariser Konvolut von sechs Heften (im Band 68 des Fonds allemand der Bibliothèque Nationale) erhalten. Sie wurden zwar im Jahre 2000 von J. Raspi Serra publiziert, doch weisen ihr transkribierter Text und die italienische Übersetzung gravierende Lesefehler auf, sodass allein die vorliegende Ausgabe benutzt und nach ihr zitiert werden soll. Die Handschrift ist sehr wertvoll, denn sie erlaubt Beobachtungen insbesondere zu Winckelmanns Autopsie antiker Skulpturen, zu seinen vorwiegend aus der Guidenliteratur entnommenen Exzerpten, die seine Besuche in den Villen, Palästen und Gärten vor- oder nachbereiteten, und zu seinen Zitaten aus antiken Schriftquellen, die einzelne Sachverhalte erläutern sollen.

Die Herausgeber haben ihrer Edition des Nachlasses den Titel 'Ville e Palazzi di Roma' gegeben, eine Kapitelbezeichnung, die Winckelmann selbst am Anfang von zwei Heften gebraucht. Wie zutreffend dieser Titel ist, stehe dahin; die Notizen, die direkt von Ws Hand stammen, sind jedenfalls auf Deutsch niedergeschrieben (abgesehen von Zitaten aus der antiken oder modernen Literatur, die er in der Ursprache wiedergibt).

Der Band gliedert sich in drei Hauptteile. Nach einer Einleitung, wo über den Pariser Nachlass, editorialische Gesichtspunkte und ähnliche isagogische Fragen unterrichtet wird, folgt der Text der Handschriften, und darauf ein ausführlicher Kommentar. Der transkribierte und kommentierte Text, dem im Kommentarteil die rund 500 Abbildungen zugeordnet sind, gibt einen Einblick in Winckelmanns Arbeitsmethode und lässt erkennen, wie wichtig ihm die genaue Autopsie war. Die Handschriften des Pariser Nachlasses widerspiegeln die Bedeutung, die Winckelmann der eigenen Anschauung zumass, dem Prüfen des originalen Bestands einer Statue und ihrer modernen Ergänzungen ebenso wie der Beurteilung von künstlerischer Qualität.

Den eigenen Neigungen gemäss habe ich den Band darauf hin durchgesehen, was

Winckelmann über die Inschriften zu sagen hat. Etwas Neues bringt er nicht, und zeigt sich ausserdem als ein flüchtiger Leser, dem hier und da Verlesungen passieren (auch falsche Interpretationen fehlen nicht). – Ein paar Bemerkungen. Die Herausgeber sind etwas inkonsequent in der Wiedergabe der epigraphischen Editionen, besonders bei den griechischen Texten: bald verweisen sie auf *IG XIV*, bald auf Moretti, bald auf keine epigraphische Standardausgabe; so stets bei den Hermeninschriften, die aber alle in *IG XIV* stehen, die meisten soweit echt auch bei Moretti (bei ihm fehlen nur diejenigen, die stricto sensu nicht stadtrömisch sind, sondern aus einer bei Tivoli gelegenen römischen Villa stammen), und die von Chr. Huelsen, *RM* 16 (1901) 123–208 eine eingehende Behandlung erhalten haben. Darüber hinaus eine weitere Bemerkung zu den Hermeninschriften: die Herme des Timotheos 19, 20–24 steht bei Moretti 1494, der den Namen des Bildhauers, zweifellos richtig, als Polykrates versteht (er will aufgrund der Abschrift von Suarès Πολυκράτης sogar *lesen*, was doch unsicher bleibt). – Zu den sonstigen Inschriften: 76, 23–28 ist Moretti 798. – 91, 19 ist *CIL VI* 30916/7. – 103, 17–20 ist *CIL VI* 31955. – 133, 32–33 der Meilenstein ist nicht *CIL X* 6882, sondern 6886. – 135, 8–9 gehört zu den Boissardschen Fälschungen: *IG XIV* 77*. – 136, 31–36 ist die möglicherweise moderne Inschrift *IG XIV* 2189, deren Wortlaut, sollte er ein römisches Epitaph nachahmen, als "Erinnerung an Zoe" verstanden werden muss (*Zoe* war ein üblicher Frauenname); und ist der Altar wirklich identisch mit dem von Boschung 107 Nr. 822 abgebildeten, der laut Altmann 152 Nr. 181 anepigraph ist, während unser Altar "mit einer Inschrift in grosser Schrift" versehen war? – 137, 1–8 ist *CIL VI* 424. – 142, 11–16 ist *CIL VI* 20385. – 144, 26–30 ist *CIL VI* 29858. – 147, 26–30 ist *CIL VI* 10035. – 148, 19–30 ist die jüdische Grabinschrift *JJWE II* 556, deren Textverlauf die Herausgeber missverstanden haben: der Vater des verstorbenen Sohnes hiess nicht *Amelisarchos*, er war Ἀμέλι(ο)ς ἄρχω[v].

Heikki Solin

Gelehrtenalltag. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Eduard Meyer und Georg Wissowa (1890–1927). Herausgegeben von GERT AUDRING. Weidmann, Hildesheim 2000. ISBN 3-615-00216-4. 559 S. EUR 74.

Wissenschaftsgeschichte ist seit längerer Zeit große Mode. Und da sowohl Meyer als auch Wissowa, die ihr zentrales Lebenswerk in Berlin bzw. Halle getan haben, zu den vornehmsten Vertretern der Altertumswissenschaft des vorigen Jahrhunderts zählen, kann die Publikation ihres bisher unbekannt gebliebenen Briefwechsels von vornherein als ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte bezeichnet werden. Eduard Meyer (1855–1930), ein Universalhistoriker des Altertums ohnegleichen, und Georg Wissowa (1859–1931), ein erstrangiger Vertreter der Erforschung der römischen Kultur, bekannt vor allem als erster Herausgeber der Neubearbeitung der Pauly'schen Realenzyklopädie und als Verfasser des zum Klassiker gewordenen Handbuchs zur römischen Religion, haben Jahrzehnte lang ihre Freundschaft mit einem intensiven Briefwechsel gepflegt, der erst erlischt, als Wissowa im Jahre 1923 zwei Schlaganfällen zum Opfer fällt. Der besondere Reiz des vorliegenden Bandes liegt aber darin, daß der Briefwechsel der zwei Freunde, die beide hohen Rang in Wissenschaft und Universität einnahmen, uns mitten in

den Großbetrieb der Blütezeit der preußischen Universitäten im allgemeinen und der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung im besonderen führt. In bisher unbekannter Intensität und Anschaulichkeit treten die Charaktere von Meyer und Wissowa hervor, und beider Persönlichkeit erschließt sich uns damit weit lebendiger als aus den Nachrufen ihrer Schüler und Kollegen. Wer sich in den Betrieb der deutschen Altertumswissenschaft der betreffenden Periode weiter vertiefen will, dem kann der hier publizierte Briefwechsel aufs Wärmste empfohlen werden. Beide waren nicht nur Wissenschaftler vom hohen Rang, auch ihre Urteile über Kollegen und den jüngeren Nachwuchs sind hochinteressant, meistens ausgewogen und oft sogar spannend. Von zeitgenössischen Persönlichkeiten können überraschende oder weniger schmeichelnde Charakterzüge zum Vorschein kommen. Adolf von Harnack zum Beispiel wird von beiden scharf angegriffen; so Meyer S. 98, und Wissowa (S. 184) empfindet "das Generaldirektorat Harnack (der Kgl. Bibliothek) als einen der größten Skandale des letzten Jahrzehntes"; doch an anderen Stellen werden Harnacks Leistungen gebührend gewürdigt. Wissowa (S. 536) klagt, wie Wilamowitz "wieder einmal in seiner rücksichtslos autokratischen Art vorgegangen ist". Von Christian Hülsen stellt Wissowa S. 215 fest, dieser sei, trotz einem Appell von Friedrich Althoff, dem legendären Personalienreferenten für die Universitäten im preußischen Kultusministerium, für Nachfolge von Wilcken in Halle "ganz ungeeignet"; die Kommission habe ihn "reiflich erwogen, aber entschieden abgelehnt". Von Ernst Kornemann sind beide einig: Wissowa zufolge (S. 189) sei dessen Aufsatz 'Πόλις und urbs' "sehr schlecht"; und Meyer (S. 193) kann sich "für Kornemann nicht im mindesten erwärmen, sondern denke ganz so wie Du. Er hat noch nie etwas wirklich brauchbares geleistet, wohl aber sehr viel thörichtes". Spätere Generationen haben Kornemanns Verdiensten mehr Achtung geschenkt, obschon gewisse Schwächen nicht verkannt werden sollen (das kann man z. B. dem liebevollen Nachruf von A. Heuss in *Gnomon* 1951 zwischen den Zeilen entnehmen). Auch etwa Wissowas Hallenser Kollege Friedrich Blass wird nicht geschont. Theodor Mommsen, den doch wenigstens Meyer gut gekannt haben muß, wird nicht einmal erwähnt (über gewisse Spannungen zwischen den beiden gibt die Korrespondenz von Mommsen und Wilamowitz Auskunft, z. B. ein Brief Mommsens vom 3.1. 1894 [W. M. Calder – R. Kirstein, *Theodor Mommsen und Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Briefwechsel 1872–1903*. Hildesheim 2003, 629f]; auch Gegensätze in der Forschung sind nicht zu verkennen). Die Liste ließe sich beliebig fortsetzen. – Nebenbei sei notiert, daß unseres Landes dreimal von Meyer gedacht wird: in einem Brief vom 20.2. 1918 (S. 464) schreibt er, man soll "den Finnen die Hand bieten", was auch geschah; auf S. 468 (Juni 1918) berichtet er, "Theo (Theodor Feigel, Schwiegersohn von Meyer) gehe es sehr behaglich in Finnland". Es wäre schön zu wissen, in welcher Eigenschaft Feigel hier verweilte. Auf S. 483, anlässlich wohl einer Rektorenkonferenz in 1920 in Rostock schreibt Meyer über die Tage dort, sie "waren *sehr* schön und wahrhaft erhebend, namentlich auch das Auftreten der Schweden und Finnen". Wissowa hatte übrigens einen finnischen Schüler, H. F. Soveri, dessen Doktorarbeit *De ludorum memoria, praecipue Tertullianea* (Diss. Helsinki 1912) ihm viel verdankt.

Der Herausgeber hat seine mühevollen Aufgabe ausgezeichnet bewältigt. Kritik habe ich kaum anzumelden. Die Anmerkungen zu den in den Briefen erwähnten Personen und Geschehnissen sind sehr knapp gehalten, und auch der Leser, der

einigermaßen im Umfeld der deutschen Altertumswissenschaft jener Zeit vertraut ist, wird nicht ohne weiteres alle in der Korrespondenz enthaltenen Daten verstehen. Der Herausgeber hätte gut getan, wenn er wenigstens hie und da weitergeholfen hätte. Die knappen biographischen Notizen von Gelehrten werden in den Anmerkungen zuweilen nur einmal gegeben, und zwar allein bei der ersten Erwähnung mit Angabe der damaligen Stellung. So erfährt der Leser nichts von den restlichen Dienstorten. Z. B. wird Wilamowitz auf S. 23 als Göttinger Lehrstuhlinhaber eingeführt, aber bei seinen späteren Erwähnungen wird seine damalige, zentrale Wirkungsstätte, die Berliner Universität, nicht eigens notiert und muß vom Leser aus den Briefen selbst erschlossen werden; ähnlich steht von Ernst von Stern S. 194 Anm. 1, daß er Ordinarius in Odessa war; daß er später nach Halle kam, wo er auch Rektor wurde, kann man zwar aus dem Text der Briefe erschließen, in einer Anm. wird das nicht eigens angegeben (dagegen wird u. a. von Eduard Norden, S. 180 als Ordinarius in Breslau eingeführt, S. 252 Anm. 2 mitgeteilt, er war 1906 nach Berlin berufen worden). – S. 406 Anm. 6, 460 Anm. 6, 491 Anm. 6 wird auf eine Veröffentlichung "Meyer - Ehrenberg" hingewiesen, ich habe aber eine Erklärung der Abkürzung nirgends gefunden. – Auf S. 198 Anm. 3 wird behauptet, Eugen Bormann sei "seit 1867 vor allem mit den griechischen Inschriften Italiens befaßt". Das stimmt nun so nicht; Bormanns große Leistung war die Herausgabe des elften Bandes des *lateinischen* Inschriftenwerkes.

Heikki Solin

IRENE DE JONG: *A narratological commentary on the Odyssey*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001. ISBN 0-521-46844-2 (pb). 627 pp. GBP 27.95.

Before reading this book, I was not sure whether there was actually a need for another commentary on Homer. Having finished reading, I can certainly state that there indeed is room for this book. It is not difficult to summarize the benefits of de Jong's book, but at this point, it is sufficient to say that this is a most satisfactory work characterized by clarity of thought and diction, an attractive feature of this "meta-commentary."

In her brief, yet informative, preface, De J. introduces the motifs and methods of her study, and she openly confesses to being an "eclectic" concerning previous Homeric literary studies. For her the problems (if one can call them so) between the unitarians, analysts, oralists and non-oralists are not of great importance, the main focus of the study being the narrative entirety of the *Odyssey*.

As her starting point, De J. states Richard Heinze's *Virgils' epische Technik* (1915³), a work whose approach she has applied to the study of the *Odyssey*. As a result, we have a book which, as the author herself puts it, does not directly help someone trying to make sense of the Greek text, but contributes to the understanding of it, this leading the book being referred to as a "meta-commentary."

The author briefly defines the term "narratological" which she has used in the title of the study. She makes a difference between traditional commentaries, which focus mainly on the textual "micro level" parts of the text thought to be problematic, e.g. linguistically or historically. A narratological commentary, on the other hand, looks at the text as a whole. It works on the "meso" and "macro" levels of the text as well (macro

should, I think, in this context be understood as meaning overall length, not as an opposite of "*micros*," as happens sometimes in modern discussions). In practice, this "narratological commenting" means, for example, highlighting the motifs and themes of the story as well as the ways of describing the characters and the action.

De J., as all those writing about Homer, has had to cope with a vast amount of earlier literature. The solution has been to refer only to a limited number of publications published before 1997. I have no objection to this, but in places, the reader would like to have more extensive references to modern literature in order to get an overview of the existing discussion and guidance on the passages in question.

Before the actual commentary there is a most informative and useful glossary of literary terms. They are, of course, mostly referred to in their English forms, but often German or/and the ancient Greek equivalents are also included. This glossary greatly facilitates the use of this book.

The commentary has been written in a way that it can be read as an independent work, as well as a supporting guide along with the *Odyssey*. Processing the text of the *Odyssey*, the book proceeds from larger units towards smaller ones: first, a general introduction to the whole book in question, then an overview of those passages which form a whole and finally comments on single lines. The reader gets the maximum benefit from the book if she or he checks all three levels concerning a certain subject.

Special attention is accorded to the speeches embedded in the text; their construction, function and rhythm have been analyzed with care. The literary terms explained in the glossary are referred to by a crux (†), and recurring topics, found in the index, are marked with an asterisk (*). (Finding an explanation for the latter mark was a little bit difficult (it can be found on p. ix); this is practically my only complaint about the book).

At the end of the book, there are some interesting appendices. The first of them (Appendix A) presents a chronological table of 'Odysseus' storyline' (beginning from his departure to Troy until the reunion with Laertes) and of what happens to whom at the same time in different places. It becomes clear, for example, that Orestes kills Aegisthus in the same year when the suitors' siege begins in Ithaca. This may be self-evident to those who are truly familiar with the *Odyssey*, but the table greatly helps an average reader to see the "big picture" in the epic world. Another Appendix (E) which I found especially intriguing was the one summarizing the elements of Odysseus' "lying tales."

Some of the ideas and theories in this study surely can be found in other works on Homer. It is, however, the strength of De J's book that they are directly linked with the entirety of the "Odyssey". To summarize the merits of this commentary, it can be said that any fan of Homer will find it most entertaining and suitable even for bedside reading. On the other hand, in its intelligent, modern and common sense approach to the *Odyssey*, it also offers much of use to those privileged enough to be able to teach and study Homer in the original language.

Tiina Purola

JOACHIM LATA CZ: *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*. Translated from the German by KEVIN WINDLE and ROSH IRELAND. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004. XVII, 342 pp., ill. ISBN 0-19-926308-6. GBP 30 (hb).

This is a long-winded but wide-ranging book about the windy city of Troy and the historicity of Homer's Iliad. It has created a furore in Germany. Professor Joachim Latacz is the distinguished Priam in the German-speaking, academic world of classics and archaeology, famous for his recent commentary on the Iliad. At the same time British classicists, brought up on the Cambridge Iliad Commentary undertaken by Kirk, Janko, Edwards and Richardson, will already be familiar with the issues of the historicity of the Homer and the debate over Hisarlık being equated with Troy, whilst American scholars will be immersed in the oral theory of Parry and Lord and their later proponents Ford and Nagy. Morris and Powell's edition *The New Companion to Homer* (1997) sketches out many of the major themes of this book, though to be fair, Latacz himself challenges classical scholars to reach out to Akkadian, Egyptian, Hittite and Luwian. "The days when classics studies meant the study of Greek and Roman antiquity are numbered" (p. 75). Latacz, with his firm belief in a single Homer who actually wrote both Iliad and Odyssey in the eighth century BC, represents the extreme opposite of Nagy who believes in multiple, illiterate bards who were active up till the seventh century BC. In spite of Latacz's impassioned bigotry, his book is deceptively persuasive.

The book is divided into two major parts, the first dealing with Troy (pp. 1–140) and the second with Homer (pp. 141–287), since as Latacz remarks (p. 143) "the case of Homer is different from the case of Troy". For a critical view of the book from the philologist Joshua Katz (December 2005), see <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/papers/author/katz/katz.html> and for a more favourable impression from the archaeologist Ian Morris (November 2005), see <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/papers/author/morris/morris.html>.

The book does indeed link together current research in widely separated areas, from the natural sciences to archaeology to linguistics. The questions involved are so controversial that they sparked off a conference in Montreal, held in January 2006, to deal with Mycenaeans and Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age. The objectives of the workshop were to assess the reinterpretation of the potentially critical Hittite document KUB 26.91 and to reassess perspectives on Mycenaean Greece and the interactions of the Mycenaeans with the Anatolians (Hittites and Luwians) in the Late Bronze Age and in particular to explore the question of the political primacy of Mycenaean Thebes in the thirteenth century BC (<http://modlang-hale.concordia.ca/description.html>).

The introduction outlines the background to the book including mention of the exhibition, entitled "Troy: Dream and Reality" held in Germany in 2001–2002, which led to a mini-Trojan war in Germany between Latacz and Manfred Korfman on the one side and their foes "the Kolbians", led by Professor Frank Kolb who questioned all their assumptions, on the other. The first part of the book examines the fundamental problem as to whether Hisarlık was once really Troia/Ilios. Following Korfman, Latacz sees Troy VI as a typical Anatolian city, with an acropolis and a fortified lower town. External sources (Hittite, Egyptian and Mycenaean) confirm that Achajawa was a major power and clashed with the Hittite Empire around Wilusa. Latacz then explores the nature of

Hisarlık in the Bronze Age. Here he appeals to Hittite and Egyptian texts and evidence. Latacz then describes the discovery of Troy's lower town. After recapping the history of the decipherment of Linear A and B, of Hittite and Luwian languages, Latacz gradually weaves a web of associations to suggest that on historical and geographical grounds, Ahhija/Ahhiyawa was a Mycenaean kingdom, that Wilusa/Wilusiya was in the Troad and inseparable from the Greek Wilios, that Lazpas is Lesbos, Apasas Ephesus and Millawanda Miletus. (So also M. West, *Glotta* 77 (2001) 265). Frank Starke's investigations are also adduced in the elucidation of the Alaksandu Treaty and of significant Hittite documents. Furthermore the names Achaioi, Danaoi and Argeioi in the Homeric epic do not just spring from the poet's imagination but reflect the real historical situation as recorded in external records.

The second part of the book on Homer turns the spotlight on literary criticism and poetic reality and imagination, whether indeed the tale of Troy is a product of Homer's imagination. In his earlier book *Homer, His Art and His World* (1996) Latacz has already introduced Anglophone readers to the current state of German historical and philological scholarship on Homer. This was attacked in an eleven-page review by Erwin Cook (*BMCR* 96.10.3) and defended by the book's translator James Holoka (*BMCR* 97.3.10). The reader experiences a sense of déjà vu in Latacz's recapitulation of Schliemann, Troy, Mycenae and "new" discoveries. He concludes that Homer's Iliad is merely a secondary source of the Trojan War, but also that the tale of Troy was conceived in Mycenaean times and that the names of the attackers and the city attacked as well as their entire world are Mycenaean. On the other hand, the sketch of the post-palatial period (pp. 274–277), based on Deger-Jalkotzy, Hölkeskamp and Weiler, is original and convincing.

The language of the book is a unique hybrid: an Australian translation of a text by an East German fugitive, now resident in Switzerland. This Swiss-Australian axis cuts strangely across the traditional Anglo-American Homeric debate. Matters familiar to Anglo-American and Nordic scholars crop up in tiresome repetition in this Basel-Canberra text that is a revised, updated and expanded translated of a German popular best-seller. As Latacz himself admits (p. 250), "Some readers may indeed find that the argument has been altogether too long!" He explains at painful length what constitutes a hexameter (pp. 134–136 and 259–269), a digamma (pp. 160–164 and 217–218, referred to as "w" throughout) or a formula (pp. 252–259), with examples from Russian poetry and quoting Bowra's outdated *Heroic Poetry* (1952) instead of Lauri Honko's more up-to-date edition called *Thick Corpus, Organic Variation and Textuality in Oral Tradition* (2000). Reference only to living traditions of epic in Serbia and Croatia (p. 259) is at least fifty years out of date, since living traditions have now been studied from India, Africa, Russia and Mongolia, to name but a few examples.

The book does, however, establish dialogue between German and English scholarship with extensive discussion of Page (pp. 235–237), with references to the neo-analysts on p. 204 and narrative technique (pp. 199–203). The maps, sketches, tables and figures are well drawn up. Latacz has had the support of his research assistant Andreas Külling and enjoyed the full collaboration of the excavator of Troy, Manfred Korfman, whose untimely death on 11th August 2005 is a great setback to scholarship. The text is teeming with linguistic dingoes, eg "scientific" for "scholarly" or "academic", and with erratic use of the definite article causing kangaroo petrol throughout the book. The worst

example can be found on p. 287: "The earlier uncertainty dissolves and the solution seems nearer than ever: It would not be surprising if, in the near future, the outcome states: Homer is to be taken seriously." In my opinion, "outcomes" do not state anything.

Many Nordic scholars will have difficulty with Latacz's model of the transition from orality to literacy in Greece, and of Homer's role in that process. More worrying are the claims that Homer's literacy is an accepted fact, that Greek culture was transformed from orality to literacy in the space of twenty years, and that Homer was largely responsible for the transformation. Others, myself included, would prefer to think of an initial formative stage in the eighth century followed by an extended period of oral transmission. Whether or not a 'monumental composer' stood at the beginning of this process will be more important to some than to others (for discussion, see most recently G. Nagy, *Homeric Questions* [Austin, 1996]). At any event, it cannot be said that Latacz represents a consensus opinion among Homeric experts in America, or indeed in much of Europe. On the other hand, Latacz may well in fact be fully aware of the main tenets of the Anglo-American consensus (to the extent that one exists) and realizes that his opinions, like those of most other German-speaking scholars, diverges from them. The translation of this book into English is intended precisely to give wider currency to an alternative conception of Homeric composition.

Stephen Evans

EURIPIDES: *Selected Fragmentary Plays*. Volume II. Edited with Introductions, Translations and Commentaries by C. COLLARD, M. J. CROPP and J. GIBERT. Aris & Phillips Classical Texts. Oxbow Books, Oxford 2004. ISBN 0-85668-620-4 (hb), 0-85668-621-2 (pb). XVI, 384 pp. GBP 40.00 (hb), 19.50 (pb).

Euripides, *Selected Fragmentary Plays*, Volume II (hereafter *SFP II*) is dedicated to the memory of Kevin Hargreaves Lee, co-author of Euripides, *Selected Fragmentary Plays*, Volume I (hereafter *SFP I*) and "a fine Euripidean and an even finer colleague and friend" (Preface, p. x). The three editors of this book are Christopher Collard (C.C.), Martin Cropp (M.C.) and John Gibert (J.G.). The plays included in *SFP II* are *Philoctetes* (by C.C.), *Alexandros* (by M.C.) with *Palamedes* and *Sisyphus* (by C.C.), *Oedipus* (by C.C.), *Andromeda* (by J.G.), *Hypsipyle* (by M.C.), *Antiope* (by C.C.) and *Archelaus* (by J.G.). In accordance with *SFP I*, all plays are presented with: 1. a summary Bibliography (arranged under Texts and Testimonia; Myth; Illustrations; and Main Scholarly Discussions); 2. an Introduction (dealing with Reconstruction; Myth; Illustrations; Themes and characters; Staging; Date; Other dramatizations; and Later influence); 3. Greek text with a critical apparatus and an English prose translation; and 4. a Commentary. All the fragmentary plays which are included in *SFP II* are extremely interesting ones. In addition, one would also have welcomed with joy *Meleager*, whose story, according to Aristotle (*Poet.* 1453a18–22), was one of the favorite subjects of tragic poets.

Before Euripides' *Philoctetes*, Aeschylus had already written a tragedy of the same name. Sophocles, on the other hand, wrote his extant *Philoctetes* after Euripides' play. Luckily we have two orations (nos. 52 and 59) of Dio of Prusa in which Dio

compares these three plays with each other. The most interesting parts of Dio's oration no. 59 are presented in translation in *SFP* II. *Alexandros* was part of Euripides' "Trojan trilogy", together with *Trojan Women*, *Palamedes* and satyric *Sisyphus*. *SFP* II has a total of three appendices added to *Alexandros*: 1. "Ennius, *Alexander*" (by M.C.); 2. "Euripides, *Palamedes*" (by C.C.); 3. "Euripides, *Sisyphus*" (by C.C.). Oedipus and his sad lot is one of the subjects about which all of the three big names of classical Greek tragedy wrote a play or plays. It is a pity that we have so little left of Euripides' *Oedipus* (as well as of Aeschylus' *Oedipus*). *Andromeda*, with its romantic hero-saves-girl element, must have been a popular play in antiquity. Aristophanes parodied Euripides' *Andromeda* in *Thesmophoriazusae* and mentioned it in his *Frogs*. Before Euripides, Sophocles had already written an *Andromeda*, and later also Livius Andronicus, Ennius and Accius each wrote a homonymous play. In addition to this evidence, there are many South Italian vase paintings from the 4th century B.C. which depict Andromeda bound to a rock and/or before a cave. (However, it must be kept in mind that the connection between these vase paintings and Euripides' play remains problematic). More of *Hypsipyle* has survived than from other lost plays of Euripides (altogether over ca. 300 complete lines), a large part of the text which we have comes from *P. Oxy.* 852. The cover illustration of *SFP* II is a detail from an Apulian volute-krater (from Ruvo) by the Darius painter, Naples, Mus. Naz. 81394 (H 3255), ca. 340–330 B.C. (*LIMC* VIII Suppl. "Hypsipyle" no. 15). It is discussed by Martin Cropp (on pp. 180–181) with other vases depicting *Hypsipyle*. An interesting detail (which Cropp does not mention) is that on the other side of this vase (on its neck) there is a picture (of Oenomaus and Myrtilus chasing Pelops and Hippodamia) which is sometimes thought to be inspired by Euripides' or Sophocles' *Oenomaus* (*LIMC* V "Hippodameia I" no. 19* = *LIMC* VI "Myrtilos" no. 18 = *LIMC* VII "Oinomaos" no. 18 = "Pelops" no. 27). *Antiope* is one of the plays of Euripides which have been connected, perhaps most convincingly, with some South Italian vase paintings (no other Greek tragedy of the same name is known). *Archelaus* was written in the last years of the poet's life and contains elements which were written in order to please the historical Archelaus, king of Macedonia. In addition to this, the place of *Archelaus*' premiere (Pella/Aigai/Dion?) still remains an open question.

SFP II is furnished with addenda and corrigenda to *SFP* I and four indices (1. "Ancient authors and texts"; 2. "Language, style, metre"; 3. "Names and places"; 4. "Topics"). The general layout of the book is clear and the Greek text is also easy to read. *SFP* II contains no illustrations (except the cover illustration), but good references are made to well known and easily accessible works like, for instance, *LIMC*. There are only a few misprinted references in *SFP* II: In the Preface, on p. ix, the authors mention the reviews of *SFP* I which they have noted. S. Halliwell's review was published in *Greece & Rome* 43 (not 42) and M. A. Harder's review is on pp. 746–50 of *Mnemosyne* 50 (not on pp. 246–50). On p. 169 (concerning *Hypsipyle*), a reference is made to W. Burkert in A. Bierl (ed.), *Orchestra: Drama, Mythos, Logos*, Stuttgart 1994, 44–49. The correct name of the book is *Orchestra: Drama, Mythos, Bühne*.

To conclude, *SFP* II should be welcomed by all students of classical Greek drama. It can also be recommended, together with *SFP* I, to those students of theatre history who want to learn a little bit more about Euripides than just the usual "Medea and Phaedras". Scholars, on the other hand, are now happy to have Rickhard Kannicht's

TrGF, Vol. 5 as well. I hope (and believe) that *SFP* II will succeed in achieving its objectives which, I presume, are the same as those of *SFP* I:

"to increase accessibility to these fragmentary plays for specialist and non-specialist alike, and to encourage attention to some fascinating texts which are often of considerable importance to the critical appreciation of the poet" (*SFP* I, Preface, p. vii; *SFP* II, Preface, p. ix).

Vesa Vahtikari

M. TULLIUS CICERO: Fasc. 43. *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. Recensuit C. MORESCHINI. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. K. G. Saur, Monachi et Lipsiae 2005. ISBN 3-598-71280-4. XVIII, 215 pp. EUR 84.

Two editions of *de finibus* have appeared within a few years, the *OCT* text by L. D. Reynolds of 1998, and now this new *BT* text by C. Moreschini. Obviously reviewers will compare the two, and I shall not be an exception.

The edition of Reynolds strikes one as being most satisfactory. The ms. tradition of the *de finibus* is a bit complicated, as all mss. seem to include corrections made at some point by scribes. In the Praefatio, the facts leading to the establishment of the stemma on p. viii, with a division of the mss. into two families, are set out with admirable clarity (and in a very clear Latin). Reynolds shows, in my view pretty convincingly, that **BE** and **AMOSRP** (**A** being the Vaticanus Palatinus saec. XI) belong to two different families, **A** and **MOSRP** thus being representatives of the same family, **BE** of the other. (Obviously there is also much more.)

The Praefatio of Moreschini seems to me a bit less clear. In Reynolds, the abbreviations of the mss. which are discussed are set in bold and placed outside the text field, this resulting in more clarity. In Moreschini, the abbreviations of the mss. under discussion are mentioned only as parts of the main text and are not set in bold. But this is of minor importance. What is important is that Moreschini produces, on p. XIV, a stemma which also has two families of mss. but which differs fundamentally from that of Reynolds in that **BE** and **A** appear as representatives of the same class, **MRP** (**OS** being discarded) as those of the other. Now what one would like to have is obviously a demonstration of sorts of why M. thinks Reynolds' stemma is wrong, but, to tell the truth, I have not been able to locate a clear statement of this. (M. says that his exposition is an abridgment of his article in *Studi F. Della Corte* of 1987, but the most important points should be repeated here, and this article in any case precedes Reynolds' edition.) In fact, at the point where one would expect M. to discuss Reynolds' views, he refers (p. XIII) only to Reynolds' paper in *IMU* 35 (1992), not to the edition (mentioned only on the next page in a footnote), and the clearest statement presented here seems to be that Reynolds "haud multum novi attulit". On p. XIV, he goes on to say Reynolds' edition's merits are "magna", and that he was right in dividing the mss. "in duas tantum classes" (this being, for an unclear reason, put inside quotation marks); without being preceded by any description of Reynolds' stemma, the passage ends somewhat surprisingly with "sed hoc stemma nobis verius esse videtur" (M.'s stemma follows).

Therefore, the bottom line is that I was not able to locate a clear statement

regarding the stemma at the point where one would expect it to be presented (in point of fact, there were moments when I thought that this could mean that M.' Praefatio had been written before Reynolds' work was published, and that, for some reason, he did not have the time to discuss Reynolds' views at length). I also wondered about some other things, for instance, about **A** appearing in the "Conspectus codicum" (p. XVI) as the only representative of "Familia α ", when in fact, according to M.'s own stemma, also **B** and **E** (= β , and here enumerated as representatives of "Familia β ") are representatives of the same family α , this family thus being divided into **A** and β (= **BE**). I also missed the mention of Petrus Marsus in M.'s "Conspectus editionum" (so those who find this character being referred to on p. 10 on line 224, must turn to Reynolds' edition).

As for the edition itself, M.'s leaves a good general impression, for instance, as one does not find here misprints such as appear in the *OCT* text (e.g., 2.5 *definito*; 2.9 *finis et*). I am also in favour of indicating, if possible, ms. readings within the text (e.g., *pot[u]erit* at 1.69). It must be confessed that the question regarding the establishment of the stemma does not really very much affect the text, the question being rather whether one should accept this or that emendation etc. Comparing M.'s text with that of Reynolds, one finds that there are a few differences here and there. I was not able to identify many suggestions by M. himself, but note, e.g., the seclusion of *voluptatum* in *varietatum [voluptatum]* at 2.10 (quite attractive). There are also other places where one observes changes from the *OCT* text which seem attractive or at least acceptable; e.g., *soleo <dicere> temere* (Giusta; or possibly some other verb?) at 4.2, or *ut eum tueretur* (without the addition of *<cum>*) at 4.17. On the other hand, there are also details (but only details) I am not so sure of; e.g., in 2.11 the deletion of *ille* (*inquit ille* M.) is, I think, useful, and the same can be said of the addition of *<tam>* at 4.1 (*tamen accurate* M.). At 4.19, there are good reasons for the deletion of *et* (*ut se et salvum* M.).

In conclusion, I think that M. might have explained himself a bit more clearly about the stemma in the Praefatio (the introduction by M. of some new mss. into the discussion does not seem a compensation); otherwise this edition can be described as the result of careful scholarly work. No doubt it will find many users.

Olli Salomies

N. MARINONE: *Cronologia Ciceroniana*. Seconda edizione aggiornata e corretta con nuova versione interattiva in cd-rom, a cura di E. MALASPINA. Collana di Studi Ciceroniani, VI. Pàtron Editore, Bologna 2004. ISBN 88-555-2773-8. 518 pp. EUR 40.

The appearance of this volume, the second edition of a book published in 1997 (reviewed, as one finds out on p. 513, in only three journals, none of them appearing outside Italy or Spain), will be welcomed not only by all Ciceronian students but also by all dealing, in one way or other, with the first century BC. Moreover, many of them will be able to acquire a copy, as this book has been priced in a way no doubt meant to attract the attention of potential buyers.

As one learns from the title page, this edition is "aggiornata e corretta". The corrections have been inserted into the main text (p. 11), whereas the "aggiornamenti" (of the same structure as the main text) have been added at the end of the book (pp. 489

[incorrectly indicated as "463" in the table of contents p. 518] – 515; an asterisk indicates the existence of addenda at the end). One observes with interest that the new bibliography (pp. 513–5) contains many items which had in fact appeared by the time of the publication of the first edition, e.g., the commentary by C. Klodt on the *Rab. Post.*, of 1992; a pity M. von Albrecht's *Cicero's Style. A Synopsis* of 2003, relevant for many points made here, apparently appeared too late to be included).

To be able to use this book, one needs a few minutes of training, but only that and the time is well spent. The book consists of three main parts, the "Repertorio" (pp. 13–49), the "Date" (pp. 51–288), and the "Calendario" (pp. 289–461). The "Repertorio", consisting of three parts, (A) "Vita pubblica e privata", (B) "Attività" (in the table of contents, this section is called "Attività politica, forense e letteraria"), and (C) "Epistolario". Part (A) gives a listing of the main dates of Cicero's life in chronological order, the same being offered for Terentia ("matrimonio – a. 80, divorzio – a. 46"), Tullia, Cicero's son, and other members of the family. Part (B), "Attività", is in fact an alphabetical list of Cicero's preserved and lost works, *Academici libri, pro Acilio*, etc. (all the pretty obscure *iuvenilia* also being included). This list is presented in three columns, "Politica" (first item *de lege agraria*), "Forense" (beginning with *pro Acilio*), and "Letteraria". For each work, a date is supplied (and a code indicating the numbering of the work within a particular year; e.g., B1 being the first item in the list of written works) or, in the case of works not exactly datable, a reference to the list of undatable activities on p. 272ff. In the "Epistolario", all letters are listed following their order in the collections, this section thus beginning with *Att. 1,1* and ending with *ad Brut. 2,5*. A date (and a code, cf. above) is furnished for each letter. What this means in practice is that parts (B) and (C) are in fact equivalent to an index since dates are furnished here and since the reader wishing to learn something about (e.g.) a certain speech or letter needs to know the exact year under which to find the relevant information.

In the second part of the book, "Date", everything known of Cicero is presented under individual years, references to sources and secondary literature (e.g., editions and other literature in the case of literary works) also being added for each item. The importance of this information collected here cannot be stressed enough. Within each year, the information is divided (as in the "Repertorio") into (A) "Vita pubblica e privata", (B) "Attività politica, forense e letteraria", and (C) "Epistolario". In the beginning, there is not much information on a particular year; for instance, under the year 106 BC, there is only (under [A]) Cicero's birth (with sources, etc.). With time, individual years take up more space, but it is not useful to compare early and late years with each other, as there are many more letters (all listed individually, with discussion of exact date, etc.) from the later period. Thus, the years 63, 59 and 58 take up six pages, 56 and 50 ten, the years 46 to 44 about twenty–one each; from the year 45 there are no less than 130 preserved letters of Cicero (and nine by his correspondents: p. 230). – As an appendix, there is a section on undatable activities (p. 272ff.; e.g., the *partitiones oratoriae* as B19 on p. 276, with a sample of suggested dates ranging between 54 and 44), already mentioned above.

The "Calendario" consists in the main of a comparison of pre-Julian and astronomical dates, this being done year by year from 70 to 45 BC and being meant, unless I am mistaken, to help Ciceronian students change Ciceronian dates to

astronomical dates. – As for the CD-ROM attached to the book, cf. the review by W. Englert in *BMCR* 2005.09.11.

This carefully produced book (I observed misprints only on p. 57 and 500) is the result of very solid scholarship and will be used with profit by all students of Cicero and his time.

Olli Salomies

VIRGIL: *Aeneid* 11. A Commentary by NICHOLAS HORSFALL. *Mnemosyne Supplementa* 244. Brill, Leiden – Boston 2003. ISBN 90-04-12934-0. XXVII, 505 pp. EUR 125.

Nicholas Horsfall's over 560-page commentary on *Aeneid* 7 (2000) was followed by a commentary of equal length on *Aeneid* 11 in 2003. Like the previous volume, the introductory part of Horsfall's new commentary comprises a Preface, which contains some personal reminiscences, and an Introduction, where the structure, sources, language and related questions, the text and previous commentaries on *Aeneid* 11 are briefly discussed. There are also instructions for the reader and a Bibliography. This introductory matter is followed by the text of *Aeneid* 11, with an English translation. The running commentary of 400 pages is followed by two Appendices ("Camilla and the *Epic Cycle*" and "*Dormitatne Maro quoque?*") and by the indices.

The actual number of pages would easily have been much higher if all the abbreviations had been spelled out. Since the text consists to such a great extent of abbreviations, the reading of the commentary may not be an easy task even for the trained classical scholar. In elegance and reader-orientedness, Horsfall's book can hardly compete for instance with Macleod's *Iliad* 23 (1982) or Nisbet's and Hubbard's *Horace, Odes I* (1970) and *II* (1978), or Nisbet's and Rudd's *Horace, Odes III* (2004). As such, Horsfall's commentary is unlikely to find readers among "common" classicists; rather, it is a work for highly specialized Virgilian scholars. Needless to say, for them it is an indispensable book of reference and cannot but arouse admiration for its immense learning, covering various fields of classical studies from anthropology and the study of religion to linguistics and literary criticism. This also means that qualified reviewers of Horsfall's commentary cannot be very numerous. The writer of the present review, coming from outside even the circle of professional classical scholars, willingly admits that he has to confine himself to more general remarks. In its length and exhaustiveness Horsfall's commentary aptly calls for a reconsideration of the nature of the classical commentary in general. It is a pleasing coincidence that some years earlier (2002), in the very same *Mnemosyne supplementa* series, a collection of essays on classical commentaries was published, edited by Roy K. Gibson and Christina Shuttleworth Kraus. The book is referred to briefly by Horsfall in his Introduction, where he has some polemical words about those who defend or even demand more readable commentaries.

In the Introduction, Horsfall discusses the structure of *Aeneid* 11. He divides it into three main parts: funerals (1–224), debate (225–444) and battle (445–915). This roughly corresponds, say, Kenneth Quinn's division in his book *Virgil's Aeneid. A Critical Commentary* (1968): Burying the Dead (1–224), Talk of Peace (225–485) and Preparations for Battle, Interlude and The Cavalry Battle (486–915). While Quinn reads

the lines 445–485 (War breaks out again) into the second part, as a kind of end of it, Horsfall ascribes it to the third part.

The commentary divides the text of Aeneid 11 into (mostly) thematic units of various lengths (usually 20 or so lines, but sometimes as long as 70 lines). There are also about 20 lines (e.g. the first four lines) which are discussed separately, without being assigned to any greater unit. The number of units containing more than one verse is 25. For comparison, it may be mentioned that Kenneth Quinn has divided the three main parts into 16 sections (5+2+9), of which the speech section 225–444 has been divided into four subsections. Quinn's objective of an aesthetic analysis of the Aeneid is of course different from that of Horsfall, who is writing a verse-by-verse commentary.

Horsfall's units are as follows (the titles are here indicated in brackets; some of the units are without any title): verses 5–13; 14–28 (Aeneas' speech); 29–99 (Honours to Pallas' corpse); 100–121 (The Latin Embassy); 122–132 (Drances and his first speech); 133–138 (The funerals); 139–181 (Evander's tragedy); 182–202 (The funerals, II: Trojans and Etruscans; 203–224 (The funerals, III: Latins); 225–242 (The return of the embassy to Diomedes); 243–295 (The speeches of Venulus and Diomedes); 297–299; 302–335 (Latinus' speech); 336–375 (Drances' portrait and speech); 376–444 (Turnus' speech); 445–446; 447–497; 498–535; 535–596; 597–647; 659–663; 664–835; 836–867 (Arruns' death; Camilla is avenged); 868–895 and 896–915. One may wonder why the units after v. 445 are untitled, except for vv. 836–867.

Each of these units is introduced in a passage of analytical description a quarter or at most half a page in length, usually also including a list of relevant literature (sometimes, as for instance in Fraenkel's *Horace*, Horsfall also mentions works which he does not regard as worth quoting). Occasionally these introductory parts are admirable miniature essays on various topics, such as for instance the presentation of analogies between the ritual and the Roman triumph in 11,29–99. Within each greater unit single words and phrases are then analysed verse-by-verse.

The structure of the commentary, however, is further complicated by the fact that within the larger units there are smaller ones, which again are introduced with more general remarks and then analysed verse-by-verse. Units and verse-by-verse comments are not separated typographically, although the larger units are given separate English titles (usually in block letters but not always, as in the case of vv. 29–79, 'Honours to Pallas' corpse'). One cannot help thinking that a more efficient use of typographical distinctions would have made the text more readable, even though commentaries demand their own way of reading.

If the division of the commentary into different sections may prove difficult for the reader, there is another difficulty, of course one which is very common in commentaries on classical literature: I am referring to Horsfall's way of offering comparative material in brackets (sources, parallels, readings of previous scholars, further references to scholarly literature, etc.). In order to capture the essential point, the reader has to skip over several words inserted in brackets. This can be illustrated by the description of Diomedes, which serves as an introduction to vv. 225–242. Diomedes' role and appearances in the Aeneid are first enumerated, after which the commentator reverts to earlier literature and material concerning the myth of Diomedes, in order then to emphasize that "it was Virgil who first recognized and exploited the dramatic

possibilities in involving him in Aeneas' story on Italian soil". This is followed by several references. It is possible that in this case the commentary tradition become a burden, making it troublesome to the reader to find the main point.

Along with other literature, Horsfall has consulted extensively (verse by verse) sixteen commentaries on Aeneid 11, from Servius to Gransden. The earlier views, whether accepted by Horsfall or not, are included in his commentary. It is of course necessary to know all these commentaries, but is it necessary to provide the reader with all this material? Or is this rather a task for historians of scholarship, especially where a whole series of earlier commentators is refuted, from ancient grammarians onward (as in the case of v. 308)? Of course it is sometimes satisfying to learn about the fine criticism offered by earlier scholarship (such as Heyne on Turnus' speech, vv. 376–444).

One problem with classical commentaries, which tend to comprise 400–1000 pages discussing works of 30 pages, is that many different things may be discussed under each verse (or word, or phrase): textual criticism, prosody, parallels, sources, topoi, structural questions, realia, etc.). In fixing the meaning of a particular word or phrase of an old text it is of course necessary to elucidate it from many different perspectives. One may ask, however, whether the commentary might be structured in some other way, discussing textual criticism, sources, topoi, and images, etc. under separate headings, as in some modern commentaries of more recent literary works; this might make the commentary more readable.

The task of a commentary is to bring forward the findings of previous commentaries, to correct their misunderstandings or incorrect information, and to enrich them with new insights and discoveries. It is, however, questionable whether nowadays, in the age of modern technology, a handsomely printed (and expensive) book is the most suitable vehicle for commentary activity.

While there is no question about Horsfall's immense learning and philological acumen, one may ask whether all the aspects discussed are necessary to our understanding of Virgil's epic. I shall confine myself to a single example. Aeneid 11, 751–756 contains a fine bird simile. Horsfall discusses its relation to the bird simile in earlier verses (721–724) and some parallels, drawing attention to their differences. But it is the phrase *fulua ... aquila* (vv. 751–752), which interests us here. According to Horsfall, it is not reasonable to seek any ornithological precision in Virgil's description of birds; this, however, does not prevent Horsfall from pondering (not without scholarly humour, I suppose) zoological aspects. The passage in question is worth quoting here:

"Did one seek precision (folly – or at least, often folly in Virgilian ornithology!), then the golden eagle should not be an automatic choice /.../, for the upper parts of the (admittedly rarer) *circaëtus gallicus* or short-toed eagle (Ital. *biancone*) are suitably coloured and the habitual prey is precisely right; in my 'Manuale per il riconoscimento degli uccelli italiani' (1984, p. 107) it is indeed drawn eating a snake (which a golden eagle would not normally touch)!"

Horsfall is of course right in refuting as folly the quest for zoological precision. It is in any case a question of poetic image in a work of art (see also Horsfall's comments on the topographical problem, i.e. how to locate Virgil's places on the map, vv. 302–335). Why then to continue the discussion with matter (*circaëtus gallicus*) which after all is not relevant?

On the other hand, we may ask why Horsfall does not refer to the simile of eagle strangling a snake as a literary or pictorial topos in antiquity, except for mentioning an eagle in Hom. *Il.* 15,690. The literary topos of eagle and snake occurs for instance in Ov. *met.* 4, 362–364 (on eagle cf. also Soph. *Ant.* 110–116), while a figure can be seen in mosaics, as shown by Antero Tammisto (*Birds in Mosaics*, 1997, pp. 102–104, and notes 684–703, and Fig. ES1,1.)

Whatever objections to the form, structure and the selection and classification of material in Horsfall's commentary may be made, one cannot but admire its detailed knowledge of both primary and secondary sources and their interpretations. As such it is a superb scholarly achievement and a highly recommendable book of reference to every Virgilian.

Hannu K. Riikonen

OVID: *Metamorphoses Book XIII*. Edited by NEIL HOPKINSON. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. ISBN 0-521-55421-7 (hb), 0-521-55620-1 (pb). VII, 252 pp. GBP 14.95.

This edition of, and commentary on, Book XIII of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, containing the debate on Achilles' arms between Ajax and Ulysses (the 'Judgement of Arms') and other episodes (Hecuba, Memnon, etc.), strikes me as particularly satisfactory and commendable. The book consists of a 43-page introduction, the text and the commentary, more than 150 pages long. At the end, there is a (not very long) bibliography and indices.

The introduction, characterized by clarity and erudition, rightly concentrates on illustrating Book XIII; there is thus nothing of the normal introductory material (Sulmo, Tomi(s), Ovid's other writings, etc.), information which one can easily find in other works. I would have had nothing against sections on language and metre, especially as the author has much of interest to say on these aspects in the commentary, but confess to be perfectly happy with the introduction such as it is. First, there is a section on the concept of metamorphosis; this is followed by a section on 'Structure and themes' (with thoughts, e.g., on how the episodes in Book XIII are meant to form a coherent whole). After this, we find introductions to the individual episodes, that on the 'Judgement of Arms' (p. 9–22) being the longest. To say a few words on this section, this is a truly admirable introduction to Ajax' and Ulysses' speeches which need elucidation from various points of view, especially from that of the speakers' characters and that of the rhetoric of the presentation of their arguments. To illustrate the first aspect, there is (on p. 11ff.) an extremely useful synopsis of the Homeric passages in which Ajax and Ulysses appear together, this being followed by notes on later authors. I was also impressed by the section on 'Rhetorical aspects of the speeches' (p. 16ff.), making use, above all, of Quintilian (also quoted here and there in the commentary) and clearly a must for students setting out to study the debate in the future.

The text is described (p. 44) as relying "on readings reported by earlier editors", but its genesis is not otherwise commented upon on. Where it differs from the recent OCT text by R. J. Tarrant (thus 28 *peti* T. ~ *peto* H., 38 *sed* ~ *at*, 76 *hic* ~ *hoc*, 133 *succedat* ~ *succedit*, 235 *repono* ~ *reposco*, etc.) Hopkinson's readings generally struck

me as more convincing (note the instructive note explaining the choice of *hoc* in 76).

As for the commentary, it seems (as one would expect) to be designed for the student rather than for the professional Ovidian scholar, although even the latter will want to keep this volume as close to hand as possible. The notes, clearly designed for explaining things rather than for supplying the reader with an exhaustive modern bibliography on each point, seem to cover all aspects, these including the motives of the speakers (note, e.g., the explanation, on line 230, of the fact that Ulysses names Agamemnon, rather than himself, as the person who recalled the fleeing Greeks to assembly, this having aroused suspicion among some critics), and the net is cast wide (note, at line 250, readers who need to be told that a triumph was "an exclusively Roman institution"; the same readers are, however, expected to make sense of "enjambement", on lines 35–9 or why *dimittite* in line 226 would be inferior "in sense and rhythm"). I thought the commentary extremely helpful and illuminating (note, for instance, the many interesting observations on Ulysses' argumentation, e.g., at line 359), and I also liked the many happy turns of phrase (e.g., Ulysses "a spineless coward", p. 93; "Ulysses' shady operations", lines 105–6; "Ajax' indignation had left him no time to pay formal tribute to Achilles", lines 128–30). There are very few things I miss here (although there could possibly have been a note, e.g., on *dubitabilis* in line 21), and so I must conclude by once again stressing the admirable qualities of this book.

Olli Salomies

Augustine and the Disciplines. From Cassiciacum to Confessions. Edited by KARLA POLLMANN and MARK VESSEY. Oxford University Press, New York 2005. ISBN 0-19-927485-1 (hb). XI, 258 pp. GBP 45.

This book has its origins in a conference on 'Augustine and the Disciplines' held at Villanova University, Pennsylvania, 9–11 November 2000. It contains eight articles dealing with the role of the Liberal Arts in Augustine's theory of education. Augustine composed a series of pedagogical works soon after his conversion when he had retired to the country estate of Cassiciacum outside Milan in 386. At the time, he was heavily influenced by Neoplatonism, which is strongly felt in his philosophical dialogue *De ordine*. Here Augustine presents a unified theory of education based on the Platonic idea of ascent. The seven Liberal Arts, which have been invented by Reason, form a series of steps by which one can ascend from the level of corporeal things to higher, incorporeal realities. In his later works, e.g., *Retractationes* and *Confessiones*, Augustine was more skeptical of the importance of secular arts in Christian education and even regretted his early works. The present volume addresses many important questions concerning Augustine's relationship to secular studies and the change that is supposed to have taken place in his attitude to them in the course of his works.

In the introduction, Mark Vessey offers a valuable survey of the state of scholarship which was long dominated by two influential works of H.-I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (1938) and *History of Education in Antiquity* (1948). Marrou maintained that the canonical scheme of the seven Liberal Arts, which appeared in Augustine's early philosophical dialogues, had already been standard practice

in Graeco-Roman culture for several centuries. The scholarly consensus was radically called into question by Ilsetraut Hadot (*Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la pensée antique*, 1984), who claimed that the Liberal Arts took a canonical form only in Late Antiquity, in the works of Augustine and Martianus Capella. She traced the development of this educational scheme back to Middle Platonism, and showed that the number and the nature of the Liberal Arts varied considerably from one author to another until Late Antiquity. She argued that the immediate source for *De ordine* was probably a (lost) work of Porphyry rather than Varro's *Disciplinarum libri novem*, as had been maintained by Marrou and others.

Danuta Shanzer challenges Hadot's position in what proves to be the most ambitious article of this volume. She restores the link between the Varronian encyclopaedia and Augustine's theory of the Liberal Arts by claiming that the ascent motif is not necessarily Neoplatonic; it could be Platonic and thus already present in Varro's *Disciplinarum libri*. Shanzer presents evidence to the effect that the personified Muses in Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis* could also be Varronian. As a matter of fact, Shanzer pays a great deal of attention to the personified Muses in her argumentation, depending on new evidence from Gallic fifth century authors. I can readily accept her claims concerning the ascent motif and the Varronian inspiration for the Muses, but the problem of the originality or otherwise of Augustine's educational theory is not exhausted by these arguments. The stimulus for presenting the various disciplines as personified Muses could easily go back to Varro, but how about the theory as a whole? Do the contents of the manuals in *De ordine* and *De nuptiis* (and in Augustine's pedagogical manuals) represent the first-century BC scholarship? This is a complex question to which only partial or hypothetical answers can be given.

Let us take dialectic as an example. Many of the articles in this volume touch upon the importance of dialectic in Augustine's theory of learning and biblical exegesis, but Augustine's handbook on dialectic, *De dialectica*, is not even referred to once in this volume. (Practically once the same is true of Augustine's grammar, *Ars pro fratrum mediocritate breviata*). In *De ordine*, dialectic is praised as the discipline of disciplines, which renders all the other disciplines scientific. The importance assigned to dialectic in Augustine's theory of the Liberal Arts is quite unique considering what we know of the Liberal Arts before Augustine. At this point, we must attribute major originality to Augustine, assume a recent Neoplatonic source for *De ordine* in accordance with Hadot, or advance a new hypothesis. I am convinced by Shanzer that *De ordine* must not be dissociated from Varro's Muses as strictly as Hadot does, but for me, Hadot's hypothesis of *De ordine*'s Neoplatonic source still holds a great deal of value.

Augustine's views on secular education – the Liberal Arts – and biblical exegesis became enormously influential in the Middle Ages. I appreciate that we now have this collection of articles, with several valuable contributions, which addresses important questions pertaining to Augustine's pedagogy and its development. It is my sincere hope that this volume will inspire further colloquia and interdisciplinary studies into Augustine's pedagogical work and their sources as well as their influence on medieval cultural life.

Anneli Luhtala

Hermeneumata Vaticana (Cod. Vat. Lat. 6925), ediderunt GEORGIUS BRUGNOLI et MARCUS BUONOCORE. Studi e Testi 410. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 2002. ISBN 88-210-0737-5. XXXII, 214 p. EUR 30.

Hermeneumata Vaticana primum ex nova collatione critica edidit anno 1892 Georgius Goetz, vir de Hermeneumatis optime meritus, paulo posterius (a. 1894) iterum E. David. Nunc autem Georgius Brugnoli, in secunda q. d. Universitate Studiorum Romana professor ordinarius, qui paucos abhinc annos defunctus est, et Marcus Buonocore, Scriptor Latinus Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae, novis curis haec *Hermeneumata* ad usum philologorum historicorumque ediderunt. Dico ea *Hermeneumata*, quae solum in uno codice, Vaticano Latino 6925 tradita sunt. Hic est liber miscellaneus, membranaceus et chartaceus, haud bene servatus, hic et illic umore maculatus, tineis perterebratus et in marginibus saepe excisus, partibus quattuor diversae aetatis nec non e diversis codicibus avulsis compactus. Haec omnia editores in praefatione summa cum diligentia exponunt et cum aliis similibus hermeneumatis conferunt (dederunt pp. X-XIII indicem quoque talium glossariorum). Ipsa editio, exeunte libro photographice depicta, summa cum cura confecta est, cum B. & B. textum saepe graviter corruptum emendaverunt aut ad normam reddiderunt, in apparatu critico codicis lectionem indicantes. Ad summam agitur de editione, quae illas Goetzianam et Davidianam certe et definite substituit. Exoptandum est eam novum studium in hermeneumata Graeco-Latina provocaturam esse.

Heikki Solin

Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana Leidensia. Edidit GIUSEPPE FLAMMINI. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae in aedibus K. G. Saur 2004. ISBN 3-598-71253-7. XXIX, 125 S. EUR 68.

Hermeneumata und kein Ende. Kaum hatte ich die obige Besprechung niedergeschrieben, als auf meinem Schreibtisch die neue Teubneriana der *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana Leidensia* auftauchte. Eine willkommene Ausgabe. Der Text ist nach Goetz nicht mehr aufgelegt worden, weswegen die neue Ausgabe um so willkommener ist. Die *Hermeneumata* waren seit der Spätantike populär, und diese bilingualen Sammlungen wurden als für den Unterricht geeignete Texte immer wieder adaptiert. Mit der Grammatik des Dositheus war schon im Archetypus der Hss dieses Grammatikers ein Werk verbunden, das zum Übersetzen aus dem Lateinischen ins Griechische und wohl auch umgekehrt bestimmt war. Das Werk, üblicherweise als *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* bezeichnet, bestand aus zwölf Büchern. Die Haupthandschrift ist der Leidensis Voss. Q. 7 aus dem 10. Jh., weswegen das Werk den Zunamen 'Leidensia' erhalten hat. Mit Unrecht wurde es lange Zeit dem Dositheus zugeschrieben, an den es sich nur anlehnt.

Die neue Ausgabe ist von hoher Qualität. Anders als sein Vorgänger Goetz denkt sich Flammini das Werk in drei Bücher geteilt. Darüber und über die Autorschaft, die handschriftliche Tradition und andere isagogische Fragen gibt F. in der Praefatio Rechenschaft. Seine Folgerungen weichen nicht substantiell von denen seiner

Vorgängers Goetz ab. Dagegen ist seine Textkonstitution beträchtlich besser und kann zur Zeit als endgültig bezeichnet werden. Möge diese Ausgabe, zusammen mit der gleich oben besprochenen, dazu beitragen, das Interesse an die griechisch-lateinischen Hermeneumata zu beleben. – Eine Kleinigkeit: S. 124, 3167 lies ῥΗδῆ. – Im 'Conspectus librorum' vermisste ich K. Korhonen, *Arctos* 30 (1996) 101–119.

Heikki Solin

Commentum Cornuti in Persium. Recognoverunt et adnotatione critica instruxerunt WENDELL V. CLAUSEN et JAMES E. G. ZETZEL. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae in aedibus K. G. Saur 2004. ISBN 3-598-71578-1. XI, 201 S. EUR 62.

Eine kritischen Gesamtausgabe der Persiusscholien stellt ein großes Desideratum dar. Die neueste Scholienedition in Jahns berühmter Persiusausgabe stammt vom Jahre 1843 und umfaßt nur die älteren Scholien (die Ausgabe der Berner Scholien von Kurz, Progr. Gymn. Burgdorf 1875 ist kein Ersatz, sie enthält nur prol. und 1). So begrüßt man freudig das Erscheinen eines wichtigen Bestandteiles von ihnen, der sog. Cornutus-Scholien. Persius galt schon der auf ihn folgenden Generation als Klassiker der Satire, und spätestens im 4. Jh. begann man mit einer Kommentierung des schwierigen Textes, die im Wirkungsbereich des karolingischen Gelehrten Heiric von Auxerre zu einem selbständigen Lemmakommentar zusammengefügt und unter dem Namen von Persius' Lehrer Cornutus gestellt wurde. Dieser Kommentar hat nun eine den modernen Ansprüchen entsprechende Ausgabe erhalten, wofür die gelehrte Welt den Editoren große Dankbarkeit zollt. Ich brauche hier nicht in Einzelheiten zu gehen und verweise nur auf die Monographie von Zetzel, *Marginal scholarship and textual deviance: the Commentum Cornuti and the early scholia on Persius* (BICS Suppl. 84) 2005, wo der Leser alles Nötige für das Verständnis der Überlieferung des Cornutus-Kommentars und der älteren Persius-Scholien findet.

Heikki Solin

ALAN H. SOMMERSTEIN: *Greek Drama and Dramatists*. Routledge, London and New York 2002. ISBN 0-415-26028-0 (pb). IX, 192 pp. GBP 15.99.

This is a revised English version of the Italian translation which was published by Levante Editori, Bari, in 2000 (the translation is by Francesco de Martino). Sommerstein, widely known as an author of commented editions and studies of Aristophanes and Aeschylus, presents here a brief volume meant as an introduction to Greek Drama for those at the "sixth form and undergraduate level" (p. I). It consists of sections devoted to descriptions of the Greek dramatic genres, sketches of the main practitioners of the craft and their works, and an anthology of dramatic texts and documentary evidence. There are also a timetable of authors, works, and historical events, and a section which contains references to further reading. This slim book gives a good introduction to the texts and

their performative and civic contexts and can be warmly recommended not only for undergraduate students, but also for a general reader.

Heikki Solin

DAVID WILES: *Greek Theatre Performance. An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. ISBN 0-521-64027-x (hb), 0-521-64857-2 (pb). XII, 243 pp. GBP 48.00 (hb), 12.95 (pb).

David Wiles' (henceforth W.) book *Greek Theatre Performance* (henceforth *GTP*) is divided into the following chapters: 1. "Myth", 2. "Ritual", 3. "Politics", 4. "Gender", 5. "Space", 6. "The performer", 7. "The writer" and 8. "Reception". At the end of the book there are also a brief chronology, notes, a bibliography for further reading and an index. According to the back cover, "The book assumes no prior knowledge of the ancient world, and is written to answer the questions of those who want to know how the plays were performed, ..." *GTP* keeps it promises. W. gives brief background information about every subject throughout the whole book. He even tells the reader that Homer's *Iliad* dealt with the siege of Troy and that the *Odyssey* dealt with the return of the Greek warrior Odysseus to his island home after Troy had fallen (p. 14). W. also discusses briefly, e.g., gods and heroes (in chapter 1), the timetable and organization of the City Dionysia (in chapter 2), the development of Athenian democracy (in chapter 3) and the sexuality of Athenian men and women (in chapter 4). The reader really does not have to know anything about ancient Greece beforehand. The first four chapters also serve as a kind of introduction to the next four chapters of which I found especially chapter 5 (which, by the way, is the only chapter with a "Conclusion") fascinating and thought-provoking. Chapter 5 is full of clear observations and interesting points concerning the theatre of Dionysus and performing in it (some of which were already discussed in Wiles' excellent book *Tragedy in Athens*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 1997). The division of the chapters into subchapters is clear and logical throughout the book. For instance, chapter 6, which, according to W. (p. 3) "is perhaps the core of the book", is divided into subchapters "The chorus", "The aulos-player" and "The actor". Chapter 7 deals with, among other subjects, the transmission of the texts and the career of the dramatist. In chapter 8, W. analyzes three performances: *Oedipus* in 1585, *Prometheus* in 1927, and *Electra* in 1986, and also handles the issue of translation. The bibliography for further reading is quite up to date (most of the entries are from the 90's) and the index is adequate (I found no faults or defects in it).

Although I am aware that *GTP* is meant to be an introduction and that it is aimed at students, I still want to point out some minor observations and make a few suggestions which, I imagine, could benefit the readers (who are supposed to have no prior knowledge of the ancient world). Sometimes W. writes sentences like "... the crime of Oedipus' father Laius, who raped a prince." (p. 20), "... Bellerophon, who tried to fly to Olympus on a winged horse;" (p. 25), and "In Euripides' *Hecuba* an unburied man flies in to haunt his mother." (p. 40). In stead of *a prince*, *a winged horse* and *an unburied man* (my italics) W. could have written e.g., *Pelops' son Chrysippus, his winged horse, Pegasus* and *Hecuba's son, Polydorus*. On page 81, W. discusses the absence of

homosexual love in tragedy and says that "In a lost play by Aeschylus, Achilles recalled embracing his dead boy-friend Patroclus, but elsewhere desire is heterosexual." In the note, W. tells us that this lost play was the *Myrmidons*. He should also have mentioned Euripides' *Chrysippus* which probably dealt with the rape of Chrysippus by Laius, and Sophocles' *Niobe* in which one of the sons of Niobe, when being shot by Apollo, called upon his lover for help. Sometimes there are references to the figures in the text (e.g., on pp. 89, 100 and 126) but usually the figures and plates are left unmentioned which, in my opinion, is a bit annoying. It is much more informative to read a book in which all the figures and plates are somehow mentioned or referred in the text. All the references made to the text are correct, except the reference on page 131 (made to p. 00 which, I assume, must be p. 51). On page 122, W. claims that "Greek tragedies are set in a single place, with only two clear exceptions". In the note, the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus and the *Ajax* of Sophocles are mentioned. W. could also have mentioned Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* which possibly had four or five changes of scene (1st scene is Aetna, 2nd Xuthia, 3rd Aetna again, then Leontini, then Syracuse and Temenite, a suburb of Syracuse), and (Critias'/Euripides'?) *Peirithous* (which probably had scenes both in the upper world and in Hades), even though, I must admit, the information we have about the scenes of the *Aetnaeae* and the *Peirithous* is far from clear. (In addition to these plays, Sophocles' satyr play *The lovers of Achilles* might have contained at least one change of scene.)

GTP is an introduction, as is clear from its name, and as such, it is suggested reading for all students of Greek drama. Furthermore, I suggest that students should also read, together with *GTP*, a book which describes briefly the action of all the extant plays (for instance, A. H. Sommerstein, *Greek Drama and Dramatists*, London – New York 2002, or J. M. Walton, *Living Greek Theatre*, New York – Westport – London 1987). Naturally, it goes without saying that students of Greek drama should also read the plays themselves. David Wiles' first sentence in the Introduction is a question. He asks "Does the new century need a new introduction to Greek theatre?" After having read this book, my answer is a yes. W. has managed to pack a lot of useful information and many inspiring ideas into this book which is not too long. I can sincerely recommend *GTP* to all translators and directors who are working with a production of any ancient drama, as well as to every classicist who is interested in (re)performances of ancient dramas. After all, the ancient Greek dramas were originally written to be performed.

Vesa Vahtikari

The Cambridge companion to Roman satire. Edited by KIRK FREUDENBURG. Cambridge companions to literature. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 0-521-00627-9. XVI, 352 pp. GBP 18.99.

In his important introduction to satire in 1994, Dustin Griffin suggested that the new studies of satire should have an intense historicist understanding of its sociopolitical contexts and functions. In a thematic issue of *Arethusa* devoted to satire in 1998, Susan Morton Braund and Barbara K. Gold claimed that the growing interest in Mikhail Bakhtin's work and gender theory has brought corporeal issues into focus. As still

unaddressed questions in respect to satire, they mentioned bodily terms: the fetishization of the body, the processes of bodily destruction and dismemberment, taboo breaking, the body politic, female bodies and animal imagery. A reader is thus tempted to ask how does the present volume, *The Cambridge companion to Roman satire*, approach and define the role of satire in the scholarly climate that has recently been strongly affected by gender issues and cultural studies.

The purpose of the series (Cambridge companions to literature) is to provide comprehensive and stimulating introductions to different literary genres and authors. Thus, this book does not aim to offer the last word in satire criticism although it does give some new insights. In viewing recent satiric theory, the editor, Kirk Freudenburg, claims in his introduction that the old formalistic approach, which was developed in the 1950s at Yale and which mainly dealt with the role of the satirist and the literary form, may have been dominating the field long enough. Freudenburg notes that scholarship has once again become more sensitive in reading satires in their historical, political and cultural contexts. Scholars are thus concerned more with the reception and effects of satire in the society than with its literary form. One can only hope that a close reading is still valued because it is important in recognizing the nuances of the text instead of just quickly consuming them in order to let the findings serve, for instance, larger cultural issues.

This volume includes 17 substantial articles written by an international team of well-established scholars. The internationality is delightful for still, far too rarely, do researchers coming from different linguistic areas meet in satire studies. The book is divided into three parts. The first part is the most traditional. It is chronologically arranged, presenting first the development of the genre in Rome with relation to its Greek precedents (Frances Muecke). The articles that follow examine the core practitioners of verse satire, namely Horace (Emily Gowers), Persius (Andrea Cucchiarelli) and Juvenal (Victoria Rimell). The discussion then moves on to the main representatives of Menippean satire in Rome. There is a study of Seneca's learned allusions (Ellen O'Gorman), a brief but clear account of two late Menippean authors, Julian and Boethius (Joel Relihan) and a chapter on the difficulty of defining the genre of Petronius's *Satyricon* (Victoria Rimell). Except for a few scattered remarks, references to Apuleius are missing.

The articles outline the basic stylistic features and themes found in the texts. In the first part, the intended reader is someone who has previous knowledge of Roman satire and its authors but who is not deeply familiar with the scholarly work in the field. Persius, for example, is discussed in a conventional manner as a Stoic and with reference to his condensed and obscure style, whereas Juvenal is introduced as the satirist of superlatives and hyperbole. The articles are well written, but for a researcher already familiar with these issues, such characterizations do not offer much new, although "introduction" could also mean bringing something new into a discussion. For an advanced reader, among the most rewarding passages in the first part may therefore be its few thematic studies. In her article on epic allusion in Roman satire, Catherine Connors provides a detailed and entertaining analysis of the role of allusions which are not mere literary decorations but include and serve different (political) ends. Roland Mayer's article, which examines the relationship between satire and philosophy, is also

thematically interesting. The interconnection between satire and philosophy is not an unexplored issue, but important in that it extends the discussion over the generic boundaries.

The second part of the book is devoted to satire as social discourse. Satire has sometimes been considered as a special mixture of play, aggression, judgment and laughter (by George A. Test). Two of these elements are studied here. Thomas Habinek deals with play element in satire and goes deeper into the other ludic practices of Roman society. Fritz Graf examines satire's ritualistic roots by relying on an anthropological perspective and drawing attention to old Roman curses, public shaming and other forms of aggressive discourse and social customs. The fashionable bodily issue is addressed by Alessandro Barchiesi and Andrea Cucchiarelli, who explore how Lucilius and Horace used their ailing bodies as a motif in their satires, and how the idea of the satirist as a physician was created by Lucilius and then adopted by later writers. Erik Gunderson continues on the bodily terms and, in an enthusiastic way, discusses vile, perverted bodies as a prerequisite for the satirist's nostalgia for the lost integrity of the good man and for special satirical pleasures.

The third part considers the genre's influence on English literature. Colin Burrow first reminds us of satire's Roman-ness, its vital connection to Roman society, and then examines Roman satire's resurgence in Elizabethan England. Dan Hooley traces the reception of Roman satire in authors such as John Wilmot (the Earl of Rochester) and John Dryden. Charles Martindale continues in the same vein, drawing attention to Alexander Pope and his contemporaries. Finally, Duncan Kennedy asks whether Roman satire still has heirs in modern times. He notes that, although verse satire is still written, references to Roman satirists are rare, and the twentieth-century engagement with this genre is largely in the form of translations. Kennedy also presents a short account of Bakhtin's carnival theory but without problematizing it. The book concludes with a chapter by John Henderson, presenting a view of the two key words of the book, Roman and satire.

The Cambridge companion to Roman satire is a reliable guide and comprehensive introduction to the subject. One minor weakness in the volume lies in its sparse use of quotations from the primary sources which would have made the discussions more lively and illustrative. In depth analyses of individual texts are also lacking, probably due to the restricted number of pages reserved for every article. In general, I believe that readers find thematic discussions more rewarding than those focusing on individual authors. In relation to this, I would have been interested in reading more about the Roman satirists' ambivalent attitudes to Greek culture, a topos which pops up here and there in the book. This is also related to the issue of the supposed Roman-ness of the genre. Since Quintilian, verse satire has been regarded as an entirely Roman genre but, at the same time, the Roman satirists owed much to their Greek predecessors. The satirists' relationship to Greek learning is briefly touched upon by Freudenburg in his introduction and by Muecke as regards the Greek models of the genre. Freudenburg notes that the Roman satirists were hostile to both literary and cultural Greek influences but this criticism was not the point of their writing but had a different purpose. It helped the satirists to articulate their poetic processes, to establish satire as an essentially Roman genre and to define themselves as true Roman voices in contrast to the Greeks. By

criticizing the Greeks (and epic poets), the Roman satirist thus created a "free-speaking, rugged, and utterly Roman self" (p. 5). John Henderson returns to the issue of the Roman-ness in his retrospective on the volume, but it would have been very useful had satire's supposed *Romanitas* and the satirists' relationship with Greek culture been thoroughly discussed in a separate article.

The up-to-date bibliography at the end includes the most important recent studies on Roman satire. The suggestions for further reading attached to every article are extremely useful for readers. A Nordic reader might note the absence of Lennart Pagrot's Swedish book *Verssatirens teori* (1961), which is still one of the best historical surveys in the field. All in all, this volume is primarily of interest to graduate or postgraduate students beginning their studies on Roman satire, but it also appeals to scholars interested in updating their views of recent developments in research on Roman satire.

Sari Kivistö

The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought. Edited by CHRISTOPHER ROWE and MALCOLM SCHOFIELD. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. ISBN 0-521-48136-8. XX, 745 pp. GBP 75.

The volume under review here, authored by an international team of distinguished scholars under the able editorship of Christopher Rowe and Malcolm Schofield (who also both contribute substantially to the book), is nothing less than the very first general and comprehensive treatment of its subject in the English language. Its expressed purpose is to provide a fresh, critical account of Greek and Roman political thought, broadly conceived. Observing that it is quite possible to think and reflect politically without doing so in a systematic or philosophical manner – and that such thinking may be expressed in literature of any sort – Rowe, in his introduction (pp. 1 f.), stresses that the subject matter of the the volume is *political thought*, rather than *political theory*. This means that the book, adopting a largely author-based approach, is not concerned exclusively with the authors of the great political works of antiquity. Writers such as Plato, Aristotle and Cicero receive their due share of attention, but the volume begins with none else than Homer and ends with fourth-century Christian and pagan writers reflecting on divine and human order. In between, a host of writers more or less commonly associated with political thinking are dealt with, ranging from Hesiod, Tyrtæus and the early natural philosophers to the historians, philosophers and jurists of the Roman Empire. The overview cuts short in the middle of the fourth century AD; only a short epilogue takes the story a little further, down to Augustine. The rationale for the choice of this terminal point, which of course is an altogether arbitrary one, is that another volume published by the Cambridge University Press, *The Cambridge History of Mediaeval Political Thought, c. 350 – c. 1450* (edited by James H. Burns, 1991), begins its story at this very point.

The broad and inclusive conception of *political thought* is reflected not only in the range of authors discussed, but also in the heterogeneous authorship of the volume itself. The scholars assembled by the editors include historians of law, politics, culture

and religion, as well as philosophers. Though united in their quest for political thinking, the contributors sometimes differ considerably in approach, scope and overall objectives. Whereas some are principally concerned with the historical context of the ideas they discuss, others deal with these ideas more specifically as systems of thought.

Part I. *Archaic and Classical Greece* contains nineteen contributions grouped in three major sections. Preceded by a general introduction into Greek political thought and its historical context (by Paul Cartledge), the section entitled *The Beginnings* include the following discussions: 'Poets, lawgivers, and the beginnings of political reflection in Archaic Greece' (Kurt A. Raaflaub); 'Greek drama and political theory' (Simon Goldhill); 'Herodotus, Thucydides and the Sophists' (Richard Winton); 'Democritus' (C. C. W. Taylor); 'The orators' (Josiah Ober) and 'Xenophon and Isocrates' (V. J. Gray). The section *Socrates and Plato* contains seven discussions: 'Socrates and Plato: an introduction' (Melissa Lane); Socrates (T. M. Penner); 'Approaching the *Republic*' (Malcolm Schofield); 'The *Politicus* and other dialogues' (Christopher Rowe); 'The *Laws*' (André Laks); 'Plato and practical politics' (Malcolm Schofield) and '*Cleitophon* and *Minos*' (Christopher Rowe). An entire section, *Aristotle*, is devoted to Aristotle and the Peripatos. This part of the book contains five discussions: 'Aristotle: an introduction' (Malcolm Schofield); 'Naturalism' (Fred D. Miller, Jr); 'Justice and the *polis*' (Jean Roberts); 'Aristotelian constitutions' (Rowe); 'The Peripatos after Aristotle' (Rowe).

Part II. *The Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* is not structured in larger sections like the first part, but contains twelve thematic discussions arranged in a roughly chronological order. After an introduction to the Hellenistic and Roman periods (by Peter Garnsey), the themes covered are the following: 'The Cynics' (John Moles); 'Epicurean and Stoic political thought' (Malcolm Schofield); 'Kings and constitutions: Hellenistic theories' (David E. Hahm); 'Cicero' (E. M. Atkins); 'Reflections of Roman political thought in Latin historical writing' (Thomas Wiedemann); 'Seneca and Pliny' (Miriam Griffin); 'Platonism and Pythagoreanism in the Early Empire' (Bruno Centrone); 'Josephus' (Tessa Rajak); 'Stoic writers of the imperial era' (Christopher Gill); 'The jurists' (David Johnston) and 'Christianity' (Frances Young). The absence of a discussion devoted specifically to Polybius, famed for his theory of the cyclical nature of governments and his description of the mixed constitution of the Roman Republic, was perhaps unexpected. A bit curious also, at least *prima facie*, is the inclusion of a discussion focusing on Josephus, who is not normally considered a typical exponent of Graeco-Roman thought.

The epilogue, by Malcolm Schofield, is followed by an extensive bibliography arranged in three sections (pp. 672–728). At the end of the book, there is a very useful general index. There are no illustrations, except for two maps.

It is not easy to do justice to a volume of this kind, composed as it is of so many individual discussions. However, I should conclude by noting that the contributions generally constitute first-rate scholarly works, being for the most part lucid, well-informed as well as highly readable. There can be no doubt that this well-organized, accessible and carefully produced volume will remain one of the standard overviews of Greek and Roman political thought for years to come.

Kaj Sandberg

PHILIP J. VAN DER EIJK: *Medicine and philosophy in classical antiquity: doctors and philosophers on nature, soul, health and disease*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 0-521-81800-1. XIV, 404 pp. GBP 55.

This substantial volume on medicine and philosophy by Philip van der Eijk consists of 11 selected articles which were – except for the one on Aristotle and dreams – originally published between 1989–2003 in various journals and books. The articles have been only slightly revised for the present purpose. Two of them are translated from Dutch and German in order to be accessible to a larger readership. The book provides a thoughtful discussion on the interconnections of philosophy and medicine in ancient Greece.

The detailed introduction (pp. 1–42) presents an informative overview of the recent developments in the study of ancient medicine. At the same time, it also elucidates those shifts that have taken place in the past few decades in historical, literary and linguistic studies in general. First, the scholarly interest in ancient medicine has been rapidly growing and not only among classicists or medical historians, but also in many other disciplines such as history of philosophy, rhetoric and literary studies. This means that ancient medicine is no longer conceived of as a narrowly defined, special field as it may have earlier appeared. Thus, ancient generic and disciplinary boundaries – in the form they have been understood in scholarship – have also been called into question. Medical literature affected philosophy and vice versa, and substantial overlaps existed between these two areas of activity. Greek philosophers showed an active interest in medical issues and the human body, and medical treatises were affected by philosophical themes, methods and argumentation.

Second, earlier studies on medical history emphasized continuities, that is, medical historians studied the extent to which ancient medicine was familiar with certain discoveries (such as the nervous system or blood circulation) that contemporary medicine now knows. Instead of studying continuities, questions are now asked about the uniqueness of Greek medical thought or its relationship to Eastern medical traditions. (pp. 3–4.)

Third, as in the scholarly world in general, the emphasis has shifted from major literary and theoretical texts to non-literary and less-known writings and to medical practices. In the field of medical studies, this means that more and more research is now done on technical and minor literature such as advertisements, pamphlets and medical reports. Related to this, the intellectual elite and great names such as Hippocrates or Galen are no longer dominating the field. Minor names and the whole diversity of ancient medicine have received increasing attention. Scholars are now interested in druggsellers, rootcutters and other practitioners of folk medicine. Accordingly, contemporary ideas of ancient medicine have gone through considerable changes as regards its rationality and homogeneity. What was earlier taken to be a purely rational and scientific discipline is now shown to have been more open and receptive to "pseudo-scientific" phenomena, superstition, folklore, religion and magic (pp. 4–6).

Fourth, scholarly attention has not only turned from texts to contexts, but to everyday contexts in particular. Scholarship is now interested in asking how medicine affected the lives of ordinary people and how it was related to peoples' beliefs, attitudes and everyday practices. But while historians, linguists and literary scholars in general

nowadays also tend to call attention to the cultural environments of the texts and not merely to the texts themselves, the development in medical studies has gone in the entirely opposite direction. Scholars have become aware that medical texts have noteworthy linguistic and textual characteristics and rhetorical strategies which need to be examined. Thus one of the recent trends has been to focus on the interconnections between scientific and poetic modes of discourse, either by showing how scientific ideas have affected and been inherent in literary texts or how scientific writing also has its literary conventions and devices.

This interesting outline of the recent scholarship is followed by 11 chapters which focus on the Hippocratic corpus and Aristotle in particular. In contrast to what was said of the scholarly trends, van der Eijk thus keeps on dwelling on the most famous medical texts and the great masters. In the Hippocratic corpus, his favourite treatise seems to be one of its most well known writings, "On the sacred disease", which he uses as a key text when dealing with divine and natural origins of diseases, and the seat of the mind. It is highly interesting to read what Hippocratic texts, such as this one on epilepsy, tell us about the divine nature of the disease, i.e., how "divine" here does not equal "god-sent" but rather something that is in nature. Van der Eijk shows us how religion and an idea of divine intervention still played a part in rational thinking and how religious explanations co-existed with "natural" explanations of the disease. Van der Eijk also explores ancient views of dietetics, doctor's duties in therapeutics and the seat of the mind since these issues were treated in some texts belonging to the Hippocratic corpus.

When discussing Aristotle, the author points out that the relationship between Aristotelianism and medicine has remained a somewhat neglected area. Van der Eijk examines how Aristotle's medical and physiological interests were reflected in his philosophy. This influence is examined, for example, in a case study on the medical background of melancholy and in two chapters dealing with the physical and divine causes of human success and good fortune. The author also deals with the bodily background of human rationality and thinking. In one of the most interesting chapters in the book, van der Eijk studies Aristotle's treatment of sleep, dreams and divination in sleep in his two short treatises. One chapter focuses on a (pseudo-)Aristotelian text "On Sterility". The book concludes with chapters on Galen and Caelius Aurelianus.

Van der Eijk's detailed articles are extremely well researched, clearly written and easy to follow – sometimes also helped by slight repetition. For the most part, van der Eijk's views of the philosophers' ambivalent attitudes to religion and the various modes of rationality are among the most interesting results to be found in the book. Even if the book does not offer an all-embracing or systematic discussion of the relationships between medicine and philosophy – which would be difficult to achieve in a book that is basically a collection of separate articles – it provides much food for thought. It gives new insights into how medical issues and philosophical texts can be approached from interdisciplinary perspectives and, most importantly, how such an approach is essential for a nuanced interpretation of the source texts. The bibliography (50 pages!) and the indices are impressive. The quotations from the primary sources are always followed by an English translation. A minor weakness is that no conclusion is provided by the author.

With its serious attempt to cross disciplinary boundaries by relying on careful reading of the source texts, the book can be warmly recommended to all interested in the

multiple relationships between ancient medicine and philosophy.

Sari Kivistö

Ugo Bianchi. Una vita per la Storia delle Religioni. A cura di GIOVANNI CASADIO. "Il Calamo", Roma 2002. ISBN 88-88039-24-4. 525 pp., 2 app. EUR 37.

This book is a miscellaneous collection of papers read at a conference that was held in memory of the Italian historian of religions Ugo Bianchi (1922–1995) [UB] at the University of Salerno in April 1997, plus some recollections contributed by international colleagues.

The book has four sections and two appendices. The first appendix contains an extensive and useful bibliography of UB and the second one the Salerno conference programme and selected correspondence between the organiser and academics invited to that conference (this correspondence seems totally misplaced in the publication as it does not add anything of real academic value to the book).

The first part of the book, "La vita", gives an overall picture of UB's academic career from its very beginnings in war-time Rome (by Ennio Sanzi pp. 31–44) through his various academic posts, e.g., in Messina (by Concetta Giuffrè Scibona pp. 45–54) and Bologna (by Giovanni Casadio pp. 55–65) to his last academic office, professor of the history of religions at the University of "La Sapienza" in Rome (by Silvia M. Chiodi pp. 67–73). These four articles make monotonous reading for someone not interested in the tortuous administrative parlance and bureaucratic processes of Italian academia but entertaining for those readers for whom "history of learning" holds a fascination.

The fifth article in the opening section, by Peter Antes (pp. 75–83), discusses UB's complicated and no doubt in many ways invigorating relationship with the International Association for the History of Religions I.A.H.R (founded in 1950). UB was IAHR's vice-president 1985–1990 (p. 78, N.B. according to the IAHR website: 1980–1990) and president 1990–1995 and a passionate discussant in the many life-or-death (or so it seemed) battles of this young organisation (e.g., over the name of the association; UB defended the old name and the dispute was resolved in UB's favour, though only after his death).

The second part of the book, entitled "L'opera", shows the incredibly wide spectrum of academic fields covered and touched upon by UB's publications. His wide-ranging interests may be as much due to the mid- and late 20th century developments in the history of religions as an academic subject and its early phenomenological tradition, which UB was *de facto* following rather than rejecting even if he was in an apparent struggle against it (cf. the discussion between the "history of religion" and the "phenomenology of religion" on p. 401). In this pioneering spirit, UB displayed his erudition in the religious thinking of ancient Mesopotamia, Iran, Egypt, Greece, and Rome from the perspectives of comparative religion, philosophy (though he himself partly denied his philosophical inclinations, claiming philosophy was too abstract to be of methodological aid to a historian, cf. Francesca Brezzi pp. 329–352 and Aldo Natale Terrin p. 370), and ethnology.

The third part of the book, "Il metodo e gli antenati", discusses UB's methodological contribution to the field of the study of religions and his relation to his teachers near and far. Three chapters placed in the second part would fit more naturally here (namely the ones by Giulia Sfameni Gasparro: UB e il mondo cristiano, gnostico e manicheo: scelta di temi e impianto metodologico della ricerca storico-religiosa; Alessandra Cattini: L'etnologia religiosa di UB; and Maria Vittoria Cerutti: UB e il dualismo) as they discuss UB's theoretical and methodological contributions. The fourth part of the book is "Varia", two articles with oddly made-up connections to the book in question.

There is one obvious problem comparing the topics between parts two and three. As far as I understand (as someone participating in UB's seminars at "La Sapienza" in the spring of 1995), UB's primary interests were methodological; he was interested in the definitions and systematization of religious concepts and phenomena, not so much in a single religion or culture or historical era as a whole. Given the opportunity, some of the methodological articles in the book address this issue quite adequately (e.g., Maria Vittoria Cerutti pp. 291–326, Francesca Brezzi pp. 329–352, and Aldo Natale Terrin pp. 353–391) but those scholars who have been asked to write about UB and a single culture/religion are at a disadvantage in the context of this book. It should not be the writers' problem that UB repeated himself as a scholar but it becomes one, due to the inconsistent editing. This has also resulted in overlapping and repeating the same themes over and over again throughout the book. Reflecting on one's topic in relation to the totality of UB's publications and cross-referencing is also almost inexistent (Jaakko Aronen is a rare exception, pp. 201–218).

UB was by no means the most clear-thinking of the 20th century historians of religion, but most of the writers do not admit this straightforwardly. One writer, however, takes the bull by the horns: despite the startlingly cryptic title "Fenomenologia "criptica" della religione in UB", Aldo Natale Terrin makes it very clear that UB was not coherent in his methodological thinking and that he resembled, in his methodological ideas, much more the "big names" of his academic discipline than he ever wanted to admit himself (p. 376: "Sembra qui di leggere una pagina di M[ircea]. Eliade e non di Bianchi" when referring to UB's book "Problemi di storia delle religioni" 1958, 2nd ed. 1986). UB never denied the influence of his teacher Raffaele Pettazzoni on his methodological thinking and the advancement of his academic career (he dedicated most of his academic works to P.!) but his relationship to other historians of religion was much more controversial. On one hand, UB wanted to present himself as an independent and original thinker (he boldly regarded most of the great 19th and early 20th century works in the history of religions as "absolutely inadequate for a useful definition of religion" (Problemi di storia delle religioni 1986, 20–24)). On the other hand, he saw his own role in the field of the history of religions as a mere compiler (compiling material other researchers had produced and making methodological remarks on it (Selected Essays on Gnosticism, Dualism and Mysterosophy 1978, 7–8).

UB was good at creating all-encompassing definitions (for his definition on religion see pp. 262 and 341, and on dualism, p. 298) but he was also known for heavy methodological language and often obscure terminology. For twenty-five years in the meetings of the IAHR, it was UB who took the trouble to introduce methodological

discussions (a demanding role either not desired by anyone else or so much one man's desire that the others preferred to remain quiet?) Either way, it shows where UB's passion lay. This book can be regarded as an attempt to encompass some aspects of this grand passion but, in the end, the person himself remains admittedly even more plurivocal than the book written about him.

Ulla Lehtonen

GEORG WALSER: *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue. An Investigation on the Greek of the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*. Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 8. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm 2001. ISBN 91-22-01928-6. XXV, 197 pp. SEK 433.

This doctoral thesis will be of interest not only to theologians but to all of us who, in Goldhill's words, "need Greek". Many of the issues of diglossia and indeed polyglossia endemic in Ancient Greek from Homer onwards come to head in the period from 200 BC to AD 200 which is particularly under focus in this survey. Basically Walser deals with morphosyntactic convergence, integration, assimilation and code-switching between Hebrew and Greek. It is clear that in the cultural ambience of the synagogue, Hebrew language and ideology would rub off onto Greeks and their linguistic expression. This indeed has been investigated by Krause and the Finnish scholars Aejmelaeus and Soisalon-Soininen. Walser observes a hierarchy of superordination with the Pentateuch having the maximum prestige. Though Septuagint (LXX) specialists talk about the "Hebrew colouring" (Helbing) and "stylistic Hebraism" (Sollamo) of Septuagint Greek, Georg Walser has an obvious penchant for German quotations giving a "German colouring" to his English expression. This book was briefly reviewed by de Lange in *Vetus Testamentum* (2003).

In his introductory first chapter Walser lists the corpora of texts used, one set being synagogue-linked and the other not. In the first set, he restricts his choice to the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judith, Tobit, 1 Maccabees, Daniel, the Apocrypha of Daniel, Apocalypsis Mosis, Joseph and Aseneth, the Testament of Abraham, the Testament of Job, the Testament of the 12 Patriarchs, the Gospels, Acts, all Paul's 13 epistles, Revelation, Aristaeus Judaeus, Philo Judaeus, Josephus, and Yadin Papyri. Walser thus omits the Psalms (referred to on p.152), Isaiah, Jeremiah (referred to on p. 101) and most of the prophets. From LXX he omits eg. Esther and 2 Maccabees (referred to in n. 150, p. 34). From the New Testament (NT) he omits Peter's and John's Epistles (referred to in n. 150, p. 34). Walser sides with Thackeray in assuming that the Pentateuch was translated into Greek en bloc though he admits a lack of homogeneity in the different books (p. 10). On the Gentile or secular side are listed Herodotus 2, Xenophon's Anabasis 1–3, Polybius' Histories 1, Diodorus Siculus' Bibliotheca Historica 2, Dionysius Halicarnassensis' Antiquitates Romanae book 1, Dio Chrysostom's 7th, 12th and 36th speeches, Plutarch's Life of Alexander, Epictetus' Dissertations 1–2, and Selected Papyri. One notes that Thucydides and Plato are missing. Walser has collated examples from the TLG-disc and the Accordance programme. For statistical comparison he has used the Mann-Whitney U-tests explained in notes 17 and 19 and repeatedly referred to

throughout the book.

The second chapter on participles is exceptionally long (pp. 18–110), almost half the book. Walser deals with aorist and present participles, but the significant features of these are the surrounding word order and the translation technique of the LXX translators whereby *waw*-consecutive in the Hebrew (And [= *waw*] God said, "Let there be light" and [= *waw*] there was light) is converted into an aorist Greek participle and a finite verb. Readers of the Bible will be familiar with the predicative participle in the nominative case, "saying", "answering" in lieu of the ὅτι recitativum or "that". In Hebrew there is no exact equivalent of the predicative participle, but in Greek they are so frequent that form the basis for statistical comparison.

The participles are thus an apt feature for pinpointing Hebrew influence on the Greek translation because most Greek participles are not translations of Hebrew participles but of other Hebrew verb forms such as finite verbs and infinite absolutes. Further, each Greek participial construction is almost exclusively a translation of one and the same Hebrew expression, retaining however the original word order in the translation. Walser examines first aorist participles of which 492 in the nominative case crop up in the Pentateuch. Tests reveal that there is enormous variation within the Jewish texts. Walser proceeds to look at word order. The frequency of aorist participles being placed after their principal verbs and denoting an event taking place before the one denoted by the principal verb is very low in the Pentateuch. He then proceeds to examine present participles such as λέγων and λαλῶν and a group of participles forming *figurae etymologicae* with the principal verb. 26 texts with the highest frequency of predicative present participles of λέγων are all from the synagogal group. In the Pentateuch and texts with a Semitic Vorlage λέγων is never followed by indirect speech. Again, in synagogal and Pentateuchic texts 50–100% of the predicative present participles in the nominative case of λέγων are placed immediately before direct speech.

Chapter three (pp. 111–122), dealing with conjunctions, is very short. Walser chooses conjunctions that have no equivalent in the Hebrew. In the Pentateuch the principal verb is placed immediately after the conjunctions ἕως, ἡνίκα, ἵνα, μήποτε, ὅπως, ὅτε and ὥστε in 381 out of 423 examples (90%). This percentage is lower in non-synagogal texts. These results correlate with those from the previous chapter.

The fourth chapter (pp. 123–142) treats particles. The usage of emphatic particles during the classical Hellenistic and imperial periods has been investigated by Denniston, Blomqvist and Wahlgren, respectively. Walser concentrates on their occurrence and frequency during the period 200 BC to AD 200. Of emphatic particles the only particle in the Septuagint, the pseudepigrapha and the NT is one example of δῆθεν in *TestAbr. Rec.* 3. The particles are also absent from the papyri. He then turns his attention to γε, δὴ and περ which are rarely used in synagogal texts. Next, Walser looks at particles used with the predicative aorist participles in the nominative case. Martin (*A Syntactical Evidence of Semitic Sources in Greek Documents*, 1974, 19) has observed that Greek which is a translation of Hebrew or Aramaic will have at least two or more καί's for every δέ than in original Greek.

The fifth chapter is a fascinating general discussion of Hebrew influence on the Greek of the ancient synagogue. Walser has already shown that the Pentateuch differs considerably from non-synagogal texts. In this chapter he concentrates on the influence

of the Hebrew original and the translation technique upon the language of the Pentateuch in detail touching upon vocabulary, syntax and Greek word order where ground-breaking research has been carried out by the Finnish scholars Soisalon-Soininen, Sollamo and Aejmelaeus. There is clearly considerable controversy about the role of Alexandrian and Biblical Greek (p. 146). Although it is apparently very difficult to clarify the origin of a Semitism (p. 149), Soisalon-Soininen (*Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, 1987, 42) has gone so far as to say "Die Sprache der Septuaginta ist in ziemlich grossen Masse Hebräisch mit griechischen Wörtern". At the other end of the scale Conybeare and Stock (*A Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, 1905, 23) maintain: "The language of the Septuagint so far as it is Greek at all, is the colloquial Greek of the Alexandrian market-place, but it is Biblical Greek because it contains so large an element which is not Hellenistic but Semitic". Sparks ("The Semitisms of St. Luke's Gospel," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 44 [1943] 134), for example, calls Luke "a Septuagintalizer using Septuagintalisms rather than a Semitizer using Semitisms". Though Luke has generally been seen to have copied the LXX language and to have consciously written in what we would call "Biblical" style, Wilcox ("Semitism in the New Testament," *ANRW* II 25,2 [1984] 994) challenges this view since the men of Qumran were accustomed to using a Biblical style of Hebrew. "It is no longer safe to appeal to influence of LXX to explain "Biblical Greek" in the NT – it may after all be genuine." Horrocks speaks only of sporadic Septuagintisms and substrate and translation effect for the Jewish authors/translators involved (*Greek; a History of the language and its Speakers*, 1997, 145 and 175 n. 475).

In the sixth chapter (pp. 174–184) Walser applies Ferguson's more modern concepts of diglossia to his findings, quoting many studies on linguistics, bilingualism and interference between L1 and L2 that resonate with conclusions on spoken interference in Larisa Leisiö's thesis *Morphosyntactic Convergence and Integration in Finland Russian* (2001). Walser would extend L (low)-varieties from spoken Alexandrian Greek in the market-place to sub-species of written text lacking the H (high)-prestige of the Pentateuch. Walser posits a wide continuum ranging from pure Pentateuchal Greek to Greek with little affinity to the Pentateuch. Walser opts definitely for the existence of a distinct Jewish variety of Greek whereas Horsley (*Sociology and the Jesus Movement*, 1989, 5–6) sees the language of the Gospels as being a natural phase in the development of the Hellenistic language, dubbing Jewish Greek a "ghost language" or "a modern fabrication anachronistically imposed on the NT and certain other writings".

Chapter seven (pp. 185–186) is entitled "Concluding Remarks". It is regrettable that Walser concludes his entire opus with a fifty-year-old quotation from Tabachovitz' *Die Septuaginta und das NT: Stilstudien* (1956) who goes on in turn to cite Deissman from 1923! This gives the impression that scholarship has stood still for over fifty or even seventy years.

Walser's research is founded on the work of innumerable scholars who have investigated the Semitic influence on the Greek of the Septuagint and New Testament. He successfully isolates Pentateuchic Greek as being dominant and trend-setting for the translators of other books of the Septuagint. The novelty of his approach (p. 5) is that he starts with LXX and then examines NT, not vice versa as many others have done. He

presupposes that there are differences between the Pentateuch and the non-synagogic texts, mostly in word order. He has tried to identify normal Greek elements that are alien to Hebrew but which are used in the Septuagint due to pressures from the Hebrew Vorlage such as predicative participles and temporal conjunctions. Internal reference and tagging are well handled throughout the book. A peculiar stylistic technique is the author's use of the "royal we" throughout his study. We find this strange! We noticed very small language errors: preferably "an investigation "of"" rather than "on" in the subtitle; p. 71 2nd line from bottom "are" concerned" rather than "is"; p. 179 "an" entirely homogeneous" rather than "a entirely.." p. 8 "one..and the other" rather than "one and one" (correctly on p. 172). One sentence is repeated in notes 21 and 22 (p. 7). Walser finds it difficult to be succinct often comparing "x" with "non-x" in extended definitions caged with numerous caveats. He has however laid the foundations for further investigations of the Septuagint (ch.2), pointing others in the right direction of more modern sociolinguistics (ch.6).

Stephen Evans

WILLIAM STENHOUSE: *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History. Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance*. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement 86. Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London 2005. ISBN 0-900587-98-9. X, 203 pp. GBP 50.

This book, originally a doctoral dissertation done under the supervision of Michael Crawford, is a fascinating study, interesting and well-written. Its goal is to elucidate how a group of scholars active in Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century redefined the scope and nature of historical writing. Fascinated by the remains of the classical world, and particularly by inscriptions in stone, they began to collect and interpret inscriptions, creating systems of classification and ways of representing their finds that shaped all subsequent attempts to do the same. They then began to question the value of inscriptions as historical sources, and realized that by looking at them as objects – rather than simply as texts written on a particular durable surface – they could extract more information, in particular when they examined the variations in styles of lettering. Thus their work laid the foundations of the modern discipline of epigraphy. But their insights had wider effects: by exploring how artefacts could provide historical information, they expanded the range of sources and subjects that historians could tackle.

The author begins by introducing the subject with an individual, Onofrio Panvinio. To choose him as a starting point might seem perhaps a little bit surprising, as Panvinio was not among the most important scholars in this new florescence of historical and epigraphic studies; moreover, we possess an excellent recent monograph on Panvinio by Jean-Louis Ferrary. On the other hand, it is fitting to begin with him, as he was both an epigrapher and historian, whereas the other great collectors and editors of inscriptions did not always deal thoroughly with historical problems, with a few exceptions like Pighius. In any case, one reads the pages dedicated to Panvinio with interest and profit. We get to know for example that Panvinio was not only living in Rome (rather the contrary), as we have learned from older accounts (for example, W. Henzen in his

influential 'Index auctorum' in *CIL* VI p. LIII states *vixit fere semper Romae*). But one should not forget that there was another historian superior to Panvinio, also using inscriptions as his source-material, namely his friend Carlo Sigonio (all else apart, Sigonio can be taken as the founder of ancient onomastics [a subject on which Panvinio also wrote a little monograph]: see my remarks in *Zu Wesen und Geschichte der antiken Namenforschung*, forthcoming in SBBAW). Later on, Stenhouse discusses the *Fasti* and their interpretation by both Panvinio and Sigonio.

The first chapter after the Panvinio introduction deals with the forerunners of the sixteenth century scholars, particularly Poggio and Cyriacus and of the next generation, Giocondo and Andrea Alciato. The author then moves to the epigraphic studies at Rome in the 1540s, giving a general overview. In his description, names like Colocci or Lelio are mentioned, and, for the first time, Jean Matal appears to be in the centre of things. He is the protagonist in Chapter 2: 'Collecting, comparing, and representing inscriptions', where also Smetius and Ligorio crop up. Chapter 3: 'Transmission and Forgery' takes up the intricate problems of forgery; in this field, a great amount of work is still to be done. Ligorio is not the only notorious man in this respect, and Stenhouse also deals at length with Annius of Viterbo. Another aspect is that even the most prominent epigraphers of the period, such as Smetius and others, are not immune to gullibility. Chapter 4: 'The Reliability of Ancient Texts' deals with technical matters like carvers' errors, etc., and at some length with the *Fasti* as examined by Sigonio, Panvinio, Robortello and others, and concludes with observations on the *Res gestae*. In Chapter 5, 'Inscriptions as Evidence', some scholars not strictly speaking epigraphers are presented due to their use of inscriptions in their research work, among others Wolfgang Lazius (a man who never visited Rome), Ambrosio de Morales, Giovanni Battista Fontei, Giulio Jacoboni, Vincenzo Borghini, Marcus Welser. Not all of them are familiar to the average student of epigraphy which enhances the interest of this chapter. The Epilogue: 'Gruter and the Legacy of the sixteenth century' rounds up the volume proper. At the end, there are still two appendices, a bibliography, and indices.

My criticisms are few. There are many important questions which would deserve further discussion. To take just one example: dealing with forgeries, Stenhouse discusses the famous collection of the cardinal Rodolfo Pio (pp. 92f), which housed many forgeries produced by Ligorio. It is a common belief, shared by the author, that Pio did have over 100 inscriptions which recorded people's jobs and roles within households. Now many of them have been revealed as Ligorian falsifications. Stenhouse poses the question as to whether Ligorio might have made them for Pio as a reconstruction of what antiquity may have been like, creating a household of ancients to parallel Pio's household in sixteenth century Rome. This question is not well posed, since a great number of the forgeries recording households are only forgeries on paper and have never existed on stone, and more importantly, the main bulk of these mentions are contained only in the Turin version of Ligorio's *Antichità*, produced after Ligorio had moved from Rome to Ferrara after the death of Pio; consequently, they have nothing to do with Pio's collection itself. If Aldrovandi says that in various parts of Pio's palace "there is a huge quantity of memorial inscriptions, where one can see many sorts of characters that represent ancient numbers, and various names of offices which have never been seen in literary sources", this still says nothing about the huge number of the mentions of households (the ancient

numbers referred to by Aldrovandi must be indications of lifespan). – Some minor points: the author shows some inconsistency in using name forms of the humanists: Pighius, Stadius, but Smed. And one would prefer Cyriacus to Cyriac. – In the bibliographical annotations, I missed an important article by Fanelli, *Studi romani* 1962, on epigraphic collections in Rome, especially that of Delfini, treated also by S. Orlandi in a short monograph from 1993 (*Un contributo alla storia del collezionismo. La raccolta epigrafica Delfini*). – As for Andrea Alciato, one could add that he also has left important notes about the epigraphy, both pagan and Christian, of Rome and Southern Italy (cp. Ferrua, *ArchSocRomStPatria* 1989–1991). – Fulvio Orsini (p. 168) also possessed a huge collection of ordinary inscriptions. – I have found only a few misprints: p. 97, nt. 85 epigraphica; p. 156, nt. 27 Grazer; p. 163, line 1 Kungliga.

Heikki Solin

Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie 22. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2004. ISBN 88-7140-267-7. 286 pp. EUR 46,48.

This *Supplementum*, again beginning with an interesting Presentazione by Professor Silvio Panciera, contains one contribution of the normal type, that by L. Boffo on Forum Iulii Iriensium (in and around modern Voghera) in Liguria (regio IX, p. 13–58). The rest of the contributions are (as they are referred to here) "Supplementorum supplementa", this meaning that they are supplements to contributions appearing in earlier volumes of these *Supplementa*. Under this heading, we find more than 80 pages by M. Buonocore on various cities in regio IV (Aufidena, Histonium, Teate, Sulmo, Corfinium, Superaequum; p. 61–146); Cingulum and S. Vittore di Cingoli in Picenum (regio V) by G. Paci (p. 147–51 and 153–9), Camerinum in Umbria (regio VI) by S.M. Marengo (p. 161–71), Genua and the coast between Genua and Luna (in regio IX) by G. Mennella and P. Melli (p. 173–87), *Vallis Tanari superior* (also in regio IX) by G. Mennella (p. 189–95), Bellunum and Feltria and the *pagus Laebactium* (in regio X) by M.S. Bassignano (p. 197–254), and, finally, Ticinum and Laumellum (in regio XI) by R. Scuderi (p. 255–64). One observes that, once again, the work of M. Buonocore and G. Mennella, regular contributors to the series, is well represented. – At the end of the volume, one finds (on p. 267–86) another novelty, a "Repertorio bibliografico" dealing with Italy (including Sicily and Sardinia), by G.L. Gregori. This section, planned to be a regular part of future volumes, is arranged according to individual cities appearing in alphabetical order, and it is meant to furnish bibliographical guidance to those wishing to find out if there are new editions of, or supplements to, the epigraphic material of a certain city. This first delivery includes only cities appearing as part of the *Inscriptiones Italiae, Supplementa Italica* (including this volume) or *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia* volumes. A note on an individual city begins with an enumeration of all the inscriptions appearing in older publications (*CIL*, *IG*, *EE* and, in the case of N. Italy, *Pais*), this being followed by references to the volumes mentioned above and also to the series *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae*. Thus, under Aufidena (p. 269), one finds that the inscriptions were collected in *CIL* IX and that there is additional material in *EE* VIII and *Suppl. It.* vols. 8, 14 and 22. In future deliveries of this section of the *Suppl. It.*, the net will be cast even wider to include

relevant publications not belonging to the series mentioned above. As there exists a large number of various publications covering various Italian cities (e.g., *Le iscrizioni latine di Paestum* by M. Mello and G. Voza), it is very good that one will be able to find them collected somewhere.

As for the other contributions in this volume, once again the quality is high throughout (understandably, as the contributors are all established epigraphists). In the only contribution of the traditional type, that on Iria, there are not many new texts (two Pactumeii in no. 1, an Eburius in 2, a poem of sorts in 5), but this is compensated for by the very thorough and learned introduction which covers everything worth knowing about this site. In the other contributions, the introductions are obviously much shorter, the accent being on the addenda to the "old" texts and the presentation of the "new" texts (many of course already known, e.g., from *AE*). There is much of interest; note, e.g., C. Aplonius Mi. f. in Aufidena 17 (the father being a Minius or a Minatus); the career of Suetrius Sabinus cos. 214 in Histonium 24; *L.T. Aufilius L. f.* in Corfinium 112, the singular being most strikingly used; a praetorian C. Luceius Paelinus (a vulgar form of *Paelignus*), with a cognomen fitting a Pelignian, in Corfinium 120; S. Vittore di Cingoli 15 with most interesting details on how two earlyish *duoviri* dealt with a basilica (*c]laudendam, poliendam, [---] pingendam, subaurandam ... c(uraverunt)*). – In Sulmo 101, the photo seems to suggest the reading *Ocriticani* (rather than *Ocriticani*, as published).

The only thing I was curious about when reading this volume was the fact that references to Dessau's *ILS* numbers, of great use, e.g., to those who happen to have only Dessau at their disposal, were almost systematically omitted (thus, e.g., on pp. 69, 75, 86, 184, 214, 244); but this is a small matter if one considers that this is, in all other respects, an excellent volume and a monument of learning.

Olli Salomies

L'Italia centro meridionale tra repubblica e primo impero. Alcuni aspetti culturali e istituzionali. Giornata di studio – Roma 13 dicembre 2002. A cura di MARIA LETIZIA LAZZARINI e PAOLA LOMBARDI. Opuscula epigraphica 11. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2003. ISBN 88-7140-241-3. 118 pp. EUR 21.

Il titolo di questo simpatico volume è un po' pretenzioso. In sostanza si tratta di una serie di articoli senza un legame interno tra di loro, dedicati ad iscrizioni greche d'Italia e Sicilia, accompagnati da una paio di contributi di epigrafia latina. Eccone il contenuto: dopo una breve Introduzione di M. L. Lazzarini apre P. Lombardi con un saggio interpretativo di *IG XIV 829*: "L'ellenismo di Puteoli nel II sec. d.C., Kibyra e il Panellenion". Seguono L. Del Monaco, "Le istituzioni di Tauromenio ellenistico-romana"; L. D'Amore, "La pritania a Rhegion in epoca ellenistica e imperiale"; G. Bevilacqua, "Le ninfe *Ephydriades* nelle *Sethianorum tabellae* di Roma"; M. G. Granino Cecere, "Tibicines Romanorum qui sacris publicis praesto sunt tra Roma e Tibur"; B. Scardigli, "Rex Nemorensis - servus fugitivus"; M. Nocita, "Italikoi e Italiotai in Oriente, alcune considerazioni". Chiudono il volume le conclusioni di A. D. Rizakis.

I contributi trattano argomenti interessanti, sono ben leggibili e contengono argomentazioni in genere ben fondate (qualche volta invece meno), anche se non sono tante le novità. Ho letto con particolare interesse i contributi degli studiosi giovani (nomi nuovi per me) come quelli su Tauromenio, Reggio e sugli Italici nell'Oriente (ma sarebbe stato utile ai lettori si dicesse due parole della differenza dei termini *Italioi* e *Italikoi*). Oscura resta sempre la questione del Rex Nemorensis, nonostante sforzi di grandi studiosi come Frazer. Finisco con alcune piccole osservazioni. Nel contributo della Lombardi salta agli occhi l'uso di un cognome greco quale argomento per un'origine greca della persona. Ma questo non va, giacché fin dal periodo tardorepubblicano, quando i nomi greci vengono di moda nell'onomastica romana, un cognome greco non dice in linea di massima niente sull'origine della persona, come ho cercato di predicare da decenni. – p. 49: un nome come Κτήτος non è in principio servile, perché non significa in primo luogo "comprato", bensì rappresenta un *Kurzname* della famiglia di nomi -κτητος (cf. Bechtel *HPN* 268). – Nel titolo del contributo della Granino e poi nel testo scriverei *Romani* invece di *Romanorum* (cf. *CIL* VI 1054, 12); e l'a. mi permetta una domanda ingenua, se non si potrebbe dopotutto trattare di epigrafi di provenienza urbana (di passaggio noto un Q. Caecilius Philadelphus a Roma: *CIL* VI 13821; e non darei troppo peso al racconto liviano che dopotutto rappresenta un episodio isolato dei tempi remoti). – p. 77 in basso si deve scrivere *dedicarunt*, e non *dedica(ve)runt*. – p. 103: è esclusa l'integrazione [Εὐσέ]βιος, giacché questo nome rappresenta con il suffisso -ιος una formazione tardoantica (invece Εὐσέβης è un buon nome greco dell'età preromana). – p. 107: sono d'accordo con l'a. che Ἐπιτουχάνων debba intendersi piuttosto come nome proprio.

Heikki Solin

Libitina e dintorni. Libitina e luci sepolcrali. Le leges libitinariae campane. Iura sepulcrorum: vecchie e nuove iscrizioni. Atti dell'XI Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie. Libitina 3. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2004. ISBN 88-7140-255-3. 652 pp. EUR 90.

Questo ricco volume, pubblicato a cura di Silvio Panciera nella nuova serie da lui fondata, ha come oggetto d'una parte i risultati conseguiti in una tavola rotonda dedicata alle leggi campane dette *libitinariae*, che ha dato esito sia a una nuova edizione delle leggi puteolana e cumana, sia a varie conclusioni, consentite dai controlli accurati degli originali, dall'altra a contributi generali di approfondimento; ed ancora l'edizione di epigrafi che esprimono rapporti intercorrenti tra titolare del diritto, defunto e sepolcro, vale a dire *iura sepulcrorum*, sezione in cui sono pubblicati nuovi testi e ripubblicati con correzioni altri e che è accompagnata da varie considerazioni su questo tipo di espressioni.

Aprono il volume due contributi di carattere generale: J. Scheid, *Libitina, Lubentina, Venus Libitina et les morts*; L. Chioffi, *Sui luci sepolcrali*. Scheid tratta di maniera critica le numerose ipotesi intorno a Libitina, negando l'esistenza di una dea di questo nome, forse a ragione; restano da spiegare delle difficoltà di ordine linguistico, e in ogni caso l'etimologia del termine rimane oscura (forse *Libitina* potrebbe spiegarsi

come un cd. nominativo fisso su cui Löfstedt, *Syntactica* I² 78).

Lo spazio accordatomi dalla redazione di questa rivista non permette un'analisi più estesa del volume. Farò di seguito solo alcune osservazioni sulla sezione riguardante *iura sepulcrorum* a Roma: p. 183 n. 7 le integrazioni proposte per la r. 4 [*mon(umentum) quod est? a]gro in suo [oll(as)?]* non danno come risultato un buon latino; nella r. 1 [*Ab]ascan[tus]* è integrazione buona, anche se non si possono del tutto escludere altre, come *Ascanius*. – n. 9 *Addaeus* viene spiegato come nome macedone *Adaeus*, il che è possibile, ma la geminazione mi farebbe pensare a un antroponimo semitico (cf. H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschnamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients* [1930] 12). – n. 11 riga 10 nella copia fatta da un addetto della Soprintendenza (l'originale è smarrito) si riporta MONVMENTIM; l'a. si chiede se il lapicida (o chi ha eseguito l'apografo) volesse scrivere *monimentum*, io penserei piuttosto a un nesso di V e M, non riconosciuto da chi fece l'apografo. – n. 14 degno di nota il cognome *Marmarida* che non accosterei alla popolazione nordafricana; piuttosto si tratta di un grecanico, il corrispondente maschile di *Marmaris*, attestato a Roma (cf. anche Μαρμαρίνη in un'epigrafe cristiana urbana). – n. 19, riga 5 non integrerei *cum*, che sembrerebbe superfluo. – n. 36 *Sertomarus* è con certezza celtico, cf. K. H. Schmidt, *ZCPH* 26 (1957) 238. 269f. La nuova testimonianza urbana è interessante in quanto il celtico ha come il primo membro *Smerto-*; la caduta di *m* si spiega con la rarità di questo gruppo di consonanti nel latino. – n. 40 se la foto non inganna, si deve leggere nella riga 2 *suo* e non *sui(!)*; e *Spanius* è qui grecanico. – n. 81 nel commento dell'ultima riga si rinvia, discutendo la possibilità dell'integrazione *Elafio*, a un'iscrizione della Narbonensis, ma questa famiglia di nomi è usuale a Roma (per es. il femminile *Elaphio*).

Nel complesso, si tratta di un volume importante, pieno di novità. Forse qua e là gli autori, in particolare quelli più giovani, potevano essere un po' più succinti. Ma in ogni caso si deve salutare con grande piacere questo volume che raccoglie discussioni su alcuni aspetti centrali nelle pratiche funerarie romane. – L'apparato fotografico è molto utile e le foto di solito di buon livello; colpisce solo la bassa qualità di alcune foto all'inizio e alla fine libro. – Per mostrare che ho letto tutto con grande attenzione, segnalo per finire un errore di stampa: a p. 37, riga 10 del primo capoverso leggi 'accettata'.

Heikki Solin

FRANCISCA FERAUDI-GRUÉNAIS: *Inschriften und 'Selbstdarstellung' in stadtrömischen Grabbauten*. Libitina 2. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2003. ISBN 88-7140-231-6. 221 S. EUR 24.

Gegenstand der vorliegenden Untersuchung ist die sog. 'Selbstdarstellung', so wie sie in stadtrömischen Inschriften geschlossener Grabkammern der vermögenden Unterschichten der Kaiserzeit anhand ausgewählter Beispiele vor allem aus der Vatikanischen Nekropole und aus dem Komplex von S. Sebastiano an der via Appia zum Vorschein kommt. Die Analyse führt zum Ergebnis, daß ein zielgerichtetes, geschweige denn konsequent betriebenes Streben nach persönlicher oder familienbezogener Inszenierung vor der Mitwelt nicht festzustellen sei (so S. 53). Wenn dem so ist, kann

man bei den Grabmonumenten niederer vermöglicher Schichten von keiner echten 'Selbstdarstellung' sprechen, so wie sich diese bei Ehren- und Grabinschriften der römischen Oberklasse beobachten läßt. Denn die unter die Lupe genommenen Grabkammern bzw. Grabbezirke waren in der Regel nach außen abgeschlossen; und selbst innerhalb der Kammern bot weder die dürftige Beleuchtung noch die oftmals verwinkelte Anlage der Bestattungsplätze die geeigneten Voraussetzungen dafür, jede der Inschriften sichtbar, geschweige denn lesbar zu machen; dasselbe trifft für die oft reichhaltige und auf die betreffenden Familienmitglieder beziehbare Dekoration zu. Diese in der Forschung oft wenig beachtete Tatsache muß zu der Einsicht führen, daß die von den Inschriften und der Dekoration gebotene Information nicht vornehmlich auf eine aktive 'selbstdarstellerische' Äußerung zielen konnte. Wichtiger mußte die prinzipielle Möglichkeit sein, mit einem architektonischen Grabmonument aufwarten zu können: auch wenn die meisten Inschriften und die Innendekoration nicht zu sehen waren, konnte doch der Grabbau selbst von Aussenstehenden nicht übersehen werden. Warum haben dann die Familien so großes Gewicht auf die Ausstattung des Inneren ihrer Grabbauten gelegt? Ich meine, es war doch wahrscheinlich wichtig für die kollektive Erinnerung, den Grabplatz würdig auszustatten und die Namen der Familienmitglieder durch die Inschriften zu bewahren.

Unten folgen ein paar Beobachtungen zu generellen von der Autorin aufgeworfenen Fragen, begleitet von Bemerkungen zu einzelnen Inschriften. Beginnen wir mit der Auswahl der Grabmonumente. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit erfährt das Mausoleum H, das am prächtigsten ausgestattete Grab der Vatikanischen Nekropole. Die Analyse dieses Mausoleums bringt einen wichtigen Beitrag für das zentrale Anliegen des Buches. Auch andere Grabanlagen der Nekropole werden eingehend analysiert. Ferner werden mehrere Gräber im Bereich von S. Sebastiano behandelt. Über die Einbeziehung einiger Monumente kann man diskutieren (etwa die Cestius-Inschriften 155–157 haben wenig mit dem Thema des Buches zu tun), aber im ganzen werden die von Fer.-Gr. gestellten Fragen durch die ausgewählten Monumente vorzüglich beleuchtet. Gelegentlich fragt man sich nach den Gründen für die Auswahl der analysierten Einzelzeugnisse innerhalb eines Grabmonuments. Ein Beispiel aus San Sebastiano. Auf S. 106–108 Nr. 139–148 werden Inschriften aus dem Mausoleum Y (= "degli Innocentiores") zusammengestellt. Man fragt sich aber zuerst, warum die Inschrift der Claudia Methe (Nr. 145) aufgenommen wurde, denn Mancini, *NSc* 1923, 16 zufolge stammt sie aus dem Grab 110, während Fer.-Gr. Stygers Angaben folgt, der sie der "unteren Fundschicht" (des Mausoleum Y?) zuschreibt; sie hätte auf diesen Widerspruch eingehen müssen (den etwas vagen Andeutungen Stygers soll man nicht allzu viel Vertrauen schenken). Zweitens fehlen manche Texte, die Mancini diesem Mausoleum zuschreibt. Unberücksichtigt bleiben etwa die interessante griechische Inschrift, die Iulius Alkimos und Iulia Toreumati(o)n ihrer Tochter errichtet haben (*IGUR* 600), oder das Epitaph des kaiserlichen Sklaven Elpisius (= Elpistus). Hat Fer.-Gr. diese Texte nur deswegen ausgelassen, weil Styger sie nicht in der summarischen und selektiven Namenliste auf S. 43 anführt?

Fer.-Gr. hat der Chronologie der einzelnen Inschriften innerhalb einer Grabanlage viel Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Die von ihr studierte Bestattungspraxis soll erst seit Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts üblicherweise belegt sein (S. 36). Bei den meisten

Vorschlägen wird man ihr folgen können, gelegentlich kann man auch anderer Meinung sein. Von den Inschriften des Mausoleum C der Vatikanischen Nekropole wird, zweifellos ganz richtig, auf S. 26 gesagt, der Grabtitulus (Nr. 12) sei etwas älter als die zwei Inschriften der Altäre Nr. 13–14; damit steht aber im Widerspruch, daß S. 43 festgestellt wird, alle drei Inschriften sollten anlässlich des Todes des Sohnes angefertigt (und somit gleichzeitig) sein. Gewiß ist der Titulus die älteste der Inschriften, während die zwei übrigen anlässlich des Todes des Sohnes und der aussenstehenden Passulena Secundina eingehauen wurden.

Zum Mausoleum F der Vatikanischen Nekropole wird S. 29 festgestellt, die Urneninschrift für Caetennius Chryseros Nr. 31 sei eindeutig älter als die des Grabaltars für M. Caetennius Antigonus und Tullia Secunda Nr. 30. Nun ist aber der Dedikant von 31 als M. Caetennius Antigonus iun(ior) angegeben, und es fällt schwer, ihn mit dem Antigonus gleichzusetzen, dem 30 gewidmet ist (so Fer.-Gr. S. 210). In der Frage, wie der Antigonus iunior sein Cognomen erhalten hat, bleibt man auf Vermutungen angewiesen. Dagegen hat von Fer.-Gr. Recht mit der Vermutung von der chronologischen Priorität von 30 vor den Hermadion-Inschriften (26, 32). Aber bei einigen anderen Datierungen von Inschriften aus diesem Mausoleum kann man sich fragen, ob sie immer zutreffend sind. So wird 21 in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jh. gesetzt; da aber von den Verwandtschaftsverhältnissen der in dieser Inschrift erwähnten Personen nichts eruiert werden kann, ist es vorzuziehen, die Datierung nicht so eng zu begrenzen, um so mehr als 22, wo ebenfalls über die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der zwei dort erwähnten Cornelier mit den Caetennii oder Tullii nichts weiteres bekannt ist, ins 2./3. Jh. gesetzt wird (es ist freilich nicht notwendig, die Datierung so weit zu strecken; ich würde sie auf das 2. Jh. einengen).

Gleichermaßen Wichtiges hat Fer.-Gr. zur Frage der evtl. Verteilung des Grabes zwischen mehreren Familien und deren Verwandtschaft sowie zur Frage der evtl. 'Hauptperson' eines Grabes geleistet. Hie und da kann die Bestimmung der Sachlage freilich problematisch bleiben. Ich beleuchte dies mit zwei verschiedenartigen Beispielen. Das Grab XI des *sepulcreto ostiense* gehörte einer Valerischen Familie. Auf S. 39 bespricht Fer.-Gr. den Fall einer *Veneria Mamma*, die in dem Grab ihre Ruhestätte durch eine *Arria Berenice* fand (162); dabei liege der Fall vor, daß hier eine nicht verwandtschaftlich mit der Valerischen Familie verbundene Person bestattet wurde, ohne daß darauf in der Inschrift überhaupt eingegangen wird. Dabei hat sie übersehen, daß die Verstorbene nicht *Veneria Mamma*, sondern *Veneria mamma* heißt. *Veneria* ist also als Einzelname (der nomenklatorisch dem Cognomen entspricht) zu nehmen. Seine Trägerin, eine Sklavin, war Amme oder Mutter der *Arria Berenice*; und diese kann wenigstens theoretisch Frau eines Valerius gewesen sein.

Der zweite Fall betrifft die Frage nach der 'Hauptperson' des Grabes der *Octavii* (S. 33–34. 46–48). In dem Grab sind nur zwei Sarkophaginschriften gefunden worden, von denen M. Octavius Felix die eine seiner kleinen Tochter *Octavia Paulina* dedizierte, während die andere dem Vater von dessen Freigelassenen *Eutyches* gewidmet wurde. Der Autorin zufolge war der Tod der Tochter der Anlaß für den Bau der Grabkammer, was man auch aus der Dekoration und dem Wortlaut der Inschriften herauslesen könne. Das nun bleibt etwas hypothetisch, da wir weder einen Titulus noch weitere Inschriften kennen – es gab aber wenigstens zwei Nischen für weitere Bestattungen, etwa für die

(erste und auch zweite, wie Fer.-Gr. denkt?) Frau des Octavius Felix, oder aber für einen homonymen Sohn (M. Octavius Felix wird als *sen(ior)* bezeichnet). Besonderen Wert legt die Autorin auf den Wortlaut der Inschrift des Felix, nach der sein Freigelassener über den Verstorbenen schreibt *patri pientissimo ... curavit* (die Lesung ist sicher, Autopsie 24. 10. 2005). Daß Felix hier als *pater* und nicht als *patronus* bezeichnet wird, soll dadurch seine Erklärung finden, daß die Tochter Paulina der entscheidende Dreh- und Angelpunkt der Grabanlage gewesen sei, weswegen Eutyches ihn als *pater* bezeichnete. Diese Erklärung scheint mir etwas gesucht. Wie soll man dann den Text verstehen? Es ergeben sich zwei Möglichkeiten. Entweder war Felix in der Tat nicht nur Patronus, sondern auch Vater des Eutyches. Daß ein Vater Patronus seines eigenen Sohnes sein konnte, ist möglich. Da Eutyches sich eigens als *lib(ertus)* bezeichnet, reichte es ihm aus, nur *patri* und nicht *patri et patrono* zu schreiben. Oder aber M. Octavius wurde als *pater* bezeichnet, weil er einen homonymen Sohn gehabt haben muß, wobei aber stört, dass vor *patri* noch *sen(iori)* steht; *sen(iori) patri* wäre als Pleonasmus etwas herb.

Es folgen einige ausgewählte Bemerkungen zu den Inschriften selbst.

52. Fer.-Gr. setzt die Inschrift ins 2./ 3. Jh. Man kann aber die Datierung ohne Bedenken beträchtlich einengen. T. Pomp(eius) Proculus Succes(sus), der den Sarkophag seiner Mutter setzt, muß ein naher Verwandter von T. Pompeius Succ(essus) und seinem Sohn Titus Pompeius T. f. Successus iun(ior) sein, die in 45 als Errichter und Verstorbener in Erscheinung treten. Wahrscheinlich ist T. Pompeius Proculus Successus ein weiterer Sohn von T. Pompeius Successus (so auch Papi, auf die Fer.-Gr. hinweist). 45 wird von Fer.-Gr., und zwar ganz richtig, in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jh. angesetzt; in denselben Zeitraum ist also auch 52 zu plazieren, und zwar vor dem Tod des Valerius Herma, der wohl erst gestorben sein muss, damit diese Leute dort bestattet werden konnten.

76. Der Autorin ist entgangen, daß die Inschrift griechisch ist: ΕΛΠΙΔΙC; folgerichtig wurde sie von Moretti in sein Corpus aufgenommen (*IGUR* 500). Moretti versteht Ἐλπίδι(ο)ς, ich würde hier eher einen latinisierten Genetiv des überaus beliebten Frauennamens Ἐλπίζ sehen, welchen man nach *d. m.* geradezu erwartet. Die Inschrift kann aber auch lateinisch und nur mit griechischen Lettern geschrieben sein.

98. Ist der von den Archäologen vorgelegte Datierungsvorschlag ca. ins Jahr 270 stichhaltig? Der epigraphische und onomastische Befund würden eine etwas frühere Datierung empfehlen. Ist der Anfang des 3. Jh. ausgeschlossen? Früher kann die Inschrift kaum sein, wegen des Signums *Pancrati hic* am Ende der Inschrift, denn die Signa dieses Typs kommen erst Anfang des 3. Jh. in allgemeineren Gebrauch. – 2 *mar(morarius)*, nicht *mar(itus)*.

104. *Tessiae Amori*, nicht *amori*. *Amor* ist ein Commune, nicht ganz selten als Frauennamen belegt.

121. Fer.-Gr. übernimmt das von Styger seiner Gewohnheit nach in der Liste von Namen summarisch angeführte *DIVA*. Was dahinter stecken könne, bleibt dunkel (ein Personennamen *Diva* existiert nicht). Wahrscheinlich liegt eine Verlesung Stygers vor; die von ihm präsentierte Namenliste enthält auch sonst falsche Lesungen wie *TRIGENIA* für *Pri<mi>genia*.

125. Man sieht leicht aus dem beigefügten Photo, daß die allgemein akzeptierte

Ergänzung *A[pollo]nius* nicht stimmen kann. Erstens ist sie zu lang, zum zweiten bleibt, aus dem Photo zu schließen, das A unsicher.

129. Q.SERVAEVS SVAS... las Mancini (bei Styger 39 fehlt SVAS, und in der Taf. 28 kann man nichts erkennen). Was aber hinter *suas*[---] (wie Fer.-Gr. es wiedergibt) steckt, bleibt ganz in der Luft hängen. Cognomina auf *Suas*- stehen nicht zur Verfügung (der Name der Stadt Suasa kann hier nicht vorliegen), und *suas* im Zusammenhang würde nichts bedeuten. Da hier aber ein Cognomen erwartet wird, ist SVAS wohl von Mancini verlesen worden, kein Wunder, da es sich um ein Dipinto handelt.

134. *Effugita[e]*, das aus Kammerer-Grothaus stammt, kann nicht richtig gelesen sein. Fer.-Gr. versucht auf keine Weise, die merkwürdige Lesung verständlich zu machen.

144. Fer.-Gr., die nur aus Styger schöpft, hat übersehen, daß der Text vollständiger und mit besserer Lesung bei Ferrua, *Epigraphica* 4 (1942) 63 Nr. 57 steht. In 3 nicht *hemit m[o]umentum A(ulo) Sex(to) Flav[i]o Heraclida* (als könne der Mann zwei Vornamen führen), sondern *a Sex. Flav[i]o Heraclida*.

145. Der Vorname des kaiserlichen Freigelassenen Aelius Hermes ist nicht erhalten, das sieht man schon aus der mit einem guten Photo versehenen Erstveröffentlichung *NSc* 1923, 16. Demnach bleibt offen, ob der Mann Freigelassener von Hadrian oder Antoninus Pius war.

149 wird ins 1./3. Jh. angesetzt. Man kann die Datierung ruhig auf das 2. Jh. einengen.

166. Statt *[Ep]aphrodie* ist eindeutig *[Ep]aphrodit(us)* zu lesen. Das hat schon Priuli gesehen, auf den Fer.-Gr. hinweist, dessen unbezweifelbare Emendation aber nicht aufnimmt.

167. *Heraclae P(ubli) l(ibertae)* kann nicht stehen. Zuerst ist *Heracla* eindeutig Männername, zweitens wäre die Reihenfolge Cognomen + Angabe des Patrons durch Praenomen und *l(ibertus)* einmalig. Deswegen ist es vorzuziehen, am Ende entweder *P. L[--- sc. servo]* oder den Namen des Errichters anzunehmen, der ebenfalls den Vornamen *P(ublius)* hatte und dessen Gentilname mit L anfang. Weniger ansprechend ist die Vermutung, daß er ein weiterer Verstorbener gewesen wäre. Aber auch diese Hypothesen befriedigen nicht. Man wird den Text eher so auslegen dürfen, daß Orchia Helio[dora], die Errichterin der Inschrift, Mutter des im Alter von vier Jahren gestorbenen Heracla war. Man könnte sich auch fragen, ob hier der Editor Lugli einfach das Ende der dritten Zeile falsch lesen hat: könnte HERACLAE·P·L..., wie es bei Lugli steht, für HERACLAE·FIL[IO] verlesen sein? Als Epigraphiker war Lugli ja nicht erstrangig, so daß man ihm eine solche Verlesung leicht zur Last legen kann. Der Text der Inschrift könnte ungefähr folgendermassen gelautet haben: *Orchia Helio[dora] / Heraclae fil[io dulc(issimo)] fecit bene me[r(enti); vix(it)] / annis IV [---]*.

171. Statt *Primig(enius) Pont(io) Hermeti* würde ich *Primig(enius) Pont(i) Hermeti(s)* verstehen. In dieser Gruppe von Graffiti stehen alle Namen im Nominativ (es bleibt vollends unsicher, daß in 170 [---] *M. Ponti Octavi* der Genetiv sich auf den Verstorbenen beziehe, denn man würde sich eher den M. Pontius Octavius als Patronus des anonym bleibenden Verstorbenen vorstellen, dessen Name demnach im Nominativ davor gestanden hätte), weswegen ich den Text eher so verstehe, daß der Verstorbene

Primigenius, Sklave des Pontius Hermes heißt.

177. Eine Mosaikinschrift. In der Nachfolge von Ferrua druckt Fer.-Gr. *Lupus quadratorum*. Zu verstehen ist wohl eher *Lupus Quadratorum*; vgl. oben S. 191.

Nach dem Inschriftenkatalog folgen ein Namenindex, Zusammenstellung der Epitheta, Anmerkungen und eine leicht gekürzte italienische Fassung der einleitenden Bemerkungen. Den Band runden 125 Abbildungen ab, in denen ein Großteil der Inschriften photographisch wiedergegeben und etliche Stammbäume geboten werden.

Am Ende ist festzustellen, daß es sich um ein durchaus anregendes Buch handelt, aus dem man viel lernen kann. Die voranstehenden kritischen Stellungnahmen wollen auf keine Weise seinen Wert schmälern. Vielmehr möchten die obigen Beobachtungen zeigen, wie interessant die von der Autorin aufgegriffenen Fragen sind. Es ist bei dem speziellen Gegenstand, das interdisziplinäre Forschung fordert, kein Wunder, daß man hie und da anderer Meinung sein kann und muß. Ich möchte mit dem Wunsch nach einer noch intensiveren Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Vertretern verschiedener Fächer in der Aufarbeitung solcher Gattungen, wie es die römischen Grabanlagen sind, schließen.

Heikki Solin

ELISA LUCCHESI – ELISABETTA MAGNI: *Vecchie e nuove (in)certezze sul Lapis Satricanus*. Edizioni ETS, Pisa 2002. ISBN 88-467-0666-8. 104 pp. EUR 8.

Il numero di epigrafi lapidarie latine arcaiche è assai esiguo. Pertanto ogni incremento è più che benvenuto. Ciò comporta anche il fatto che le interpretazioni di nuovi rinvenimenti possono essere controverse. Così è successo nel caso del Lapis Satricanus. Le due glottologhe pisane hanno pubblicato un intero libro dedicato all'interpretazione dell'iscrizione da tutti i possibili punti di vista, volendo demolire parecchie affermazioni secondo loro erronee o comunque discutibili. Il risultato è una mescolanza di buone osservazioni e affermazioni discutibili. Con il loro fresco approccio, in cui non esitano attaccare neppure i più grandi nomi della glottologia e archeologia italiana, le autrici mettono in dubbio parecchie affermazioni diventate con l'andar del tempo una opinio communis. E in alcuni casi sembrano senz'altro avere ragione. Così quando negano la struttura simmetrica del testo epigrafico, un risultato importante nello stabilire l'andamento del testo. Va pure riconosciuto che loro hanno fatto buone osservazioni per quanto riguarda l'analisi linguistica dell'iscrizione. Mettendo insieme un numero di argomenti di ordine storico, epigrafico e linguistico vogliono dimostrare che l'iscrizione non è latina, ma falisca. Un'affermazione non del tutto nuova, ma che le due studiose hanno condotto con rigore e determinazione. Senonché resta da dimostrare la faliscità del Lapis. A mio vedere le autrici non sono riuscite a farlo in modo convincente. Un autentico passo falso è l'argomentazione di una presunta origine falisca del prenome *Poplios*. Poiché questa forma è attestata soltanto in iscrizioni falische, nelle quali ricorre con notevole frequenza, mentre la forma latina è *Publius*, allora l'iscrizione dovrebbe essere falisca. Ma che *Popl-* non sia attestato in iscrizioni latine dell'età repubblicana, si spiega con il semplice fatto che di regola questo prenome veniva scritto con la sola iniziale P (non cambiano le cose alcune forme in *Publ-* come quelle nei sarcofagi degli

Scipioni). Certamente la forma originaria di questo prenome di origine etrusca era anche in latino *Popl-*, come dimostra tra l'altro il fatto che la forma in epigrafi greche dell'età repubblicana era Πόπλιος (l'ortografia greca di nomi latini ha spesso conservato l'antica pronuncia, cf. per es. Δέκομος, Αἰμύλιος). Neanche l'analisi dell'alfabeto soddisfa. Non solo il tentativo di spiegare *Poplios* (p. 32) come una caratteristica falisca è sbagliato, ma anche in altri dettagli è contestabile; io non vedo neanche un caso singolo in cui la forma della lettera dovrebbe indicare un'origine non latina della scrittura (cosa naturale, vista l'origine etrusca dell'alfabeto latino). Un dettaglio: scompare la N a tre tratti in un'epigrafe di Ardea (p. 34sg.), poiché va letto *Kavidios* invece di *Kanaios*.

Ma il punto debole nella dimostrazione delle autrici è il fraintendimento dello sfondo storico. Il Lapis va inquadrato più o meno verso la fine del VI secolo, e *Poplios Valesios* può essere identificato con il console (anche se rimane incerto). Se così è si capisce bene (contrariamente a quanto affermato) che l'iscrizione, la quale dimostra che i Romani potevano ancora accedere liberamente nella città, anzi dedicare monumenti importanti, fosse tolta dal suo posto e riutilizzata nella costruzione del secondo tempio in una città che tra il 495 e 491 era passata nelle mani dei Volsci, nemici mortali dei Romani. Poi l'importanza di Satricum come centro vitale, a detta delle autrici nesso naturale fra il retroterra tiberino e la Campania, punto di intersezione fra la cultura etrusca, laziale e campana, sottolineata a p. 77: certo Satricum fu una città importante, ma non poteva competere con Roma. – Due dettagli di ordine storico-archeologico: le autrici adducono come uno degli argomenti della faliscità dell'iscrizione "la probabile origine falisca della stirpe dei Valerii": un'ipotesi tutt'altro che certa è diventata certezza, e Falisci non sono Sabini! – Le antefisse del secondo tempio, cui le autrici danno grande peso, non possono dimostrare una diretta influenza falisca a Satricum; piuttosto la loro diffusione va spiegata nel quadro di una *koinè* artistica dell'Italia centro-meridionale.

Salta agli occhi che le autrici si attengono strettamente all'uso della letteratura del loro campo specifico o direttamente legata all'iscrizione di Satricum. Sarebbe stato utile guardarsi attorno nella bibliografia di studi classici, tenendo conto per es. della fondamentale monografia sui prenomi romani di Salomies (potevano evitare il falso passo su *Poplios*; neanche la trattazione su *Mamercus* è del tutto soddisfacente), o del classico trattato sulla scrittura arcaica romana di Cencetti, o ancora dell'edizione delle iscrizioni greche di Napoli di Miranda, da cui avrebbero potuto tirar fuori la corretta lettura e datazione delle due iscrizioni ricordate nella nota 63.

Tiriamo le somme. Il libro (che poteva essere più succinto) contiene alcune osservazioni di ottima qualità, non da meravigliarsi trattandosi di un testo epigrafico per molti aspetti ancora di interpretazione controversa. D'altra parte non è privo di affermazioni meno fondate. Le autrici finiscono il loro volume con le parole "forse è il momento di ripensarci", parole che vanno applicate anche al loro contributo.

Heikki Solin

REX E. WALLACE: *An introduction to Wall Inscriptions from Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Bolchazy-Carducci, Wauconda (Ill.) 2005. ISBN 0-586516-570-X (pb). XLVI, 136 pp. USD 29.

Negli anni '30 del secolo scorso venne acceso presso la gloriosa Università Federico II di Napoli l'insegnamento di "Antichità Pompeiane ed Ercolanesi" e ne fu affidata la cattedra prima ad Emilio Magaldi, fondatore della *Rivista di Studi Pompeiani*, e successivamente ad Amedeo Maiuri, che si avvalse in tale suo magistero della collaborazione di Matteo Della Corte.

Tale insegnamento, afferente alle discipline storiche, aveva un taglio prevalentemente antiquario, con il compito essenziale di introdurre i giovani alla conoscenza e allo studio dell'epigrafia pompeiana. Dopo Maiuri l'insegnamento non venne più attivato. Ancora negli anni 70, all'epoca della mia frequentazione studentesca di tale Università, si conservava come una reliquia nell'Istituto di Archeologia, allora ancora posto nel cortile del Salvatore, il grande rotolo che, a somiglianza di un papiro, si svolgeva su un'apposito supporto, permettendo agli allievi di venire a contatto visivo diretto con gli apografi delle principali iscrizioni vesuviane, che durante le lezioni venivano lette e commentate. Di recente, per quelle ragioni ben note a chi conosce il modo di funzionare delle Università italiane, tale insegnamento è stato spostato dal gruppo delle discipline storiche a quello delle discipline archeologiche. Se ciò da un lato ha permesso di rivitalizzare e considerare in ottica scientificamente più attuale la materia, ormai presente come insegnamento nelle principali Università campane, grazie soprattutto agli ottimi docenti che sono stati da esse chiamati ad impartirla, d'altro lato ha determinato il definitivo abbandono da parte della cultura accademica ufficiale italiana dello studio di quel patrimonio d'importanza tanto macroscopica quanto ineludibile costituito dall'epigrafia parietale. E ciò ne dà per certi versi misura della pochezza.

Né Magaldi, tuttavia, né Maiuri riuscirono a pubblicare i testi dei loro corsi, sì che, per quanto mi consti, non esisteva a tutt'oggi nessun manuale che permetteva ad un giovane studente di avvicinarsi a tale patrimonio con una guida sicura tra le mani.

Va salutato quindi con profonda soddisfazione e gratitudine questo manualetto di Wallace, professore di "Classics" nell'Università del Massachusetts, che è spia sintomatica di come almeno il mondo americano guardi con attenzione e consapevolezza a questo patrimonio di sorprendente ricchezza, foriero di incredibili conoscenze sul mondo antico, che la cultura italiana, in generale, e quella più specificamente territoriale si ostinano invece – non so con qual vantaggio – ad ignorare.

Il pregio maggiore dell'opera in recensione è infatti quello di voler essere, appunto, un manuale d'insegnamento universitario, un'introduzione per l'approccio nella giusta prospettiva storica ed intellettuale al variegato mondo dell'epigrafia parietale.

Da questo punto di vista va massimamente apprezzata la chiarezza dell'autore e la sua brillante capacità di organizzare la materia in modo da renderne ai discenti veramente percepibile con facilità i caratteri salienti e quelli distintivi. Soprattutto va lodato oltre ogni dire il fatto che egli abbia fatto diventare per gli studenti sin da questo loro primo approccio lo studio delle iscrizioni parietali inseparabile da quello della lingua delle iscrizioni stesse, sì che lo studio a suo tempo fatto da Veikko Väänänen su di essa (e ancora attualissimo pure a distanza di tanti anni) diventa, come è giusto che sia, punto di

riferimento imprescindibile per chi si voglia accostare ad una materia veramente complessa, o, in ogni caso, estremamente specialistica.

Massima importanza attribuisco, pertanto, nel volume, all'introduzione, ossia le pagine contrassegnate dai numeri romani, nelle quali Wallace fa una sintesi veramente brillante delle informazioni e delle conoscenze di base che lo studente deve possedere prima di accostarsi alla lettura dei variegati testi che compongono l'universo dell'epigrafia parietale vesuviana. Qui infatti egli offre un'ampia panoramica sulle peculiarità linguistiche ricorrenti nelle iscrizioni, soprattutto graffite, oltre a fornire un sempre ben calibrato quadro circa le istituzioni cittadine, sia più squisitamente politiche che di natura, potremmo dire, più allargata al sociale, che costituiscono, come è noto, il retroterra che ispira la maggior parte dei *tituli picti* delle città vesuviane. Particolare risalto è inoltre dato alle formule epigrafiche e alla struttura di base dei testi. Un rammarico, a questo punto, va semmai al fatto che per esigenze probabilmente tipografiche Wallace decide di sacrificare (cfr. p. XLI) nel rendere il testo la convenzione per le lettere incerte, ossia il punto messo al di sotto della lettera stessa, preferendo indicare le stesse senz'altro come lettere integrate, ossia tra parentesi quadre. Questa prassi, oltre che ovviamente inaccettabile da un punto di vista della precisione epigrafica – tanto più in un testo selettivamente destinato a formare i discenti –, va respinta con forza proprio nello specifico caso dell'epigrafia parietale, dove sono le singole grafie ad influire sulla possibilità di lettura, piuttosto che i guasti delle pareti. Anche la mancata indicazione delle lettere in nesso e di altre peculiarità contribuisce non poco ad ingenerare confusione, laddove ci si confronti non solo con il testo stampato ma con il vero e proprio graffito sulla parete.

Il difetto grave del volume, infatti, è quello di prescindere totalmente dalla lettura del testo sulla parete. Vengono presentati solo pochissimi fac-simili di iscrizioni, peraltro riprodotti dal *CIL*, senza dare neppure una foto che metta almeno in condizione il lettore di vedere come effettivamente i testi si presentino sulla parete (e come ne sia estremamente difficile leggere esattamente i segni, sovente dovendoli estrapolare da un contesto in cui si trovano accanto a tanti altri segni "analoghi", ma del tutto non pertinenti). Non si insisterà mai abbastanza sul come non sia assolutamente possibile uno studio esclusivamente "libresco" dei graffiti. L'autopsia è condizione essenziale nell'epigrafia parietale per approcciarsi criticamente al testo. Quantomeno l'apografo, che rappresenta la selezione dei segni operata dal lettore, deve essere confrontato con la foto dell'iscrizione stessa (ossia con il contesto da cui sono stati selezionati i segni), onde permettere al pubblico degli studiosi di giudicare della bontà della selezione operata. Tutto questo, però, di fatto non avviene e mai come nel caso appunto del volume IV del *CIL* gli studiosi devono rimpiangere il fatto che esso, nelle varie sue parti finora edite, sia stato concepito senza supporti fotografici.

Di tutto ciò, in verità, l'autore non sembra essere minimamente avvertito e ciò va quanto mai a discapito di un lavoro che dovrebbe al contrario incentivare le nuove leve di studiosi ad interessarsi del campo sul campo. A riprova va citato il suo assoluto disinteresse nel presentare le lettere, nella forma loro data dalle varie grafie, onde dare ai giovani lettori almeno i rudimenti per l'esatta lettura di un graffito vero, intendo letto sulla parete.

Questo scollamento che di fatto esiste tra il discreto numero di studiosi che si

interessa di epigrafia parietaria "dai libri" e i veramente pochissimi che la studiano "dal vivo" è una delle cause più serie e gravi del continuo perpetuarsi di errori, nonché una delle ragioni per cui tale disciplina non riesce ad affermarsi nel campo ufficiale degli studi.

Portare, quindi, il testo all'attenzione dei discenti esclusivamente "dopo" che si è già proceduto alla lettura e alla fissazione di esso, disinteressandosi assolutamente di tutto ciò che è indispensabile per leggerlo e fissarlo, è metodologicamente imperdonabile in un volume che – ripeto – si pone oggi come l'unico strumento esistente di approccio alla materia per i giovani.

Abituare invece i giovani al confronto diretto con la parete è l'unica soluzione che permetterà validamente il ricambio generazionale degli studiosi nel campo. Questo va detto a chiare lettere, e non solo a Wallace.

Al quale, peraltro, vanno mossi alcuni piccoli rilievi anche nella trattazione di singole iscrizioni, che costituiscono invero la parte centrale del volume. Ciò vien fatto, peraltro, unicamente nella consapevolezza che il testo è letto soprattutto da allievi ed è quindi importante dare ad essi informazioni corrette.

Va detto, in ogni caso e in primo luogo, che la selezione di iscrizioni, ampia, è condotta in maniera appropriata nella ricerca di allargare la trattazione ad ambiti molteplici di interesse, all'interno di una ripartizione tra i due siti di Pompei ed Ercolano. Va elogiato inoltre il fatto che Wallace ha selezionato molti testi "difficili", ossia di non sempre chiara lettura o interpretazione, che per questa ragione sono spesso trascurati nelle antologie e nei florilegi. Il commento, chiaro, è fatto apposta per condurre per mano il lettore ed aiutarlo per quanto possibile nella comprensione del testo, dalle nozioni basilari di grammatica a quelle più impegnative riguardanti la storia, la società e il costume, oltre che la lingua stessa. Sarebbe stata una veramente lodevole opera didattica se l'edizione del testo non scontasse quei difetti sostanziali prima denunciati, cui si aggiunge in non sporadici casi il fatto che la definizione delle linee del testo così come riportata nel volume non rende contezza di come effettivamente esso sia stato scritto sulla parete. Anche una mancata spiegazione del contesto di rinvenimento e del suo significato rende incomprensibili alcuni testi, come ad es. *CIL* IV 813 (p. 36) o *CIL* IV 3494i (p. 39).

Non è possibile, in ogni caso, tacere, che il titolo che definisce la funzione dei più alti magistrati di Pompei, ossia i duoviri, è *iure dicundo* e non già *dicendo* (cfr. p. 4, 10, 11, 82), mentre quello che contraddistingue i magistrati minori è *viis aedibus sacris publicis procurandis* e non già *viis aedilibus sacris publicisque procurandis* (p. 5, 7), così come credo sia per tutti pacifico che Suedio Clemente venne inviato a Pompei da Vespasiano e non già da Nerone (p. 10).

Entrando più nello specifico, invece, tradurrei diversamente (come è stato già da tempo ben messo in risalto) il *cum plausu* che accompagna l'azione del *facit* del *dissignator Sabinus* nell'iscrizione *CIL* IV 768 (p. 10) e analogamente darei ben diversa e ormai consolidata spiegazione per l'iscrizione *CIL* IV 7065 (p. 95). Non vedrei, poi, un complemento di compagnia nel *vicinis rogantibus* di *CIL* IV 1059 (p. 11). A riguardo di *CIL* IV 3882 (p. 22), inoltre, da un lato va notato il disagio che si prova nel veder riportare nel testo e spiegare nel commento l'espressione *numini Augustali* invece che il normale e di certa lettura *numini Augusti*, dall'altro la perplessità ancora più rimarcata quando alla terza linea ci si trova al cospetto della correzione <St>a, e a maggior ragione

con la giustificazione datane nel commento. Non credo, infine, si possa accettare nell'iscrizione *CIL* IV 8903 (p. 49) che il *Ga* che precede il gentilizio *Sabinus* vada inteso come abbreviazione di un ulteriore gentilizio *Gavius* o di un fantomatico identico prenome, mentre mi sembra pacifico che la *M* a cinque tratti, tipograficamente resa con *M'* sia l'abbreviazione del prenome *Manius* e non già di *Manlius* (p. 114).

Ritengo non opportuno, infine, entrare nel merito di singole interpretazioni che l'autore dà a commento di parole, espressioni, o anche di inquadramento stesso di iscrizioni, come anche su fatti linguistici (esiste veramente, ad esempio, la *syllabic notation* di cui anche Wallace, p. 59 e 61, si mostra assertore?). Devo invece almeno segnalare che non sempre l'ubicazione data alle iscrizioni si mostra puntuale, che la resa dei testi non è immune da errori e che la bibliografia, per quanto essenziale, appare comunque datata, mostrando di ignorare numerosi importanti lavori comparsi negli ultimi anni e anche quelli, come ad esempio avviene per *CIL* IV 10676 (p. 102), che mutano con nuova lettura parti importantissime e sostanziali stesse dell'iscrizione.

Completano il volume una lista di abbreviazioni, un indice di nomi, suddiviso però in varie sezioni di dubbia utilità, e un vocabolario, che dà, questo sì, allo studente un supporto veramente notevole nello studio delle iscrizioni.

In definitiva, nel tracciare un bilancio di quest'opera, bisogna innanzitutto ringraziare Wallace dell'amore e della cura che mostra nel coinvolgere i suoi studenti, ma più in generale le nuove generazioni, nello studio dell'epigrafia parietale, con serietà di impostazione metodologica e ampie conoscenze. Per questa stessa ragione bisogna invece fortemente lamentare che (forse a lui stesso per primo) non sia apparso chiaro che lo studio di tale epigrafia non può prescindere in nessun modo dalla parete e dal modo in cui su di essa i segni alfabetici sono riportati.

Alcune sbavature, di fronte all'azione meritoria intrapresa da Wallace, si lasciano volentieri perdonare e dimenticare, mentre alcuni macroscopici errori, altrimenti decisamente allarmanti, vanno a mio avviso piuttosto imputati agli studenti che hanno con lui collaborato nella redazione del volume (p. VI), e credo quindi sia meglio allora parlare di una sua disattenzione nell'opera di controllo e revisione, anche se essa cade comunque nella sua responsabilità ("I alone am responsible for any errors in the text...", p. VI). Sarebbe inoltre veramente auspicabile che Wallace trascorresse un periodo di studio direttamente a Pompei al fine di dare ad un'auspicata seconda edizione di questo utilissimo volume un'impostazione meno "lontana" di quanto ora si avverte.

Antonio Varone

ROBIN OSBORNE: *Greek History*. Classical Foundations. Routledge, London – New York, 2004. ISBN 0-415-31718-5 (pb). X, 175 pp. EUR 10.99.

At first, the minuscule number of text pages (135) and the title of this book do not seem to be in coherence. However, as is said in the Introduction, this book is not supposed to be a full chronological survey of all the events in Greek history, but to offer foundations for understanding such histories, as the name of the series implies. The book delivers what is promises. It causes the reader to ponder upon our modern day viewpoints when

examining, reading, and studying the material and textual data surviving from the past. It makes us wonder how our concept of history has been formed and how much we let our own experience of the world confuse our interpretations of the historical data. *Greek History* is, according to the backcover, an "ideal introduction to the study of ancient Greece" and as such aimed at students at the beginning of their studies in order to teach them already in the early phase to be critical not only towards the information received through other scholars but also towards one's own possible misinterpretations. The book is also useful for more advanced students and scholars, as this kind of discussion too seldom takes place.

After the Introduction, the book is divided into eight chapters, last of which is called "Was Alexander the end of Greek history?" Thus, it seems that in Osborne's (hereafter O.) view, the foundations of Greek history were laid during the archaic and classical periods, the hellenistic and Roman periods not deserving more than a mention.

O. starts in the first chapter ("Familiar but exotic: why Greece needs history?") with homosexuality and pederasty. By examining one vase-painting presenting naked athletes, he shows why Greece needs history. From one image alone so many ideas can be generated, starting from the Olympic games and their social and political importance to the homoerotic implications of such images and even to the oddity (in our eyes) of Greeks performing athletics naked. Thus, it is clear that wide knowledge is needed to interpret correctly all the information one can gain from a single vase.

In the second chapter ("Inventing the Greek polis"), O. moves to more chronological treatment in discussing the invention and development of the Greek city state. He deals with immigration and what is the relationship between myth and truth in the process of colonization. It seems that it was not as organized as is often assumed. In this connection, O. shows how our written sources can sometimes be contradictory but, however, they are extremely important, especially when added to the information gained through archaeology.

Population figures, death and birth rates are the subject of the third chapter ("How many Greeks were there and how did any of them survive?"), with examples from Pitthe koussai in the sixth century B.C. and Athens in the fifth century B.C. The figures are, of course, approximate, but it is also shown where the figures lead: what amounts of agricultural products or other income is needed to keep such and such a population alive etc. Demography is shown to be a difficult field of study yet quite important to all other fields.

The fourth chapter ("Law, tyranny and the invention of politics") concentrates on the gradual development of society towards the city states of the classical period. The written laws appear. It seems that there was always concern about accumulation of power. It was obviously thought to be very important that the terms of magistrates were restricted. Nevertheless, tyranny existed even though it is a phenomenon on which the sources can be quite unreliable.

Warfare is the subject in chapter five ("Making enemies"). The way in which the Greeks fought wars is discussed; O. describes it as "gentlemanly," and the wars were often fought between neighbors. The Persian Wars with their causes and consequences are extensively examined. I was especially delighted to read O.'s contemplations about the famous view of J.S. Mill (still repeated at the time when I was an undergraduate)

about the importance of the battle of Marathon to English history (or to the history of the western Europe, for that matter) arguing that, if the Greeks had lost at Marathon, everything would be different today as Greece would have fallen under Persian rule. O. puts this kind of speculation in its correct place, bringing forth many other scenarios of what might have happened. We actually do not know so much of Persian habits since our sources from this period are mostly Greek.

After the Persian Wars, Athens rises to the focal point of Greece, and in chapter six ("The city of freedom and oppression"), O. deals with Athenian democracy and how the society functioned. The polarity between free citizens and slaves was the main factor keeping the wheels rolling. With (foreign) slaves doing the actual work, it was possible for all citizens to feel that they really were equal and they had common interests. The ideal situation was that every man was thinking and voting for himself; political parties were not approved. Women, of course, could not take part in the decision-making, but they were considered to be important members of society since, without them, Athens would have soon run out of free citizens and women were also responsible for many religious tasks.

Athens was not, however, a typical Greek city, even though it is the best known. In chapter seven ("The unity and diversity of the Greek city"), O. deals with the political systems of other cities, mainly Sparta. All the cities had laws and political systems slightly different from one another, but there seem to be certain factors which applied to all, e.g., women, minors, resident-foreigners or slaves were not allowed to take part in the decision-making anywhere. Laws or customs regarding how non-citizens were allowed to do business or how cities honoured the treaties between themselves were all quite coherent.

The eighth and last chapter ("Was Alexander the end of Greek history?") covers the time from after the Peloponnesian Wars to Alexander and slightly beyond. Northern Greek cities with their leaders gained a more prominent role, especially Philip of Macedonia with his wealth and new – often not so gentlemanly – ways of war. It was now clear that the days of glory of Athens and Thebes were over. When Alexander inherited his father's kingdom at the age of twenty, he continued in the same fashion and his ambition took him even further. After Alexander, there was no return to a city state society. The dynasties controlling areas of Alexander's kingdom continued to fight over the others' inheritance. This does not mean that the life in Greek cities changed dramatically; on the contrary, there was not much difference in daily life. Cities maintained much of their own power over their own business. Therefore, while the history of Greece from the point of view of the rulers and kings changed dramatically with Alexander, the history of the people did not, as many local inscriptions show.

As O. does not repeat all the major historical events, the "Further Reading" section will be very helpful to those who wish to enlarge their knowledge of historical facts (and O.'s discussions will probably sometimes be difficult for junior students who do not yet have all the historical details in mind). The further reading includes more general works on Greek history and also information on where to read more about every subject covered in the text often including the original sources. O. refers mainly to secondary literary written in English. A bibliography and Index follow.

In conclusion, O.'s book is a delightfully different book of Greek history and is

suitable for students and everyone who is beginning to take an interest in ancient history but it is also recommended for teachers and historians alike, as a thought-provoking and up-to-date discussion of historical ideas. This book is a good example of proving Callimachus' thesis, *mega biblion, mega kakon*, right.

Marja Vierros

PETER WILSON: *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia. The Chorus, The City and the Stage*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. ISBN 0-521-55070-X. XV, 435 pp. GBP 70.

This book is divided into three main parts: I. "The Institution"; II. "The *khoregia* in action: Social performance and symbolic practice"; and III. "Beyond Classical Athens". The notes are at the end of the book along with six appendices, a bibliography, and three indices.

Part I (which includes chapters 1. "Private wealth for public performance" and 2. "Organisation and operation") concentrates on the mechanics of the institution of the *khoregia* in Athens and handles issues like, e.g., the number of *khoregoi* needed at the public festivals of Athens and the tasks of these *khoregoi*. Part II (chapters 3. "Aristocratic style"; 4. "*Khoregia* and democracy"; and 5. "Monumentalising victory") discusses the sociology of the *khoregia*, i.e., subjects like the prestige and the ambitions of the *khoregoi* and the essence of the khoregic victory monuments they erected. Part III (chapter 6. "Challenge, change, diffusion") concentrates on the changes of the *khoregia* and its continuity beyond the classical Athens (both temporally and spatially).

There are 31 illustrations in this book. Most of the illustrations depict khoregic monuments but among them there are also some vase paintings which depict the *khoreutai* or the *khoregos* himself. The quality of the illustrations is excellent and they are all mentioned in the text which makes it easy for the reader to bring together an illustration with the author's comments and explanations of it. The appendices are short but full of information, the bibliography is long and imposing, and the indices are exact and easy to use (I found no typographical errors or misprinted references). In short, there is a lot to be praised in this book.

Vesa Vahtikari

PIERRE SÁNCHEZ: *L'Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes. Recherches sur son rôle historique, des origines au II^e siècle de notre ère*. Historia-Einzelschriften 148. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2001. ISBN 3-515-07785-5. 574 pp. EUR 100.

C'est une œuvre importante, qui rassemble toute la documentation se rapportant aux structures et à l'histoire de l'Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes. Cette institution tint une place unique dans l'histoire grecque, de l'époque archaïque jusqu'à la conquête romaine. Son importance résulte en premier lieu du fait qu'elle se vit confier l'administration du sanctuaire oraculaire le plus fameux du monde antique, sa

signification se reflète dans la littérature de toutes les époques, et sa prospérité lui a permis de laisser à la postérité une abondante documentation épigraphique. Tout cela a été réuni et expliqué par Sánchez de manière exemplaire. Son œuvre traite le sujet de manière exhaustive, et avec cet ouvrage (ainsi que le livre de François Lefèvre paru sur le même sujet en 1998, mais non parvenu à cette revue) se trouve comblée une lacune déplorée depuis longtemps.

Ce n'est pas ici l'endroit d'analyser de plus près le contenu de ce gros livre. Disons seulement que l'auteur traite de manière détaillée et avec une grande prudence ses sources, qui sont très abondantes et se sont accumulées avec le temps, ce qui vaut notamment pour les sources archéologiques et épigraphiques. Elles commencent au cinquième siècle et vont jusqu'à l'époque romaine; en les analysant, l'auteur arrive à la conclusion que ces sources croissent pendant le quatrième siècle, mais que la tradition sur l'Amphictionie présente des caractéristiques qui doivent nous inciter à les utiliser avec une certaine prudence. Ce livre peut être recommandé à tout étudiant intéressé à l'histoire grecque et à ses institutions politiques et religieuses.

Heikki Solin

LORENZO BRACCESI con la collaborazione di BENEDETTA ROSSIGNOLI: *Hellenikòs Kolpos*. Supplemento a *Grecità Adriatica*. Hesperia. Studi sulla grecità di Occidente 13. Università di Padova, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-153-3. 134 pp.

Questo libro raccoglie un ciclo di lezioni tenute presso la Scuola Archeologica Italiana ad Atene e costituisce un complemento al volume *Grecità Adriatica*, edito la prima volta nel 1971 e una seconda nel 1977. Il volume vuole recuperare tradizioni riferentisi ai percorsi in area adriatica e anche oltre, e spiegarle, laddove possibile, con precisi riferimenti alla realtà storica, soprattutto a proposito di vie di transito e di scambi commerciali fra l'Occidente e l'Oriente europeo; l'autore convoca in merito persino cicli mitici. Conclude il volume un breve excursus sulla nascita del concetto politico dell'Europa. Spero di poter tornare su questo punto in altra sede.

Heikki Solin

Atti del IX congresso internazionale di studi sulla Sicilia antica, I,1-2 – II,1-2. ΚΩΚΑΛΟΣ. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo XVIII-XLIV (1997-1998). Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1999-2002. ISBN 88-7689-178-1. 493 pp. EUR 216,91 + 497-833 pp. EUR 144,61 + 550 pp., ill., tavole. EUR 232 + 553-944 pp., ill., tavole. EUR 170.

Con i presenti quattro volumi si è arrivati alla pubblicazione degli Atti della IX edizione della serie di congressi palermitani sulla Sicilia antica, iniziativa questa, risalente all'idea del maestro Eugenio Manni, avviata nel 1964 e che da allora si ripete ogni quattro anni (il X congresso, con la tematica "Pagani e cristiani. Quattro secoli di storia (II-V)", si è

svolto nell'aprile del 2001). L'argomento di studio del IX congresso, storiograficamente orientato come quelli degli eventi precedenti (la Sicilia dei Sicani e dei Siculi, dei tiranni, ecc.), s'intitola "Ruolo mediterraneo della Sicilia nella tarda antichità" e quindi, finalmente, l'attenzione viene posta sull'età romana. Era già ora, visto che la Sicilia romana, e in particolare quella tardoantica, si presenta in grado di aprire ampie prospettive di ricerca su fenomeni culturali, economici, religiosi, sociali e altri, finora (o almeno fino agli anni 80' e 90') in parte trascurate ma ormai da tempo in continua fioritura. Nei lavori del congresso hanno trovato spazio una serie di relazioni importanti, come quelle dedicate ai rapporti tra Sicilia e alcune altre regioni mediterranee (Africa, Germania, Oriente, ecc.), ma si è parlato anche della storiografia della Sicilia greca e romana, di personaggi notissimi come Melania la Giovane o il siciliano Firmico Materno, o ancora di opere letterarie come il *Pervigilium Veneris* (che mostra un legame con la Sicilia centro-orientale). Oltre alle relazioni principali, gli Atti contengono numerosi aggiornamenti in forma di rassegne critiche dirette a segnalare il progresso degli studi siciliani in vari campi di ricerca (storia, archeologia, epigrafia, numismatica, linguistica, ecc.). Altamente utili risultano anche gli aggiornamenti che riguardano gli scavi condotti in Sicilia nel quadriennio precedente al Congresso. I risultati di un evento di queste dimensioni rimarrebbero difficilmente raggiungibili se non fossero accompagnati da indici. Sotto questo punto di vista i presenti Atti non deluderanno le attese dei più esigenti, in quanto gli indici alla fine del tomo II,2 non solo sono abbondanti, ma anche accurati e facilmente consultabili.

Mika Kajava

FERGUS MILLAR: *Government, Society, & Culture in the Roman Empire. Rome, the Greek World, and the East*. Vol. 2. Edited by HANNAH M. COTTON and GUY M. ROGERS. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London 2004. ISBN 0-8078-5520-0. XXIX, 470 pp. GBP 43.95.

Many laudatory words have been expressed about the *erga kai hemerai* of Fergus Millar [FM] in the last years following his retirement from the chair of the Camden Professor of Ancient History at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 2002. This book is a second volume in the welcomed series 'Rome, the Greek World, and the East' that collects in the total of three volumes more than fifty of FM's selected articles from numerous (and also less accessible) publications from the early 1960's to the turn of the 21st century. The twenty articles in this volume are bound together by aspects of administrative, social, and cultural history of the Roman Empire. FM himself defines the subject of this volume as 'the communal culture and civil government of the Graeco-Roman world' (p. viii referring to the 'Author's Prologue' in Vol. 1, p. 11).

The majority of the articles reprinted here have been originally published in the *Journal of Roman Studies*. Articles now made more easily accessible, to mention a few, are: 'Cash Distribution in Rome and Imperial Minting' (1991), 'Emperors, Frontiers, and Foreign Relations 31 B.C. to A.D. 378' (1982), 'Emperors, Kings, and Subjects: The Politics of Two-Level Sovereignty' (1996), and 'The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions' (1973). The book has a concise index. In the Introduction, Hannah M. Cotton has done a

good job in clarifying how some articles of this volume relate to FM's *opera magna*, e.g., *Emperor in the Roman World* (1977/1992).

I feel that it would be quite unnecessary (and also uninformative) to repeat the kinds of remarks on FM's thoroughness, keenness for minuscule details and his vast command of ancient source material, languages, and societal structures noted on many occasions before. Instead, I would like to emphasise FM's less often mentioned but maybe more far-reaching contributions to the generations of researchers who read his studies on ancient history. These contributions are especially highlighted through article collections like this one which cover the span of a lifetime of academic work.

What draws the reader's immediate attention in FM's articles is their refreshing timelessness. This is not a statement about FM's method – he, if anyone, knows how to date or, even better, how to decline to date historical sources – but about his style. It is unfortunately frequent that a reader takes up an academic publication from the 1960's or 1970's only to realise s/he is reading some out-dated, though at the time, fashionable theoretical jargon. There is no danger of this when reading FM. His research questions are delightfully concrete, e.g., on page 102: 'Here too, as regards the distribution of coin, we have to try to envisage the physical processes involved.' These 'physical processes' prove to be 'physical' indeed, referring to thousands of oxen drawing hundreds of heavy-loaded wagons from mines to mints and from mints to towns or military camps. There is nothing nonsensical in FM's approach; the reader feels safely guided, with her/his feet solidly on the (Roman!) ground.

Another aspect of FM's way of doing research is also worth noting: its transparency. Unlike many researchers, FM makes it explicit again and again what he knows (or what can be known) and what he does not know (or what cannot be known), and on what grounds (cf. p. xi). It follows that the readers can also deliberate the usefulness of the information gathered from FM's work for their own research without gnawing uncertainties about the writer's epistemology. FM's method makes the evolvment of his argumentation both well-documented and (thus) well-grounded. It is also surely efficient and absolutely commonsensical.

It would be impossible not to recommend this book for historians: in addition to its subject-specific value, it is also an excellent guidebook on (to quote Hannah M. Cotton's words, p. xi) 'how did it work and what did it feel like' in ancient times.

Ulla Lehtonen

CHRISTOPHER S. MACKAY: *Ancient Rome. A Military and Political History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 0-521-80918-5. XVI, 395 pp. GBP 25.

Yet another history of Ancient Rome. As such works virtually flood the book market in every major language, it would be helpful if each new contributor to this vast and ever increasing literature would clarify in more explicit terms how his or her particular enterprise is intended to add to the body of previous efforts. The pronounced intention of Mackay is to provide a general introduction to "the public affairs of the Roman People" for a readership possessing no prior knowledge of the subject (p. 1). Recognizing the

importance of scholarship that has turned, as he puts it, to "new perspectives" on the past (citing as examples social, cultural and economic history) he appreciates that his work, which focuses exclusively on military and political history, could be considered to reflect a "traditional" view of history. He also concedes that an inclusion of topics typically addressed by these *new disciplines* (sic) undoubtedly would have deepened his own analysis, but only "at the cost of inordinately expanding the length of the work and of obscuring the purpose that it is intended to serve". Stating that "the new historical disciplines complement rather than supplant traditional history", which seems a rather odd truism in this context, he stresses that his aim is "to provide a readable and up-to-date general history on the basis of the numerous refinements in our understanding of traditional political history that have been made in recent years" (ibid.). Writing for the general readership, which may not always be fully aware of the extent to which historians have abandoned their once so dominant preoccupation with "kings and wars", the author could well have endeavoured to convey a more up-to-date image of current historical scholarship and its concerns.

Following a chronological progression, the book consists of 24 chapters organized into five larger sections. Part one (*Obscure Beginnings, to 264 BC*, pp. 3–55), dealing with the earliest periods down to the outbreak of the First Punic War, provides accounts of the legendary beginnings of Rome, the regal period as well as of the domestic and military history of the first centuries of the Republic. Part two (*Conquest of the Mediterranean, 264 BC–146 BC*, pp. 57–99) is largely concerned with the great military conflicts – with Carthage, Macedonia and the Celtiberians of Spain (chs. 4–6) – which made Rome the supreme power of the Mediterranean World, but includes an analysis (ch. 7) of the profound changes that Roman society underwent in the wake of the rapid territorial expansion. In part three (*Collapse of the Republic, 133 BC–27 BC*, pp. 101–176), the author treats the final phase of the Republic, more precisely, the period from Tiberius Gracchus' assault on the oligarchy to the establishment of Augustus' autocracy. Analyzing the strifes between *populares* and *optimates* (chs. 8–9), the ascendancy of Caesar (ch. 10), and the ensuing power struggle between the last warlords of the Republic (ch. 11), the author examines the downfall of the republican government. This section of the book concludes with a discussion of politics in the Late Republic (ch. 12).

Part four (*The Principate, 27 BC–AD 235*, pp. 177–260) provides an overview of the history of the Principate. Themes covered are the establishment of this peculiar political system (ch. 13), the reigns of the Julio-Claudian successors of Augustus (ch. 14), the civil war of AD 69 and the Flavian Dynasty (ch. 15), the "pinnacle" of the Principate (the period 96–192) (ch. 16), the civil war following the assassination of Commodus and the reigns of the Severan emperors (ch. 17). The section concludes with a discussion of the political and administrative institutions of the Principate (ch. 18). The fifth and final part of the book (*The Late Empire, AD 235–AD 476*, pp. 261–353) deals with the crisis of the third century (ch. 19), the recovery under Diocletian (ch. 21) and the development under Christian emperors down to the fall of the Western Empire (chs. 22–24). This section also contains a separate chapter on the rise of Christianity (ch. 20). A short epilogue (pp. 354–356) discusses the survival and transformation of the Empire in the East after AD 476. This is followed by a chronological list of important events,

regnal years etc. (pp. 357–364) and by an appendix explaining Roman personal names (pp. 365 f.). After a bibliography presenting the most important classical sources and providing a selection of scholarly literature, titles in languages other than English being conspicuously absent (pp. 367–384), the book ends with a general index (pp. 385–395).

Written for a general audience, the narrative contains no references to primary sources and modern scholarship. It does provide a good selection of illustrations. At the beginning of the book, there are seven maps, and there is an insert of plates in the middle of the book containing altogether 49 black and white photos along with substantial and informative captions. This section of the book constitutes an entirety of its own, a "slide-show" illustrating various aspects of Roman civilization since nowhere in the body of the text are any references to these illustrations.

Any one-volume effort by a single author covering more than a millennium's worth of history, in this particular case a history marked by very complex and dynamic processes, inevitably raises at least some initial doubts as to its prospects to be a successful one. The pertinent primary sources, together with the multitude of relevant works of modern scholarship – even within the limited scope of this particular enterprise – constitute an immensely vast material. However, the present reviewer can only note that the author has taken great pains to do a careful job; even if his book cannot be considered particularly significant or innovative, it does constitute an adequate attempt at representing the evolution of Roman history, within the specified frames, in a highly readable form.

Kaj Sandberg

Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana. A cura di SERENA ENSOLI ed EUGENIO LA ROCCA. Catalogo della mostra (Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 22 dicembre 2000 – 20 aprile 2001). "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-8265-126-6. 711 pp., ill., piante. EUR 209.

Chi all'epoca visitò la splendida mostra romana del Palazzo delle Esposizioni potrà testimoniare che essa fu accompagnata da un altrettanto splendido volume che non solo ne costituì un valido catalogo ma tuttora fornisce al lettore una ricca raccolta di discussioni e studi approfonditi sulla Roma tardoantica e sui tanti fenomeni culturali, storici e sociali che ne sono caratteristici. Oltre al catalogo proprio (pp. 425–663) con 378 schede, presentate da quasi 90 autori e corredate da immagini di ottima qualità, il contenuto del volume si compone di cinque sezioni dedicate ciascuna a una tematica autonoma: (I) Spazio pubblico e spazio privato; (II) Le forme di autorappresentazione; (III) La vita nell'Urbe; (IV) Vecchie immagini e nuovi significati. L'alternativa in bilico; (V) L'invenzione nella tradizione: dalle immagini pagane alla visione di Dio. Tali sezioni sono composte da brevi saggi scritti da una cinquantina di autori, in cui si discutono una grande varietà di aspetti della vita urbana. Attraverso la lettura dei testi, e visionando le immagini della mostra, al lettore è consentito ripercorrere le tracce di una trasformazione affascinante, quella della *aurea Roma*, del vero *caput mundi*, in una città imbevuta di nuove mentalità che cominciarono a esprimersi in nuove e diversissime maniere, anche declinanti e, purtroppo, tendenti all'abbandono del proprio passato. Tuttavia, come è possibile ricavare dalle immagini di vari oggetti della mostra, scritti, dipinti o scolpiti, il

ricordo della grande Roma, leggendario o storico che fosse, non venne mai sepolto, anzi esso continuò a essere frequentemente sentito e anche risuscitato per poi manifestarsi sotto forme e tipologie sempre nuove.

I curatori del volume possono giustamente congratularsi con se stessi per l'esito altamente positivo dell'impresa. Tutti gli oggetti scelti per la mostra servono ottimamente a documentare gli elementi salienti della trasformazione storica della città pagana in quella cristiana. Il prezzo del libro è piuttosto alto ma acquistarlo mi pare un buon investimento a lungo termine.

Mika Kajava

EDWARD CHAMPLIN: *Nero*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) 2003. ISBN 0-674-01192-9. 346 pp. EUR 39,50.

Controversial even in his lifetime, Nero's image has evolved over the generations but generally towards the worse. There has been little effort, or even desire, among scholars to reinterpret the sources handed down to us. In this book, the effort is made. Champlin, in his own words, is not out to justify Nero's actions or rehabilitate his character. He is, however, offering an explanation, a context, for some of Nero's alleged crimes and tries to make some sense of the peculiar and hideous acts of the emperor.

The main sources for Neronian history are Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio. All of them are generally considered to be extremely hostile towards the emperor. The historian Tacitus once argued that to know politics is to know those who have the power. By this he meant the Caesars. In his *Annals* Tacitus claimed to have known the true Nero. The great scholar Ronald Syme accepted Tacitus's view. In his *Tacitus* (1958), he decided to trust the picture of the main sources and said that the portrayal of Nero corresponds in large measure with the facts. Many scholars before and after him have repeated this evaluation. Though research concerning Neronian history has suffered tremendously from the lack of sources positive to the emperor, there were such accounts, as Champlin reminds us. The need for this kind of re-evaluation of Nero is therefore obvious but the task is not an easy one. In fact, some say it is impossible.

Champlin admits that it is difficult to get behind the sources. He avoids the problem by accepting much of the information concerning Nero's crimes. Then, scene by scene, he tries to create a more rational context, a more understandable background to Nero's often odd decisions. Champlin's aim is to explain rather than judge and, for that purpose, he has assumed that Nero's deeds were controlled, at least to some extent, by sense and rationality. Now this is a rather different approach to the emperor who is said to have been a total lunatic without greater vision. Yet for Champlin Nero's controlled deeds are just another justified perspective on Nero and quite rightly. The truth lies usually somewhere between various explanations when it comes to controversial historical figures and Neronian reality is more complex than the sources would have us believe.

The book starts with Nero's death AD 68. The first chapter is one of the most interesting ones in the book for it deals with Nero's popular image among later

generations. It also simultaneously creates an undeniable historical background for a more positive understanding and study of Nero. Although sources tell us that there were few who mourned emperor's death, they were certainly understating the truth. The emperor was indeed heavily missed by the people and this nostalgia for Nero went on for centuries, into the Middle Ages. It is precisely this posthumous fame of Nero that intrigues Champlin. Nero's afterlife, not so much stressed in other scholarly studies, was certainly unique in antiquity and matches, in some respect, that of Alexander the Great. Both of them were rumoured to be alive somewhere or expected to rise again one day. Their deaths were rejected by many people and this raises serious questions when it comes to Nero. How can such a monster be missed?

Champlin is not trying to make a good emperor out of a bad one. The question he is asking is simply how Nero might be perceived as good although he did commit the crimes, not by posterity but by the Roman people themselves, the authentic audience, who actually lived under the reign of Nero. This is the central idea of the book. With this objective, there is no need to reject the basic information of Nero being a tyrant and a big obstacle in the study of Nero is avoided. The answer to the key issues lie in Champlin's opinions somewhere between Nero's own artistic passions and in the way the Roman society comprehended myth and interacted with the ruler. To put it simply, Nero used the mythological past to justify his actions. Legendary genealogies had linked upper class Romans to gods and heroes and the presence of myth in society was prominent. Nero grasped this and used it in creating his own vision of reality.

This is an interesting suggestion. No one can deny the omnipresence of the legendary past in Roman society or the way emperors before and after Nero manipulated it. Nero was the Caesar who chose singing, acting and charioteering over administrative duties. But was there a conscious scheme on his part behind his actions which linked past and present, and resonated, as Champlin asserts, with contemporary social attitudes? It seems to me a rather too convenient explanation. Over the years, I have noticed that there is a tendency towards explaining Nero's peculiarities with other peculiarities when we are lost in the jungle of hostile testimonies. However Champlin's vision is worth considering. Nero was an artist in his peculiarities.

To emphasize his claims, Champlin has chosen the most outrageous misdeeds of Nero. Matricide and the burning of Rome are the crimes which echoed for centuries afterwards in popular folktales. For me one particularly interesting detail arises. In the case of the arson, Champlin, rather surprisingly, accepts what so many before him have rejected as biased information from hostile witnesses: the popular rumour of Nero as the arsonist. For Nero to have burned the city down in order to fulfill his dreams of Neropolis would have been, in a way, the most heinous act of the emperor and certainly a question which can never be answered. In the case of Nero however there must be a diversity of approaches if we want to get behind the hostile evidence and give Nero a fair trial.

The book is an intriguing contribution to the study of interrelations between reality and myth. It also presents a different view of Nero. It is not provocative in that sense that it would give us a whole new Nero, but the attempt is made to shed light on some of Nero's odder actions. Champlin himself is convinced that Nero's misdeeds were not irrational or bizarre. The reason for Nero's considerable posthumous popularity is

simply that tyranny can have a certain popular appeal. Nero is portrayed in this book as a calculating, intelligent man who had a vision and who was constantly watching audience's reactions. He knew what he was doing and to convince others (in other words to stay alive after his monstrous deeds) he combined two things: his abilities on the stage as a performer and the power of myth in Roman society. Nero's longing for fame and fortune went so far that he mythologized his enormities. Talking about undying passion for the arts!

Marianne Ojanaho

Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum. Pars sexta. Laterculi alarum – cohortium – legionum. Scripsit HUBERTUS DEVIJVER†. Ediderunt SEGOLENA DEMOUGIN et MARIA THERESA RAEPSAET-CHARLIER. Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum Lovaniensis. Series A/Vol. 3. Universitaire Pers Leuven, Leuven 2001. ISBN 90-5867-162-3. 231 pp. EUR 45.

These *laterculi* are meant to round off the *magnum opus* of Hubert Devijver, the *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium* of which five volumes were published during the author's lifetime, the last being *Supplementum II*, published in 1994. Devijver died, prematurely, in 1997, at which time (as one learns from the Introduction furnished by the editors Demougin and Raepsaet-Charlier) he had started to write a third supplement meant to cover the years 1993–1998. However, "nihil aliud quam suscipere potuit tertium *Supplementum*" (p. v). On the other other hand, he had had the time to finish a manuscript of the *laterculi*, published in this volume. The editors say that, in preparing the manuscript for publication, their task was "formare, indices et tabulam abbreviationum componere" (p. vii). The editors must be thanked for having done all this, for, as a result of their labours, this remarkably useful (and physically handsome) volume is now at the disposal of scholars.

Whereas the *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium* (*PME*) consists of articles on individual equestrian officers, the *laterculi* published in this volume are meant to furnish information on the commanders of the individual military formations, *alae*, *cohortes* and legions being dealt with. Thus, under *ala I Flavia Singularium* (p. 32f.), one finds all the known *praefecti* of this particular *ala*. The *alae* and *cohortes* are presented in alphabetical order (the legions according to their numbering), the key word being the main name of the unit (*Singularium* in this case, *Siliana* in the case of the *ala* which precedes, etc.). As there is often some variation in the names of units, it must be noted that these lists are useful not only for those who wish to find information on the officers of a particular unit, but also for those who simply need information on the identification of auxiliary units; for instance, those having to deal with (e.g.) a certain *ala Tauriana* will find, under the letter T on p. 35, that the full name of this unit was in fact *ala I Flavia Gallorum Tauriana c(ivium) R(omanorum) torquata victrix* (the officers of which are listed on p. 17 under G). Under each heading, the officers are listed in alphabetical order, a chronological order being excluded as many of the officers cannot be exactly dated. – The volume is rounded off by indices of persons and places.

In the case of *alae* and cohorts, the number of known commanders per unit seems to be generally somewhere between 5 and 10 (but often only one or two commanders are known); legionary tribunes per legion are normally known in larger numbers, this obviously coming from the fact that there were several tribunes in a legion at the same time. It is important to note that these *laterculi* mention only people already registered in *PME*, officers who have become known after 1992 (the last year to have been considered in the second supplement) thus not appearing here. In the case of tribunes, this probably does not mean very much; but in the case of prefects of *alae* and cohorts, things have changed considerably since the early nineties, for there has been a proliferation of new military diplomas, very often coming from the Balkan countries, (this clearly having something to do with the events of 1989). In any case, auxiliary diplomas mention auxiliary commanders, and the great numbers of new diplomas have resulted in great numbers of new prefects (although mainly prefects of units the veterans of which tended to settle in the Balkans), a fact someone working with these *laterculi* will have to face. For instance, here we have only one prefect of the *coh. III Brittonum veteranorum* (p. 60), but new diplomas have produced two new prefects, one of them called M. Blossius Vestalis and originating (not surprisingly) from Capua (see B. Pferdehirt, *Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden* [2004] 31, 37). More than one new prefect has become known by diplomas also in the case of (e.g.) the *ala I praetoria* (p. 33) or the *coh. II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis* (p. 60). But of course inscriptions of interest have also been published; note, e.g., the gain of the *ala I Thracum veterana* (p. 36) by the publication of Bölske. *Inschriften und Funde* (2003) where many prefects are mentioned, one of them interestingly called M. Gongius Paternus Nestorianus and another also appearing in a diploma of AD 192 (*AKB* 33 [2003] 259ff.).

The truth is, then, that although this is a most useful book which, in a way, sums up the work of Professor Devijver, a supplement (not necessarily in the form of a book) is sorely needed. The editors of this book, S. Demougin and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, would be most suited to do the job.

Olli Salomies

ANTONIO GIULIANO: *Scritti minori*. Xenia Antiqua. Monografie 9. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-123-1. 270 pp. EUR 114.

Si saluta con piacere la pubblicazione di questi scritti scelti di Antonio Giuliano, uscita in occasione del suo settantesimo anniversario (è nato nel 1930). Eccone il contenuto (tranne una Premessa e Nota biografica e bibliografica):

Fuit apud Segestanos ex aere Dianae simulacrum; La Afrodite Callipige di Siracusa; Iscrizioni romane di pittori; L'origine di un tipo di Gorgone; Uno scultore a Roma nell'età di Gallieno; Aristide di Smirne; L'epitafio di Annio in casa Leopardi, II. Giacomo Leopardi e l'iscrizione CIL IX 5813; Osservazioni sulle pitture della "Tomba dei Tori" a Tarquinia; Kleantes di Assos; Il sarcofago di Marco Aufidio Frontone; La famiglia dei centauri. Ricerca su un tema iconografico; Una oinochoe greco-orientale nel Museo di Villa Giulia; Ideologia e forza-lavoro nella costruzione di edifici pubblici in

Atene nella seconda metà del V secolo a.C.; I grandi bronzi di Riace, Fidia e la sua officina; Un quarto rilievo della serie Grimani; *Germania capta*; L'identificazione del discobolo di Mirone; *Augustus-Constantinus*; Ritratti di Onorio; Bernini e Policleto; *Signum Cereris*; Un palinsesto su marmo; Vitruvio e l'acanto; Assimilazione a Dionysos ed Herakles su gemme e monete dall'età tardo ellenistica al IV secolo d.C.; Porticello; Un eroe per una villa.

Si tratta di una selezione di alcuni scritti minori di Giuliano; altri ugualmente interessanti non hanno trovato posto. Ma anche così l'opera costituisce uno strumento utile agli studiosi della cultura greco-romana; e l'utilità del volume viene accresciuta dal fatto che non tutti i contributi in esso contenuti sono usciti in pubblicazioni facilmente accessibili, almeno alle nostre latitudini. – Una sola quisquilia: a p. 33 n. 6: non *D.*, bensì *d(ecurio)*; e nella stessa pagina, sotto n. 3: in *CIL VI 4009* da leggere *Synor[is]*.

Heikki Solin

CHRISTINA HÄUBER – FRANZ XAVER SCHÜTZ: *Einführung in archäologische Informationssysteme (AIS)*. Ein Methodenspektrum für Schule, Studium und Beruf mit Beispielen auf CD-rom. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2004. ISBN 3-8053-3002-2. 160 pp., 88 fig., CD-rom, EUR 37,50.

Modern archaeology involves working with vast amounts of different kinds of data. There are maps, plans, sections, detailed drawings, old and new photographs, artifacts of all kinds, paleoenvironmental data, survey data, etc. The list is endless. Managing all this data is a difficult task and requires plenty of thought and effort to be efficient and successful. Digital systems for data storage and management have been embraced by many archaeologists and have become more and more common in recent years. This book by two German archaeologists, Christina Häuber and Franz Xaver Schütz, is a brief introduction to the world of archaeological data bases or, as they wish to call them, archaeological information systems. It boasts being the first in German language and is aimed mostly at beginners and students.

The book is divided into two parts: the first is a general introduction to the development and current state of computing and data bases and the second offers examples of using data bases created by the authors. The examples come from the field of classical archaeology, mostly questions concerning the topography of ancient Rome, which is the specialty of the authors. The field was also chosen because, in their (and also in my) minds, classical archaeology is lagging behind in the adoption of digital data management.

Despite the target audience of beginners, the first part of the book by Schütz could be considered useful even for a fairly knowledgeable reader as it offers an interesting historical viewpoint on the subject going through the current state of affairs fairly briefly. What the section emphasizes is that the current stage of affairs is only one stage of a rapid technological development – what is new today is old tomorrow. The section also offers advice on how to create and develop a database, but unfortunately not with very concrete examples. Considering the content of the second part of the book, it

might have been worthwhile using one of those systems as a real example and explaining the process in more detail with the inevitable problems and their solutions.

What I missed in the discussion are reflections on the question of maintenance and updating a data base. This is a fact that few of those setting up systems think about at length. Who maintains the system? Who solves the technical problems that appear only during use? Who updates the old technical solutions? Who updates the archaeological data put into the system? Like any paper archive, a digital archive also requires care, and, unlike most paper archives, the digital systems may prove illegible when the old systems are changed into new. The data tapes and floppy discs of the 1970's and 1980's are today almost obsolete and if the data has not been transferred to new systems, then it is very possibly lost for ever. The authors embrace the digital systems with enthusiasm, but do not seem to remember the possible problems.

The second part of the book contains the examples of using databases written by Häuber and the CD-ROM included in the book contains some of the images used in the examples. The first set of examples is about placing ancient ruins into the Roman topography and reconstructing ancient Rome on a map. The second set is more about artifacts and how databases and digital systems can be used in research. I have to say that I did not find the examples very enlightening considering the main topic of the book, i.e., the databases and their use and usefulness. The reason for this is that the databases are not described at all and so one cannot determine what information they contain, how these are linked, how the data is really used in research, and what are the benefits of the digital systems compared to "paper supported" (to use one of the authors' terms) systems.

The first set of examples is a very interesting description of how to study ancient topography with the help of old plans, drawings and photographs, but it says very little about the use and usefulness of a database. The work is done with the help of AIS ROMA, which is a system set up by the authors. It is not described in any way and so it remains unknown what kind of information it contains and what kind of functions it has. Based on what can be deduced from the text and images, the AIS ROMA seems to consist of a modern photogrammetrical plan of Rome where many ancient ruins are placed accurately. The second part is a map from 1748 by Giovanni Battista Nolli, which has proved very accurate and could easily be georeferenced and compared with the new plan. Nolli's map includes many known, unknown and often vanished ancient ruins which could be now placed on the modern plan and combined to the vast knowledge of Roman topography. The combined plans probably exist in two different layers. The photogrammetrical plan is probably in vector format and the Nolli plan in raster format, which would allow for superimposing the former on the latter and comparing the data. It also seems to include a layer of probable vector objects in lines and polygons, which form the known and reconstructed ancient buildings. There are also texts which give the known or hypothetical names of the buildings, roads, etc. What we do not know is whether there are any other kinds of information connected to the objects. The old photographs and drawings used seem to exist only outside the database and the same applies to the written data, e.g., the vast amount of references to research literature.

To me, it seems that most of the advantages for the research come from the fact that Nolli's map is very accurate and reliable, not so much from the use of the digital system. Häuber mentions Rodolfo Lanciani's famous map of the ruins of ancient Rome

and how this could really not be used as it was noticed that the sites were regularly 30 or so meters off from their actual locations. Häuber has a long history in the research of Roman topography with the "paper supported" systems and now that she has started to use the digital systems, hearing of her experiences would, to my mind, have benefited the researchers of classical archaeology more than this text, which is mostly just a good description of how difficult the study of ancient topography can be.

The section also raises questions on the accuracy of the content of the database. How can we evaluate the data that we are supposed to use for further research? Can we find out who has collected the data and how the collection has been made? Are the sources listed somewhere? Has anyone checked the data and its accuracy before or after it was included in the database? Is the information inserted correctly? The list of questions is long. The documentation of the data and its creation is almost as important as the data itself. If the user can evaluate the methods of compiling the data base, he/she can use the data with confidence in its veracity. This is perhaps one of the old problems of classical archaeology: what is published are the results of the research and little is said of how they were achieved. Yet, the methods used, however simple or commonplace, are of greatest importance when the results are evaluated. This applies particularly to the digital systems where simple mistakes in the process of data manipulation can lead to great errors which might go unnoticed.

I opened the book with great expectations as I am involved in the process of creating and developing a database for one current fieldwork project. I hoped for ideas and examples of how to do such a work and how at least some of the most common problems have been solved. In the end, I felt frustrated and unhappy with the book. I feel that it told me only a little bit about databases, very little about specifically archaeological databases and almost nothing of the use of archaeological databases.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

STEPHAN STEINGRÄBER: *Arpi – Apulien – Makedonien. Studien zum unteritalischen Grabwesen in hellenistischer Zeit.* Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2000. ISBN 3-8053-2564-9. XVII, 221 S., 30 Kart., 61 Taf. + CD-ROM (mit 106 Abb.). EUR 65,50.

Stephan Steingraber gives both an overview of the monumental tombs in Hellenistic Apulia and takes the Tomba della Medusa in the Daunian Arpi into special consideration. The hypogeion, built ca. 300-270 BC and probably used by five generations, is one of the most monumental, remarkable and enlightening of all the tombs in Southern Italy and Apulia. It was discovered in 1980, but only examined in depth in the latter half of the 1980s after an unfortunate visit by grave robbers. The finds were recovered, however, to a great extent. The tomb consists of an open dromos, three parallel chambers with barrel vaults, with a floor mosaic in the main chamber. The name comes from the gorgoneion in the pediment of the vestibule. The clearly Macedonian features bring about a general discussion of the welcoming of Eastern monumentality into South Italy, probably as an influence of the, at times, forced interaction between the prominent Lucanian and

Bruttian families and the Epeirote court of Alexander the Molossian.

The case study of the Tomba della Medusa is complemented with an extensive study of the South Italian tombs from the fourth to the second century BC. The typology of the tombs is followed by the presentation of the tombs' characteristic features and details of internment. The topographical sites of the necropoli and the south Italian features of the cult of the dead also are clarified. The whole subject relies on almost exclusively on archaeological material, as only seldom do literary and epigraphic sources exist. The third part of the book is not large, but very useful indeed. It is an updated bibliography written according to regions and sites in chronological order, and will be an invaluable aid to anyone interested in the subject. A useful CD with over one hundred photos of the Tomba della Medusa and other tombs in the larger geographical area is enclosed. Its photos are, for the most part, the same presented in the book itself, but in colours.

The geographical maps are in general very informative and readable, except for the one on Tafel 14 with its minimal text. There is also some vacillating in describing the walls of the tombs as right, left or according to the points of the compass. But these are minor defects, as the book is a good orientation to a little known subject.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

Adriatico tra IV e III sec. a.C. Vasi alto-adriatici tra Piceno, Spina e Adria. Atti del Convegno di studi Ancona, 20–21 giugno 1997. A cura di MAURIZIO LANDOLFI. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali. Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Marche. Regione Marche, Assessorato alla Cultura. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-8265-121-5. XVI, 169 pp., V tavole. EUR 78.

Dopo gli obbligatori premessa, presentazione e saluto del sindaco di Ancona, fortunatamente brevi, seguono le comunicazioni stesse presentate nel convegno di Ancona: L. Braccesi, *Dorica Ancon* e problemi connessi; P. G. Guzzo, Perché i Piceni non erano alla battaglia di Cuma?; M. Landolfi, I Galli e l'Adriatico; S. Bonomi – N. Camerin – K. Tamassia, Aggiornamenti sulla ceramica alto-adriatica di Adria; M. T. Robino, Tipologia e cronologia delle brocche alto-adriatiche nelle necropoli di Adria; F. Berti – P. Desantis, I crateri alto-adriatici di Spina; C. Massai Dräger, Crateri alto-adriatici figurati ed ideologia funeraria; M. Landolfi, Vasi alto-adriatici del Piceno; B. Kirigin, Alto-Adriatico Vases from Dalmatia; M. Mazzei, La ceramica apula a figure rosse. Alcune riflessioni; W. Johannowsky, Considerazioni sul rapporto tra ceramica alto-adriatica e ceramica campana; F. Gilotta, Ceramiche alto-adriatiche e vasi etruschi a figure rosse; M. Harari, Modelli etnico-culturali e ceramografia. I vasi alto-adriatici.

Tranne i primi tre contributi dedicati ai problemi storico-archeologici in generale, si tratta di analisi sulla ceramica antica, nella quale i vasi alto-adriatici giocano un ruolo predominante, della loro tipologia e la loro diffusione in altre regioni quali Dalmazia o Campania. Il volume si può raccomandare non solo agli specialisti della ceramica antica, ma anche ai normali antichisti che si interessano della storia repubblicana dell'Adriatico e della diffusione della sua ceramica in altre parti dell'Italia o altre regioni limitrofe.

Heikki Solin

PENELOPE J. E. DAVIES: *Death and the Emperor. Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. ISBN 0-521-63236-6. XIV, 265 pp. GBP 50 (hb).

Agli anni del dottorato (concluso nel 1994 con la dissertazione dal titolo *Politics and design: the funerary monuments of the Roman Emperors from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius*) risale l'inizio della profonda passione di Penelope Davies per i monumenti funerari imperiali romani; interesse che ha condotto l'A., in seguito ad ulteriori e più approfondite ricerche – si ricordi a tal proposito tra gli altri il contributo "The politics of perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the art of commemoration", pubblicato nel 1997 nell'*American Journal of Archeology* – alla realizzazione di questo valido volume; le originali ed in parte innovative teorie già elaborate e discusse nella dissertazione dottorale, correttamente ed opportunamente ampliate, costituiscono il nucleo del più recente e completo studio della Davies, che viene così ad occupare un posto di primo piano nell'ambito della letteratura relativa ai monumenti funerari fatti costruire a Roma dagli imperatori.

I monumenti trattati dall'A. – iniziando dal Mausoleo di Augusto per finire alla colonna di Marco Aurelio – sono certamente fra i più noti di Roma antica, così come le loro caratteristiche architettoniche, le loro sculture e i loro fregi sono stati più che accuratamente studiati e documentati; tuttavia nella maggioranza dei casi gli studiosi li hanno esaminati singolarmente e comunque a partire da un numero limitato di prospettive: la più frequente preoccupazione è stata quella, per ogni singolo monumento, di identificarne il prototipo o di inquadrarlo all'interno della coeva produzione artistica. La peculiarità del libro della Davies, invece, è quella di analizzare i monumenti funerari degli imperatori romani, pur differenti tra di loro, come un genere a sé stante, che comprende sia le tombe vere e proprie sia i monumenti commemorativi eretti in seguito alla morte del principe. L'indagine della studiosa americana è diretta a fornire dei monumenti funerari un'interpretazione incentrata sulle caratteristiche comuni, per poi, a partire da quest'ultime, cercare di scoprire le motivazioni ideologiche, politiche e rituali alle spalle del loro design e della loro collocazione nello spazio urbano.

Già nell'Introduzione (pp. 1–11), l'A. incomincia a delineare chiaramente le coordinate della sua ricerca: i monumenti funerari non erano soltanto dei meri oggetti per la commemorazione della morte, ma, strumenti in mano agli imperatori, servivano in primo luogo per evidenziare i meriti da questi acquisiti in vita, così da rendere l'apoteosi un passaggio del tutto naturale. Questo è il concetto a partire da cui si dipana l'interessante teoria della Davies, la quale, allo scopo di prepararne il terreno e di renderne più immediata la comprensione, prima ricorda il ruolo attivo che svolsero gli imperatori nel decidere il progetto ed il tipo di decorazioni dei monumenti elevati in loro memoria e poi descrive brevemente come a partire del II sec. a.C. le tombe fossero sempre più diventate mezzi per favorire la promozione sociale di una *gens*, per esprimerne lo status, acquisendo – pur monumenti privati – un sempre più rilevante ruolo pubblico, che divenne predominante con Augusto.

Dopo il primo capitolo – "The Monuments" (pp. 13–48), dedicato ad una breve descrizione dei monumenti presi in considerazione nel volume, l'articolata ma completa indagine della Davies prende il via proprio dal mausoleo di Augusto, alla cui analisi è

dedicata la maggior parte del secondo capitolo – "An Image of Things Achieved" (pp. 49–74), punto nodale di tutto il saggio –, nel quale l'A. presenta e motiva con precisione ed accuratezza l'idea centrale su cui si fonda la propria teoria, che viene, poi, ampliata e resa più uniforme nelle parti successive del libro.

Il momento di maggior pericolo per la continuità di una dinastia si presenta alla morte dell'imperatore: la stabilità fino a quel momento offerta viene meno e non sempre vi è garanzia di una successione automatica ed indolore; in questo capitolo la Davies sostiene che scopo primario dei monumenti funerari degli imperatori era, dunque, proprio quello di favorire tale continuità, "ricordando la morte, ma parlando ai viventi dei viventi" (p. 49). Per raggiungere questo scopo, secondo l'A., a partire da Augusto gli imperatori avrebbero assegnato ai propri monumenti funerari una doppia valenza: quella di tomba vera propria e quella di mezzo per evidenziare i successi, civili e militari, acquisiti in vita, una sorta di rappresentazione di *res gestae*. In questo modo si cercava di fornire un'ulteriore giustificazione all'apoteosi dell'imperatore deceduto, la quale, a sua volta, era fondamentale per garantire al suo successore parentela e patronato divini. Questa ambivalenza delle tombe imperiali è assai evidente nel caso di Augusto, il quale – afferma la studiosa americana – si era rivolto all'Egitto nella ricerca di modelli per il proprio mausoleo. Importando forme architettoniche egiziane a Roma, egli, infatti, non faceva altro che seguire la tradizione di "catturare" l'arte di un paese sconfitto come emblema del trionfo: il design stesso del mausoleo, dunque, secondo la Davies costituiva "an image of things achieved".

Direttamente consequenziali a queste considerazioni sono le conclusioni alle quali l'A. giunge nel terzo capitolo – "An Imperial Cosmos: the Creation of Eternity" (pp. 75–101) –, in cui si analizza il significato dei riferimenti e delle metafore di contenuto cosmico presenti nei fregi e nei bassorilievi dei monumenti; in particolare, nel caso del complesso funerario di Augusto ed in quello della base della colonna di Antonino Pio le allusioni cosmiche sono esplicite, laddove nel caso del *templum gentis Flaviae* e del mausoleo di Adriano, sono il design e l'architettura stessi a costituire la metafora. La Davies, anche alla luce delle testimonianze letterarie e numismatiche, ricava dall'esame dei monumenti, intesi come un insieme coerente ed omogeneo, un modello comune di rappresentazioni del mondo cosmico ed astrale. La presenza di un siffatto genere di riferimenti così strettamente legati alla persona dell'imperatore, stava ad implicare un'associazione fra questo ed il motore primo dell'universo, ossia il dio Sole: come il sole che determinava la durata della giornata lavorativa, il principe regolava l'esistenza dei Romani. La Davies, però, non si ferma qui nella sua disamina e nella seconda parte del capitolo spiega quanto significativo potesse essere il ruolo dell'identificazione fra principe e cosmocrator in un contesto funerario. Ivi l'allegoria cosmica stava a significare rinascita e, dunque, eternità. Certo, era nella natura divina del defunto imperatore che il successore trovava la propria legittimazione, ma questa doveva fondarsi sulla convinzione che il nuovo imperatore fosse in un certo qual modo permeato dello spirito del vecchio. Si cercava di creare un'impressione di eternità della famiglia regnante; in altre parole si voleva dimostrare che la morte di un imperatore non fosse altro che un trasferimento di poteri alla nuova generazione, che un imperatore in realtà non morisse, ma fosse eternamente rigenerato nei suoi successori. Dunque – conclude la Davies – anche l'associazione del principe alla figura dell'entità deputata a regolare l'universo

aveva come scopo quello di assicurare la sopravvivenza della dinastia.

Il quarto capitolo – *Fire, Fertility, Fiction: the Role of the Empress* (pp. 102–119) – si propone come indispensabile corollario dei precedenti. La sorprendente presenza di Faustina al centro del rilievo della base della colonna di Antonino Pio, in cui la consorte dell'imperatore si dirige verso il cielo insieme con il marito a cavallo di una figura alata, costituisce il punto di partenza per comprendere come e perché le imperatrici venivano onorate nei monumenti commemorativi e funerari. Esaminando attentamente anche la figura di Livia nell'ara pacis e quella di Sabina nel cosiddetto rilievo del Palazzo dei Conservatori – verosimilmente proveniente dall'altare eretto alla sua morte dal marito Adriano –, l'A. ricava che una tale esplicita attribuzione di onori alle consorti degli imperatori, ed anche la loro conseguente centralità iconografica, in parte rifletteva il contemporaneo incremento dell'autorità femminile nei circoli familiari – in prima istanza quelli aristocratici –, ma soprattutto dipendeva dal fatto che la donna in generale e l'imperatrice in particolare stava a significare fertilità. La tipologia e la struttura dei rilievi presi in considerazione dimostrano, infatti, che la fertilità simboleggiava la continuità della *salus* pubblica. Tutto ciò, poi, rivela – a parere della Davies – come la crescente importanza dell'immagine dell'imperatrice nell'arte funeraria era il risultato di una strategia politica. Come più volte ribadito nel corso del volume, infatti, al momento della morte dell'imperatore era necessario contrastare l'instabilità politica con immagini che indicassero il concetto di rigenerazione del defunto nel suo successore e la presenza dell'imperatrice in contesti commemorativi come simbolo di fertilità era funzionale alla propaganda imperiale e fungeva da guardiano del futuro della monarchia, assicurando che la dinastia non periva con la morte dell'imperatore.

Nel quinto capitolo – "The Dynamics of Form" (pp. 120–135) – viene presa in considerazione la funzione che avevano le tombe degli imperatori nel perpetuarne la memoria ed il ricordo. Secondo l'A., una lettura mirata dei monumenti funerari, infatti, rivelerebbe un'indubbia volontà di manipolare mentalmente e fisicamente lo spettatore, incoraggiando la sua interazione con il monumento stesso, al fine di mantenere viva la sua attenzione per ciò che esso significava e per la vita del defunto, come chiaramente evidenziato dalla struttura dei mausolei di Augusto e di Adriano – entrambi circolari e pieni di corridoi interni –, ma soprattutto dalla particolarità delle forme della colonna traiana.

Complementare a questo risulta essere il capitolo finale, intitolato "The Power of Place" (pp. 136–171). Per condizionare la percezione e quindi l'interpretazione di un monumento da parte di uno spettatore, si poteva fare, infatti, molto di più che la semplice scelta di particolari forme: lo si poteva situare in un determinato luogo in modo da creare interrelazioni con punti di riferimento preesistenti, sia naturali che artificiali. In questa ultima parte del suo saggio la Davies, dunque, indaga le motivazioni, ideologiche, politiche e dinastiche, che determinavano la scelta del sito dove erigere il monumento, giungendo alla conclusione che tale scelta non era certamente casuale, nè fatta solo per permetterne la massima visibilità, ma per creare vincoli topografici e visivi con altri monumenti in modo da consolidare forti legami dinastici con gli imperatori precedenti e da affermare la pretesa di legittimazione del successore.

Oltre un centinaio di illustrazioni e fotografie – molte delle quali di ottima qualità –, un ricco apparato critico ed una bibliografia pressoché esaustiva, arricchiscono

un testo importante per chi intenda osservare in modo più completo i monumenti funerari imperiali romani.

Fabio Caruso

JOACHIM GANZERT: *Im Allerheiligsten des Augustusforums. Fokus "Oikoumenischer Akkulturation"*. Sonderbände der Antiken Welt. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2000. ISBN 3-8053-2692-0. 120 pp. EUR 34,80.

Joachim Ganzert's book is an interesting addition to the good and, by now, long series of the editorial house of Philipp von Zabern, dedicated to museums, archaeological sites, groups of objects, special areas of art, and border zones of the Classical world. The present volume is somewhat different in seemingly concentrating on one building only, but in reality giving a full-fledged evaluation of the topographical area around the temple of Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum in Rome.

The author takes the reader first to the site of the future Imperial Forum, from the Archaic period through Late Antiquity, and the topographical situation is clarified by interesting drawings and plans. The monument was already appealing to Renaissance artists and has been ever since, even if it lay partly hidden by later architectural data. He draws the reader's attention to Gismondi's model and the notorious excavations in the 1930s, which did not offer remarkable discoveries compared to the artistic views of the preceding centuries. It is only the recent excavations since the 1990s that have finally given the opportunity to understand the temple inside the Augustan Forum.

The monument is described from its substructure up to the details of the capitals and sculptural decoration. The Augustan method of making a monumental building is compared with modern practices and supported with photos from a modern construction site. No stone has been left unturned, as even the route used for transporting the ready-cut marble blocks from the production area near Emporium through the city to the Forum is suggested, and quite creditably at that. A computer simulation of the interior is also presented and set alongside the pictures of the current situation. The temple of Mars Ultor was one of the first monumental buildings culminating in an apse. This feature is enlightened by a discussion on the practices transmitted from the Greek and Hellenistic world. Another chapter is dedicated to the idea of using an *arcus* as a utilitarian gateway from the Augustan Forum to Subura, and, on the other hand, as an elevation from the cella to the apse, the holy of the holies with an acrolith statue. This monument was the focus of the Roman Empire's acculturation; a rather complicated subtitle for a good book, and needing explanation both in the text and glossary. The book consists of several chapters, which can be read independently. At first sight, this seemed a less lucky solution, but a persistent reader could find many challenging ideas in the text, which is meritoriously complemented with good plans, drawings and pictures.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

MASSIMILIANO PAPINI: *Palazzo Braschi. La collezione di sculture antiche*. Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplementi 7. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-8265-086-3. 288 pp. EUR 163.

Il Palazzo Braschi a piazza di S. Pantaleo, l'ultimo commissionato da un pontefice (Pio VI Braschi) per la propria famiglia, che fu eretto nel 1791–96, è tra i più importanti e imponenti di Roma. Dal 1952 vi ha sede il Museo di Roma, riaperto al pubblico un paio di anni fa. La presente monografia ha come scopo di quello di illustrare la storia delle raccolte archeologiche e artistiche della famiglia Braschi e del loro destino successivo all'estinzione della famiglia. Pio VI ha intrapreso una serie di opere artistiche e di utilità pubblica, tra cui la bonifica delle paludi pontine tra Ostia e Terracina; tra l'altro da questa zona provengono antichità che fanno parte delle raccolte del palazzo, per es. una statua proveniente da Terracina, o la famosa Pallade di Velletri, ora nel Louvre (cf. anche *Pallade di Velletri: il mito, la fortuna*, Giornata Internazionale di studi 13 dicembre 1997. Atti, Roma 1999). Verso la fine del Settecento le raccolte del palazzo erano già cospicue, ma poi nel 1798 i Francesi confiscarono la collezione che venne imballata per essere inviata a Parigi. In questa occasione vennero compilati quattro elenchi delle statue (due dei quali ignoti agli studiosi precedenti), in base ai quali il Papini ha potuto stabilire i dettagli del trasporto degli oggetti a Parigi e della loro parziale restituzione. Non solo la Pallade di Velletri, ma anche altre opere di grande valore finirono al Louvre. Un'altra cospicua parte venne acquistata dal re della Bavaria Ludwig I per la Glyptothek tramite i suoi agenti a Roma. Con la morte del Duca Luigi Braschi Onesti (nipote di Pio VI) la dispersione continuò sotto il figlio Don Pio Braschi Onesti. Nel 1843 venne acquistata da Gregorio XVI per il Museo Laterano la famosa statua di Antinoo e nei Musei Vaticani si trovano anche altre opere della collezione. Altri pezzi si trovano pure nella Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek e nello Schloss Klein-Glienicke vicino a Berlino. Ma anche il palazzo Braschi stesso ha potuto conservare un certo numero di pregevoli opere d'arte antica.

Di tutto questo la monografia di Papini dà adeguatamente resoconto. Il libro si può raccomandare a tutti coloro che si interessano della storia del collezionismo del Settecento e dell'ulteriore storia del destino delle grandi collezioni romane di arte antica, non priva di momenti critici e drammatici. Oltre alla storia del collezionismo, P. ha offerto interessanti interpretazioni e proposte di datazioni per alcune opere d'arte.

Heikki Solin

Il Tempio dorico del Foro Triangolare di Pompei. Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 2. A cura di J. A. K. E. DE WAELE. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-149-5. XII, 399 pp., 434 figs., 42 pls. EUR 233.

MARIA TERESA D'ALESSIO: *Materiali votivi dal Foro Triangolare di Pompei*. Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia XII. Regio I.1. Archaeologica 130. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-7689-165-X. 186 pp., 31 pls. EUR 206,58.

Few monuments in Pompeii have received as much attention as the Doric Temple in the

Triangular Forum. Excavations have taken place since the mid-18th century and plenty of analyses and theories of the origin and date of the building have been presented. Jos de Waele's and his associates' publication is the latest and it aims at a certain completeness. The book is made tragic by the fact that de Waele died in a traffic accident before it was published. The second volume reviewed could be considered a companion to the previous one as it is a catalogue of the votive finds from the Triangular Forum produced by Maria Teresa D'Alessio.

De Waele's book publishes and partially also republishes all available data on the Doric Temple, on its excavations, buildings and archaeological analyses. De Waele himself was mostly responsible for the chapters concerning the old and new excavations and the analyses of the building's parts. Bruno D'Agostino, Patricia S. Lulof and Lucia Amalia Scatozza Höricht describe and discuss the architectural terracottae found in the area in three chapters. D'Agostino and Scatozza Höricht also participate in the discussion on chronology.

The book's arrangement follows a fairly traditional line, which also makes it easily approachable. It starts with an introduction outlining the problem. This is followed by an extensive chapter concerning the excavation and research history of the monument. The next two chapters describe and discuss the visible remains and offer a reconstruction based on all available data. This, in turn, is followed by three chapters on the architectural terracottae with extensive catalogues. The next two chapters discuss the deity the temple was dedicated to and the surrounding buildings in the Triangular Forum. The last chapter is dedicated to a short discussion of the monument's chronology. The book ends with three appendices completely republishing some of the old texts and descriptions, which are today hard to find even in the better libraries of the world.

The volume is written clearly and concisely and the texts are easy to follow. There are plenty of drawings, plans and photographs to clarify the texts, although it sometimes feels as if this material was not used to its full extent. Somewhat surprisingly, the newer excavation plans occasionally lack legends and it is hard to connect the text with the information given by sections and plans. One is left also wondering, whether the texts were fully edited as they seem a little rough and unpolished in some places. Planning a layout is always difficult when the illustrations come in all sizes and shapes and when there are more images than text, and the book manages this problem well. The only chapter difficult to read is the one on reconstruction, which features a great number of tables, which sometimes break the text in unpredictable ways.

While reading the research history, one is struck by the lack of documentation of even the quite recent excavations by Amedeo Maiuri in the 1930's. He excavated dozens of trenches in the area and with only a minimal amount of documentation and reporting. Even the reasons for his excavating and reopening of the trenches in the 1950's remain unknown. De Waele's meticulous reports on earlier excavations emphasize the importance of thorough archival studies, particularly in this kind of context, in Pompeii. Finding as many as possible of the old photographs, drawings, descriptions, reports, excavation diary entries, etc., is of the greatest importance to really getting a proper picture of the whole activity and research history of almost any building in Pompeii. In this connection, de Waele also publishes the results of the 1980's and 1990's excavation of the Dutch team. This work concentrated mostly on clarifying stratigraphic data by re-

examining old trenches when possible. Maiuri's work left very few untouched spots in the area and finding such areas for new excavation has been difficult.

The chapters on the architectural terracottae publish the materials originating from the roof decorations from the Archaic period in two phases (D'Agostino), from the Samnite period (Scatozza Hörich) as well as some materials from the Roman period. Patricia Lulof publishes the few fragments from the acroterial statues and relief plaques. The chapters have been arranged into a short discussion of the material and a full catalogue with drawings and photographs. The research is admirable, especially in the light of the damage the finds suffered in the bombings of 1943, which hit also the Antiquarium of Pompeii. Locating and connecting the various fragments as understandable wholes has required a great deal of patience and stamina. The drawings of particularly the Archaic roof structures are very beautiful.

Maria Teresia D'Alessio's materials originated in excavations of the mid-1990's conducted by the University "La Sapienza" in the portico to the northwest of the Doric Temple. The objects have been found in fill layers of the 1st century BC connected with the abandonment and burying of a series of rooms built in the 2nd century BC. The original deposit has been interpreted as having belonged to the sanctuary of the Doric Temple. In addition to the votive offerings, some other materials have also been included, among them loom weights, pottery and some architectural terracottae, which originate from the Doric Temple. The volume is arranged and produced according to the mode of the *Corpus delle Stipe Votive in Italia* with each material arranged as separate chapter and then divided by typology. At the end, there is a discussion of all the votive finds found in the area. D'Alessio's results conform mostly to de Waele's conclusions on the dating of the cult activity, but she seems to prefer Athena rather than Minerva as suggested by de Waele.

The reconstruction is based on measuring the remains accurately and comparing the results with the earlier measurements. One of de Waele's long time interests was, in fact, the metrology of ancient temples and how the architect's original plan could be reconstructed by trying to find the original module of the building and then seeing how it was applied in the actual building. The origin of the Doric Temple and its cultural influences have been discussed as long as its existence has been known. The opinions can be divided roughly into two camps, the Etrusco-Italic faction and the Greek faction. The metrological analysis by de Waele produced a series of proportions which he then compared to the other known Greek temples from Greece, Magna Graecia and the Etrusco-Italic temples of Central Italy. The proportions observed in the Doric Temple are, at many points, very different from the traditional Greek temples and are very close to the "native" temples. It now seems more likely that the building more closely belonged to the native Italic heritage, but also, quite understandably considering Pompeii's location, showed signs of Greek influence. Based on the terracottae and finds, four main building phases can be discerned: two in the Archaic period in the 6th century BC and a third in the Samnite period of the late 4th century and/or early 3rd century BC. The last phase dates to the last phase of Pompeii, after the earthquake of AD 62.

A publication of one building can only rarely be described definitive in character. There is always something new to discover and new interpretations to offer. This time, the likelihood of such a reassessment occurring seems unlikely. The volume by de Waele

and his associates will remain a monument to his memory for a long time to come.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

MARISA DÉ SPAGNOLIS: *Pompei e la Valle del Sarno in epoca preromana: la cultura delle tombe a fossa*. Studia archaeologica 111. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-146-0. 183 pp., 143 figs. EUR 104.

The prehistory of the Pompeian region has recently been the focus of great interest with the discovery of the fabulous Bronze Age settlement site at Nola. Slowly, our knowledge of human activity in the area, even during the remotest periods, is increasing either with the spectacular new finds such as those at Nola, or by means of books like the volume at hand: a partial publication of excavations from the past two decades.

The author, Marisa dé Spagnolis, was the director of excavations at the *Uffici Scavi di Nocera e Sarno* between 1988 and 1997. In that position, she had a front row view of all that was done in the Sarno river valley. She was also very aware of what gaps there were in the archaeological record of the area. This book is aimed at increasing available information on the Orientalizing period in the Sarno Valley by publishing burials of the period. Over 500 burials were excavated under dé Spagnolis's supervision and, naturally, not all of the material is yet processed. The value of dé Spagnolis's effort is clear as previously ca. 800 tombs had been dug in the area and these are still unpublished.

The first part of the book is dedicated to giving the general circumstances of the burials presented in the last part. The first chapter deals with the development of the Sarno river valley, also taking into consideration new stratigraphical information derived from the new excavations. Then, the prehistory of the area is presented very briefly up to the beginning of the Iron Age. Three chapters then present the general picture of the river valley during the early Iron Age by looking at local cultures and their relationships, especially to the Greek colonies in the area. The following seven chapters are then dedicated to presenting the chronological periods of the area and correlating them to the phases in other cultural areas in the Apennine peninsula. The most typical artifacts for each period are also presented. Many of the finds featured come from the same towns as the burial sites published here. In this way, the reader has a good opportunity to see the development from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic Period in the area.

After these general considerations, the main part of the book is naturally dedicated to describing and presenting the burials and their finds from two towns, S. Valentino Torio and S. Marzano sul Sarno. Each chapter begins with a short general description of the site with a map of the excavated area. The burials are described very briefly, but, in fact, the clear drawings and photographs are better descriptions than words could provide. When dealing with artifacts, most attention is paid to pottery, as the most plentiful and, perhaps, the most important dating find category. Photographs and drawings are again well used to illustrate the material.

The aims of the volume are perhaps not very high and it does not present revolutionary new data, but as a basic publication of missing and much wanted

information, it fulfills its duty well. Publishing at least part of the data available is better than having 800 unpublished burials.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Bronzi antichi del Museo archeologico di Padova. Statuette figurate egizie etrusche venetiche italiche, armi preromane, romane e medioevali, gioielli e oggetti di ornamento, instrumentum domesticum dal deposito del Museo. Catalogo della mostra a cura di GIROLAMO ZAMPIERI e BENIAMINO LAVARONE. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-8265-117-7. 243 pp. EUR 130.

Whatever could be made of bronze in the age dedicated to that metal, or later in Antiquity and even beyond, is presented in this excellent catalogue, on the condition that the items come from the storerooms of the museum proper. Well known for its collection of Attic, Etruscan and Apulian vases, the innumerable bronzes had been previously neglected. To address this vacuum an exhibition of the bronzes was organized in 2000. The material, consisting of figurines, arms, personal ornaments, cosmetic and medical instruments, domestic implements and objects, even hydraulic parts, are, for the most part, unprovenanced, or originate from old collections and excavations. The material is organized in groups, and every object – altogether 450 – is provided with the technical details and measurements, date and bibliographical comparanda, and a photo. The photos are very good indeed, and the engravings are also presented in drawings. The Museo archeologico di Padova has fulfilled one of a museum's foremost tasks in displaying and publishing this fine material.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

ANNETTE KIRSCH: *Antike Lampen im Landesmuseum Mainz.* Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2002. ISBN 3-8053-2864-8. XI, 210 pp., 30 fig. EUR 39,90.

La riche collection lychnologique du *Landesmuseum* de Mayence méritait une étude exhaustive, travail auquel s'est attelée Annette Kirsch, et qui a récemment abouti à la publication monographique dont nous discutons ici.

Le volume, relié, est typographiquement soigné, et d'une consultation facile grâce à une suite de chapitres bien structurés et clairement définis, suivant en tous points la 'norme' allemande élaborée entre autres par les travaux de référence de Karin Goethert sur les lampes du *Rheinisches Landesmuseum* de Trèves.

Après une courte introduction consacrée à l'histoire du corpus des lampes du *Landesmuseum*, on trouve, dans l'ordre, les chapitres traitant des typologies, des lieux de production, et des ateliers de Mayence. Viennent ensuite le catalogue proprement dit, suivi d'un inventaire des motifs iconographiques et des marques de potiers. Un index des lieux de découvertes et une liste bibliographique complètent l'ouvrage.

Si l'on s'arrête un instant sur l'ordre des chapitres, on a quelque peine à comprendre selon quelle logique les discussions relatives aux motifs figurés et aux

estampilles ont été séparées de la partie analytique du volume. En effet, cela oblige le lecteur à devoir jongler entre la partie 3 'lieux de production' et la partie 9 'estampilles et inscriptions' pour avoir un aperçu complet des ateliers représentés dans les collections du Musée. De plus, le catalogue technique se trouve ainsi englobé entre les diverses discussions thématiques, ce qui n'ajoute rien à la lisibilité.

En ce qui concerne la recherche proprement dite, elle n'est pas digne des plus grands éloges. En effet, on y relèvera d'innombrables petites erreurs ou inexactitudes, que l'on comprend aisément au vu des carences de la liste d'ouvrages consultés, tenant en seulement quatre pages. En particulier, tous les plus remarquables ouvrages italiens et français brillent par leur absence. Si l'on se rapproche de l'Allemagne, il est inexcusable d'être passé outre les catalogues des lampes de Carnuntum¹, Lauriacum² et Vindobona³, ainsi que des articles archéométriques sur certaines catégories de luminaires de Vindonissa⁴ et d'Augst⁵, pour ne citer que ceux-là.

Par ailleurs, dans ce même ordre d'idées, l'auteur aurait dû spécifier clairement qu'elle a arrêté sa bibliographie à la soutenance de sa thèse (1997). En effet, puisqu'elle présente ce volume comme s'agissant d'une "*überarbeitete Fassung*" (p. XI) de son travail académique, on aurait été en droit de s'attendre à une bibliographie à jour à la date de la nouvelle introduction, signée en décembre 2001.

Dans le catalogue iconographique (*Motivkatalog*, pp. 165–92), la qualité des dessins n'est vraiment pas à la hauteur d'un catalogue de musée et, par là-même, n'apporte presque jamais d'information (ou d'hypothèse) supplémentaire par rapport aux photographies sur des détails estompés des scènes figurées, ce qui est le rôle premier de l'exercice.

Remarquons enfin que, sur les 636 lampes décrites dans le catalogue, moins de 250 sont illustrées par une photographie ou un dessin.

Nous ne pouvons que déplorer les faiblesses de cet ouvrage. Nous ne nous permettrons jamais d'écrire qu'une publication aurait dû être évitée, tant nous sommes handicapés, dans notre travail quotidien, par les milliers de collections inédites. Cependant, la recherche d'Annette Kirsch, si elle a le mérite de nous présenter enfin des centaines de lampes nouvelles, et de faire le point – de manière très succincte – sur les connaissances des ateliers de Mayence, aurait mérité une relecture de la part de quelque lychnologue expérimenté, qui aurait tôt fait de combler nombre de lacunes par trop dommageables à la qualité de cette publication.

Laurent Chrzanovski

¹ E. Alram-Stern, *Die römischen Lampen aus Carnuntum* (Der römische Limes in Österreich 35), Wien 1989.

² H. Deringer, *Römische Lampen aus Lauriacum* (Forschungen in Lauriacum 9), Linz 1965.

³ A. Neumann, *Lampen und andere Beleuchtungsgeräte aus Vindobona* 1967 (Der römische Limes in Österreich 22), Graz.

⁴ T. Hartmann, "Die Firmalampen von Vindonissa", in *ProVindonissa* 1991, 50–64, et G. Schneider – E. Wirz, "Chemische Analysen von Firmalampen aus Vindonissa", in *ProVindonissa* 1991, 35–49.

⁵ R. C. A. Rottländer, "Der Brennstoff römischer Beleuchtungskörper. Zu einem Neufund einer Bildlampe aus dem Gräberfeld Kaiseraugst, Im Sager", *JAK* 13 (1992) 225–29.

TOMAS LEHMANN: *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola. Studien zu einem zentralen Denkmal der spätantik-frühchristlichen Architektur. Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend. Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven, Band 19. Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2004. ISBN 3-89500-133-3. 283 pp., 195 fig. EUR 169.*

Cimitile is a late antique pilgrimage sanctuary centered on the tomb of St. Felix in the modern town of Nola in Campania, northeast of Mount Vesuvius. It is perhaps not the most well-known site of its kind, but despite this it has been the target of much research from the 16th century onwards. One of the most recent works is Tomas Lehmann's study, which is based on his dissertation work. His aim is to create a three dimensional reconstruction of one of the buildings in the complex, the Basilica Nova, built in the 5th century AD by the bishop Paulinus Nolanus, who also described the building in some of his writings. As his source material, Lehmann uses the old archaeological data of excavation and buildings, new documentation made by himself as well as Paulinus' texts. The phase to be reconstructed is that which perhaps could be considered the original or the way the Basilica Nova appeared at the time of Paulinus.

It is clear that the research has been conducted with diligence and the end result is, at first glance, quite handsome in large format and with lavish illustrations. The contents are arranged fairly conservatively: the brief introduction is followed by a short research history, a chronological description of buildings at the site before the basilica was built and then a long description of the basilica itself. This description is followed by a short chapter on other, later buildings. Over a third of the pages (excluding the plates) is dedicated to Paulinus' texts, their translations and commentaries. The two last chapters deal with the reconstruction and the appearance of the Basilica Nova.

Lehmann's book represents a type of publication which is quite common in classical archaeology. He has a research question which he sets out to study based on all available sources and he also produces some primary data himself. The end result is a mixture presentation of primary data, i.e., a sort of fieldwork report, and applied research with interpretation of the data. What Lehmann also has in common with many others is the fact that he has to base large parts of his research on data collected with methods and documentation much less than perfect. What I always find curious in these publications is that so many of them complain about the poor documentation of the earlier research, but they do virtually nothing to improve the situation. I certainly hope that the survey campaign conducted by Lehmann himself is reported and archived somewhere in its totality with principles, methods, and primary data carefully explained and that this report will be available to other scholars working on the Cimitile complex. This publication says almost nothing about how Lehmann's own analysis of the buildings was conducted or how his measurements were made, which makes it hard to evaluate his final results.

The descriptions of the archaeological entities are very much based on texts despite the fact that there are also plenty of illustrations. Unfortunately, in many cases, the texts and the images do not work very well together. Some very basic plans are missing such as a clear plan of all the remains identified – the fold-out plan 2 (*Falttafel 2*) comes close, but many of the legend numbers and letter codes are not indicated on the

plan. The varying levels of the structures are described in the text by using positive and negative heights compared to a reference zero point established by the Italian archaeologist Chierici and used (probably) also by Lehmann (this has to be assumed from the text). A simple plan with the heights indicated would have given much needed visual support to the text. Another useful plan might have been one indicating the various building techniques used in all the early structures. Additionally, one phase plan presenting all the pre-Paulinus structures but only them, might have been as useful as the phase-by-phase plans presented now (e.g., *Abb.* 24–26).

The chapters concerning the earlier and other buildings apart from the Basilica Nova are very brief and, considering the aims proposed for the work, this is understandable. What is in a way unfortunate is that Lehmann also wishes to present new data from his research in connection with these parts of the complex. There is not much space to develop the arguments and the difference between new and old data is sometimes hard to see and to appreciate in the short descriptions.

The Basilica Nova itself is then presented in much detail, but again some rather basic illustrations are missing. The structures are presented in ground plan as well as some elevations and photographs. The three elevations present only interpretative information, i.e., the wall surfaces are divided into chronological phases, and no primary documentation is given. For other researchers working on the complex, such basic data would probably be very valuable. Presenting the observations of such a complicated building in an even more detailed manner would have been necessary to be able to evaluate the results. The rather recent developments in the stratigraphic analysis of buildings and the application of these principles could have benefited Lehmann's work (i.e., Roberto Parenti's articles in *Archeologia e restauro dei monumenti. I ciclo di lezioni sulla ricerca applicata in archeologia, Certosa di Pontignano (Siena), 28 settembre – 10 ottobre 1987. A cura di Riccardo Francovich & Roberto Parenti. 1988.*). The reconstruction of the Basilica Nova in its Pauline appearance is probably as accurate as it can be under the circumstances and the basis of its creation is relatively well described.

My own, relatively meager, philological training does not allow me to evaluate Lehmann's translations of Paulinus' texts which, as mentioned above, form a considerable part of the publication. The inclusion of the original texts in Latin might have been useful for anyone reading the commentaries and translations in detail.

Archaeologists and other scholars wishing to use the results of archaeological research often complain about the brevity and difficulty of language of the reports. I feel that archaeologists often forget that they are writing even their simplest reports for others, who are probably not as familiar with the data used and methods applied as the researcher him/herself is. What is obvious to the person deep in the process of producing and dealing with the material, cannot be regarded as obvious even to those who are researching the same kinds of materials. Lehmann presents plenty of interesting material, but a lot of effort is required of the reader in order to glean the basic information and to understand on what the interpretations are based.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

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INDEX SCRIPTORUM

Christer Bruun	christer.bruun@utoronto.ca
Gualtiero Calboli	gcalboli@lettere.unibo.it
Fabio Caruso	fabiocaruso@yahoo.it
Laurent Chrzanovski	l.chrzanovski@bluewin.ch
Stephen Evans	ilias@sci.fi
Svetlana Hautala	hautala@unisi.it
Mika Kajava	mika.kajava@helsinki.fi
Sari Kivistö	sari.kivisto@helsinki.fi
Ulla Lehtonen	ulehtonen@mappi.helsinki.fi
Anneli Luhtala	anneli.luhtala@helsinki.fi
Marianne Ojanaho	marianne.ojanaho@kolumbus.fi
Włodzimierz Olszaniec	w.olszaniec@uw.edu.pl
Leena Pietilä-Castrén	leena.pietila-castren@helsinki.fi
Fabrice Poli	marrucin@libertysurf.fr
Tiina Purola	tiina.purola@helsinki.fi
Domenico Quatralè	lacicogna@lacedonia.com
Hannu K. Riikonen	hannu.riikonen@helsinki.fi
Olli Salomies	olli.salomies@helsinki.fi
Kaj Sandberg	ksandberg@abo.fi
Heikki Solin	heikki.solin@helsinki.fi
Vesa Vahtikari	vesa.vahtikari@helsinki.fi
Antonio Varone	varone@archeologicapompei.it
Marjaana Vesterinen	marjaana.vesterinen@helsinki.fi
Marja Vierros	marja.vierros@helsinki.fi
Eeva-Maria Viitanen	eeva-maria.viitanen@helsinki.fi
David Woods	D.Woods@ucc.ie

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