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PHILOLOGIAE GRAECAE

IN UNIVERSITATE HELSINGIENSI PROFESSORI

OCTOGENARIO

AMICI COLLEGAE DISCIPULI

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MYTHOLOGISCHE PARADIGMEN FÜR EINEN ACHILL IN FRAUENKLEIDERN.
ZU EINER SCHEINBAR UNPASSENDEN GLEICHNISREIHE IN DER STATIANISCHEN ACHILLEIS

THOMAS GÄRTNER

Kurz nach der Ankunft auf Scyros versucht Thetis ihren Sohn Achill mittels vierer mythologischer Exempla dazu zu überreden, ihrem Plan, ihm Frauenkleider anzulegen, zuzustimmen (*Achill.*[1] I 259–265):

Cedamus, paulumque animos summitte viriles
Atque habitus dignare meos. si Lydia dura
Pensa manu mollesque tulit Tirynthius hastas,
Si decet aurata Bacchum vestigia palla
Verrere, virgineos si Iuppiter induit artus,
Nec magnum ambigui fregerunt Caenea sexus,
Hac sine, quaeso, minas nubemque exire malignam[2].

Die ersten beiden Exempel sind insofern mit dem Tertium comparationis (Anlegen von Frauenkleidern) stimmig, als sich hier in der Tat jeweils ein Mann als Frau verkleidet: Hercules tauschte mit der lydischen Königin Omphale nicht nur die in Vers 261 genannten Utensilien, sondern vor allem die Kleidung[3], und Bacchus trägt als ein männlicher Gott

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[1] Als Textgrundlage heranzuziehen ist vor allem die kommentierte Ausgabe von O.A.W. Dilke, Statius Achilleid, Cambridge 1954; vgl. auch die neue Loeb-Ausgabe von Shackleton Bailey (London 2003).

[2] Daß die Verbergungsszene im ganzen und besonders die Rede der Thetis einer Partie in den senecanischen Troerinnen verpflichtet ist, wo Andromache ihren kleinen Sohn Astyanax im Grabmal Hectors zu verstecken sucht, erkennt Elaine Fantham, Statius' Achilles and his Trojan Model, *CQ* 73 (1979) 457–462, hier 459 ff. Die mythologischen Exempla sind jedoch ohne Vorbild bei Seneca.

[3] Zu diesem "Kleidertausch" und seiner Verankerung im Herakleskult vgl. Roscher,

frauenhaft-verweichlichte Gewänder. Das erste Exemplum setzt den paradoxen Aspekt der Verbindung zwischen "harter" heroischer Männlichkeit und "weichlicher" Frauenstaffage (vgl. die Antithese *dura – molles*) ins Licht, das zweite betont, daß Frauenkleidung für ein männliches Wesen nicht notwendig "unschicklich" ist (vgl. *decet*). Insofern Achill sich einerseits bereits als Held empfindet und andererseits Thetis' Vorhaben als für ihn unschicklich ablehnt, sind beide Exempla der rhetorischen Wirkungsabsicht der Sprecherin prinzipiell angemessen (wenngleich das Vorbild des prototypischen Heroen Hercules den jugendlichen Achill eher ansprechen dürfte als der Rekurs auf den von Hause aus verweichlichten Bacchus).

Anders steht es hingegen in den beiden letzten Exempla: Man mag im Zusammenhang von Vers 263 an die bei Ovid im zweiten Metamorphosenbuch geschilderte Annäherung Jupiters an Callisto in Gestalt der Diana oder – weniger wahrscheinlich – an eine andere ähnliche erotische Verwandlungsgeschichte denken[4]: In jedem Fall besteht eine deutliche Abweichung vom Tertium comparationis bereits darin, daß Jupiter nicht primär Frauenkleider anlegte, sondern sich vor allem kraft seiner übernatürlichen Fähigkeiten in eine *virgo* verwandelte (Ov. *met.* 2,425 *induitur faciem cultumque Dianae*), eine Abweichung, die durch die – vielleicht aus der zitierten zeugmatischen Metamorphosenstelle verkürzend herausentwickelte – Metapher *induit artus* vertauscht wird.

Noch eklatanter wird diese Abweichung vom eigentlichen Tertium comparationis im letzten Exempel: Bei Caeneus kam der Geschlechtswechsel wie bei Jupiter ebenfalls nicht durch Kleiderwechsel, sondern durch zauberhafte Verwandlung zustande, allerdings liegt hier nach den überlieferten mythischen Versionen – zumindest in der Lebenszeit des Caeneus[5] – nicht einmal eine Verwandlung vom Mann zur Frau, sondern umgekehrt eine Verwandlung von der Frau (Caenis) zum Mann (Caeneus) vor; diese Verwandlung wurde der Caenis als Ausgleich für ihre sexuelle Willfährigkeit gegenüber dem Meeresgott Neptun zuteil. Daß auch Statius

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Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie III 1 (Leipzig 1897–1902), 884, 31–885, 17.

[4] Das Scholion z.St., p. 682, 334 ss. Sweeney, verweist auf Jupiters Liebe zu Antiope, die üblicherweise mit der Verwandlung in einen Satyr in Verbindung gebracht wird, vgl. Bömer (vol. III, Heidelberg 1976) zu Ov. *met.* 6,110.

[5] Nach Verg. *Aen.* 6,448 f. und Servius z.St. wird er in der Unterwelt wieder zur Frau.

keine uns sonst verschollene mythische Version von der Verwandlung eines Caeneus in eine Caenis vorschwebt, beweist die Änderung seiner Ausdrucksweise gegenüber den ersten drei Exempeln: Caeneus ist im Gegensatz zu Hercules, Bacchus und Jupiter in seiner Periode nicht Subjekt eines kleidungs- oder verwandlungsbedingten Wechsels zum weiblichen Geschlecht, sondern Objekt der gegenüber den ersten Exempeln vergleichsweise vagen Fügung *Nec magnum ambigui fregerunt Caenea sexus*; der abstrakte Ausdruck *ambigui fregerunt ... sexus* zeigt deutlich, daß Statius hier den speziellen Aspekt "Übergang vom männlichen zum weiblichen Geschlecht" zugunsten des allgemeineren "Geschlechtswechsel" aufgegeben hat. Die Tatsache, daß *Caenea* im Gegensatz zu den Bezeichnungen der anderen Exempelfiguren Objekt ist, erinnert den Leser übrigens deutlich an einen anderen, dem Tertium comparationis "freiwilliges Anlegen von Frauenkleidern" nicht gerade förderlichen Aspekt, daß nämlich Caeneus im Gegensatz zu den drei vor ihm genannten Figuren seinen "Geschlechtswechsel" nicht selbsttätig herbeiführte, sondern Gegenstand eines von einem anderen durchgeführten Vorgangs (der – wenn auch von ihm erwünschten – Verwandlung durch den Meeresgott Neptun) war. Damit hängt es auch zusammen, daß im Falle des Caeneus keine eigentliche Verstellung mehr vorliegt (wie bei Jupiter: das Wesen des männlichen Gotts bleibt hinter seiner weiblichen Erscheinungsform wirksam), sondern eine wesenshafte Verwandlung. Auch dies entfernt das Caeneus-Exemplum vom Tertium comparationis[6].

Es scheint also auf den ersten Blick, als ob dem Dichter die wirklich passenden Exempel ausgegangen wären und er notgedrungen zu fernerliegendem und nicht wirklich vergleichbarem Material seine Zuflucht genommen hätte: Hercules als typischer mythologischer Held kann Achill am ehesten als Vorbild dienen, Bacchus als effeminater Weingott eignet sich schon weniger als Identifikationsgegenstand, paßt aber wenigstens

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[6] S. Koster, Liebe und Krieg in der "Achilleis" des Statius, *WJB* 5 (1979) 189–208, hier 202, sucht Caeneus als Höhepunkt der Exempelreihe unter dem Aspekt der faktischen Vergleichbarkeit zu erweisen: "Sie [Thetis] verweist auf Hercules, Bacchus, Juppiter und erwähnt mit besonderem Nachdruck Caeneus, dem sogar ein richtiger Geschlechtswechsel nichts ausgemacht habe". Gemäß dieser Betrachtungsweise müßte jedoch die Tatsache als äußerst störend und in bezug auf Thetis' Argumentationsziel geradezu destruktiv empfunden werden, daß Caenis willentlich von einer Frau in einen Mann verwandelt wurde, und zwar gerade aufgrund ihrer schlechten Erfahrungen mit der weiblichen Existenzform.

hinsichtlich des formalen Tertium comparationis (Anlegen von unmännlichen Kleidern), bei Jupiter liegt keine Verkleidung, sondern eine Verwandlung zur Frau vor, und bei Caeneus stimmt nicht einmal mehr die "Verwandlungsrichtung".

Es liegt auf der Hand, daß eine solche Betrachtungsweise der anspruchsvollen Komposition eines Statius nicht gerecht wird. An anderer Stelle[7] wurde eine Besonderheit in mythischen Exempelketten der ovidischen Amores herausgearbeitet, die darin besteht, daß das letzte Glied bzw. die letzten Glieder dem formalen Tertium comparationis nicht mehr entsprechen, sondern der Herausarbeitung eines anderen, meist mit der erotischen Gesamttendenz des jeweiligen Gedichts in Verbindung stehenden Aspekts dienen. Genau dieses Phänomen ermöglicht eine sinnvolle Erklärung der hier vorliegenden Gleichnisreihe: Jupiter und Caeneus werden letztlich nicht deshalb genannt, weil sie besonders gut zu dem Tertium comparationis "freiwilliges Anlegen von Frauenkleidern" paßten, sondern, weil die angedeuteten mythischen Episoden signifikante Parallelen zur Achilles-Erzählung des Statius bilden.

Jupiter nimmt die Gestalt einer Jungfrau (wohl der Diana) an mit dem Zweck, sich einer von ihm geliebten Sterblichen (wohl Callisto) sexuell zu nähern; insofern dient die Annahme einer weiblichen Gestalt dem Zweck, in eine virginale Vertrauenssphäre einzubrechen und sich dort einer arglosen Geliebten zu bemächtigen. Dieselbe Geschehensstruktur liegt nun aber auch unverkennbar der Annäherung des Achill an Deidamia zugrunde: Nur der Anschein, dem Freundinnenkreis der Deidamia anzugehören, ermöglicht Achill einen problemlosen Zugriff auf das Objekt seiner Begierde. Wenngleich dem Plan, Achill unter Verlarvung seines wirklichen Geschlechts im Kreis der Töchter des Lycomedes unterzubringen, nicht ursprünglich eine erotische Absicht zugrundeliegt, so erleichtert doch die starke erotische Wirkung der Deidamia auf Achill der Thetis die Durchführung ihres Plans beträchtlich (283 ff.). Wenn man nur die subjektiven Antriebe Achills berücksichtigt, so erscheint dessen Motivation, in Mädchenkleidern dem Mädchenkreis um Deidamia beizutreten, durchaus vergleichbar mit der Motivation des Jupiter, sich in Gestalt der Diana dem Kreis von deren Gespielinnen zu nähern[8]. Übrigens verrät besonders ein

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[7] Vgl. einen in Vorbereitung befindlichen Aufsatz des Verfassers mit folgendem Titel: Zu einer Besonderheit der mythologischen Exempelkataloge in den ovidischen Amores.

[8] Vgl. W. Schetter, *Untersuchungen zur epischen Kunst des Statius*, Wiesbaden 1960,

Detail in der statianischen Schilderung der Entwicklung von Achills und Deidamias Liebe wohl auch den unmittelbaren Einfluß von Ovids Metamorphosen: Eine spezielle Finesse ergibt sich dadurch, daß Deidamia den vermeintlich abwesenden Achill zur Leier besingt (579 *praesentem cantat Achillem*), ähnlich wie der ovidische Jupiter durch eine Erwähnung seiner tatsächlichen Person im Munde der Geliebten (*met.* 2,430 *sibi praeferri se gaudet*) delektiert wird.

Die Praesenz Jupiters in der Gleichniskette scheint also nur oberflächlich dem Tertium Comparationis "freiwilliges Anlegen von Frauenkleidern" zu dienen; in Wirklichkeit praefiguriert Jupiter die erotische Rolle Achills in der Deidamia-Episode.

Wenn demnach das dritte Glied der Gleichniskette auf ein zukünftiges Ereignis verweist, das zum hier gegebenen dramatischen Zeitpunkt das Bewußtsein weder Achills noch seiner Mutter Thetis bestimmt, so verweist das vierte Exempel bei genauer Interpretation den Leser auf ein zeitlich noch ferner liegendes, im überlieferten Teil der Achilleis nur immer wieder andeutungshaft durchscheinendes Ereignis: den Tod Achills.

Die für den zeitgenössischen Leser des Statius maßgebende Behandlung des Caeneus-Stoffs findet sich in der Binnenrede Nestors im zwölften Buch der Metamorphosen Ovids. Bereits dort wird diese Figur in enge Verbindung zu Achill gebracht: Zum einen dient die ganze Geschichte ursprünglich nur dem Zweck, dem von Achill erlegten unverwundbaren Cygnus eine andere unverwundbare Gestalt des Mythos an die Seite zu stellen (*met.* 12,169 ff.); wenngleich Achills eigene Unverwundbarkeit bei Ovid keine Rolle spielt, ist bei Statius im Munde der Thetis eine Anspielung hierauf (269 f.) unmittelbar vorausgegangen. Zum anderen stellt Nestor Caenis als eine Landsmännin Achills (*met.* 12,191) und eine potentielle Ehekandidatin für seinen Vater Peleus (193 ff.) vor. Darüber hinaus besteht das nächste nach Nestors Binnenerzählung in den Metamorphosen auktorial wiedergegebene Ereignis gerade im Tod Achills vor Troja (*met.* 12,580 ff.). Jedoch gehen die Berührungen zwischen Caeneus und Achill weit über die bislang angedeuteten Verbindungen hinaus. Entscheidend ist vor allem die Verwandlung der weiblichen Caenis in einen männlichen Caeneus durch den Meeresgott Neptun; diese Geschlechtsveränderung erfolgt auf den

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135: "Die Verkleidung als Mädchen ist für ihn [Achill] nur ein Mittel, an den Gegenstand seiner Begierde heranzukommen". Schetter ordnet diese psychische Disposition in das von Statius gezeichnete Achillesbild (a.a.O. 129 ff.) ein.

ausdrücklichen Wusch der von Neptun vergewaltigten Caenis, die dadurch der Möglichkeit einer erneuten Vergewaltigung entgehen will (*met.* 12,201 ff.). In ganz analoger Weise entspricht die "Rückverwandlung" Achills von einem Mädchen in einen jugendlichen Helden, die von Odysseus in der bekannten Entdeckungsszene am Hofe des Lycomedes herbeigeführt wird, dem subjektiven Wollen Achills, der eine Fortexistenz in Mädchenkleidern innerlich ablehnt (vgl. seinen Monolog 624 ff.); wie Caeneus durch eine Verwandlung in einem Mann der passiven sexuellen Rolle einer Frau zu entgehen wünscht (*met.* 12,201 ff.), so sieht sich auch Achill in der Ausübung seiner männlichen Sexualität durch die ihm von Thetis auferlegte Mädchenrolle behindert (636 ff.). In beiden Fällen wird also eine mythische Gestalt letztlich auf ihren eigenen drängenden Wunsch hin von einer Frau zum Mann verwandelt; insofern "transzendiert" das Caeneus-Exemplum seinen ihm von Thetis zugedachten situativen Kontext (Rechtfertigung des Anlegens von Frauenkleidern und somit der Verwandlung vom Mann in eine Frau) und antizipiert bereits die in der "Entdeckungsszene" durch Odysseus herbeigeführte Rückverwandlung Achills in einen Mann.

Besonders aber hervorzuheben ist die Gemeinsamkeit, daß in beiden Fällen die jeweilige Gestalt in eine große kämpferische Auseinandersetzung gerät (Caeneus in den – bei Ovid in *met.* 12 durch Nestors Binnenerzählung subtil mit dem Trojanischen Krieg in Verbindung gebrachten – Kampf zwischen Lapithen und Centauren, Achill in den Trojanischen Krieg selbst); in dieser Auseinandersetzung kommen beide – trotz ihrer Unverwundbarkeit – um. In der ovidischen Darstellung bildet der Tod des Achill in ähnlicher Weise den Schlußpunkt der eigentlichen Schilderung des Trojanischen Kriegs, wie in Nestors Erzählung der Tod des Caeneus die Darstellung des Kampfes zwischen Lapithen und Centauren beschließt.

Wenn also das Jupiter-Gleichnis das erotische Unternehmen des in Mädchengestalt "verwandelten" Achill praefiguriert, so weist der Caeneus-Vergleich auf den unvermeidlichen Untergang des in einen Mann "zurückverwandelten" Helden voraus. Dabei liegt in Thetis´ Formulierung *Nec magnum ambigui fregerunt Caenea sexus* eine deutliche Ironie: Insofern es dem Heldentum des Caeneus keinen Abbruch tat, früher eine Caenis gewesen zu sein (*ambigui sexus* = "die Tatsache, daß der Mann früher eine Frau war"), hat Thetis mit der Auswertung des Exempels durchaus recht, und auch dem Ruhm Achills wird seine "Vorgeschichte" auf Scyros keinen Abbruch tun. Aber die abstrakte Formulierung *Nec* ...

ambigui fregerunt ... sexus ermöglicht auch eine andere Betrachtungsweise: Caeneus erlitt in seiner neuen Rolle als kämpfender Held den Tod, und insofern "zerbrachen" die *ambigui sexus* (= "die Tatsache, daß die Frau [auf ihren eigenen Wunsch hin] zu einem Mann wurde") Caeneus schließlich doch: Die selbstgewählte Männlichkeit führte Caeneus in den Tod, wie es eben auch Achill widerfahren soll.

Also spiegelt sich in den beiden scheinbar unpassenden Gleichnissen in Wirklichkeit geradezu prophetisch der vom Dichter geplante Fortgang seines Werkes. Dieser Effekt steigert sich noch dadurch, daß die Gleichnisse von einer Thetis ausgesprochen werden, die das erste praefigurierte Ereignis (welches wenige Verse später wirksam werden wird, 283 ff.), die Liebe Achills zu Deidamia, noch nicht vorausahnen kann, das zweite, den Tod Achills, zwar als ständige Vorahnung vor Augen hat, aber mit der durch die besprochene Exempelreihe gerechtfertigten Handlungsweise gerade abwenden will. Insofern führt der Dichter hier eine Thetis vor, welche paradoxerweise die Reichweite ihrer eigenen Exempel noch nicht überblicken kann.

Universität Köln

THEOKTISTOS

Mika Kajava

Su uno dei quattro lati di un sigillo d'oculista,[1] proveniente da Ateste (Este, nel padovano) e databile intorno al II o III sec. d.C., si legge *Epagathi theoctiston / ad diathesis tolle(ndas)*, cioè il nome del medico seguito dal collirio da usare per una certa affezione degli occhi. Secondo una recente spiegazione, il nome del farmaco si riferirebbe alla sua particolare efficacia, in quanto preparato dagli dei o comunque di estrazione divina.[2] Ciò è possibile, e potrebbe darsi inoltre che un mero nome del genere avesse potuto comportare degli effetti psicologici positivi sulla salute del paziente. Tuttavia mi domando se *theoctiston* non possa essere interpretato diversamente.

Prima di toccare questo argomento, però, occorre prestare attenzione ad un altro sigillo, di un oculista gallo-romano, in cui viene ricordato, su due righe, un collirio denominato *theochist(um)* (THEOCH/IST).[3] Sembra che questo farmaco non solo sia confrontabile con quello atestino ma che in entrambi casi si tratti dello stesso prodotto. Mentre nel sigillo atestino il nome risulta in forma corretta, quello gallico si presenta più problematico per la grafia CH al posto di CT. Purtroppo non è più possibile controllare la lettura, perché del sigillo se ne conserva solo un disegno eseguito nel 1905 dal primo editore Éspérandieu, cioè prima della scomparsa dell'oggetto dal Museo di Nuits-Saint-Georges in Borgogna.[4] Comunque sia, la combinazione CH ovviamente apparve strana anche all'Espérandieu, visto che lui stesso propose di correggere il termine in *theoch(r)ist*, evidentemente

[1] Dessau, *ILS* 8738 = M. S. Bassignano, *Suppl. It.* 15: *Ateste* (1997) n. 292 d.

[2] Bassignano, *ibid.*, "theoctiston o fattura degli dei indica l'efficacia del medicamento".

[3] *CIL* XIII 10021, 22.

[4] Il disegno è riprodotto in J. Voinot, *Inventaire des cachets d'oculistes gallo-romains* (Conférences lyonnaises d'ophtalmologie 150), 1981–82, 163 n. 78.

perché aveva in mente il verbo χρίειν 'ungere' (la proposta è stata accolta in alcuni dizionari, così troviamo il termine *theochristus* per esempio in *OLD*).

Non dico che sia impossibile che un dio o gli dei figurino nel nome del nostro collirio, come se esso fosse da loro creato o comunque ispirato dalla loro esistenza, tuttavia mi chiedo se non sia più facile pensare ad un medico di nome Theoktistos. Questo non sarebbe un caso unico: basti ricordare il *theodotion*, un collirio noto da varie fonti,[5] il quale deriva il suo nome da quello del medico Theodotos, vissuto probabilmente all'inizio del I sec. a.C.[6] Che un prodotto tecnico-artistico, un'istituzione o un qualche fenomeno porti il nome del suo inventore o fondatore, è un fatto notissimo e ben documentato attraverso i secoli. È vero che prima del V sec. d.C. non sembra essere noto alcun medico di fama che si chiamasse Theoktistos,[7] tuttavia questo nome è attestato a partire dal IV sec. a.C.[8] e quindi potrebbe darsi che una persona che lo portava, di mestiere medico oculista, avesse scoperto e sviluppato un farmaco tale da renderlo famoso tra i colleghi e pazienti, ma non solo: il collirio stesso avrebbe assunto il nome dell'inventore. Tale medico potrebbe aver vissuto nell'età ellenistica, forse avanzata, oppure ancora nella prima epoca imperiale. Comunque sia, più tardi il nome *Theoktistos*/*Theoctistus* divenne popolare fra i cristiani, soprattutto nel mondo bizantino, e infatti fu portato da numerosi fedeli, tra cui vescovi, monaci, eremiti, ecc.

Benché la maggior parte delle attestazioni del nome *Theoktistos* si collochino in un periodo relativamente tardo, non andrebbe escluso che esso fosse stato usato ben prima dell'età ellenistica. Oltre al fatto che nomi inizianti con l'elemento onomastico *theo*-, e quindi concepiti in qualche modo attinenti al ruolo attivo degli dei, sono documentati dal periodo arcaico e classico, occorre sottolineare che la parola stessa, θεόκτιστος, l'aggettivo verbale di valore passivo, appare almeno sin da Solone. In un noto frammento[9] il poeta legislatore afferma di aver riportato a casa molti

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[5] Oltre a più testimonianze nella letteratura medica antica (Celso, Galeno, ecc.), cfr. il sigillo *CIL* XIII 10021, 112 (Voinot, cit. n. 4, 84 n. 38): *Iuni Tauri theodotium*.

[6] *RE* V A (1934) 1959 s. n. 24.

[7] *PLRE* II 1066 (Theoctistus 3; medico alessandrino del V sec.), *ibid.* III B 1226 (Theoctistus 1; medico attivo a Roma sotto Belisario).

[8] *Arch. Eph.* 1973, 175,1,3 (᾽Εργῖνος Θεοκτίτου Κυδαθηναιεύς; 324/3 a.C.), riportato dal *LGPN* II 218.

[9] *Frg.* 36, 8 (W): ᾽Αθήνας πατρίδ᾽ ἐς θεόκτιτον.

ateniesi, debitori insolvibili, restituendo a loro la patria *theoktitos* (questa forma, priva del sigma, appare quasi esclusivamente in versi metrici[10]). Così nel passo soloniano viene racchiusa l'idea, tipicamente greca, della fondazione divina e delle origini mitiche di città antiche. Ma tra i fondatori non c'erano solo divinità ed eroi, ma anche re e sovrani, e poi generali ed imperatori romani, che venivano ricordati ed onorati come *ktistai* di città, trattandosi in molti casi di una seconda fondazione o comunque di una rifondazione della città.

Riguardo alla patria *theoktitos* degli ateniesi, doveva essere chiaro ad ognuno che l'epiteto si riferiva a Pallade Atena, la dea fondatrice della città di Atene. [ʼΑλλ᾽, ὦ Φοῖβε,] σῷζε θεό/κτιστον Παλλάδος [ἄστυ καὶ / λαὸν κλεινόν]; così si dice in un canto processionale delfico, composto da Limenio di Atene e probabilmente eseguito nel 128 a.C. durante un pellegrinaggio ateniese al santuario di Apollo a Delfi.[11] Tuttavia l'origine divina di una città *theoktistos* poteva anche essere meno evidente, soprattutto se erano in circolazione più versioni, ambigue o contrastanti fra di loro, che la riportavano. D'altra parte, se è vero che le storie sugli dei fondatori potevano essere ignote a molti o solo genericamente conosciute dalla gente locale, è altrettanto vero che la tradizione della *ktisis* mitica di una città poteva essere talmente uniforme da far sí che un epiteto come *theoktistos* fosse sufficiente, da solo, ad associare la città con un certo dio. Purtroppo, però, non tutte le città sono come Atene, e quindi capita non di rado che il nome di un fondatore, probabilmente ben noto agli abitanti di una città antica, rimanga incerto o ci sfugga completamente. Si pensi al caso della Nuceria romana, la quale, attraverso un'iscrizione greca inedita, probabilmente del II sec. d.C., viene qualificata come *theoktistos*. Si tratta della lapide funeraria di un *grammatikos*, insegnante di greco, la cui vita sembra sia svolta prevalentemente ἐν δὲ Νουκερίαι θεοκτίστωι.[12] Chi fosse il dio fondatore (o gli dei fondatori) della città, purtroppo non ci è dato sapere. Tradizionalmente si è pensato al dio Sarnum, la divinità tutelare del

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[10] Il caso di *Arch. Eph.* 1973, 175,1 (cit. n. 8) si spiegherà per la datazione piuttosto alta. In Sym. Logoth. *chron.* P. 123 (B) del X sec., Θεόκτιτον evidentemente sta per Θεόκτιστον. Di per sé, la forma –κτιτος è quella originale (cfr. micen. *akitito*; Hom. *Il.* 2, 592 = H. Hom. *Apoll.* 423: ἐύκτιτος).

[11] *Coll. Alex.* 149, 36–37 = *FD* III 2, 138, II, 34.

[12] Cfr. M. Kajava – M. Magalhaes, *Apollo. Bollettino dei Musei Provinciali del Salernitano* 20 (2004), in corso di stampa.

fiume omonimo, ma non sarebbe da escludere neanche Apollo, da solo oppure insieme con Atena/Minerva e Afrodite/Venere. Comunque sia, l'uso del termine *theoktistos* in un'epigrafe funeraria dell'età imperiale mostra che l'idea di un'origine divina di Nuceria era viva e probabilmente ben conosciuta dalla gente del luogo. Da altri casi di *theoktistos* risulta che l'uso del termine era piuttosto elastico, in quanto il dio fondatore non era necessariamente un dio tradizionale, poteva anche essere un eroe o un sovrano divenuto oggetto di culto. Bastava che i fondatori fossero tali da poter essere considerati *theoi*.

Tra le città qualificate come *theoktistoi* ci sono alcune degne di attenzione particolare. Mileto, per esempio, rinomata città dell'Asia Minore, sulla costa occidentale della Caria, viene denominata θεόκτιτ̣ος ἅδε…⟨γ⟩α⟨ῖ⟩α in un'epigrafe funeraria metrica del II sec. d.C.[13] Da sola questa iscrizione non fornirebbe informazioni circa il fondatore, ma sappiamo da altre fonti che si tratta di Neleo, il mitico colonizzatore greco, i cui discendenti, secondo la tradizione, regnarono sulla città fino al termine del VIII sec. a.C.[14] Un'altra iscrizione metrica, sempre del II sec. d.C., parla della Νειληὶς γύη, 'terra di Neleo',[15] e più tardi il fondatore fu onorato con una statua pubblica: ὁ δῆμος / Νειλέα / τὸν κτίστην / ἀποκατέστησεν.[16] Tuttavia, bisogna ricordarsi che anche Apollo, uno dei creatori per eccellenza di città greche, venne considerato dalla gente di Mileto come προκαθηγεμών della loro città,[17] e inoltre, secondo un'altra tradizione ancora, la città avrebbe tratto le sue origini dall'eroe eponimo Mileto, figlio di Apollo,[18] oppure da Sarpedone, figlio di Zeus ed Europa.[19] Ma neppure il ruolo di Neleo si limitò a Mileto, essendo quest'ultimo ricordato come

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[13] *I. Milet* 753.

[14] Sullo sviluppo del mito e le varie tradizioni connesse, cfr. V. B. Gorman, *Miletos, the Ornament of Ionia*, Ann Arbor 2001, 32–33.

[15] *I. Milet* 754.

[16] *I. Milet* 269 ("Spätzeit"). Cfr. anche *ibid*. 732, 6: Νηλεῖδαι (del tardo III o del primo II sec. a.C.).

[17] G. Kawerau – A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion von Milet* (Milet I: 3), Berlin 1914, n. 134 (= F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* [1955] n. 53; età neroniana): ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκ προγόνων εἰσφερόμενος εὐσέβειαν εἴς τε τὸν προκαθηγεμόνα τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν Ἀπόλλωνα Διδυμέα.

[18] *FrGrHist*. 31 F 45 (Erodoro di Eraclea); 493 F 3 (Aristocrito di Mileto).

[19] *FrGrHist*. 70 F 127 (Eforo di Cuma).

κτίστης non solo di Neleia, una delle comunità che più tardi formarono la città di Demetria nella Tessaglia, ma anche della Dodekapolis ionica.[20]

Un altro caso interessante proviene dalla città di Elefantina (presso Assuan). In una lettera reale del 117/115 a.C., nella quale si descrive la visita di Tolemeo IX Sotere II ad Elefantina, la città viene descritta *theoktistos* ([--- εἰς τὴν θ]εόκτιστον πόλιν Ἐλεφαντίνην…).[21] La prima integrazione (ν]εόκτιστον) aveva fatto pensare ad una rifondazione della città da parte di Tolemeo Filometore, tuttavia la vecchia correzione in θ]εόκτιστον[22] ha raggiunto ampio consenso tra gli studiosi. È vero che *theoktistos* poteva riferirsi ad un re divino (come lo era Filometore), ma occorre osservare che in Egitto, oltre ad Alessandria, solo Tolemaide risulta una città fondata dai Tolemei.[23] Quindi bisogna far risalire la fondazione di Elefantina a tempi molto più antichi. La suddetta lettera, dove appare il termine *theoktistos*, fu indirizzata ai locali sacerdoti di Khnoum (gr. *Khnoubis*), la principale divinità del luogo e quindi anche chiamato "Signore di Elefantina". Doveva essere costui il mitico fondatore. Era inoltre del tutto naturale che il ruolo del dio fosse messo in evidenza durante la visita reale come pure nel resoconto conseguentemente inviato ai suoi sacerdoti.

Che anche un re ellenistico potesse celarsi dietro il termine *theoktistos* risulta evidente attraverso un'iscrizione tarda (del IV o V sec. d.C.) di Laodicea sul Lico nella Frigia.[24] Si tratta di un epigramma celebrativo per ricordare i lavori di costruzione per assicurare l'approvvigionamento idrico della città. In seguito a tali lavori, l'acqua (γλυκερὸν…ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ) proveniente dalle sorgenti della montagna venne distribuita alla città (κατὰ ἄστυ θεόκτιτον). Questa era stata fondata, verso il 250 a.C., dal re seleucida Antioco II, il quale la chiamò, secondo una prassi diffusa, Laodicea in onore di sua moglie. Nella città sono documentati anche culti del fondatore[25] e

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20 *FrGrHist*. 4 F 125 (Ellanico di Lesbo).

21 *OGIS* 168, 4 = A. Bernand, *La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine* I, Paris 1992, n. 24, I, 4.

22 U. Wilcken, *APF* 2 (1903) 177 nt. 2; 3 (1906) 326.

23 W. Leschhorn, *Gründer der Stadt. Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (Palingenesia 20), Stuttgart 1984, 223.

24 L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV, Paris 1948, 88 s.

25 Testimonianze in L. Robert, in *Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée. Campagnes 1961–1963* (Univ. Laval; Recherches archéol.; ser. 1: Fouilles), Québec 1969, 251 ss.; Leschhorn (cit. n. 23), 235.

quindi non c'è dubbio che *theoktistos* si riferisca al re Antioco.

Un'altra città ancora è epigraficamente nota come *theoktistos*, cioè Eraclea Pontica, fondata dal dio eponimo Eracle. Un'iscrizione pubblica con statua, posta in onore del governatore della Mesia Inferiore verso la metà del II sec. d.C., venne eretta con il decreto del Consiglio e del Popolo di Eraclea *theoktistos* (τᾶς θεοκτίσ̣τ̣[ου Ἡρακλείας).[26] Il monumento stesso si trovava a Tomi, dove della sua erezione se ne erano occupati gli ambasciatori di Eraclea presso il governatore romano. Potrebbe darsi che in tale contesto un'allusione alle mitiche origini della città fosse anche nell'interesse dell'amministrazione eracleota. Un epiteto di prestigio come *theoktistos* poteva essere utile sotto il profilo diplomatico. Non è raro che i greci, nei loro rapporti con le autorità romane, tendano a sottolineare le antiche e nobili origini delle loro città.[27] Comunque sia, la figura di Eracle era ben presente ad Eraclea, infatti essa venne a manifestarsi non solo nelle iscrizioni ma anche sulle monete e nell'arte rappresentativa.

Infine, tra le città *theoktistoi* non potevano mancare quelle di Troia e Bisanzio. In un epigramma dell'*Antologia Greca*, forse della prima età imperiale, si fa riferimento alla distruzione di Troia da parte della Micene greca (ἡ Τροίην πέρσασα θεόκτιτον).[28] Le mura troiane erano state costruite da Apollo e Poseidone,[29] e lo stesso si diceva di quelle di Bisanzio (per l'innalzamento di queste, i due avrebbero collaborato con il fondatore eponimo Byzas). Tuttavia questa informazione, fornita da Esichio di Mileto nel VI sec. d.C., sembrerebbe di carattere eziologico o comunque tarda.[30] Chiunque fossero i suoi costruttori, le mura bizantine venivano considerate come un'opera degli dei, cosa che risulta da un oracolo dato al re Nicomede I di Bitinia. Il contesto storico pare fosse la minaccia sentita da molti prima dell'alleanza (stipulata nel 278 a.C.) tra il re Nicomede ed i mercenari Galati. Una volta entrati nell'Anatolia nord-occidentale, questi si sarebbero potuti

[26] *I. Scyth. Min.* 57; cfr. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, 250 s.

[27] Cfr., per esempio, C. P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1999, 106 ss.; A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, New York 2004, 224 ss.

[28] *AP* 9,103,3.

[29] Hom. *Il.* 7,452 s.; cfr. Eust. *comm. Hom. Od.* 1, 6, 33: ὑπὸ ᾿Απόλλωνος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κτισθῆναι τὴν ῎Ιλιον. ὅθεν καὶ ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον Τροίης, ὡς θεόκτιστον λέγεται; *Schol. Il.* 12, 3–4: περὶ τὸ θεόκτιστον τεῖχος.

[30] *FrGrHist.* 390,12.

ergere minacciosamente contro le mura della stessa Bisanzio (θεόκτιτα τείχεά τ᾽ ἀνδρῶν).[31]

Oltre alle città e le loro mura, troviamo il termine *theoktistos* sporadicamente adoperato in contesti più astratti, anche poetici. Infatti *theoktitos* (accompagnato da *theognetos*) compare in un interessante elenco di voci poetiche, conservato in un papiro del III sec. a.C.[32] Tra i pochi casi conosciuti dalla letteratura greca, uno risulta particolarmente rilevante. Purtroppo però non conosciamo né l'autore (Pindaro?) né il contesto preciso del verso in questione, σπείρων θεοκτίσταν φλόγα 'seminando la divina fiamma'.[33] L'unica cosa che sappiamo è che si tratta della fiamma divina del sole. Ciò viene confermato da Aristotele, il quale nella sua *Poetica* introduce il suddetto passo come esempio di metafora (dal 'seminare semi').[34]

L'origine divina del fuoco è un concetto universale, che si è manifestato in diversi modi anche nell'antichità greco-romana. Un caso particolare è quello di Hestia (l'equivalente della Vesta romana), dea del focolare alla quale spesso veniva anche assimilata.[35] Tra le tante testimonianze su Hestia ed il suo culto, vorrei ricordare in questa sede un epigramma in onore della dea, composto da una pritane efesina verso la fine del I sec. d.C. Alla fine costei scrisse (ἡ αὐτὴ πρύτανις ἔγραψε): πῶς δέ τις ἄν σε φράσειε, θεόκτιτον ἃ κατέχεις φῶς, / σώζουσ᾽ ἐν σεαυτῇ λείψανον εὐμετρίης;[36] "Ma come definire te, che proteggi la luce divina, conservando all'interno di te stessa quello che rimane dell'armonia?". L'idea del fuoco divino si ripete nell'altro poema redatto dalla stessa pritane ed iscritto sul medesimo monumento nel pritaneo efesino (linee 4–5): Hestia stessa è 'luce eterna' che sugli altari si occupa del legno acceso proveniente dal cielo (ἀέναον φῶς / ἃ κατέχεις βωμοῖς δαλὸν ἀπ᾽ οὐρανόθεν).

Tra le più recenti attestazioni del termine *theoktistos* nella letteratura antica non-cristiana possiamo citare quella nota da una vivace (ma,

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[31] L'oracolo è riportato da Zos. 2,37,1,12 (ampiamente commentato dall'editore Fr. Paschoud [ed. Budé, 1971], 238 ss.).

[32] *Suppl. Hell*. 991, linea 89.

[33] *TGF* adesp. 85 = *PMG* fr. adesp. 108 (Page).

[34] Arist. *poet*. 21 (1457 b 29).

[35] Sul rapporto tra la dea Hestia ed il focolare, cfr. le mie osservazioni in *HSCPh.* 102 (2004), in corso di stampa.

[36] *I. Ephesos* 1062, 9–10. Il ruolo di Hestia nel pritaneo di Efeso (nell'epoca imperiale) è discusso da V. Suys, *Kernos* 11 (1998) 173 ss.

purtroppo, frammentaria) descrizione poetica di una battaglia, probabilmente composta da un poeta della scuola di Nonno di Panopoli nel V sec. d.C. In questo contesto, θεόκτιτον οἶ[στρον] sembrerebbe alludere al divino furore del combattimento,[37] visto che all'inizio dello stesso racconto compare l'espressione Ἄρεος οἴστρωι 'per incitamento del Dio della guerra'.[38] Il termine οἶστρος 'assillo, estro' fu frequentemente usato dai tempi di Omero per varie manie e passioni ardenti (si pensi al dramma, soprattutto Euripide), e quindi non sarebbe sorprendente se esso fosse stato accompagnato da *theoktitos* anche nella letteratura di età classica a noi non pervenuta (cfr. Eur. *Bacch*. 32, dove delle tebane impazzite, messe a furore da Dioniso, si usa appunto il verbo οἰστράω).[39]

Si ricordino ancora alcuni casi di *theoktistos*, dove attraverso il termine vengono espresse idee simili a quelle cristiane ed altre. Così troviamo, tra le *Sententiae* del filosofo popolare Secundo (II sec. d.C.), come una delle risposte alla domanda "Che cos'è la terra?" (Τί γῆ;), l'espressione σύστημα θεόκτιτον.[40] Oltre a questa testimonianza sulle forze cosmiche creative degli dei, possiamo ricordare la cosiddetta *Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate*, scritta da un ebreo di Alessandria nel II sec. a.C. In questo opuscolo è inserito un discorso (fittizio) fatto dal filosofo Menedemo di Eretria al re Tolemeo I, dove compare il noto concetto dell'origine dell'uomo: ὅτι θεόκτιστόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος.[41] E per rimanere nell'ambito ebraico-cristiano, notiamo che anche la legislazione è creata dal Dio, essendo essa definita 'sacra e divina' nella Septuaginta (τῆς ἁγίας καὶ θεοκτίστου νομοθεσίας).[42]

Come il nome *Theoktistos* diventa più comune tra i cristiani, così troviamo anche il termine *theoktistos* adoperato in vari contesti relativi all'opera creativa del Dio. Non intendo approfondire questo argomento, limitandomi soltanto ad osservare che nelle fonti cristiane antiche l'oggetto

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37 E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Göttingen 1961, XXXIV, linea 126 (IV recto).

38 *Ibid*. I, linea 8.

39 Cfr. M. Kajava, *Arctos* 33 (1999) 41 s., e in generale sul tema, D. Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic. Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*, Oxford 1998.

40 Secund. *sent*. 7,2.

41 Cfr. Greg. Nyss. *im. dei et ad simil*. 44,1328 (Migne, *PG*), τοῦ προσώπου θεόκτιστον ὡραιότητα, relativo all'idea che Dio creasse l'uomo a sua immagine.

42 LXX, *1 Ma*. 6, 23, 4 (citato da Origene, *Exhort. ad mart*. 22,10 [Migne, *PG* 11, 589]).

detto *theoktistos* per eccellenza risulta la chiesa (*ekklesia*), e non solo in senso universale ma anche in riferimento ad una chiesa locale come quella di una città o di un paese. Un esempio rappresentativo proviene dalla frigia Acmonia, dove, secondo un'iscrizione del periodo bizantino (867/8 oppure 976–1025), un ignoto benefattore aveva fatto erigere a proprie spese quello che sembra una fabbrica per il culto di un santo (o San Bianore o San Nestore, come pare): + ἐγένετο (πᾶ)ν τὸ θ(εό)κ(τισ)το(ν) / ἔργ[ον τοῦ ἁγίου ---] /ορος ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτο[ῦ ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων ?].[43] Questo documento tardivo può servire per riportarci mentalmente ai tempi delle prime testimonianze sul termine *theoktistos*, quando con esso si intendeva soprattutto la fondazione delle città con delle loro mura, anche in senso concreto.[44]

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[43] *MAMA* VI 340.

[44] Si noti, incidentalmente, che l'espressione euripidiana θεῶν μέλαθρα 'abitazione degli dei', cioè il tempio (μέλαθρον 'trave del tetto'), viene spiegata da uno scoliasta come segue: διὰ τὸ θεόκτιστον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν (Schol. Eur. *Tr*. 1317), come se gli dei avessero costruito la città con dei templi ed altri edifici. Tale spiegazione dà enfasi all'accezione concreta del termine *theoktistos*, la quale risulta evidente anche dalla comparazione lessicografica tra esso e la parola *theodmatos*/*-dmetos* 'fondato, edificato da dio' (cfr. Hsch. s.v. θεοδμήτων; in modo simile *Etym. Gud*. e Schol. Pind. *Ol*. 3,12 [Abel p. 151]).

CARMINA LATINA EPIGRAPHICA POMPEIANA: EIN DOSSIER*

PETER KRUSCHWITZ

Allgemeine Vorüberlegungen

Die Heimsuchung der Städte Pompeji und Herculaneum durch den Vesuvausbruch im Jahre 79 n. Chr. setzte dem Leben und der Zivilisation dieser beiden Orte ein mehr oder weniger abruptes Ende. Es ist eine bizarre Ironie des Schicksals, daß dieses Ereignis, das vielen tausend Menschen zum Verhängnis wurde, heutzutage gerade umgekehrt dazu beiträgt, den Alltag in römischer Zeit besonders lebendig vor Augen treten zu lassen. Die durch die Lava- und Aschemassen fixierte Momentaufnahme hat vielerlei Gegenstände und Konstellationen bewahrt, die so – allein schon wegen der erheblichen zeitlichen Distanz – aus keinem anderen Teil des Imperium Romanum bekannt werden konnten. Hierzu gehören neben den unzähligen Hinterlassenschaften der materiellen Kultur sowie den aufgefundenen Kunstwerken nicht zuletzt die weit mehr als zehntausend inzwischen bekannten Wandinschriften, die sorgfältig gemalten *dipinti* und die oft nur flüchtig in die Wand geritzten *graffiti*.

Die in *CIL* IV zusammengefaßten *dipinti* und *graffiti* sind für klassische Philologen ebenso wie für Historiker in vielerlei Hinsicht ein unschätzbares Gut. Der Historiker wird insbesondere in den *dipinti*, die im wesentlichen Wahlprogramme und Ankündigungen für Zirkusspiele

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* Die folgenden Überlegungen sind hervorgegangen aus meiner Beschäftigung mit den Carmina Epigraphica der Vesuvstädte im Rahmen der Edition eines Addenda et corrigenda -Bandes zu *CIL* IV, der hoffentlich in den nächsten Monaten erscheinen wird. Mein Dank gilt daher den Mitautoren Jana Kepartová, Heikki Solin, Antonio Varone und Volker Weber, auf deren Arbeiten ich mich hier bereits stützen konnte.

umfassen, wichtige Quellen zur Rekonstrukion der Lokalgeschichte finden;[1] daneben lassen sich *dipinti* und *graffiti* aber auch etwa mit Gewinn sozialgeschichtlich auswerten. Demgegenüber finden Philologen insbesondere in den *graffiti* Stoff zur Diskussion: Die *graffiti* sind beredtes Zeugnis für die alltägliche, nicht selten von vulgären und obszönen Ausdrücken durchsetzte Sprache aller gesellschaftlichen Schichten (von Männern und Frauen gleichermaßen).[2] Anders als die durch die handschriftliche Tradition geglätteten literarischen Autoren zeigen diese Texte eine erhebliche Bandbreite realisierter Graphien, die belegen, welche Differenzen zwischen der literarischen Hochsprache und der durch geringere Literarisierung geprägten Schriftsprache bestanden.[3] (Man wird sich, nach strengen linguistischen Maßstäben, hüten, von einer echten Umgangssprache zu reden, da allein schon die Schriftform automatisch Stilisierungen nach sich zieht.) Sprachliche Defizite finden sich zuhauf und auf allen Ebenen, ebenso hat sich aber auch manch hübsches Bonmot erhalten. Schließlich sollte noch die immense Anzahl der Texte selbst zu denken geben, wenn man etwa über den Grad der Alphabetisierung und Lesefähigkeit in der Antike spekulieren möchte.

Eine besondere Herausforderung stellen die in nicht geringer Zahl erhaltenen metrischen (oder vermeintlich metrischen) Inschriften dar, denen dieses Dossier im folgenden gewidmet ist.[4] Sie machen, wie gemutmaßt

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[1] Vgl. insbes. die wichtigen Arbeiten von P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus. Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii*, Rom 1983[2] und H. Mouritsen, *Elections, Magistrates and Municipal Élite. Studies in Pompeian Epigraphy*, Rom 1988 sowie jüngst C. Chiavia, *Programmata. Manifesti elettorali nella colonia romana di Pompei*, Turin 2002. Zentral zu den Anzeigen für Zirkusspiele: P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Gladiatorium Paria. Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei*, Rom 1980.

[2] Es ist mithin kein Wunder, daß etwa J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London 1982 das Material der pompejanischen Inschriften extensiv heranzieht. Zumindest kleinere Abschnitte zu pompejanischen Inschriften finden sich aber des öfteren auch in Abhandlungen zur historischen Phono- und Morphologie, so z. B. in P. Baldi, *The Foundations of Latin*, Berlin – New York, 2002[2], 235–237.

[3] S. hierzu umfassend V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966[3].

[4] Speziell den Carmina Epigraphica der Vesuvstädte gewidmete umfassendere Vorarbeiten gibt es – anders als Einzel- und Detailstudien, die hier aufzuzählen nicht der Ort ist – nur wenige. An erster Stelle ist zweifelsohne die kurze Studie von F. C. Wick, *Vindiciae carminum Pompeianorum*, Neapel 1907 zu nennen. Addenda zu den bislang als Carmina Epigraphica identifizierten Texten liefert M. L. Fele, "Iscrizioni metriche

wurde, einen Prozentsatz von ca. 4 % der erhaltenen Wandinschriften aus.[5] Wenn man sich mit dieser eigentümlichen Textgattung, die nirgendwo sonst im Gebiet des römischen Reichs in gleichem Maße dokumentiert ist, befassen möchte, sollte man sich einiger Voraussetzungen bewußt werden.[6] Ein Teil davon hängt mit der Inschriftform allgemein zusammen, ein anderer Teil ist speziell der Sonderform der *dipinti* und *graffiti* geschuldet:

(i) Dauerhaftigkeit: Anders als Inschriften, die in monumentaler Form (also insbesondere auf Stein oder auf Metall) angefertigt sind, können insbesondere *dipinti*, kaum anders aber auch *graffiti* für sich nicht beanspruchen, ursprünglich als dauerhafte sprachliche Äußerungen in Textform konzipiert worden zu sein. (Es ist eben kein Zufall, daß sich diese Texte in großem Umfange nur dort erhalten haben, wo sie durch die Lavaschichten konserviert wurden.) Auf diesen Aspekt wird unten im Abschnitt (ii c) noch zurückgekommen. Es ist, soviel sei hier zumindest gesagt, zweckmäßig davon auszugehen, daß der Aspekt der geringen

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pompeiane", *AFMC* N. S. 10, 1986, 5–44. Eine Reihe metrischer Texte ist auch in E. Courtney, *Musa lapidaria. A Selection of Latin Verse Inscriptions*, Atlanta 1995 aufgenommen.

5 So Fele (s. Anm. 4) 5.

6 Altertumswissenschaftliche Fachliteratur, die sich der *graffiti* allgemein als Genre *sui iuris* annimmt, ist spärlich gesät, vgl. aber z. B. K. M. Coleman, "Graffiti for Beginners", *CO* 76, 1999, 41–47 sowie jüngst R. Hernández Pérez, "Las inscripciones parietales latinas. Consideraciones básicas para su interpretación", *Studia Philologica Valentina* 6 (= N. S. 3), 2003, 247 ff. und demnächst H. Solin, "Introduzione allo studio dei graffiti", *Unexpected voices. The graffiti in the cryptoporticus of the Horti Sallustiani, and papers from a conference on graffiti at the Swedish Institute in Rome, March 7, 2003* (im Druck). Einen hübschen Blick auf die altertumswissenschaftliche (Feld-) Arbeit an den *graffiti* gewährt V. Väänänen, "Graffiti di Pompei e di Roma", *Conferenze e memorie di Villa Lante* 1, Rom 1962, wichtig für methodische Fragen ist zudem H. Solin, *L'interpretazione delle iscrizioni parietali. Note e discussioni*, Faenza 1970 (um hier nur einen Titel aus der reichen Literatur des finnischen Gelehrten zu den lateinischen *graffiti* zu nennen). Kurzweilig, wissenschaftlich aber weniger verwertbar ist J. Lindsay, *The Writing on the Wall: An Account of Pompeii in Its Last Days*, London 1960. Mit Blick auf die Moderne mag man auf folgende Publikationen (in knapper Auswahl) verweisen: R. G. Reisner, *Two Thousand Years of Wall Writing*, New York 1967, E. Abel – B. Buckley, *The Handwriting on the Wall: Toward a Sociology and Psychology of Graffiti*, Westport (Conn.) 1977, P. Kreuzer, *Das Graffiti-Lexikon. Wandkunst von A–Z*, München 1986, B. Bosmans – A. Thiel, *Guide to Graffiti-Research*, Gent 1996 sowie M. Bauer, *Toiletten-Graffiti im Lauf der Zeit. Die Entwicklung politischer und geschlechtsspezifischer Unterschiede*, Wien 2002 und H. Beck, *Graffiti*, Stuttgart 2004.

Haltbarkeit ihrer Botschaften den Schreibern bewußt war.[7] Ein über den Augenblick hinaus währendes Nachleben ihrer Texte muß den Verfassern von *graffiti* folglich relativ gleichgültig gewesen sein (sofern sie sich nach einer gewissen Zeit überhaupt noch an ihre gedanklichen Effusionen erinnerten).

(ii) <u>Kommunikationsakt</u>: Wenn man ein einfaches Kommunikationsmodell zugrunde legen möchte, lassen sich grundsätzlich vier Bestandteile der Kommunikation herausstellen: (a) der Sender, (b) die Botschaft, (c) das Medium, (d) der Empfänger. Auf obszöne Weise wird der Kommunikationsakt durch *graffiti* – sogar inklusive des potentiell darin angelegten Scheiterns durch Nichtbeachtung – in einem Text thematisiert, der an das beliebte "Wer das liest, ist doof" heutiger Tage erinnert:[8]

> **[1]** *Amat qui scribet, pedicatur qui leget, | qui opscultat prurit, paticus est qui praeterit. | Vrsi me comedant, et ego uerpa qui lego.*
>
> Wer das schreibt, ist verliebt, in den Arsch gefickt wird, wer es liest; wer zuhört, ist geil, eine Schwuchtel ist, wer daran vorbeigeht. Bären sollen mich fressen, auch ich bin ein Schwanz, der ich es lese.

Zu den vier oben genannten Aspekten des Kommunikationsmodells lassen sich nun jeweils spezifische Eigenheiten bei der Kommunikation mittels *dipinti* und *graffiti* festhalten:

(a) <u>Der Sender</u>: In der Regel bleibt der Sender von als *graffiti* gestalteten Botschaften anonym bzw. von anderen nicht leicht persönlich identifizierbar. In nicht wenigen Fällen ist ihm diese Anonymität sogar ein zentrales Anliegen – sei es, daß der Sender nicht für den reinen Akt der Verunstaltung fremden Eigentums haftbar gemacht werden möchte, sei es, daß er nicht für den Inhalt seiner Botschaft zur Rechenschaft gezogen

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[7] Vgl. zu diesem Aspekt etwa P. Kruschwitz, "Römische Werbeinschriften", *Gymn.* 106 (1999) 231–253, insbes. 252–253.

[8] *CIL* IV 2360 (cf. p. 219. 465. 704) = *CLE* 45. Der Text findet sich, zumeist fragmentarisch, auch in den Inschriften *CIL* IV 4008, 4951, 8229 (?). 10656. Eine bemerkenswerte Parallele findet sich in *ILatSard* 183, jetzt gut dokumentiert bei P. Cugusi, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica Provinciae Sardiniae. Introduzione, testo critico, commento e indici*, Bologna 2003, 73, 154–155 Nr. 15, vgl. dazu auch P. Cugusi, "Per una nuova edizione dei *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. Qualche osservazione metodologica", *Epigraphica* 65 (2003) 197–213, insbes. 209. Thematisch fügten sich all diese Texte übrigens gut zu den von C. Williams, "*Sit nequior omnibus libellis*. Text, Poet, and Reader in the Epigrams of Martial", *Philol.* 146 (2002) 150–171 behandelten Beispielen für ein sexualisiertes Verhältnis zwischen Autor, Text und Leser.

werden möchte. In einigen Fällen wählen Verfasser von *graffiti* mehr oder weniger geistreiche Pseudonyme, wobei der Name nicht zwingend nur ein bloßer Aliasname ist, sondern pointiert, witzig oder verunglimpfend gewählt sein mag.

Es stellt sich die Frage, ob nicht eine Art Soziologie[9] von Schreibertypen entwickelt werden könnte, die zwar nicht alle Typen von Schreibern zwingend integrieren muß, wohl aber grundsätzliche Tendenzen hinsichtlich der Motivation und Selbstdarstellung von Schreibern erfassen sollte. Darüber hinaus mag es allgemeine Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen den Schreibern geben (darunter zum mindesten die Bereitschaft, Wände durch *graffiti* zu verunstalten). Ein Spektrum von typischen Schreibern könnte – so eine oberflächliche Einschätzung – reichen vom stupiden Sachbeschädiger über Schüler und notorische Besserwisser, über Potenzprotze und Freunde von schamlosen Anzüglichkeiten bis hin zum einsamen Poeten und Philosophen, der seine Weltsicht auf diesem Wege kundtun möchte.[10]

(b) Die Botschaft: Auch wenn sich keine allgemeine Definition des Inhalts von *graffiti* finden läßt, lassen sich die vorzufindenden Inhalte doch regelmäßig (daher natürlich mit Ausnahmen) in bestimmte Kategorien einteilen. Das Spektrum umfaßt "Beschimpfungen, derbe Karikaturen, Listen von Verben, Dichterverse, die Namen der Angebeteten oder erfolgreicher Kämpfer und Rennpferde, politische Propaganda, Zoten, Warenanpreisungen und witzige Wortspiele".[11] Der Botschaft sind jedoch, von diesen inhaltlichen Zuweisungen abgesehen, auch noch einige formale Aspekte mit einer gewissen Regelmäßigkeit gemein: Ein wesentliches Element ist die Kürze des Texts, die damit zugleich auch eine inhaltliche Nähe zwischen *graffiti* einerseits und Aphorismen und Epigrammen andererseits herstellt. Die Aussage ist nicht selten, aufgrund der gebotenen Kürze der Mitteilung (die aus der Sorge, beim Verunstalten fremden Eigentums ertappt zu werden, sowie nicht zuletzt auch der Mühe beim

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[9] Daß soziologische Ansätze in diesem Inschriftenmaterial überhaupt möglich sind, zeigt H. Solin, "Die Herkulanensischen Wandinschriften – ein soziologischer Versuch", *Cron. Erc.* 3 (1973) 97–103, worin sich der Verfasser bemüht, die nicht unerheblichen Divergenzen zwischen den in Pompeji und den in Herculaneum gefundenen Wandinschriften zu erklären.

[10] Auch wäre zu erwägen, inwiefern sich geschlechtsspezifische Merkmale herausstellen lassen; für einem entsprechenden Versuch für moderne Wandinschriften s. Bauer (s. Anm. 6).

[11] Beck (s. Anm. 6) 4.

Einritzen in den harten Untergrund resultiert), stark pointiert und verdichtet. Prägnanz, überraschende Zusammenstellung von scheinbar Nicht-Vereinbarem, Wortspiele (zumal mit Doppeldeutigkeiten) sowie – nicht selten durch intendierte Anzüglichkeit bewirkte – Komik sind häufig zu findende Komponenten jeglicher *graffiti*, sofern diese in ihrer Absicht über bloße Ansammlungen von Wörtern oder Notizen hinausgehen. Gerade in ihrer stark verdichtenden Aussageform unterscheiden sich *graffiti* im übrigen – wenn auch nicht unbedingt in ihrer Verbalisierung – von mündlichen Äußerungen besonders eklatant.

(c) Das Medium: Monumentale Inschriften positionieren sich aufgrund ihrer monumentalen Form und einem entsprechend gestalteten Buchstabenschnitt in herausragender Weise im öffentlichen Raum. Sie sind nicht nur mit ihrer Textbotschaft, sondern als Ensemble Medium und Botschaft zugleich und entfalten so ihre Wirkung. Dies gilt für Wandinschriften in Form von *dipinti* nurmehr eingeschränkt, für *graffiti* allenfalls in bestimmten Fällen. Auf einer Wand – dies ist das Medium – wirken in roter Farbe auf getünchtem Untergrund aufgetragene *dipinti* ohne Zweifel eindrucksvoll – auch läßt sich ihre Schrift in der Regel selbst aus einer gewissen Entfernung gut wahrnehmen. Es besteht jedoch ein wesentlicher Unterschied zu monumentalen Inschriften: die Unbilden der Witterung sorgen für eine kurze Haltbarkeit (s. oben, Abschnitt [i]). Die 'Lebenserwartung' von *graffiti* – sofern in die Wand eingekratzt, nicht nur mit Kohle oder ähnlichem aufgetragen – ist hiergegen noch vergleichsweise hoch. Gleichwohl können sie *in puncto* Wirksamkeit nur selten mit *dipinti* oder monumentalen Inschriften konkurrieren.[12] (Eine solche Konkurrenz ist wohl allenfalls dort gegeben, wo der Platz für ein *graffito* hinreichend markant ausgewählt wurde.) Während es für monumentale Inschriften und auch *dipinti* von herausragender Bedeutung ist, im öffentlichen Raum wahrgenommen zu werden, werden *graffiti* nur allzu häufig übersehen: Jeder, der sich bemüht, solche Texte zu finden, zu identifizieren und zu lesen, kann ein Lied davon singen, wie wenig die Texte bisweilen um die

[12] Man möge sich in Sachen Sichtbarkeit und Wirksamkeit nicht von dem, was heutzutage als Graffiti bezeichnet wird, irreführen lassen: Gegebenenfalls gar großflächig aufgesprayte Parolen entsprechen ihrer Substanz nach viel mehr den *dipinti* als den *graffiti* Pompejis. Viel eher vergleichbar sind Filzstiftschmierereien und Ritzungen, wie sie sich regelmäßig etwa in Schulbänken oder an Toilettenwänden, aber auch z. B. als handschriftliche Zufügungen zu öffentlichen Plakaten finden.

Aufmerksamkeit der Leserschaft buhlen.

Das Medium 'Wand' hält weitere besondere Eigenschaften für die Kommunikation bereit: Es steht kostenlos und vergleichsweise unbegrenzt zur Verfügung, ist wiederverwendbar und bietet jede Menge Raum für Korrekturen und Nachträge aller Art, birgt somit ein besonders hohes kommunikatives Potential.[13]

(d) Der Empfänger: Unabhängig von der schwer zu beantwortenden Frage, inwiefern einem etwaigen Plan Erfolg beschieden war, läßt sich *a priori* unterstellen, daß Inschriften auf öffentlichen und privaten Monumenten den Rezipienten einigermaßen planvoll präsentiert wurden (und werden).[14] Die Positionierung ist gleichbedeutend mit der Hinwendung an einen bestimmten Empfängerkreis – ungeachtet dessen, daß es auch noch weitere Empfänger der Botschaften gegeben haben wird. Bereits für *dipinti* kann dies nur noch eingeschränkt Gültigkeit haben: Es wurde keine Kommunikationssituation geschaffen, sondern zur Verfügung stehende Flächen werden hierfür genutzt und allenfalls – etwa durch Tünchen – adäquater für die Zwecke des Senders gestaltet. Eine optimierte Inszenierung von Kommunikation läßt sich auf diesem Wege bereits nicht mehr erreichen.

Im Vergleich hierzu ist die Ausrichtung der kommunikativen Strukturen bei *graffiti* im Hinblick auf die Empfänger der Botschaft noch ungleich schwerer zu erfassen und zu beurteilen. Ist eine Botschaft in Form eines *graffito* im öffentlichen Raum angebracht, so muß schlicht konstatiert werden, daß der Empfängerkreis – sofern nicht explizit ein Adressat genannt

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[13] Ein gutes Beispiel liefert hierfür das Inschriftenensemble *CIL* IV 768 (cf. p. 196, 461 et IV 1030) = *CLE* 39 = *ILS* 6438d: Auf einen Wahlaufruf für M. Epidius Sabinus (*M(arcum) Epidium* | *Sabinum* | *d(uumuirum) i(ure) d(icundo) o(ro) u(os) f(aciatis),* | ...) reagiert ein anderer Sabinus mit der Beischrift eines kleinen Verses: *Sabinus dissignator cum plausu facit*. Zur Inschrift s. weiterführend Kruschwitz (s. Anm. 7) 243–244.

[14] In der seit einigen Jahren geführten Debatte um die Selbstdarstellung durch Inschriften und Monumente wird leider allzu oft die Frage der realen Wirkung ausgeklammert. Aus heutiger Sicht könnte sich nämlich durchaus der Eindruck ergeben, daß die Inschriften und Monumente kaum mehr waren als eine Art Kulisse für das alltägliche Leben. Überspitzt gefragt: Wer kennt schon in größerem Umfange moderne Monumente, die sich funktional mit den in diesem Zusammenhang besprochenen antiken Stücken vergleichen lassen, mitsamt ihren Inschriften und läßt sich davon im Sinne des Sich-Darstellenden beeindrucken – mit Ausnahme einiger prominenter Fälle? Wer schert sich tatsächlich um die Wirkungsabsichten historischer Monumente – von bloßem Staunen einmal abgesehen?

ist – vollkommen diffus bleibt. (Es finden sich aber auch Notizen (Preislisten, Markttage etc.), bei denen der Schreiber mit dem Empfänger identisch gewesen sein mag.) Anders sieht es mit in privaten Räumen angebrachten *graffiti* aus: Hier wäre stets zu fragen, ob sich konkrete Adressaten ausmachen lassen.

In einigen Fällen wird man sich allerdings auch die Frage gefallen lassen müssen, ob ein Text ernstlich als Kommunikation mit Blickrichtung auf die Zukunft gedacht gewesen sein soll – oder aber, ob es sich nicht um einen kommunikativen Akt handelt, der sich zwar auf Zurückliegendes bezieht, dann aber nach dem Gefühl des Schreibenden eine Diskussion beenden soll. Hierbei handelte es sich mehr um eine Art Selbstzweck (um nicht zu sagen: Selbstbefriedigung), der allein dem Umstand geschuldet ist, daß jemand mit seiner (zumindest subjektiv als geistreich erachteten) Botschaft nicht an sich halten konnte.

In jedem Fall ermöglicht das unter (ii c) thematisierte kommunikative Potential des Mediums es einem jedem Empfänger, vom Sender unkontrolliert auch selbst wiederum zum Sender einer Erwiderung zu werden.

(iii) Funktion: Die wesentliche Funktion von *dipinti* ist es, Informationen zu verbreiten, die von kurzfristiger Relevanz sind: Sie enthalten im wesentlichen Wahlaufrufe und Bekanntmachungen von Gladiatorenkämpfen. Eine generelle Funktion von *graffiti* läßt sich nicht feststellen – vom Wunsch, seine Spuren in einer wie auch immer gestalteten Öffentlichkeit zu hinterlassen, einmal abgesehen. Aus den in (ii a) genannten Typen von Schreibern und den in (ii b) genannten Typen von Botschaften leiten sich jeweils spezifische Funktionen der Texte ab.

Es ist zu vermuten, daß eine ganze Reihe dieser sehr allgemein gehaltenen Spezifika einer Kommunikation mittels *graffiti* weder an die Zeit noch an den Ort gebunden sind. Wenn man nun aber speziell, wie hier vorgenommen, die metrischen Wandinschriften in den Blick nehmen möchte, so ist zunächst ein Paradoxon zu konstatieren: Die metrische Form, zumal bei Texten die den Umfang von ein oder zwei Versen überschreiten, steht im Prinzip im Widerspruch zur allgemeinen Flüchtigkeit und Geschwindigkeit, die Merkmal eines *graffito* ist. Es wäre also zu fragen, inwiefern man es – abgesehen von häufiger belegten, folglich offenbar beliebteren Typen[15] – wirklich mit Texten zu tun hat, die nur flüchtig und für den Augenblick entworfen sind. Ein Aspekt, der zur Beantwortung dieser Frage entscheidend beitragen kann, ist die räumliche Provenienz der Inschriften, ist es doch von Belang, einer wie großen Öffentlichkeit beispielsweise die Texte präsentiert wurden. Aber auch zur Erhellung der nicht selten komprimierten, prägnanten Aussagen von *graffiti* ist es bisweilen unumgänglich, die aus dem Fundkontext abzuleitenden Informationen in Betracht zu ziehen.

Räumliche Provenienz

Anders als literarische Texte lassen sich Inschriften in der Regel[16] schwerlich von ihrem materiellen Träger sowie ohne ihren situativen Kontext behandeln.[17] Im Falle von Monumenten, die von Staats wegen oder aber auch durch Privatleute im öffentlichen Raum aufgestellt waren, ist evident, daß nicht allein die Inschrift, sondern das Monument insgesamt mit der Öffentlichkeit kommunizieren soll. (Inwiefern die solchermaßen vermittelten Botschaften zumindest unterschwellig auch von den Rezipienten wahrgenommen wurden, steht dabei auf einem anderen Blatt.) Es ist eine bedeutsame und folgenreiche Tendenz in der lateinischen Epigraphik der jüngeren Zeit, daß dieser ganzheitlichen Betrachtung von Inschriften und Monumenten und ihrer kommunikativen Funktion im Rahmen der Selbstinszenierung mehr Beachtung geschenkt wird.[18]

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[15] S. dazu unten, Anm. 38.

[16] Ausnahmen im Hinblick auf den situativen Kontext bildet dabei z. B. die recht heterogene Gruppe der Kleininschriften auf *instrumenta* aller Art, das sowohl transportabel als auch nicht selten direkt zur Weitergabe bestimmt war. Demgegenüber tritt der verwendete Inschriftträger in seiner Bedeutung etwa in Fällen von Wachstäfelchen zurück, da die Information ebensogut z. B. auf Papyrus oder Pergament hätte gespeichert werden können.

[17] Jedoch wurde ja auch z. B. die frühgriechische Lyrik als stark kontextgebunden und nur in ihrem Kontext unmittelbar verständlich betrachtet (wenngleich dies nicht selten mit allzu dogmatischem, falschem Eifer geschah).

[18] Hierfür ließe sich eine ganze Reihe jüngerer Publikationen anführen. Stellvertretend sei verwiesen auf H. Niquet, *Monumenta virtutum titulique. Senatorische Selbstdarstellung im spätantiken Rom im Spiegel der epigraphischen Denkmäler* (HABES 34), Stuttgart 2000 sowie den Sammelband von G. Alföldy – S. Panciera (Hg.),

Im Gegensatz hierzu muten die *dipinti* und insbesondere die *graffiti* in ihrer intendierten Breitenwirkung sowie der Komplexität ihrer Kommunikationsabsicht zwangsläufig vergleichsweise bescheiden an, wie im vorangehenden Abschnitt bereits dargelegt wurde. Um so wichtiger ist es aber, zur Erfassung ihrer Aussage sämtliche Parameter heranzuziehen und auszuwerten, die mit ihnen verbunden sind. Hierzu gehören in herausragender Weise die Fundumstände, die räumliche Beziehung des Textes und seines unmittelbaren Kontextes zur Umwelt. Zwei einfache Beispiele mögen dokumentieren, wie wichtig es ist, auf die räumliche Provenienz zu achten. Bei der ersten Inschrift handelt es sich um ein relativ bekanntes elegisches Distichon. Der Text des *graffito* lautet wie folgt:[19]

[2] *Miximus in lecto, fateor, peccauimus | hospes: si dices 'qua re' – nulla matella fuit.*

Wir haben ins Bett gepinkelt, ich gestehe es, wir haben einen Fehler gemacht, Herr Gastwirt: Wenn du fragst, warum? – es gab keinen Nachttopf!

T. Kleberg schreibt in seinem anregenden, oft jedoch nicht allzu präzisen Büchlein über die Wirtshäuser im antiken Rom:[20] "Die lateinische Literatur berichtet eigentlich nur von drei Einrichtungsgegenständen für das Hotelzimmer: *lectus* (das Bett), *candelabrum* (die Lampe) und *matella* (der Nachttopf). Das Fehlen des letzteren konnte, wie die ... Inschrift an der Wand eines pompejanischen Wirtshauses verrät, beklagenswerte Folgen haben". L. Canali und G. Cavallo schreiben in ihrer Edition lateinischer Graffiti über den Fundort: "Pompei, dalla parete posteriore di una casa della regio VIII".[21] In der Tat ist über den Fundort jedoch noch präziser zu erfahren, daß das *graffito* "ad sin. ostii n. 6" der Insula 7 in der Regio VIII gefunden wurde. Das Gebäude VIII 7, 5–8 wird nach einem dort gefundenen *diploma honestae missionis* (*CIL* X 867) als Werkstatt eines M. Surus (= Syrus) Garasenus ausgewiesen.[22] Beim benachbarten Gebäude VIII 7, 1–4

Inschriftliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung in der römischen Welt (HABES 36), Stuttgart 2001.

[19] *CIL* IV 4957 (cf. p. 705) = *CLE* 932.

[20] T. Kleberg, *In den Wirtshäusern und Weinstuben des antiken Rom*, Darmstadt 1966^2, 35.

[21] L. Canali – G. Cavallo, *Graffiti latini. Scrivere sui muri di Roma antica*, Mailand 1991, 238–239.

[22] Vgl. L. Eschebach (Hg.), *Gebäudeverzeichnis und Stadtplan der antiken Stadt Pompeji*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 1993, 389.

hingegen, einem *stabulum* bzw. einer *statio mulionum* wird mit Recht erwogen, es könne zu dem Gebäude auch ein *hospitium* gehört haben.[23] Und auch auf der gegenüberliegenden Straßenseite haben sich etwa in der Anlage I 1, 6–9 Unterkünfte für Fuhrleute befunden.[24]

Selbst der nur oberflächliche Blick auf die engeren Fundumstände kann im vorliegenden Fall also etwas zur Interpretation beitragen. Es ist offenkundig mitnichten so, daß sich hier jemand – noch dazu etwa direkt in seinem Hotelzimmer – über den miserablen Service beschwert hätte, wie man rein vom Text her denken könnte (und wie z. B. Kleberg offensichtlich auch dachte). Das *graffito* ist gar nicht an (geschweige denn: in) einem Gasthaus selbst angebracht worden: Ja, das räumliche Ambiente erlaubt es sogar noch nicht einmal, darüber zu spekulieren, auf welches Gasthaus in der Gegend *de facto* Bezug genommen wurde. Man könnte sogar noch weiter gehen: Was spricht eigentlich dafür, daß ein realer Kunde in einem der umliegenden Gasthäuser den Text verfaßt hat? Kann es sich nicht auch um eine Provokation handeln, die bewußt auf das Umfeld abgestimmt wurde, deren einziger Zweck es war, die geistreiche Idee in witzigem Kontext öffentlich zu machen? Hierfür scheint eher jemand mit Ortskenntnis, kaum aber ein Tourist prädestiniert.

Mit diesem Wissen im Hinterkopf könnte man nun leichtfertig behaupten, daß es ja logisch sei, daß ein so pointiertes, witziges Gedicht nicht als tatsächliche Rechtfertigung für das vorsätzliche Fehlverhalten oder auch als Warnung für andere konzipiert worden sei, die auf der Suche nach Unterkunft waren. Dies ist zwar in der Tat einigermaßen logisch, denn das Niveau und die Qualität des Textes paßte nicht zu einem solch belanglosen Zweck, und es ist kein Wunder, daß derjenige, der sich den geistreichen Text ausgedacht hat, ihn lieber einer gewissen Öffentlichkeit präsentieren wollte, als ihn in einem Hotelzimmer vor selbiger zu verstecken. Gleichwohl sei vor solcher Überheblichkeit *post festum* gewarnt: Der mangelnde Blick auf den Kontext hat diese so naheliegende Einsicht nämlich bislang schlechterdings verhindert.

Der folgende Text, von dem Engström meinte, es handle sich um einen iambischen Senar (wiewohl der Text in Prosa schwerlich anders lautete), stammt nun in der Tat aus einem nicht-öffentlichen Bereich:[25]

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[23] Vgl. Eschebach (s. Anm. 22) 388.

[24] Vgl. Eschebach (s. Anm. 22) 14.

[25] *CIL* IV 5244 = *CLE* Engström 15.

[3] *Marthae hoc trichilinium | est: nam in trichilinio | cacat.*

Dies ist Marthas Speisezimmer: Denn auf der Speiseliege kackt sie (?).

Der Text stammt, wie verschiedentlich notiert,[26] aus der Latrine des Hauses IX 8, 6, dem Haus des *uinarius* A. Rustius Verus.[27] Nur mit diesem speziellen Wissen wird der Text zumindest in Teilen nachvollziehbar: Martha, offensichtlich eine Sklavin in diesem Hause (die sich dort übrigens ebenfalls namentlich verewigt zu haben scheint),[28] wurde vom Schreiber dieses Texts geschmäht, indem er kurzerhand den Abort zu ihrem Wohnzimmer erklärte. Gleichwohl bleibt noch immer reichlich undeutlich, worauf sich der Nachsatz *nam in trichilinio | cacat* beziehen mag – am ehesten vielleicht auf ein konkretes Mißgeschick?

Es gibt weitere Fälle, in denen die Lokalisierung der Texte bereits diskutiert wurde; nur zwei besonders wichtige seien hier noch kurz angesprochen, da sie typische Problemstellungen in typischer Weise charakterisieren.[29] Beim ersten Fall handelt es sich um eine Art reales Paraklausithyron, das unten im Abschnitt 'Literarisches Niveau' noch eingehender behandelt werden wird (s. Text **[23]**). E. Courtney schreibt im Kommentar seiner *Musa lapidaria*: "This is written on the doorway of the so-called doctor's house, IX ix f, and it looks like a specimen of verses of a type of which we hear particularly in the elegists, those written by a lover on the obdurately closed door of the beloved."[30] In der Tat wurde der Text auf der rechten Seite des Eingangs des Hauses IX 9, f gefunden.[31] Es spricht jedoch wenig dafür, daß tatsächlich ein Doktor in diesem Haus gewohnt haben sollte: Vielmehr scheint es sich um das Haus eines einfachen Feldarbeiters gehandelt zu haben.[32] Der Text gibt sich zumindest den Anschein, von einer Frau geschrieben worden zu sein (was einige Gelehrte auch annahmen, sich aber nicht zwingend beweisen läßt). Soll man nun

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[26] Vgl. etwa M. Della Corte, *Case ed abitanti di Pompei*, Neapel 1965[3], 133 n. 217 a.

[27] Zum Gebäudekomplex IX 8, 6. 3. a vgl. Eschebach (s. Anm. 22) 438.

[28] Vgl. *CIL* IV 3763.

[29] Ein weiteres Beispiel wird noch unten im Abschnitt 'Literarisches Niveau' vorgeführt; vgl. die Anmerkungen zu Text [24].

[30] Courtney (s. Anm. 4) 306.

[31] Vgl. A. Varone, *Erotica Pompeiana. Love Inscriptions on the Walls of Pompeii*, Rom 2001 (2002), 101 Anm. 160.

[32] Vgl. Eschebach (s. Anm. 22) 443.

annehmen, daß hier in durchaus literarisch eindrucksvoller Form eine Frau ihrer Frustration über den Bewohner des Hauses Ausdruck verliehen hat? Und – wenn es sich tatsächlich um einen einfachen Feldarbeiter gehandelt hat – daß dieser imstande war, diese poetische Botschaft nicht nur zu verstehen, sondern auch noch zu goutieren? Hier trägt die Lokalisierung, anders als in den beiden weiter oben behandelten Fällen, eher nicht zur Erhellung des Verständnisses der Inschrift im Kontext bei, sondern sorgt für zusätzlichen Erklärungsbedarf.

Ein Fall, der hier zumindest kurz angesprochen werden muß, wird ebenfalls im Abschnitt 'Literarisches Niveau' noch ausführlicher behandelt werden (s. unten, Text **[22]**). Es handelt sich dabei um die vieltraktierte Serie von Texten, die zusammen mit dem Namen Tiburtinus beim Odeon von Pompeji entdeckt wurde.[33] M. Massaro vertrat die Auffassung, daß die Abfassung der Texte im elegischen Distichon darauf zurückzuführen sei, daß beim Odeon gebildetere Leute verkehrten, so daß auch ein gewissermaßen eleganteres Metrum gewählt werden konnte.[34] Grundsätzlich scheint es eine verlockende Idee zu sein, daß ein bestimmtes Milieu auch eine Art metrische und thematische Soziologie zeitigt. In diesem Falle muß jedoch eindeutig konstatiert werden, daß zum einen der erotische Inhalt der Verse die Wahl des Versmaßes gleichsam als unvermeidlich erscheinen läßt, zum anderen ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem Odeon und seinem Publikum mit dem elegischen Distichon nur schwer zu konstituieren ist.

Es könnte lohnend sein, so muß das Resümee dieser kurzen Ausführungen zur Lokalisierung lauten, eine Art Topographie der metrischen Inschriften Pompejis zu erstellen, der verschiedene Informationen zu entnehmen sein müßten:[35] Inhalt, Metrum und eventuell Datierung. Darüber hinaus müßten in einer zusätzlichen Dokumentation die gegebenenfalls vorhandenen Bezüge zwischen den Texten und ihrem unmittelbaren und mittelbaren räumlichen Kontext zusammengestellt

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[33] *CIL* IV 4966–4973 (cf. p. 705) = I^2 2540 (cf. p. 1017) = *CLE* 934–935.

[34] Vgl. M. Massaro, *Epigrafia metrica latina di età repubblicana* (Quaderni di Inv. Luc. 1), Bari 1992, 24–25 Anm. 32.

[35] Als Modell könnten die dem Aufsatz von R. Biundo, "La propaganda elettorale a Pompei: la funzione e il valore dei *programmata* nell'organizzazione della campagna", *Athenaeum* 91 (2003) 53–116 beigefügten Karten dienen, denen die Verteilung einzelner Wahlprogramme entnommen werden können.

werden. Es sollte dabei nicht verwundern, wenn sich die räumlichen Kontexte metrischer *graffiti* signifikant von denen der nicht-metrischen unterscheiden, was nicht zuletzt mit den thematisierten Inhalten zusammenhängen dürfte, denen der folgende Abschnitt gewidmet ist.

Inhalte

Wenn man sich mit Inhalten von Carmina Epigraphica befaßt, besteht (wie auch bei literarischer Poesie) rasch die Gefahr, daß man versucht, aus dem spärlichen Material ein kohärentes und – schlimmer noch – von innerer Logik geprägtes evolutionäres Bild zu zeichnen. Daher soll hier von vornherein gesagt sein: Die erhaltene Textbasis ist in vielerlei Hinsicht ein reines Zufallsprodukt. Teleologische Schlußfolgerungen sind schwerlich plausibel zu machen; hier seien sie nach Kräften vermieden.

An erster Stelle zu nennen ist die große Menge von Dichterzitaten, insbesondere aus Vergil, die sich an den Wänden findet.[36] Sie bildet die größte thematisch geschlossene Fraktion unter den typischen Inhalten pompejanischer *graffiti*. Daneben stehen zahlenmäßig unumstritten erotische Themen jedweder Färbung im Vordergrund.[37] Begonnen sei hier mit einem vergleichsweise harmlosen Text, der sich mehrfach[38] (mit geringfügigen Variationen) in Pompeji erhalten hat:[39]

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[36] S. dazu noch unten, S. 51.

[37] Umfassend zu erotischen Aspekten pompejanischer Wandinschriften Varone (s. Anm. 31); ansprechende Illustrationen finden sich zudem auch bei F. P. Maulucci Vivolo, *Pompei: I graffiti d'amore*, Foggia 1995. Der Vollständigkeit halber sei auch hingewiesen auf M. Della Corte, *Amori e amanti in Pompei antica*, Pompei 1958.

[38] Den mehrfach in *graffiti* bezeugten Carmina hat sich im übrigen systematisch P. Cugusi, "'Doppioni' e 'ritornelli' epigrafici", *BStudLat* 33 (2003) 449–466, insbes. 458–461 gewidmet.

[39] Die hier vorliegende Fassung wurde im Haus des Fabius Rufus gefunden, vgl. Varone (s. Anm. 31) 56 mit Anm. 70 (worin weitere Literaturhinweise gegeben sind, darunter insbes. H. Solin, "Die Wandinschriften im sog. Haus des M. Fabius Rufus", in: *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji* [hg. v. B. Andreae – H. Kyrieleis], Recklinghausen 1975, 243–272, 252–253). Ansonsten findet sich der Text in Pompeji noch in *CIL* IV 1227 [mit Variation in V. 2], 2995, 6697, 8114, 8231, 8891, 9849, 10065a, Solin (wie oben) 264 Nr. 17. Darüber hinaus wurde der Text auch in Herculaneum (*CIL* IV 10640) sowie unlängst sogar in der Gallia Narbonnensis (AE 1997, 1068) gefunden.

[4] *Venimus h[oc] cupidi, multo magis ire cupimus, | set retinet nostros illa puella pedes.*

Gekommen sind wir hierher gerne, noch lieber wünschen wir zu gehen. Aber unsere Füße am Ort hält jenes Mädchen.

Unter den erotischen Carmina Epigraphica ist ein solch dezenter Umgang mit der Liebesthematik relativ selten; gleichwohl finden sich einige der vielleicht ästhetisch herausragendsten darunter. Weitere Beispiele sind daher unten im Abschnitt 'Literarisches Niveau' gewürdigt.[40]

In der Regel läßt die Ausrichtung der erotischen Carmina (und damit verbunden auch ihre Sprache) nichts an Deutlichkeit vermissen. Eine kleine Auswahl solcher Texte mag hier genügen – sie sind hinreichend in zahllosen Publikationen behandelt und, so hat es den Anschein, konstituieren maßgeblich das moderne populäre und populärwissenschaftliche Interesse an Pompeji.[41] Das Spektrum reicht im heterosexuellen Bereich von Bekanntgabe sexueller Präferenzen (die, wie hier zu erkennen, aber durchaus kein Ausschlußkriterium sein müssen) wie

[5] *Candida me docuit nigras o[d]isse | puellas. Odero si potero, si non, | inuitus amabo.*

Eine Blonde lehrte mich, schwarzhaarige Mädels zu hassen. Nach Kräften werde ich sie hassen – und wenn es nicht gehen sollte, werde ich sie wider meinen Willen lieben.[42]

und Berichten über sexuelle Erfolge und Mißerfolge wie

[6] *Hic ego nu[nc f]utue formosa(m) fo[r]ma puella(m) | laudata(m) a multis, set lutus intus erat.*

Hier hab ich jetzt ein von der Gestalt her hübsches Mädel gefickt, von vielen

[40] Aufgrund des Umstandes, daß diese Texte zahlreich in kleineren Sammlungen behandelt wurden, sei hier auf eine weitergehende Dokumentation verzichtet.

[41] Nur um der Vollständigkeit willen sei in diesem Zusammenhang auf das oft zitierte Carmen *CIL* IV 1904, 2461, 2487 = *CLE* 957 hingewiesen, worin die Wand bewundert daraufhin angesprochen wird, daß ihre Leidenskraft hinsichtlich der auf ihr angebrachten Schweinereien schier unermeßlich sei.

[42] *CIL* IV 9847, ähnlich belegt auch in *CIL* IV 1520 (cf. p. 208) = *CLE* 354, 1523, 1526. 1528, 3040. Vgl. zu diesem Text im übrigen jüngst P. Cugusi, "Tradizione elegiaca latina e Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Letteratura e testi epigrafici", *Aufidus* 48 (2002) 17–29, insbes. 22–23 (zur Rezeption elegischer Dichtung in diesem Text).

gepriesen, aber innendrin war sie nur Schleim.[43]

bis hin zu machohaften Weisheiten wie

[7] *Futuitur cunnus [pi]lossus multo melius [qu]am glaber: | e[ad]em continet uaporem et eadem u[ellit] mentulam.*

Eine behaarte Fotze ist viel besser zu vögeln als eine rasierte: Sie hält gleichermaßen die Wärme zurück und krault dabei den Schwanz.[44]

Im weniger stark vertretenen homosexuellen Bereich dominieren stärker gewaltorientierte Aussagen, wie etwa folgender Text belegt, der zugleich die (nach antiker Vorstellung eher negativ empfundene)[45] körperliche Liebe zu älteren Partnern thematisiert:[46]

[8] *Seni supino colei culum tegunt:*

Einem alten Mann, der auf dem Rücken liegt, verdecken die Eier den Arsch.

In den Bereich der Homoerotik gehören auch die Anklänge an die *Carmina Priapea*, die sich in pompejanischen *graffiti* bisweilen finden. Ein Hexameter, der unmittelbar an die *Priapea* erinnert, liegt in folgender Inschrift vor, die sich gegen vorsätzliche Verschmutzung der Straße durch Verrichtung der Notdurft richtet:[47]

[9] *Stercorari | ad murum | progredere. Si | pre(n)sus fueris,*[48] *poena(m) | patiare neces(s)e | est. Caue.*

Zum Kacken geh zur Mauer. Wenn man dich erwischt, mußt du die Strafe ertragen. Also paß auf!

Um welche Strafe es sich dabei nur handeln kann, ist jedem, der mit

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[43] *CIL* IV 1516 = *CLE* 955. Der Hexameter findet sich, begleitet von Pentametern wechselnden Inhalts und wechselnder Dezenz, in Pompeji noch in *CIL* IV 1517, 4029 sowie ansonsten noch in Rom, in Ostia und sogar in Spanien. Die Texte sind zusammengestellt und kommentiert bei Courtney (s. Anm. 4) 98–100. 307–309 Nr. 94a–e.

[44] *CIL* IV 1830 (cf. p. 212. 464) = *CLE* 230.

[45] Als Beleg für diese Behauptung dient regelmäßig der Auftakt von Ov. *am.* 1,9.

[46] *CIL* IV 4488 = *CLE* 49; zur Interpretation des Texts vgl. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, "Notes on Minor Latin Poets", *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 305–325, insbes. 321 ff. sowie Courtney (s. Anm. 4) 302 Nr. 82.

[47] *CIL* IV 7038 = *CLE* 1934. Ein ganz vergleichbarer Text findet sich mit *CIL* IV 6641 in Form eines *dipinto* auch in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft.

[48] Irrtümlich ist hier allerdings *pueris* geschrieben.

den *Priapea* vertraut ist, klar: die anale Penetration.[49] Diese ist schließlich auch im folgenden Carmen Epigraphicum thematisiert, das zur nächsten thematischen Gruppe – den Texten mit Wortspielen – überleitet:[50]

[10] *Accensum qui pedicat urit mentulam.*

Wer einen Adjutanten (oder: einen Entzündeten) in den Arsch fickt, verbrennt sich den Schwanz.

Der Witz dieser Inschrift beruht auf dem mehrfachen Verständnis, das sich für das Wort *accensum* ergeben kann. *Accensus* kann einerseits einen Verwaltungsangestellten, andererseits aber auch 'jemanden mit einer Entzündung' (im medizinischen Sinne) bezeichnen. In jedem Fall sucht der Text aber seinen Leser damit zu verblüffen, daß eine Herleitung des *accensum* von *accendere* möglich ist, wodurch der überraschende Schluß *urit mentulam* ermöglicht wird.

Die Gruppe von Texten, die vorrangig mit der Absicht an die Wand geschrieben worden zu sein scheint, dem eigenen Wortwitz eine gewisse Bühne zu verschaffen, ist nicht sonderlich groß.[51] Besonders eigentümlich (da vollkommen sinnfrei) ist folgender Vers:[52]

[11] *Barbara barbaribus barbabant barbara barbis.*

Man wird wohl nicht fehlgehen in der Annahme, daß dieser Vers – wenn denn er überhaupt eine Funktion hatte – am ehesten zur Einprägung des Hexameterschemas im Unterricht gedient haben könnte. Gefunden wurde der Text in einem Zimmer der mit einem Thermopolium verbundenen Wohnung im Gebäude V 2, b. c, in welchem sich auch ein gewisser Atimetus wiederholt (und mit unterschiedlichem Geschick) an der Wand verewigte.[53] War er auch der Schreiber dieses Verses?

Zwei weitere Texte seien im selben Zusammenhang angeführt, deren Aussagegehalt zwar insgesamt durchaus verständlich ist, für die jedoch bislang kaum hinreichende Motivation gefunden werden konnte, warum sie

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[49] Vgl. hierzu etwa Varone (s. Anm. 31) 136 Anm. 226.

[50] *CIL* IV 1882 (cf. p. 465) = *CLE* 47.

[51] Gehört hierhin auch die Schar der (vorwiegend obszönen) Inschriften mit den *-biliter*-Adverbien, worunter sich auch einige Carmina befinden? Vgl. dazu W. D. Lebek, "Festinare", *ZPE* 45 (1982) 53–57.

[52] *CIL* IV 4235 = *CLE* 351.

[53] Vgl. *CIL* IV 4234.

überhaupt an den Wänden verewigt wurden. Der erste Text lautet wie folgt:[54]

[12] *Romanus olim palim aurum pro ferrum dedica[- - -].*

Der Römer weihte (?) dereinst Gold anstelle von Eisen.

Die Inschrift wurde im Atriolum des sogenannten Hauses der Vettier (VI 15,1)[55] entdeckt. Weder das unmittelbare Fundumfeld noch die Inschrift selbst geben Hinweise auf die Deutung. Ob es sich bei diesem Text überhaupt um eine metrische Inschrift handelt, ist unklar. Die Einreihung unter die Carmina Epigraphica geht auf die Beobachtung von Engström zurück, daß es sich bei Fortlassung des *palim* um einen Senar handeln würde. Eben die Bedeutung sowie die Verwendung des *palim* lassen den Text aber auch hier an dieser Stelle erscheinen: Es wurde, vermutlich zu Recht, gemutmaßt, es handle sich um eine Wiedergabe des Griechischen πάλιν; dieses sei in komischer Absicht gesetzt worden, um die nicht mehr prävalente Bedeutung des *olim* zu unterstreichen.[56]

Im zweiten Fall handelt es sich um einen Text, der gleich in mehreren Varianten in den pompejanischen *graffiti*, die an allgemein zugänglichen Plätzen gefunden wurden, belegt ist:[57]

[13] *Communem nummum diuidendum | censio est, nam noster nummus | magna(m) habet pecuniam.*

Die Vereinskasse aufzulösen, ist beantragt, denn unsere Kasse ist zum Bersten gefüllt.

Handelte es sich um ein singuläres Beispiel für diesen Text, wäre man sicherlich versucht, den Text als eine Effusion im Zusammenhang mit irgendeinem pompejanischen Collegium zu sehen, dessen Auflösung von den Mitgliedern betrieben wurde.[58] Der Umstand jedoch, daß die an sich belanglose Mitteilung in Versform vorliegt, sollte zu denken geben, mehr noch, daß ein offenkundiges Spiel mit dem abundanten Gebrauch der Laute M, N und O bzw. U vorliegt, das durch die Alliteration der ersten drei

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[54] *CIL* IV 4603 = *CLE* Engström 10.

[55] Vgl. hierzu Eschebach (s. Anm. 22) 218–219.

[56] So Väänänen (s. Anm. 3) 108.

[57] *CIL* IV 1597 (cf. p. 209, 463) = *CLE* 38; Anklänge auch in den vermutlich nicht metrischen Inschriften *CIL* IV 1251, 1766, 4272 (ter). 5046.

[58] Zum Text allgemein vgl. Courtney (s. Anm. 4) 104–105, 315 Nr. 104.

Wörter von V. 2 noch unterstrichen wird. Geht es hier wirklich noch um den mitgeteilten Tatbestand? Die Ausgestaltung läßt wohl eher vermuten, daß jemand an der Idee Gefallen gefunden hat, eine besonders mit den Lauten spielende poetische Einheit zu verfassen.

Das letztgennante Beispiel führt zugleich zu einer weiteren, vergleichsweise exzeptionellen thematischen Gruppe von Carmina Epigraphica, nämlich denen mit offenkundig politischen Inhalten.[59] Das vielleicht eindrucksvollste Exemplar einer metrischen Wandinschrift mit politischer Attitüde ist ein öffentlicher Wahlaufruf für M. Lucretius Fronto und in Form eines *dipinto* ausgeführt. Der Text lautet:[60]

> **[14]** *Sì pudor in uita quicquam prodesse putatur, | Lucretius hic Fronto dignus honore bono est.*
>
> Wenn Anstand im Leben irgend etwas nützen soll, dann ist Lucretius Fronto eines ordentlichen Amtes würdig.

Der Text setzt mit seinem hohlen Pathos auf eine *simple persuasive* Strategie: Wer wollte schließlich bestreiten, daß *pudor* eine Bedeutung im Leben haben müsse? Daß die einzige Konklusion angesichts dieser Prämisse sei, für Lucretius Fronto zu stimmen, ist hingegen vermutlich ebenso glaubhaft wie heutige Wahlwerbung.[61] Diesem Text nicht unähnlich ist ein weiteres *dipinto*, ebenfalls im elegischen Distichon verfaßt, mit welchem C. Cuspius Pansa für die Aedilität empfohlen werden sollte:[62]

> **[15]** *C(aium) Cuspium aed(ilem). | si qua uerecunde uiuenti gloria danda est, | huic iuueni debet gloria digna dari.*
>
> Gaius Cuspius als Aedil! Wenn jemandem, der anständig lebt, Anerkennung gebührt, muß man diesem jungen Mann eine würdige Anerkennung gewähren.

Daß die in diesen beiden Wahlaufrufen verwendete wertkonservative und staatstragende Diktion durchaus rezipiert wurde, zeigen zwei *graffiti*, die einen Wahlsieg des P. Paquius Proculus erwähnen. Abermals sind die Texte im elegischen Distichon verfaßt:[63]

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[59] Soweit dies ohne Kenntnis tagespolitischer Geschehnisse beurteilt werden kann.

[60] *CIL* IV 6626 = *ILS* 6422b (cf. p. CLXXXVII) = *CLE* 2052 = *CLE* Engström 277.

[61] Zum Text s. auch Kruschwitz (s. Anm. 7) insbes. 244.

[62] *CIL* IV 7201 = *CLE* 2053.

[63] Hier wiedergegeben ist *CIL* IV 7065 = *CLE* 2051 = *CLE* Engström 276, gefunden an der Häuserwand rechts neben dem Hauseingang V 6, a. Fragmentarisch findet sich

[16] *Aedilem Proculam cunctorum turba probauit: hoc pudor ingenuus postulat et pietas.*

Procula als Aedil hat die Schar aller gebilligt: Das fordert auch der angeborene Anstand und das Pflichtgefühl.

Hinsichtlich seiner Aussage ist der Text nicht vollends klar. Es fällt auf, daß *Proculam* statt *Proculum* geschrieben ist. A. Mau, der Herausgeber des *CIL*-Bandes, in welchem der Text veröffentlicht ist, glaubte, daß es sich um ein reines Versehen handelt. Aber bereits E. Lommatzsch verweist in seinem Nachtragsband zu den *CLE* auf Überlegungen, daß es sich durchaus um Absicht des Schreibes gehandelt haben könnte, "*maligne dictum de pathico*".

Wenigstens zwei weitere Texte müssen noch als politisch eingestuft werden.[64] Eindeutig polemischen Charakter hat ein in trochäischen Septenaren verfaßtes *graffito*, das auf die Außenwand der Basilica geschrieben wurde:[65]

[17] *[[Pum[pei]s]] fueere quondam Vibii opulentissumi; | non ideo tenuerunt in manu sceptrum pro mutunio, | itidem quod tu factitas cottidie in manu penem tene(n)s.*

In Pompeji lebten einstmals die reichen Vibier; trotzdem hielten sie nicht in der Hand das Szepter anstelle des Schwanzes, genauso wie du es zu tun pflegst, der du jeden Tag den Penis in der Hand hältst.

Vordergründig werden hier die Vibier mit zweifelhaftem Lob bedacht: Sie hätten sich, trotz ihres Reichtums, nicht wie Könige aufgeführt, sondern wie gewöhnliche Leute. Daß dies jedoch insbesondere durch ihren (insinuierten) reichlich gewöhnlichen Hang zur Onanie geschah, ist vom

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derselbe Text auch in *CIL* IV 7066 = *CLE* 2051 adn. = *CLE* Engström 276 adn.

64 Ferngehalten seien hier einige Texte, deren etwaiger politischer Bezug ebenfalls diskutiert wurde, so insbes. die Belege für den Vers Enn. *ann.* 1,110 Skutsch (*Romulus in caelo*) in Pompeji, vgl. *CIL* IV 3135, 3193a, 7353, 8568, 8995. O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Q. Ennius*, Oxford 1985[2], 261–263 glaubte, es werde hier – wiewohl kaum mit direkter Bezugnahme auf Ennius, sondern auf spätere Nachahmer des Verses – die Vergöttlichung Vespasians thematisiert; hiergegen jedoch völlig zu Recht bereits P. Cugusi, *Aspetti letterari dei* Carmina Latina Epigraphica, Bologna 1996[2], 169. Kaum minder problematisch ist der Fall *CIL* IV 4185 = *CLE* Engström 18, worin einige Gelehrte eine derbe Bezugnahme auf Poppaea Sabina Augusta vermuteten.

65 *CIL* IV 1939 (cf. p. 213, 465, 704) = *CLE* 231. – Textgestaltung nach Varone (s. Anm. 31) 93 (die Lesung des *[[Pum[pei]s]]* in Z. 1 ist sehr unsicher).

Schreiber schwerlich für die Vibier (noch im übrigen auch für das so ins Spiel gebrachte normale Volk) als Lob besonderer Volkstümlichkeit, sondern vielmehr als Herabwürdigung gedacht.

Eindeutig beleidigend scheint folgende Inschrift gemeint zu sein:[66]

[18] *G(aius) Hadius Ventrio | eques natus Romanus inter | beta(m) et brassica(m).*

Gaius Hadius Ventrio, römischer Ritter seit seiner Geburt zwischen Kraut und Rüben.

F. Bücheler spekulierte in der Ausgabe der Carmina Latina Epigraphica ad loc., daß die Worte ab *natus* einen iambischen Senar ergeben sollten – dies tun sie ohne Zweifel, allein geben weder Wortstellung noch Kontext wirklich Aufschluß darüber, warum es sich um Poesie, nicht um bloße Prosa handeln sollte. Wie dem auch sei: Ventrio,[67] bei dessen Cognomen eine Herleitung von *uenter* naheliegt, wird hier herabgesetzt, indem seine ritterliche Herkunft in das Gebiet *inter | beta(m) et brassica(m)* verlegt wird, gleichsam als handelte es sich um bekannte Orte. Die Frage ist nur (wie so oft) – wer sollte diese Notiz lesen? Sie wurde im Atrium (also im Inneren) des Gebäudes VI 14, 37, einer Tischlerwerkstatt des *ludimagister* Potitus, gefunden.[68] Ob es sich als tatsächlich um eine Invektive auf eine öffentliche Person und nicht vielmehr um eine bloße Spielerei handelt, wird man sich folglich wohl ernstlich fragen lassen müssen.[69]

Es kann an dieser Stelle mit den angeführten Beispielen zu Personen aus dem öffentlichen Leben vielleicht darauf verzichtet werden, weitere Feindschafts- und Freundschaftsbezeugungen anzuführen – diese gibt es natürlich auch im privaten Bereich (s. etwa oben, Text **[3]**). Stattdessen soll abschließend in diesem thematischen Überblick noch auf ein letztes Subjekt pompejanischer Carmina Epigraphica hingewiesen werden: die

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[66] *CIL* IV 4533 = *CLE* 41 adn. = *ILS* 1319.

[67] Vgl. zu dieser Person Castrén (s. Anm. 1) 130 Nr. 7, 2.

[68] Vgl. dazu Eschebach (s. Anm. 22) 216.

[69] Zweifel an der realen Existenz des Geschmähten äußerte im übrigen bereits J. Day, "Agriculture in the Life of Pompeii", *YClS* 3 (1932) 165–208, 189. Allerdings ist derselbe Name auch in *CIL* X 904 belegt, vgl. Castrén (s. Anm. 1) 130 Nr. 7, 1, dazu auch J. L. Franklin jr., *Pompeis difficile est. Studies in the Political Life of Imperial Pompeii*, Ann Arbor 2001, 59 mit Anm. 46.

Gastronomie. Ein Beispiel dafür – ein Reflex auf die Ausstattung der Herbergen – wurde bereits oben unter der Nummer **[2]** vorgestellt. Aber auch die Qualität des Weines wurde in den Blick genommen, wie etwa[70] folgender Text belegt:[71]

> **[19]** *Talia te fallant | utinam me(n)dacia, copo: | tu ue(n)des acuam et | bibes ipse merum.*
>
> Mögest du durch ebensolche Betrügereien in die Irre geleitet werden, Schankwirt: Du verkaufst nur Wasser und trinkst selbst den Wein unverdünnt!

Der Text stammt aus dem Gebäude I 2, 24–26, einem von Schreibern genutzten Geschäftshaus mit Laden, das teilweise (in I 2, 25) als *caupona* genutzt worden zu sein scheint.[72] (Der Einfluß des vorgestellten *graffito* auf die Deutung des Gebäudes scheint aber nicht ganz unerheblich zu sein.) Die zahlreichen prosodischen und metrischen Eigentümlichkeiten, die in diesem Stück vorliegen (so etwa [vermutlich] Hiat an der Versfuge des Pentameters), bieten Anlaß genug, im folgenden kurz den Blick auf die Metrik der pompejanischen Wandinschriften allgemein zu richten.

Metrik

Die Metrik der pompejanischen Carmina Epigraphica ist bislang nicht hinreichend untersucht worden. Dies kann auch hier nicht geschehen – und zwar aus einem einfachen Grund: Die Textgrundlage ist nicht gesichert. Vermutlich können zuverlässige Aussagen über metrische Angelegenheiten und gar metrische Spezifika der metrischen Wandinschriften überhaupt erst zuverlässig getroffen werden, wenn ein Faszikel im Rahmen des geplanten Bandes *CIL* XVIII erscheint, der das Material umfassend dokumentiert. Im folgenden seien nur einige kurze Notizen gegeben, die also auf einer zugegebenermaßen unzureichenden Materialerfassung beruhen, gleichwohl aber hoffentlich den wahren Befund nicht gänzlich entstellen.

In den Carmina Epigraphica der Vesuvstädte sind vier Verstypen

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70 Vermutlich noch prominenter als die im folgenden abgedruckte Inschrift ist die Preisliste der Wirtin Hedone *CIL* IV 1679 (cf. p. 210, 463, 704) = *CLE* 931, die der Vollständigkeit halber zumindest erwähnt sei.

71 *CIL* IV 3948 = *CLE* 930.

72 Vgl. weiterführend Eschebach (s. Anm. 22) 19.

dominierend: der daktylische Hexameter, der iambische Senar, das elegische Distichon und der trochäische Septenar.

Daktylische Hexameter: Daktylische Rhythmisierung scheint die bei weitem am häufigsten gewählte metrische Gestaltung in den pompejanischen Carmina Epigraphica zu sein. Dieser Umstand mag jedoch in besonderem Maße darauf zurückzuführen sein, daß ein großer Teil der zu den Carmina Epigraphica gerechneten Texte Versatzstücke aus bedeutenden Schriftstellern wie Vergil, Ovid, Properz oder auch Ennius sind. Die Qualität des Versbaus ist bisweilen haarsträubend. Nicht selten sind die Verse – nicht nur dort, wo Namen in den Vers einzufügen waren, sondern auch dort, wo die Verse aus literarischen Vorbildern zusammengehauen sind – zu lang oder zu kurz. (Dies gilt für die in elegischen Distichen verwendeten Hexameter in gleichem Maße.) Zwei in diesem Sinne herausragende Beispiele für korrupte Versbauweise sind die Inschriften *CIL* IV 1837 und 5296 (s. unten, Text **[23]**). Letztere wiederum zeigt aber immerhin Ansätze metrischer Interpunktion, die über die oft angetroffene versweise Ordinierung hinausgehen.

Elegische Distichen: M. Massaro spekulierte darüber, daß das elegische Distichon in gepflegteren Kontexten Anwendung gefunden habe.[73] Dies scheint grundsätzlich eine gute Idee zu sein, wäre aber durch eine quantitative Auswertung des Materials erst zu verifizieren. Ein weiterer Aspekt, der bei zukünftigen Untersuchungen zur Metrik eine Rolle spielen sollte, ist die Frage, wie häufig der konventionelle Aufbau des elegischen Distichons in den Inschriften gestört wird, indem einer der beiden eigentlich alternierend gebrauchten Verse ausfällt oder schwer entstellt ist.

Trochäische Septenare: Trochäische Septenare sind im aus pompejanischen Wandinschriften bekannten Versmaterial nicht in allzu großem Umfang bekannt. Die im trochäischen Septenar verfaßten Inschriften *CIL* IV 538 = *CLE* 233 adn. 1234 = *CLE* 232, 1830 = *CLE* 230, 1883 = *CLE* 233 adn. 1939 = *CLE* 231, 10004 eint ihre sexuell invektivische Natur.[74]

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[73] S. dazu oben, S. 39.

[74] Vgl. hierzu umfassend H. D. Jocelyn, "Latin Popular Song and a Pompeian Graffito", *LCM* 6 (1981) 145–148. Pompejanische Inschriften werden überdies auch von T. Gerick, *Der versus quadratus bei Plautus und seine volkstümliche Tradition*, Tübingen 1996 berücksichtigt.

Ein besonderes Problem stellt bei der Beurteilung der Metrik in nicht wenigen Fällen die Frage dar, ob überhaupt ein Carmen Epigraphicum vorliegt oder aber sich die Prosodie der Wörter nurmehr zufällig zu einem (mehr oder weniger geglückten) Metrum fügt. Die Beurteilung gestaltet sich um so schwieriger in solchen Fällen, wo von Gelehrten postuliert wurde, es liege nicht ein Carmen, sondern 'nur' ein Commaticum vor.[75] In besonderem Maße ist von diesem Problem das Versmaß des iambischen Senars betroffen, vor allem, da allzu oft Senare von Gelehrten durch Nichtberücksichtigung oder Ergänzung von Wörtern *metri gratia* konstituiert wurden.

In diesem Rahmen muß auch die Frage gestellt werden, inwiefern man unterstellen darf, unter den pompejanischen *graffiti* fänden sich auch ausgesuchtere lyrische Versmaße. Insbesondere P. Cugusi hat in einem überaus anregenden Aufsatz Texte vorgestellt, in welchen er beispielsweise Choliamben (*CIL* IV 8908), Enoplier (*CIL* IV 8347), Hemiasklepiadeen (*CIL* IV 1780) und anderes konstatierte.[76] Die Frage, die sich jedoch bei der metrischen Exegese aller genannten Texte dringend stellt, ist: Läßt sich die postulierte metrische Natur der Texte auch noch anhand anderer Kriterien als der formal-logisch zwingenden Prosodie der Wörter nachweisen? Kann man davon ausgehen, daß der Verfasser der oft belanglosen Texte wirklich solch gesuchte Metren vor Augen hatte? Unterscheidet sich der Wortlaut in seinem Lexikon oder seiner Syntax nachweisbar von dem, was man in reiner Prosa erwarten sollte? Auch wenn persönliche Zweifel an einer solchen metrischen Vielfalt in den pompejanischen Wandinschriften gehegt werden, tut man allerdings gut daran, das Spektrum der verwendeten Metren nicht *a priori* und ohne Not einzuschränken.

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[75] Zum Begriff Commaticum vgl. die theoretische Grundlegung in P. Kruschwitz, "Überlegungen zum Begriff 'Commaticum': Theorie und Praxis am Beispiel von *CLE Engström* 410", in: *Asta ac pellege: 50 años de la publicación de* Inscripciones Hispanas en Verso *de S. Mariner* (hg. v. J. del Hoyo – J. Gómez Pallarès), Madrid 2002, 39–45, darin die ausdrückliche Warnung, eine Klassifizierung als Commaticum zugleich als Abqualifizierung zu begreifen.

[76] P. Cugusi, "Pompeiana et Herculanensia. Analisi metrica ed esegesi di alcuni graffiti", *QUCC* 48 (= n. s. 19) (1985) 83–95.

Literarisches Niveau

Die wenigsten der Carmina Epigraphica aus Pompeji können für sich beanspruchen, in einem Atemzug mit poetischen Texten der literarischen Tradition genannt zu werden – und dies, obwohl man für die meisten durchaus den Nachweis erbringen kann, daß diese mit literarischen Texten in einem rezeptionsästhetischen Zusammenhang stehen.[77]

Hiervon prinzipiell sorgsam zu scheiden ist die nicht geringe Anzahl von echten Dichterzitaten (klarer 'Sieger' ist hier Vergil,[78] gefolgt von Lukrez,[79] Properz, Ovid und Ennius sowie einiger weiterer), die einmal gesondert untersucht werden sollten. Allein – die Unterscheidung läßt sich nicht in allen Fällen vollends trennscharf durchführen. Wie etwa soll man folgenden Fall beurteilen, wo ein *graffito* Verg. Aen. 1, 1 nicht nur aufgreift, sondern im selben Atemzug auch noch parodiert:[80]

[20] *Fullones ululamque cano, non arma uirumq(ue).*

Tuchwalker und Eule besinge ich – nicht die Waffen und den Mann.

Wie soll man verfahren bei den in hoher Anzahl gefundenen Anfängen à la *cum quidam pauper*, von denen unter anderem F. Bücheler meinte, es läge eine Rezeption aesopischer Fabeln vor?[81] Oder bei solchen (in Pompeji selten gefundenen) Lebensweisheiten à la

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77 Eine insgesamt sehr gute Arbeit zum literarisch-kulturellen Hintergrund der Wandinschriften Pompejis ist das Buch von M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie nell'antica Pompei*, Neapel 1979.

78 Eine sorgfältige Aufarbeitung der Vergilrezeption in der epigraphischen Poesie findet sich bei H. Solin, "Epigrafia", in: *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* II, 1986, 332–340 (mit umfangreichen Literaturhinweisen) vgl. überdies die umfassende Arbeit von R. P. Hoogma, *Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina epigraphica. Eine Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtiugung der metrisch-technischen Grundsätze der Entlehnung*, Amsterdam 1959. Zu Vergil in den pompejanischen Wandinschriften s. insbes. S. Ferraro, *La presenza di Virgilio nei graffiti pompeiani*, Napoli 1982.

79 Vgl. – ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit – *CIL* IV 3072, 3118, 3139, 3913, 4373. 10034.

80 *CIL* IV 9131 = *CLE* 1936; zur Deutung des Texts vgl. umfassend Courtney (s. Anm. 4) 280–281 Nr. 60.

81 Ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit sei auf folgende Fälle hingewiesen: *CIL* IV 1538, 1654, 2386, 3067, 3136, 4114, 4494, 4515, 4855, 5017, 10095. Vgl. auch die Anmerkungen von F. Bücheler und E. Lommatzsch zu *CLE* 43, 1864, 1936.

[21] *Minimum malum fit contemnendo maxumum. Menedemerumenos*.[82]

Das geringste Übel wird, wenn man es vernachläßigt, zum größten. Menedemerumenos.[83]

In der Regel dürfte man aber selbst bei feinsinnigerer Rezeption literarischer Poesie nicht ohne weiteres geneigt sein, die Texte dahingehend zu adeln, daß man ihnen literarisches Niveau zubilligt. Die Einschätzung, ob man einzelnen Carmina Epigraphica aus Pompeji literarisches Niveau zumessen möchte, muß wohl zwangsläufig stark subjektiv bleiben. Wer wollte ausschließen, daß manche Obszönität nicht auch gut in den Gedichtsammlungen eines Catull oder Martial hätte stehen können? Wie dem aber auch sei: Es findet sich durchaus eine Handvoll metrischer Inschriften, die die philologische Forschung (die ansonsten der Beschäftigung mit epigraphischer Poesie, um es schmeichelhaft auszudrücken, eher etwas distanziert gegenübersteht) in besonderem Maße fasziniert haben.

In besonderem Maße gilt das zuletzt Gesagte für eine Serie von Texten aus vermutlich frühaugusteischer Zeit, die beim sogenannten Odeon in Pompeji entdeckt wurden. Aus praktischen Gründen sei der gesamte Komplex (ohne Wiedergabe der Anordnung an der Wand sowie unter Fortlassung der Künstlersignatur *Tiburtinus epoese*) hier in der Lesart von A. M. Morelli (beruhend auf V. Tandoi) dargestellt – die diversen textkritischen Probleme müssen hier unbehandelt bleiben:[84]

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[82] *CIL* IV 1870, ähnlich belegt auch in IV 1811 (cf. p. 464) = *CLE* 35 und 10634 (letztere Inschrift wurde in Herculaneum gefunden)

[83] Zu dem noch öfter belegten *Menedemerumenos*, einer scherzhaften Zusammenziehung des Komödiennamens *Menedemus* und dem terenzischen Komödientitel *Heauton timorumenos* (in welcher Menedemus die Hauptrolle spielt), s. P. Kruschwitz, *Terenz* (Studienbücher Antike 12), Hildesheim 2004, 211–212, wo dieser Beleg in Anm. 19 nachzutragen ist.

[84] *CIL* IV 4966–4973 (cf. p. 705) = I^2 2540 (cf. p. 1017) = *CLE* 934–935, zuletzt umfassend (mit exzellenten Fotografien) behandelt bei A. M. Morelli, *L'epigramma latino prima di Catullo*, Cassino 2000, 104–107, Fotos 237–257 (Interpretation). Zu diesem Inschriftenkomplex vgl. überdies neben den richtungsweisenden Arbeiten von H. Solin, "Pompeiana", *Epigraphica* 30 (1968) 105 ff., insbes. 118–121 und V. Tandoi, "Gli epigrammi di Tiburtino a Pompei. Lutazio Catulo e il movimento dei preneoterici", *QAICC* 1 (1981) 133–175 und dens., "Gli epigrammi di Tiburtino dopo un'autopsia del graffito", *QAICC* 2/3 (1982/83) 3–31 aus jüngerer Zeit Cugusi (s. Anm. 64) 24–37. 305–306, Varone (s. Anm. 31) 105–108, E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*,

[22] [*Quid f]it? Vi me, oculi, pos(t)quam deducxstis in ignem* | *[no]n ob uim uestreis largificatis geneis.* | *[Vst]o non possunt lacrumae restinguere flam(m)am,* | *[hui]c os incendunt tabificantque animum.*
(—)
[Iamque omn]es ueicinei incendia participantur, | *[sei faciam] flammam tradere utei liceat.*
—
[Noct]ibus peruig[ilans totis ego propter a]morem | *[se]i detur deiu[am posse uidere meam].* | *[congla]cio s[ub sideribus, sed pectus] in aestost* | *[- - -] huc [- - -]t.*
—
[- - -]n ore ap[- - -] | *[- - -]sumat aut ea ua[- - -]* | *[- - -]sumpti opus est a[- - -]* | *[- - -]udam aut ei [- - -]udae*
—
[Nil subi] habere aiunt Eum[am totum]que locare. | *[Q]uid tum? [Plus a]deo condere uti liceat.*
—
Sei quid amor ualeat nostei, sei te hominem scis, | *commiseresce mei, da ueniam ut ueniam.* | *Flos Veneris mihi de ...*
—
Caesia sei n[umen uitai proferat annos], | *sei paruom p[osthac tempus tibi dederit]* | *es, bibe, lude l[ubens: non semper - - -]* | *nec semper qu[imus - - -].*

Auf eine Übersetzung des in großen Teilen verstümmelten und ergänzten Text sei hier verzichtet.[85] Die Aufmerksamkeit der Philologen ist dem Text insbesondere durch seine formale und inhaltliche Nähe zur Dichtung der Präneoteriker um Lutatius Catulus und andere zuteil geworden.[86] (E. Courtney hat diese Nähe sogar dazu verleitet, den Text nicht in seine Sammlung der metrischen Inschriften, sondern in die Sammlung der fragmentarisch überlieferten literarischen Dichter einzuschließen.)[87] Die Textmenge ist für ein *graffito* extraordinär. Auf die von M. Massaro aufgeworfene Frage nach der Abhängigkeit der metrischen Form vom Fundort ist oben im Abschnitt zur Lokalisierung bereits

Oxford 2003^2, 79–81, 506.

85 Hübsche Teilübersetzungen finden sich an verschiedenen Stellen, verwiesen sei etwa (von der oben genannten Literatur abgesehen) auf die poetische Annäherung in dem Bildband E. Lessing – A. Varone, *Pompeji*, Frechen 2001, 95.

86 Folglich findet sich der Text auch etwa in dem vorzüglichen Aufsatz zu den Präneoterikern von J. Granarolo, "L'époque néotérique ou la poésie romaine d'avant-garde au dernier siècle de la République (Catulle excepté)", *ANRW* I 3, Berlin – New York 1972, 278–360.

87 Vgl. Courtney (wie Anm. 84).

eingegangen worden.

Ebenfalls von größerer Bedeutung für literaturgeschichtliche Fragestellungen ist ein weiterer oben im Rahmen des Abschnitts zur Lokalisierung bereits angesprochener Text (s. oben, S. 38–39):[88]

> **[23]** *O utinam liceat collo complexa tenere braciola et teneris | oscula ferre labellis. I, nunc uentis tua gaudia pupula crede: | crede mihi, leuis est natura uirorum. Saepe ego cu(m) media | uigilare perdita nocte haec mecum meditas: multos | Fortuna quos supstulit alte hos modo proiectos subito | praecipitesque premit. Sic Venus ut subito coiunxit | corpora amantium, diuidit lux et se|parees qui{d} amant.*
>
> Ach wenn es doch gestattet wäre, die Ärmlein um deinen Hals zu legen und deinen zarten Lippen Küsse darzubieten! Hinfort, kleines Mädchen, schenke dem Wind nun deine Freuden: Glaube mir, leichtfertig ist das Wesen der Männer. Oft, als ich mitten in der Nacht wachte, verloren, habe ich bei mir gedacht: Viele, die das Schicksal zuvor in die Höhe hob, hat es bald und plötzlich zu Boden geschleudert und erdrückt es nun in Bedrängnis. So plötzlich wie Venus verbunden hat die Körper Liebender, trennt das Tageslicht und wirst du trennen (?), die sich lieben.

Die Inschrift ist in *scriptura continua* ohne größere Rücksicht auf metrische Aspekte angebracht (von den metrischen Schwächen allgemein war oben ja bereits kurz die Rede);[89] immerhin hat der Schreiber aber bisweilen längere Linien an solchen Stellen gesetzt, wo Verswechsel stattfindet (so in jedem Fall zwischen den Versen 5/6, 6/7 und 7/8), zudem fällt zumindest in Zeile 2 Zeilenende auch mit Versende zusammen. Dieser Text hat durch seine Eigenschaft als (zumindest scheinbar) reales Paraklausithyron, als Liebesschwur eines beziehungsweise einer Ausgeschlossenen vor der verschlossenen Tür an das unerreichbare Objekt der Liebe, Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen;[90] zuletzt wurde er in diesem Sinne ausführlich behandelt von G. P. Goold.[91]

Aus dem amourösen Bereich stammt auch der folgende Text, der im

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[88] *CIL* IV 5296 (cf. p. 705) = *CLE* 950. Vgl. dazu Courtney (s. Anm. 4) 98–99, 306–307 Nr. 92 und Varone (s. Anm. 31) 100–102 mit Anm. 160.

[89] S. oben, S. 49.

[90] Ein weiteres scheint mit *CIL* IV 1837 = *CLE* 949 vorzuliegen (der metrische Text ist im übrigen mit allerlei Prosazusätzen versehen worden).

[91] G. P. Goold, "A Paraclausithyron from Pompeii", in: *Style and Tradition* (FS W. Clausen, hg. v. P. Knox – C. Foss), Stuttgart – Leipzig 1998, 16–29 (wenngleich man nicht allen dort gegebenen Interpretationen folgen sollte).

Peristyl (zwischen Andron und Tablinum) des Hauses IX 5, 11 gefunden wurde:[92]

> **[24]** *Amoris ignes si sentires, mulio, | magi properares, ut uideres Venerem. | Diligo iuuenem, Venustum; rogo, punge, iamus. | Bibisti: iamus, prende lora et excute, | Pompeios defer, ubi dulcis est amor | meus es[- - -].*
>
> Fühltest du der Liebe Glut, Maultiertreiber, beeiltest du dich mehr, der Venus ansichtig zu werden. Ich liebe einen jungen Mann, Venustus, bitte, gib die Sporen, laß uns gehen. Du hast getrunken: Laß uns gehen, nimm die Zügel und schwinge sie, bring mich nach Pompeji, wo meine süße Liebe ist...

Bei der Interpretation des Textes wurde der Fundkontext (wie so oft) nicht hinreichend beachtet – insofern hätte der Text auch schon oben ausführlicher in Betracht gezogen werden können. Das Gebäude IX 5, 11. 13, mutmaßlich das Haus eines Poppaeus Primus, ist ausgeschmückt mit Musenbildern, darunter in der 'Bibliothek' Darstellungen der Musen.[93] Selbst E. Courtney[94] oder aber auch A. Varone[95] erwecken aber im Zusammenhang mit diesem Carmen Epigraphicum den Eindruck, als handle es sich um ein in der im Poem geschilderten Situation spontan entstandenes Produkt – hiervon kann jedoch keine Rede sein. Neben den bereits erwähnten Musen sind in verschiedenen Räumen zahlreiche Darstellungen von Amoretten und so weiter in diesem Gebäude gefunden worden.[96] Und schließlich ist in der linken *ala* des Gebäudes sogar noch ein weiteres kleines erotisches Carmen Epigraphicum erhalten geblieben, welches auf einer an die Wand gemalten Buchrolle erscheint, die wiederum einer Darstellung des Amor (mitsamt Tintenfaß und Schreibgerät) beigegeben ist.[97] Berücksichtigt man diese Umstände, mag man kaum daran glauben, daß es sich bei dem oben angeführten Text (dessen sorgsame Ausführung in *CIL* IV zudem ausdrücklich gelobt wird) um ein besonders spontan

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[92] *CIL* IV 5092 (cf. p. 705) = *CLE* 44.

[93] S. zusammenfassend Eschebach (s. Anm. 22) 424–425.

[94] Vgl. Courtney (s. Anm. 4) 300: "The writer is travelling with a mule-train, and addresses the muleteer, who is lingering over his drink."

[95] Vgl. Varone (s. Anm. 31) 19–20: "On an ancient street, two thousand years ago, the irrepressible yearning for the love of a girl (or was it really a girl at all?) forced the coachman to make as rapid progress as possible to get to the desired goal of Pompeii, the city consecrated to Venus Fisica, to find there the joys of passion."

[96] Ein ausführliches Register findet sich bei K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis. Topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive*, Berlin 1957, 257–259.

[97] *CIL* IV 3691 = *CLE* 951; vgl. dazu Varone (s. Anm. 31) 27–28.

entworfenes Carmen handelt, vielmehr fügt er sich im Hinblick auf sein Sujet in das Ambiente des Hauses ein, wodurch die Qualität des kleinen Stücks noch eine zusätzliche Aufwertung erfährt.

Mythologisch von besonderer Relevanz ist ein kleines als Beischrift zu einem im IV. Stil ausgeführten Bild gefundenes, in der Lesung partiell etwas problematisches Carmen Epigraphicum in elegischen Distichen:[98]

> **[25]** *Quae paruis mater natis alimenta | parabat, fortuna in patrios uertit | iniqua cibos. Aeuo dignum opus est | tenui ceruice seniles, as[pice, ia]m | uenae lacte ++[- - -]q(ue) | simul uultu fri<c>at ipsa Miconem Pero:| Tristis inest cum pietate pudor.*

> Was die Mutter für die kleinen Kinder an Nahrung bereitete, macht das Schicksal zur väterlichen
> Speise, zu Unrecht! Das Werk ist des Alters würdig: Siehe, schon ... die Venen des Alten Mannes in seinem kraftlosen Hals von Milch ... und zugleich ... mit ... Miene ... reibt wärmend (?) Pero selbst den Mico: Das (sc. Bild?) beinhaltet betrübliches Scham- gepaart mit Pflichtgefühl.

Das Bild, zu welchem der Text als Verständnishilfe dient (die reinen Namen sind den Figuren außerdem beigeschrieben), zeigt eine befremdliche Szene: Eine Frau stillt einen alten Mann.[99] Es scheint nicht plausibel, daß sich ein solcher Text ohne die konkrete Verbindung zum Bild je gefunden hätte. Literarisch ist ein vergleichbarer Mythos in zwei verschiedenen Varianten überliefert: Valerius Maximus berichtet von einer Frau namens Pero, die ihren Vater Kimon im Gefängnis mit der Brust ernährt habe.[100] Demgegenüber berichtet Hygin von einer Episode, bei der eine Xanthippe ihren Vater Mykon gestillt habe.[101] In der pompejanischen Inschrift liegt, wie es den Anschein hat, eine Kontamination beider Legendenversionen vor.

Eine ansprechende kleine Spielerei, bei dem die Verbindung des Schriftbildes mit Text und Inhalt von besonderer Bedeutung ist, soll diesen

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[98] *CIL* IV 6635 *c* = *CLE* 2048 = *CLE* Engström 279, zur Deutung s. zusammenfassend sowie mit weiterführenden Literaturhinweisen Courtney (s. Anm. 4) 76–77, 277–278 Nr. 56.

[99] Umfassend zu dieser Legende s. beispielsweise W. Deonna, *Deux études de symbolisme religieux. La légende de Pero et de Micon et l'allaitement symbolique. L'aigle et le bijou: À propos du collier d'Harmonie décrit par Nonnos* (Collection Latomus 189), Brüssel 1955.

[100] Val. Max. 5,4 ext. 1.

[101] Hyg. *fab*. 254,3.

letzten Abschnitt beschließen. In Pompeji fand sich der bislang einzige Beleg für das Genre der *carmina figurata* in lateinischer Sprache aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr., der bislang bekannt geworden ist.[102] (Gleichwohl ist aber zu bemerken, daß die Anordnung anderer Texte in Figurenform in Pompeji keineswegs unbekannt ist.)[103] Der in elegischen Distichen verfaßte, in Schlangenform angeordnete und daher fortlaufend geschriebene Text lautet wie folgt:[104]

> **[26]** *[Ser]pentis lusus si qui sibi forte notauit, Sepumius iuuenis quos fac(i)t ingenio, spectator scaenae siue es studiosus e[q]uorum: sic habeas [lanc]es se[mp]er ubiq[ue p]a[res].*
>
> Falls jemand zufällig die Spiele mit der Schlange bemerken sollte, die der junge Sepumius geistreich veranstaltet, sei es ein Theaterbesucher oder ein Pferdenarr, möge er stets und überall gerecht behandelt werden (?).

Entdeckt wurde der Text an der Via Nolana. Die Bedeutung und Qualität des Carmen, das praktisch um seiner selbst willen verfaßt worden zu sein scheint, gründet vorrangig auf seinen metaliterarischen Eigenheiten: Zum einen handelt es sich eben, wie bereits gesagt, um ein *carmen figuratum*, also ein im Schema einer bestimmten Figur, die hier zudem im Text selbst eine zentrale Rolle spielt, angeordnete, sprachlich gebundene Äußerung. Zum anderen wird die Schlange, deren *figura* das *carmen* widerspiegelt, nicht nur im Text selbst gleich zu Beginn erwähnt, sondern auch noch lautmalerisch durch die auffällig hohe Anzahl an S-Lauten im Text charakterisiert, da diese das Zischen von Schlangen zu imitieren scheinen.

Neben den hier vorgestellten Texten mag es eine Reihe weiterer metrischer Inschriften geben, denen der eine oder andere literarisches Niveau oder zumindest eine erhöhte Relevanz für die literaturwissenschaftliche Erforschung des Lateinischen zubilligen mag. Ob eine solche Klassifizierung den Texten in allen Fällen gerecht wird, ist eine

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[102] S. weiterführend G. Wojaczek, "Schlüssel und Schlange. Zwei figurale Texte aus Antike und Mittelalter", *WJA* N. F. 14 (1988) 241–252, insbes. 248–252.

[103] Vgl. umfassend hierzu F. P. Maulucci Vivoli, *Pompei: I graffiti figurati*, Foggia 1993 sowie zu Graffitizeichnungen allgemein die archäologisch ausgerichtete Arbeit von M. Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen: Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung* (Palilia 11), Wiesbaden 2001.

[104] *CIL* IV 1595 (cf. p. 209, 463) = *CLE* 927.

Frage, ob sie sich überhaupt objektiv durchführen läßt, eine andere. Unabhängig vom Grad der Literarizität der Texte – eine Kategorie, die man durchaus einmal kritisch im Hinblick auf ihre normative Aussagekraft hinterfragen könnte – soll die hier gewählte Präsentation aber vorrangig auf etwas anderes aufmerksam machen: Natürlich lassen sich die meisten dieser Texte auch *absolute* lesen und interpretieren. Nicht selten werden aber selbst diese scheinbar höherwertigen Texte vollends versteh- und interpretierbar, wenn man auf ihre spezifische Natur als Carmina Epigraphica rekurriert und den Überlieferungskontext mit berücksichtigt.

Für eine umfassende Edition und Kommentierung speziell dieser Inschriften, wie sie zweifelsohne einmal in einem Faszikel von *CIL* XVIII erfolgen wird, hat dies bedeutende Konsequenzen: (i) Es ist stets zu überprüfen, in welchem Überlieferungskontext die jeweilige Inschrift steht. Finden sich etwa räumliche Bezüge zu dem Text? Finden sich weitere Inschriften in der Nähe, die den Inhalt des Textes erklären oder zumindest erhellen könnten? Stammt der Text aus einem öffentlich zugänglichen oder aber aus einem privaten Bereich? (ii) Es wäre zu fragen, ob sich eine Art Topographie der metrischen Inschriften erstellen läßt, um gegebenenfalls bestimmte Auffälligkeiten bei der Verteilung ablesen zu können. (iii) Es ist grundsätzlich die Frage zu stellen, inwiefern es sich bei metrischen *graffiti* um spontane sprachliche Äußerungen handelt (bei *dipinti* scheint eine solche Vermutung ohnehin allein schon aufgrund des Aufwandes bei der Ausführung nicht angebracht). In einer ganzen Reihe von Fällen ergibt sich bei genauerer Überprüfung der Eindruck, daß die Texte, zumal ab einer gewissen Länge, durchaus planvoll gestaltet und angebracht wurden. (iv) Es wäre zweckmäßig, bei der Erstellung der Materialbasis von vornherein auch statistisch verwertbare Informationen zu metrischen Besonderheiten zur Verfügung zu stellen, um endlich eine Grundlage für eine formalästhetische Beurteilung dieser Texte sowie der Fähigkeiten und Maßstäbe ihrer Verfasser zu gewinnen.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

TRAVELLING FEMALE ENTERTAINERS OF THE HELLENISTIC AGE

PASI LOMAN

Scholars have tended to disregard female entertainers of the Hellenistic – and all other periods of Antiquity – as prostitutes or otherwise disreputable women. Moreover, while the existence of girls who played the flute, for example, at men's drinking parties is well known, it is not usually acknowledged that many women practised music as a profession in a wider sense, e.g. travelling to and performing at Panhellenic festivals. Indeed, when we have evidence for women travelling around the Greek world performing to festival audiences, these women have usually been seen as rare, pretty much unique, cases. It will be argued in this paper that the scarcity of evidence for professional female entertainers is due to the nature of sources – i.e. there was a much larger female artistic community in the Hellenistic period than the sources would at first glance imply – and that this has led to an underestimation of the number of female entertainers. A case will also be made that many of the women working in the entertainment industry came from good families; by no means were all or even most female entertainers slaves or prostitutes. It is of particular interest that the women we shall discuss were not restricted to performing at private parties and local gatherings, but many of them travelled far and wide because of their profession, even taking part in Panhellenic competitions. In this paper, we shall go through some of the evidence for women poets, musicians, dancers and acrobats who are known to have travelled from one location to another in order to perform at private or public gatherings. At the very end of this paper, a brief mention will be given to female entertainers who travelled with armies and who had an important role in boosting the morale of the soldiers.

Poets

There were more women poets in the Hellenistic period than ever before. Moreover, we have unambiguous evidence to demonstrate that women who composed poetry also travelled to festivals in order to perform and compete. Successful women poets received civic honours and financial rewards on par with men.

A well-known woman poet who won competitions in the third or second century BCE was Aristomache of Erythrae. Plutarch mentions that she appears twice in the records kept by the treasuries of Delphi as the victor in epic verse at the Isthmia.[1] Assuming that she came from the *Boiotian* city of Erythrae, Aristomache had to travel nearly one hundred kilometres to Corinth in order to take part in these competitions. In ancient terms, this is a considerable distance. It is very striking that Aristomache was sufficiently committed to her artistic calling that she travelled such significant distances so that she could perform and compete. That she actually won competitions, at least two and possibly more, is truly remarkable, for she no doubt had to compete with men, who probably would have had better education than she had had.[2]

Probably the most famous travelling female poet of the Hellenistic age is, however, Aristodama of Smyrna. Epigraphic evidence suggests that she travelled widely and achieved considerable fame already in her own lifetime. She received awards of *proxeny* in at least two cities. Firstly, the Lamians commemorated her, among other things by giving her citizenship, as a reward for giving several recitations of her poems, which were favourable to the Aitolians and their ancestors.[3] The second (known) city that offered her awards was that of Chalai[on] in Thessaly.[4] We know of her visit to this city from a commemorative inscription, found at Delphi, which

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[1] Plut. *Mor.* 675b.

[2] We do not have any evidence for artistic competitions that would have had separate categories for men and women; unlike in athletics, for example. The first scholar to emphatically argue that male and female musicians competed in the same category was Lee (H.M. Lee, "*SIG*^{3} 802: Did Women Compete Against Men in Greek Athletic Festivals?", *Nikephoros* 1 (1988) 103–117, esp. 109).

[3] *SIG*^{3} 532 = S. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII*, Cambridge 1985, no. 64.

[4] *SEG* II 263.

is very similar to the one inscribed by the Lamians. The rewards she was awarded were also almost identical to the ones she received at Lamia, with the exception that at Chalaios she was additionally crowned and awarded one hundred drachmas monetary prize.[5]

Aristodama and Aristomache are not the only Hellenistic women poets known to have travelled. Another similar poet was a woman called Alkinoe. She was a citizen of the Aetolian city Thronion, but she is attested as visiting or moving to Tenos, where an inscription relating to her and her poetry has been found.[6] Although the inscription states explicitly that Alkinoe came from Thronion, Bielman has suggested that her roots were, in fact, in Asia Minor, but this view is based on somewhat dubious onomastic comparisons.[7] In any case, the inscription clearly indicates that Alkinoe was mobile; she had travelled from Thronion to Tenos. Moreover, it seems that she travelled because of her profession.[8]

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[5] *SEG* II 263, ll. 14–29. It is to be noted that Aristodama did not travel alone; she toured with her brother Dionysios. He clearly profited from his sister's talent, for he too received the rights of a proxenos, citizenship, and inviolability (*SEG* II 263, ll. 30–31).

[6] *IG* XII 5, 812.

[7] A. Bielman, *Femmes en public dans le monde hellénistique*, Paris 2002, 219–220. To support her case, Bielman mentions that one Demetrius of Ephesos had a son by the name of Alkinos, but since this was a common name in many regions, it can surely not be used as evidence for his, or the woman poet Alkinoe's, origins.

[8] The inscription does not reveal any accompanying *kyrios* for Alkinoe, but this need not necessarily mean that she travelled alone. On this issue, see C. Vatin, *Recherches sur le mariage et la condition de la femme mariée à l'époque hellénistique*, Paris 1970, 267. The inscription referring to Alkinoe is extremely fragmentary. Indeed, it is to be noted that Bouvier has insisted that the inscription is too fragmentary to establish Alkinoe's profession (H. Bouvier, "Une intruse dans la littérature grecque", *ZPE* 40 [1980] 36–38). This view has not, however, won any support (*SEG* XXX 1066; Bielman [above n. 7] 219–221). For those of us who are working with the printed editions of this inscription only, it is difficult to judge, but one is inclined to believe that she was a poet. This is not simply because editors before and after Bouvier have found it possible to interpret the inscription in this manner, but also because the restoration of this inscription has been aided by our knowledge of the line lengths, as well as comparisons to other similar inscriptions. In any case, even if we cannot be absolutely certain about her profession, there is no doubt at all concerning her mobility. The words 'Alkinoe', and 'from Thronion' are not among those that have had to been restored, i.e. they are clearly visible on the stone (which was found in Tenos). Similarly we know that this is an official honorific decree, because the word for 'people' (or deme), is clear and in a place we would expect it to be in such an inscription. We can, therefore, be sure that Alkinoe went from Thronion

The survival rate of inscriptions such as the ones referring to Aristodama and Alkinoe cannot have been great. It is reasonable to assume that many similar inscriptions have been lost, or damaged beyond restoration. It would appear plausible, therefore, that there were other women poets who received similar honours, we just don't happen to have evidence for them. It would be too much of a coincidence if the inscriptions relating to the *only* two travelling women poets had survived.

None of the poetry written by Aristodama, Alkinoe or Aristomache survives. There are four Hellenistic women poets from whom some texts have come down to us, namely Anyte, Erinna, Moero, and Nossis. While we have only very few biographical details for these women, it appears that at least some of them were mobile. For example, since Anyte makes some references to the sea in her poems, it has been argued that she would have travelled [from Tegea] at least as far as the Peloponnesian coast.[9] A coastal city that we are fairly certain that she visited is Naupactos in southern Aetolia, or West Locris to be more precise, for Pausanias recalls a story of Anyte sailing there. Details of the story must clearly be fictional, but it probably has got a historical origin. According to Pausanias, then, Anyte was inspired by the healing god Asclepios at Epidauros to go to Naupactos in order to stop a man becoming blind. On arrival, Anyte gave the man a sealed wax tablet, which he was miraculously able to read and thus regain his vision. Fortunately for Anyte, the text on the wax tablet required him to give her money![10] We may never be able to trace the true origins of this fantastic story concerning Anyte's visit to Naupactos.[11] It would seem probable, however, that she *did* visit the city of Naupactos and/or have some connection with the city.[12]

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to Tenos, and that for one reason or the other [the council and] the people erected an honorific inscription for her.

[9] S. Barnard, "Hellenistic Women Poets", *CJ* 73 (1978) 204–213, esp. 204. Two possible places of origin are given to Anyte: Tegea in Arcadia and Lesbos (Pollux, 5,48). Based on her Doric dialect, scholars are convinced that Tegea is the more likely birthplace of this poet. This impression is given more weight by references to the Arcadian god Pan in her work (J. McIntosh Snyder, *The Woman and the Lyre. Women writers in Classical Greece and Rome*, Carondale and Edwardsville 1989, 67).

[10] Paus. 10,38,13.

[11] Snyder (above n. 9) 68.

[12] Barnard (above n. 9) 210. Two epigrams by Anyte herself further indicate that she indeed was mobile, or that she at least had "a wider range of social contacts within the

Musicians

The tendency among scholars has been to dismiss all female musicians of Antiquity as prostitutes. It was in this vein that Herfst, for example, omitted musicianship almost entirely from his study on women's work in Ancient Greece. Even he admits, however, that some of these women musicians were not prostitutes or *hetairai*.[13] That some flute-girls, and other musicians, were indeed *hetairai*/prostitutes, or *vice versa*, is not in doubt. However, Starr has made a very compelling case for this to have been the exception, not the rule, i.e. the majority of flute-girls would have been professional (freeborn) musicians, who made their living by music, not by selling sex. As he points out, some vase-paintings do indeed depict nude flute-girls, which would imply that they were not respectable ladies, but in majority of the vases that picture flute-girls the girls are fully dressed. Moreover, even the few exceptions may be explained by male erotic imagination.[14] Lewis, in a recent study on female iconography on Greek pottery, has independently come to similar conclusion, i.e. the scenes in pots do not imply that flute players would have habitually been prostitutes, and the passages in Aristophanes and Menander are not decisive evidence.[15] She also highlights the fact that female flute players abound in vase paintings depicting wedding processions, sacrifices, and other occasions that have nothing to do with the sex industry.[16] Starr further notes that while flute-girls and prostitutes are often mentioned in the same connection by the ancient authors, they are

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Greek world than we might otherwise guess" (Snyder (above n. 9) 70). A) *The Lydian dust holds this Amyntor, son of Philip, who touched iron-hard battle with his hand many times. Nor did grievous sickness send him to the House of the Night, but he perished holding his round shield over his comrade-in-arms* (Anyte 6 [Snyder] = *Anthologia Palatina* 7,232). B) *This man, while he was alive, was Manes; now that he has died, his power is equal to that of the great Darius* (Anyte 7 [Snyder] = *Anthologia Palatina* 7,538). Both of the poems suggest some kind of connections with Asia Minor and/or beyond it (Snyder (above n. 9) 70). It is mainly the names that appear in the poems, as well as the 'Lydian dust,' which point to this conclusion. The first of these poems, obviously, refers to a Macedonian soldier – Philip being a traditional Macedonian name.

[13] P. Herfst, *Le travail de la femme dans la Grèce ancienne*, New York 1979, 71–73.

[14] C.G. Starr, "An Evening with the Flute-Girls", *PP* 33 (1978), 401–410, esp. 405, 408–410.

[15] S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman. An Iconographic Handbook*, London and New York 2002, 95.

[16] Lewis (above n. 15) 96, figs. 1.17–18, 1.26, 1.31, 1.33.

talked about as different groups and their fees are separately itemised.[17] Lewis makes a useful comparison with the bad image Victorian actresses had; while some may have been strippers or prostitutes, many were respected professionals.[18] Bélis, also, in her book *Les musiciens dans l'antiquité*, has indicated that even respectable women played music in public, and occasionally travelled to distant places to perform, both at religious and secular events.[19]

Until the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, professional musicians, especially on public occasions, were predominantly men.[20] Gradually, however, women were given more and more opportunities, too. In one of his many epigraphic studies, Louis Robert demonstrated already in the 1930s that women did indeed play music to audiences in public; occasionally at places other than their home *poleis*.[21] Among the inscriptions used by Robert is an honorific inscription commemorating a second century BCE female harpist from Kyme, who performed with a choir at Delphi.[22] Bielman, who offers a French translation of this inscription, has argued that this anonymous female harpist, whose father is named as Aristocrates of Kyme, travelled to Delphi without a guardian.[23] She does not, however, provide compelling evidence to support this claim.

A similar inscription from Delphi, dating to 86 BCE, commemorates Polygnota, an artist of the same genre, from Thebes.[24] Polygnota did not

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17 Starr (above n. 14) 409–410.

18 Lewis (above n. 15) 96–97.

19 A. Bélis, *Les musiciens dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1999. Bélis mentions that in principle respectable Greek women of Hellenistic (as well as Classical) period were not meant to play music in public, or practice music as a profession in any case. According to her, married women in particular would not have been expected to do this, let alone take part in competitions. Yet, almost at the same breath she admits that some (young) women did play music in public (37).

20 Starr (above n. 14) 402–404.

21 L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 36–38. Moreover, the inscriptions he cites illustrate that the women who played the harp, for instance, would often have been accompanied by a choir of women (37–38).

22 *SIG*^{2} 689 = Bielman (above n. 7) no. 45; Robert (above n. 21) 38.

23 Bielman (above n. 7) 229.

24 H.W. Pleket, *Epigraphica II: Texts on the Social History of the Greek World*, Leiden 1969, no. 6 = M. R. Lefkowitz and M. B. Fant (eds.), *Women's Life in Greece and Rome. A Source Book in Translation*, London 1992^2, no. 306; cf. Robert (above n. 21) 38.

make her trip to Delphi alone but with her cousin and nephew.[25]

An inscription dating to 45 CE records various victories won by the three daughters of Hermesianax – mostly in equestrian events – these victories include Hedea winning a children's singing contest at the Sebasteia at Athens.[26] While this inscription comes from the Roman imperial period, it indirectly suggests that the games in which the three daughters of Hermesianax won their victories – those at Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Sicyon and Epidaurus – had allowed women to compete, at least in the equestrian events, for a relatively long time. This is, as Harris has argued, because the three sisters entered various competitions and kept coming back for the games, having the trouble to travel fair distances year after year; all this indicates that female participation in the games was well established by the time these three women took part.[27]

Lee has argued that the small number of (known) victorious female musicians, as opposed to victorious men, reflects a small number of female contestants.[28] However, we have to keep in mind that women had to compete with men.[29] This is significant, because in the Hellenistic period

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[25] Lefkowitz and Fant (above n. 24) 216; Bélis (above n. 19) 54. At any rate, Polygnota must have been from a respectable family because both her patronymic and city of origin are mentioned in the commemorative inscription (S. B. Pomeroy, "Technikai kai Mousikai: the Education of Women in the Fourth Century and in the Hellenistic Period", *AJAH* 2 (1977), 51–68, esp. 54). The rewards she received for her *profession* were considerable; her efforts were clearly much appreciated and respected.

[26] *SIG*³ 802 = Lee 1988: 103, translation on pages 103–104 = Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: no. 206. Harris's false argument that Hedea's victory at the Sebasteia came in a competition open only for girls is based on his mistranslation of a passage in *SIG*³ 802. He translates παῖδας as 'girls' rather than as 'boys' or as 'children' (H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, Westport Connecticut 1964, 180).

[27] H. A Harris (above n. 26) 180.

[28] Lee (above n. 2) 109–110.

[29] Lee (above n. 2) 108–10; See also M. Dillon, "Did Parthenoi Attend the Olympic Games? Girls and Women Competing, Spectating, and Carrying Out Cult Roles at Greek Religious Festivals", *Hermes* 128 (2000), 457–480, esp. 463. "The Isthmian victor lists from 3 A.D., which designates the athletic events as being for *paides ageneoi*, or *andres*, gives the musical events without any further description. We would expect a designation by sex similar to that by age if from Aristomache's time there had been separate women's competitions in musical events" (Lee [above n. 2] 109; *SEG* XI 61–62). "In contrast, if we assume all-female musical contests, we must then suppose that such events had existed at Isthmia when Aristomache won her prizes, and that they were then discontinued, only to be revived in the time of Hermesianax and his daughters" (Lee

women still had limited access to education – albeit that the situation had improved dramatically since the Archaic and Classical periods – and education was vital for learning to play an instrument, let alone for mastering it to the point of being able to win competitions.[30] It follows that women had a smaller pool of talent, diminishing the chances of many naturally talented individuals coming through. In other words, women had a disadvantage and the small number of known female victors need not reflect the number of women who entered the competitions. It may also be true that proportionately as well as numerically fewer of the educated women actually entered competitions than of the educated men, hence it is remarkable that any woman managed to win competitions (and it is even more amazing that we happen to have epigraphic evidence for them).

Professional female musicians evidently had job opportunities in a wide area also out of the festival/competition scene. Private individuals and clubs hired musical entertainment from time to time too.[31] All this, of course, is well known. However, it has not been widely acknowledged that occasionally this type of female musicians would have been summoned to work in far away places. It is very difficult to find direct evidence for this phenomenon, but the parties organised by Straton, the fourth century king of Sidon, may be representative of similar gatherings by other members of the Greek elite:

> Straton used to arrange his parties in the company of flute-girls, singing girls, and girls who played the harp; and he used to summon many courtesans from

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(above n. 2) 110). Indeed, as Lee suggests, it would be odd if there was a c. three hundred-year gap between women taking part in musical competitions – from third/second century BCE (Aristomache) to 45 CE (Hermesianax's daughters). The non-appearance of women in lists of victors in the interim period would best be explained by lack of success, i.e. women did compete but not many (if any) managed to beat male rivals.

30 W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge MA and London 1989, 133, 141. As Harris has noted, there is no evidence at all for girls or women receiving formal education before the Hellenistic period (96). Towards the end of the Classical era there seems to be a growing sense that girls should be allowed access to schools; children of both sexes would, for example, attend schools in Plato's ideal cities (Plato, *Laws* 7,804c–e). During the Hellenistic period girls certainly did enjoy this privilege, at least in some cities, as is evident from a second century inscription from Teos, which concerns the foundation of a school and the wages of the teacher, who was to teach boys and girls (*SIG*^{3} 578).

31 W. L. Westermann, "Entertainment in the Villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt", *JEA* 18 (1932) 16–27.

> Peloponnesus, many singing girls from Ionia, besides girls from every part of Greece, some of whom were singers, some dancers; he was in the habit of getting up contests among them in the company of his friends.[32]

It is to be noted that Straton summoned female musicians and courtesans as separate and distinct groups, so it appears that the musicians were not *hetairai*. He clearly was after distinguished talent, which was not readily available within or nearby his kingdom.[33]

Straton was by no means unique in his taste for imported entertainment. Probably all of the Hellenistic courts employed *foreign* musicians, both temporarily and permanently. Some of these women were also mistresses of the kings. For example, Lamia, the infamous mistress of Demetrius Poliorketes, is said to have played the flute for Demetrius.[34] Glauce, the harpist/kitharist who was believed by the ancients to have been so beautiful that even some animals fell in love with her, was the mistress of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. She had migrated to Alexandria from Chios and was not only a musician and a singer, but a composer, too.[35] A Samian flute player and dancer, Aristonica, is known to have immigrated to Alexandria to work at the Ptolemaic court; this probably took place during the reign of Ptolemy IV.[36]

All the female musicians we have mentioned were exceptional in one way or the other; some of them were victorious in competitions – thus they were particularly skilful; we only hear of winners – while others belonged to the small circle of women who played in the royal courts of the Hellenistic kings. It is fair to assume that in addition to these women, there would have been many women who took part in musical competitions but did not win, and women whose clients were less illustrious than the Ptolemies, for example.[37] Such women almost certainly existed (in considerable

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[32] Athen. 12,531B–C; cf. Diod. 16,42ff.

[33] It was not only in private symposiums that offered opportunities for musicians. Flute-players, for example, were required in religious processions, choruses, and at the theatres to accompany dramas (Starr [above n. 14] 402).

[34] Plut. *Dem*. 27,4.

[35] Theoc. *Id.* 4,31; Plin. *nat.* 10,26,51; Athen. 4,176C–D; cf. Ael. *NA* 1,6; 5,29; 8,11; *VH* 9,39; *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* no. 14718.

[36] Plut. *Mor*. 753d; *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* no. 14715.

[37] A kitharist called Satyra is a unique exception. She worked in the Alexandrian household of Apollonios, the famous third century businessman. Correspondence

numbers?), but there is little reason why they would have left any lasting memorial of themselves; they were unlikely to receive honorific inscriptions, and the ancient authors would have had no reason to write about them. Had Glauce, for example, been hired by a wealthy patron at Dura Europus or some other Greek city in Asia Minor instead of Ptolemy II at his Alexandrian court, the ancient authors would not have been interested in writing about her, regardless of how beautiful she was.

Dancers and Acrobats

A fascinating papyrus concerning a female dancer has survived from late third century Egypt:

> Sosos, son of Sosos, Syracusan, of the *epigone*, has hired himself to Olympias… of Attika (*? Athenian*), dancer, acting with Zopyros, son of Marikkos (?), Galatian of the *epigone*, as her guardian, to work with her as a flute-player for twelve months from the month of Hyperbereitaios of the 16th year for a wage of forty-five bronze drachmas per month. And Sosos has received in advance from Olympias 50 bronze drachmas. He shall not fail to appear at any festival or any other engagement at which Olympias is present and he shall not provide service for anyone else without the authority of Olympias. The keeper of the contract is Olympichos, son of Herodotos, Kleopatreus.
> […] Sosos is about 30 years of age, short, large, with honey-coloured skin. Olympias is about 20 years of age, short, with white skin and round face. Sopyros is about 40 years of age, of medium height, with honey-coloured skin and a round face. Olympichos is about 40 years of age, of medium height, with honey-coloured skin, a large face and a bald forehead. The contract was written in year 16, Hyperberetaios.[38]

This papyrus, which dates to January/February 231 BCE, brings up a number of interesting issues. The first notable fact is that Olympias is the centre of all action, albeit that she is not writing the document herself: a flute-player is being hired *for* her; *she* pays for the services of the musician from *her* own resources; Sosos, the flute-player, follows *her* when *she* has 'a gig' to do and not the other way around, moreover she has a *monopoly* for

between Satyra and her employer has survived in the Zenon papyri (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59028, 59059, 59087). We do not know where she came from, however; she may have been a local woman, perhaps a second-generation immigrant.

[38] *CPR* XVIII 1 = J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek & Roman Egypt. A sourcebook*, Cambridge 1998, no. 215.

his services. Yet, despite her powerful position, Olympias was not able to act independently; being a woman she needed a guardian. However, the guardian does not seem to have been a blood-relative of hers; she appears to have been able to hire a 'manager' of sorts to act as her *kyrios*.

Although young, only twenty years of age, Olympias had evidently been performing for some time and with considerable success, as she was able to employ a musician (and a manager?). Everything from the hire of a flute-player to the mention of them attending festivals (in plural) and 'other engagements' (= private parties?) implies that Olympias really was a full-time professional, who devoted all her time and efforts to pursuing her artistic trade. For the current study, the most significant fact is that she clearly travelled because of her profession. Also notable is the fact that she is said to be from Attika; providing evidence, therefore, that Greeks, including women, *from Greece* continued to migrate to Egypt in the late third century BCE.[39]

There are other papyri relating to the hire of female dancers, some of which also indicate that such dance professionals were mobile due to their profession. We have, for example, a papyrus from Philadelphia, dating to 206 CE – so late for our current study, but not unique nor anything that could not and did not occur in earlier centuries – in which a woman called Isidora, a castanet-dancer, from Artemisia (in Philadelphia) employs two fellow dancers to perform at her house. The papyrus includes the terms of the contract, including rate of pay and a promise to provide transport to and from her place.[40] Unfortunately, we do not know the distance between the party and the homes of the hired dancers; it is possible, therefore, that they were no further than from another part of the city.

Other than poets, musicians, and dancers we have very little evidence for women being involved in what could be called the entertainment industry (the sex industry being separate from this). A rare exception is an inscription referring to a Kleopatra. She appears on the last line of an

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[39] It is possible, though one feels unlikely, that the reference to her origin only refers to her ancestors' origin, i.e. that she was born in Egypt. If that was the case, we would still have evidence of female mobility from Greece to Egypt through her, for her white skin reveals that there had not been any mixed unions between Greeks and Egyptians among her ancestors; her family, both the paternal and maternal lines, must have originated from Greece or from one of the Greek cities in Asia Minor.

[40] *P.Corn.* 9 = Rowlandson (above n. 38) no. 216 = Lefkowitz and Fant (above n. 24) no. 309

inscription listing the people taking part in an audition, ἐπίδειξις,[41] at the festival for Apollo (or Dionysios) at Delos in 268.[42] In fact, she appears on two similar lists in exactly the same manner.[43] It is difficult to establish what exactly this Kleopatra did, for the term used to describe her, θαυματοποιός, can cover a wide range of activities and professions: juggler, acrobat, rope dancer, contortionist, magician etc. The term derives from θαυματοποιέω, to do wonders.[44] The word Bielman has chosen to use in her French translation of this inscription is 'saltimbanque.' A conjurer or a magician would indeed be most plausible profession for this Kleopatra, given the traditional association of women with magic in Antiquity. Hall, however, calls her a specialist trick dancer.[45] Even if the exact nature of her performance remains a mystery, we can be sure that she was an entertainer of some sort. Bielman tentatively suggest that Kleopatra – and other women like her – travelled independently and not with any group; the fact that Kleopatra is named separately from the other people in the same list has led her to this conclusion.[46]

It is impossible to quantify the (travelling) female entertainers of the Hellenistic period. A register of all known artists in Greek Antiquity, compiled by Stephanis in 1988, may give only some very tentative guidance as to the number of female versus male artists.[47] This list includes the names of 3023 artists, of whom 104 are women (these figures include fictional characters in the plays of Aristophanes and other playwrights). Women's proportion of all the known artists is, therefore, less than 4%, which is hardly a huge figure, but not entirely negligible either. It is also of interest that recent studies on the artistic associations, the διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται, by Aneziri and Le Guen, have not revealed any women who would have

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[41] An audition was a presentation in or at the margins of a festival (Bielman (above n. 7) 211).

[42] *IG* XI 2, 110 = Bielman (above n. 7) 40.

[43] *IG* XI 2, 112; *IG* XI 2, 113.

[44] Bielman (above n. 7) 211.

[45] E. Hall, "The Singing Actors of Antiquity", in Easterling, P., and Hall, E. (eds.), *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Cambridge 2002, 22n.63.

[46] Bielman (above n. 7) 213. She makes further observations, including on the age of these artists (between 15 and 22 years), but these are not relevant for the current study.

[47] I. E. Stephanis, Διονυσιακοί τεχνῖται, Heraklion 1988.

belonged to these clubs in the Hellenistic or any other period.[48]

Female Entertainers at Military Camps

One special group of travelling female entertainers deserve the final word, namely those who travelled with armies; here we are talking about musicians, dancers, and prostitutes. From Athenaeus we learn that in 440 BCE Pericles's troops were accompanied by a group of prostitutes, *hetairai*, when they lay a siege on Samos.[49] Cyrus's famous mercenaries, the so-called Ten Thousand, had female entertainers and prostitutes with them on their campaign.[50] Alexander allowed prostitutes and entertainers to follow his army. It was claimed in Antiquity, in fact, that he *always* had both male and female flute players among his troops.[51] The most famous, or infamous, of the women who travelled on Alexander's trails was Thais, the future wife of Ptolemy I Soter; she was reportedly behind the burning of Persepolis.[52] Even though many of the Hellenistic mercenaries brought their wives and families with them on campaigns, there no doubt was a whole hoard of entertainers and prostitutes among the camp followers too.[53]

Conclusion

Ancient historians are often vulnerable for criticism that they base their arguments on meagre evidence, and form great generalisations on few isolated examples. Although few fragmentary pieces of evidence are often all we have to work with, such criticism is usually justified and one should

[48] S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten in Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft* (= Historia Einzelschriften 163), Stuttgart 2003, 221–223; B. Le Guen, *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*, 2 vols., Nancy 2001.

[49] Athen. 13,572f.

[50] Athen. 13,576d; Xen. *Anab*. 6,1,1–13.

[51] Athen. 12,539a.

[52] Plut. *Alex*. 38.

[53] For discussion on the number and importance of female camp followers, see P. Loman, "No Woman No War: Women's Participation in Ancient Greek Warfare", *G&R* 51 (2004), 34–54, esp. 44–54.

indeed be careful about making definite arguments unless there is plenty of clear evidence to support one's case. When it comes to professional female entertainers, however, we can acknowledge that there are good reasons why we would not have much evidence for them even if/when there were plenty of such women. The fact that they do not appear to have joined, or allowed to join, the artistic associations explains the shortage of references to female entertainers to a degree, but there are other reasons too. In competitions women competed with men, but they would have found it much more difficult to win due to their inferior education – and perhaps due to the conservative tastes of the judges – hence there evidently were only very few victorious female musicians or poets, for example. Yet, we do have some references, both in literature and the epigraphic records, to women who won artistic competitions, which makes it extremely tempting to conclude that there were other women who took part but did not win. We are unlikely to ever have clear evidence for such women, but it would appear very unlikely that the few women we know to have won competitions would have been the only women ever to have participated in such competitions.

In addition to competing women, there will have been women who travelled from place to place reciting their poetry, for example. We are lucky to have evidence for a few such women. These women must have been exceptional in their skills, as the lavish awards they were granted by various cities indicate – only the very best could have received such huge sums of money, for example. It is fair to assume, however, that there would have been some or even many other women who visited foreign cities and performed at public gatherings, but with less success and leaving, therefore, no lasting memorial of them. Moreover, there will probably have been many more inscriptions commemorating women entertainers than have survived to the day; the ones we have can and must be seen as a tip of an ice berg (just how big the 'ice berg' was is impossible to tell).

We also have to remember that there were many women who made their living by performing at private parties. While the evidence is again scarce, we have seen that occasionally such women were commissioned to perform at foreign cities, most notably at royal courts, but probably at other elite houses too. The ancient authors were, on the whole, not interested in describing the events at private gatherings, let alone the lives and backgrounds of the female entertainers who performed outside the court circles.

A close examination of the available evidence and careful consideration of the nature of our sources has given grounds to argue that the ancient source material is misleading concerning the number of professional female entertainers who made a living by performing at various types of events in many different locations. This leads us to conclude that not only did entertainment industry give more employment opportunities to women of various backgrounds than has previously been acknowledged, but also to point out that the social and cultural contribution of these women will have been of some significance. The value of travelling female entertainers was of particular importance for the armies of Greek antiquity, especially the Hellenistic mercenary armies.

University of Nottingham

WHEN AND WHY DID THE ATHENIAN μετοικία SYSTEM DISAPPEAR? THE EVIDENCE OF INSCRIPTIONS

Maria Niku

Inscriptions are the primary source for the study of the Athenian μετοικία system[1] after the Classical period. They are evidence of both the official obligations of the resident foreigners (tax, military service) and issues that were important for the status of resident foreigners, such as naturalization. The most important are the state honorary decrees, but, for instance, the grave inscriptions of ἰσοτελεῖς are usable as well. Since references to aspects of the status of resident foreigners are frequent in epigraphic sources throughout the Classical period, their disappearance indicates the disappearance of μετοικία. The purpose of this paper is to examine how far into the Hellenistic period the epigraphic references to the different aspects of the official status of resident foreigners extend; in other words, how far into the Hellenistic period did μετοικία survive? Why did it eventually disappear?

1. Mixed marriage legal and the offspring of such unions legal citizens from 229/8[2]

The Athenian citizenship legislation since the law of Pericles (451/0) stipulated that in order for a child to become a full citizen, both parents must be citizens. The law was still in force in the 320s.[3] The legislation did not

[1] From now on simply μετοικία.

[2] All dates in this paper are B.C.

[3] Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 26,3; 42,1; *Pol.* 1275,b23–25. See also Plut. *Per.* 37,3; Ael. *VH.* 6,10; 13,24.

formally prohibit mixed marriage or make it illegal – in fact, it does not refer to marital issues at all. In practice however, it rendered mixed marriage invalid or at least extremely unattractive, because the children would not be enfranchised. The aim of the legislation was to limit access to citizenship.[4] Mixed marriage was formally banned sometime in the 4th century,[5] as seen in the Demosthenic speech *In Neaeram*:

> "If an alien shall live as husband with an Athenian woman in any way or manner whatsoever, he may be indicted before the Thesmothetae by anyone who chooses to do so from among the Athenians having the right to bring charges. And if he be convicted, he shall be sold, himself and his property, and the third part shall belong to the one securing his conviction. The same principle shall hold also if an alien woman shall live as wife with an Athenian, and the Athenian who lives as husband with the alien woman so convicted shall be fined one thousand drachmae."[6]

The law would seem to prohibit any kind of cohabitation of citizens and foreigners. This cannot be, because concubinage was legal, whether with a foreign or slave woman, possibly also with a citizen woman.[7] The speech is about γραφή ξενίας, public indictment for pretending to be a citizen.[8] Apollodoros is trying to establish that Athenian Stephanus and the foreigner Neaera were living as in legal Athenian marriage and thus were

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[4] For instance D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens,* London 1978, 87; P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, 332; D. Ogden, *Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic periods*, Oxford 1996, 62.

[5] See MacDowell (above n. 4) 87. Rhodes (above n. 4) 332; K. A. Kapparis (ed.), *Apollodoros 'Against Neaira' [D.59]*, Berlin and New York 1999, 27.

[6] [Dem.] 59,16: Ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ἀστῇ συνοικῇ τέχνῃ ἢ μηχανῇ ᾑτινιοῦν, γραφέσθω πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας Ἀθηναίων ὁ βουλόμενος οἷς ἔξεστιν. ἐὰν δὲ ἁλῷ, πεπράσθω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἔστω τοῦ ἑλόντος. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἐὰν ἡ ξένη τῷ ἀστῷ συνοικῇ κατὰ ταὐτά, καὶ ὁ συνοικῶν τῇ ξένῃ τῇ ἁλούσῃ ὀφειλέτω χιλίας δραχμάς.

[7] Walters, *Classical Antiquity* 2 (1983) 320–321. Kapparis (above n. 5) 8–13. The latter doubts the argument that concubinage with an Athenian woman was legal. He also notes that the phrase 'in any way or manner whatsoever' (τέχνῃ ἢ μηχανῇ ᾑτινιοῦν), is simply a standard phrase used in legal texts aiming to eliminate any possibility of violation of the law, oath or treaty (p. 205).

[8] S. C. Todd, *SYMPOSION 1993. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Geschichtsgeschichte (Graz-Andritz 12.–16. September 1993)*, Köln, Weimar, Wien 1994, 134.

trying to pass off Neaera's daughter as an Athenian.[9] In fact, the law dictated that the union of a citizen and a foreigner could not constitute a legal Athenian marriage, and that it was illegal to try to pass off such a union as Athenian marriage.[10]

The legislation on citizenship and marital issues had changed by 229/8. The evidence consists solely of inscriptions. Osborne notes that from ca. 229 onwards the naturalization decrees no longer specify that the descendants of the naturalized citizens shall also be citizens. This stipulation had been commonplace since the 380s and had been necessary to ensure citizenship for the children of foreign mothers, the wives the naturalized men had brought with them from their home state.[11] Ogden saw the omission of this stipulation as a sign of changes that made the children of Athenian male citizens and foreign women automatically citizens of full right.[12] Following Vatin, he presents three cases of citizen offspring of mixed marriage:[13]

> *IG* II^2 9975 (mid 2nd cent.): Μεθύλλιον Θεστίου Μυριναία, Ἡγεμάχου Λευκονοέως γυνή.
> *IG* II^2 2332, 38 (183/2): Ἡγέμαχος Λευκον[οεύ]ς.
> *IG* II^2 6720 (2nd/1st cent.): Ἀνδρέας Ἡγεμάχου Λευκονοεύς.

Hegemachos of the deme Leukonoe, also seen in a list of *epidosis* participants (2332), married Methyllion from the city of Myrrhine. They had a son called Andreas.

> *IG* II^2 9968 (2nd cent.): Κασταλία Δημητρίου Μιτυληναία, Ἑρμαγόρου Στειριέως γυνή.
> *IG* II^2 1011, 121–3 (106/5): τὸν γραμματέα Καλλιάδην Ἑρμαγόρου Στειριέα

Hermagoros of the deme Steiria married Castalia from Mytilene (9968). They had a son, Calliades, who was secretary of ephebes in the late 2nd century (1011).

> *IG* II^2 8581 (2nd cent.): Ἀρχιάνασσα Νικάνδρου Ἡρακλεῶτις, Λευκίππου Φρεαρρίου γυνή.

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[9] [Dem.] 59,72,122.

[10] Walters (above n. 7) 320–321. Kapparis (above n. 5) 27–28, 205.

[11] M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, Brussel 1981–1983, IV, 152–153.

[12] Ogden (above n. 4) 82.

[13] C. Vatin, *Recherches sur le marriage et la condition de la femme mariée à l'époque hellénistique*, Paris 1970, 125–6. Ogden (above n. 4) 81–82.

IG II^2 7726 (2^{nd} cent.): Νίκανδρος Λευκίππου Φρεάρριος.
IG II^2 7721 (1^{st} cent.): Ἀρχιάνασσα Νικάνδρου Φρεαρρίου θυγάτηρ, Ἀντιγόνου Κυδαθηναιέως γυνή.

Vatin and Ogden interpreted these incorrectly. In their view Archianassa, daughter of Nicandros of Phrearria (7721), was the daughter of the earlier Archianassa of Heraclea and Leucippos of Phrearria (8581). This cannot be the case, since the latter Archianassa's father is Nicandros, not Leucippos. It seems that Vatin accidentally took Nicandros, the father of the earlier Archianassa, as her husband, and Ogden copied Vatin. In truth, here we seem to have three generations: Nicandros, son of Leucippos, of Phrearria in 7726 would be the offspring of the marriage of 8581, and the latter Archianassa of 7721 the daughter of this Nicandros. Kirchner noted the connection between these persons as well.

We must, of course, be careful not to make too far-reaching conclusions about the connections between the persons in the three cases cited above. However, connected with evidence of changes in naturalization practices, they seem convincing and would thus support Ogden's argument.

IG II^2 8581, 9968 and 9975 are also evidence of mixed marriages. In all, there are over 50 Hellenistic grave inscriptions that display such marriages. All are grave *stelai* of foreign women married to Athenian men. The inscriptions are all in the same form as the example of *IG* II^2 9027: Συνήθεα Διονυσίου Κ⟨ι⟩βυρᾶτις, Αἰσχίνου Φαληρέως γυνή. Occasionally the patronymic is omitted. γυνή has here certainly the meaning 'wife', since it is coupled with the husband's name which is in the genitive. A clear chronological pattern appears: in the 3^{rd} century and at the turn of the 3^{rd} and the 2^{nd} century there are only five cases of mixed marriage, but in the 2^{nd} century there are 20. The trend continues later: over 20 cases at the turn of the 2^{nd} and the 1^{st} century and in the 1^{st} century. We can conclude, on the basis of [Dem.] 59,16–17, that in the Classical period the marriage of a citizen and a foreigner did not constitute a legal Athenian marriage. The significant growth in the cases of mixed marriage in 2^{nd} century and later would indicate that at some point the union of citizens and foreigners gained the status of legal Athenian marriage.

In most cases grave inscriptions can only be dated to century. Thus we cannot pinpoint a specific date for this change. The most obvious connection would be the developments in naturalization and the status of the offspring of naturalized citizens: the main reason for prohibiting mixed marriage was the status of the children. After 229 naturalization decrees no longer specify that the descendants of naturalized citizens shall also be eligible for citizenship. The specification was thereafter omitted because the children of mixed marriages were now citizens by right. The latter is indicated by the few cases in which we have evidence of both the marriage of an Athenian man and a foreign woman, and their children who appear to be citizens of full right.[14] The specification of the citizen status of the descendants had been necessary to guarantee the citizenship of the children of foreign mothers: the wife remained a foreigner according to the law even after the husband's naturalization, so the children would not have had citizen status without the specification.[15] Some mixed marriages do exist in the late 4th and 3rd centuries,[16] but in these cases the husband would have been naturalized, the wife remaining a foreigner. Generally speaking, the marriage of an Athenian to a foreigner would have been considered concubinage, not a legal Athenian marriage. If mixed marriage became legal and the children were automatically citizens from 229 onwards, the significant increase in the attestations in the 2nd century and later is logical. The change of the children's civic status would have increased the willingness of Athenian men to marry foreign women.

2. οἰκῶν/οἰκοῦσα ἐν, μετοίκοι and μετοίκιον in Hellenistic inscriptions

The metic titles and terms found in epigraphic sources are important evidence of the continuity of μετοικία. The official metic denomination, οἰκῶν/οἰκοῦσα ἐν + deme of residence, is not seen after the 320s: the φιάλαι ἐξελευθερικαί texts.[17]

Another metic title was μέτοικος, which simply expressed the fact that the person was a foreign resident. μέτοικος appears in 306/5 or shortly later: *IG* II² 554 praises Euxenides of Phaselis among other things for the scrupulous payment of all the εἰσφοραί the assembly had allotted to

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[14] See pp. 75–76.

[15] Osborne (above n. 11) IV, 152–153.

[16] *IG* II² 8088, 8527, 8768, 8875 (late 4th cent.); 9027 (*SEG* III 194), 9152 (3rd cent.).

[17] *IG* II² 1553–1559, 1560–1578. D. M. Lewis, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 237. *Id.*, *Hesperia* 37 (1968) 376.

μέτοικοι (ll. 9–12).

The last attestation of the metic tax, μετοίκιον, is *IG* II^2 545 (privileges to Thessalian exiles). Kirchner dated the decree to the 310s. Later Pečirka connected the decree to the aftermath of the Lamian war (323/2–322/1), placing it ca. 321/0: the Thessalian cavalry played an important role in the battle of Crannon in 322, and after the Greek defeat, Antipater took revenge on his enemies.[18] The reference to the metic tax is typical for inscriptions, found in the privilege granting exemption from the tax, ἀτέλεια τοῦ μετοικίου (sg.)/τῶν μετοικίων (pl.).

The terminology of the metic status indicates that μετοικία survived in the last two decades of the 4th century. Additional examples are ἰσοτέλεια decrees, grants of tax equality which included exemption from the metic tax.[19] The fate of μετοικία after the 4th century is harder to trace. Fortunately, a few ἰσοτέλεια grants from the 3rd century have been preserved. The main question is whether or not ἰσοτέλεια still involved exemption from μετοίκιον.

3. The ἰσοτέλεια privilege, and thus μετοίκιον, survive until the satellite state period

The 3rd century evidence of ἰσοτέλεια decrees consists of three documents. *IG* II^2 715 (early 3rd cent.) awards one Hermaios the title of ἰσοτελής (ll. 15–16, [εἶναι δ’ αὐτὸν ἰσ]οτ[ελῆ). *IG* II^2 660, of 285/4, is a reaffirmation (ll. 25–46) of a grant originally made sometime in the second half of the 4th century (ll. 1–24). Tenian exiles are given privileges that are to be valid only for the duration of their stay. The third decree *IG* II^2 768 + 802, which awards ἰσοτέλεια to a citizen of Pergamon. The decree is from the very end of the 250s.[20] Here, however, the word ἰσοτέλεια is entirely restored

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[18] J. Pečirka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague 1966, 82– 83.

[19] *IG* II^2 505 (302/1), 516 (end of 4th cent.), 551 (before 309/8), 554 (306/5 or shortly after), 583 (end of 4th cent.).

[20] Different dates for the decree have been suggested, depending on whether the archon of the decree, Antimachos, is dated to the 250s or 233/2. The earlier dating: W. K. Pritchett, B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge 1940, xxi, 99–100. D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, Cambridge 1977, 30. C. Habicht *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit,*

(δεδόσθαι [αὐ]τῶι καὶ ἐγγ[όνοις ἰσοτέλειαν]), so a degree of caution is needed. Additionally there is *SEG* III 122 (262/1–255/4), a decree of ἰσοτελεῖς stationed in Rhamnus for their superiors. The soldiers were in Macedonian service and were granted the title on the exhortation of Antigonus Gonatas. Finally, there are the ἰσοτελεῖς found in lists and private grave *stelai*.[21]

Although *IG* II^2 660 is a reaffirmation, it is usable as evidence for ἰσοτέλεια in the 280s. It is unlikely that the privilege would have been included in the reaffirmation, had it not been understood to be valid and to have practical justification in the still-existing μετοίκιον. Thus the metic tax and ἰσοτέλεια survived in Athens' new period of independence, which began in 287 with the successful storming of the Macedonian garrison on the Museum.[22]

Athens' independence lasted until the end of the Chremonidean war in 262/1. The lack of ἰσοτέλεια grants, between 285/4 and 262/1, does not, in my view, mean that the privilege was no longer in active use. Changing the traditional practices may not have been the primary concern of the Athenian authorities. In the first few years after 287/6, Athens' resources were taken up by the efforts to secure its grain supply, the restoration of defences and diplomatic contacts.[23] After these immediate concerns, the situation was still

München 1979, 128–133. S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 313, 320–321. M. J. Osborne & S. G. Byrne, *The Foreign Residents of Athens. An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica,* Leuven 1996, 253, no. 5990. Kirchner gave the two parts of the decree the dates 257/6 and after mid-3rd century respectively. The dating 233/2: for instance A. S. Henry, *Honours and privileges in Athenian decrees. The principal formulae of Athenian honorary decrees,* New York 1983, 247. D. Whitehead, *PCPHs* 212 (1986) 153. Habicht came to his conclusion largely on the basis of prosopographical arguments. Tracy reached his dating in his research on the letter-cutters of the Attic inscriptions. The arguments of these two scholars seem the most convincing. Thus *IG* II^2 768 + 802 should be dated to the late 250s.

21 In a list of donors, 240s: *IG* II^2 791, col. II, l. 10. Grave *stelai*, 3rd cent.: *IG* II^2 7870, 7871, 7874, *Agora* XVII 384; 3rd to 2nd cent.: *Agora* XVII 385; 2nd century: *IG* II^2 7862, 7872, 7876; 2nd to 1st and 1st cent.: 7866, 7867, 7878.

22 The storming of the garrison: Paus. 1,26,1–2. *IG* II^2 666, ll. 9–15. T. L. Shear, *Hesperia Supplement* 17 (1978) 2–4, 15. Osborne (above n. 11) II, 164. C. Habicht, *Athen. Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit*, München 1995, 102. The peace treaty that confirmed Athens' independence: Plut. *Dem.* 46,1–2; *Pyrr.* 12,4–5. Shear 22–24, 74–76. Habicht 101–103.

23 References to the need of aid in securing the corn supply in the 280s: Shear (above n.

insecure: Macedonian troops held the fortresses of Attica.[24] A great part of the 260s was taken up by the war. The second reason is financial. The expressions of urgent need of aid in decrees shows that Athens' resources were limited. The *polis* had a considerable foreign population, and the tax paid by it was a valuable addition to the state treasury.[25] Thirdly, ideological considerations: the new government was firmly democratic, and holding on to the traditions of the *polis*, of the independent times of the Classical period, may have been important for emphasizing self-esteem.

As seen above, we have two references to ἰσοτέλεια in the period 262/1–229/8, when Athens was again controlled by Macedon. The references would seem to confirm the continued existence of the privilege but require detailed examination: *IG* II^2 768 + 802 involves uncertainty in restoration and dating, *SEG* III 122 is an exceptional case.

Stephen V. Tracy restored the name of the Pergamenian honoured in *IG* II^2 768 + 802 as [Αἰσχ]ίας and identified him as member of a known Athenian family, suggesting that he, or his father, had received Pergamenian citizenship. Later, his native city honoured him for his contributions to safeguard it.[26] The date of the decree is the very end of the 250s.[27] The word

22) 2–4, ll. 24–27; *IG* II^2 651 + *SEG* XXIV 122; 653 + *Addendum* p. 662; 654 + *Addendum* p. 662; 655; 657 (l. 31, failed attempt to secure aid from Lysimachos); 670 A + *SEG* XXV 91. Plut. *Mor.* 851 D ff. (cf. M. J. Osborne, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 190–191).

[24] *IG* II^2 657, ll. 35–36. Shear (above n. 22) 79. C. Habicht (above n. 20) 96. Habicht (above n. 22) 101–103. Pausanias relates the achievements of Olympiodoros in 1,26,3, including the return of Pireus to Athens' control among these. This is most commonly dated to 281/0. However, the question of the recovery of Piraeus and the interpretation of Pausanias' excerpt has been the subject of deba for a long time. On the basis of the available evidence, some scholars have held that Piraeus remained in Macedonian control continuously from 287 to 262/1 (and beyond), doubting the authenticity of the edition or Pausanias' tale, attempting to date the recovery of Piraeus to another time or suggesting alternative interpretations for 1,26,3. Other scholars have accepted Pausanias' story as such and concluded that Athens regained Piraeus in 281. Yet others have suggested that Piraeus changed hands *twice* between 287 and 270. For description of the available evidence and the debate, see Habicht (above n. 20) 96–102.

[25] The latest account of the number of metics in Athens is the census of Demetrius in the 310s: 10 000 (Ath. 6,272c). Although the size of the metic population varied, there is no reason to believe that something would have reduced it to insignificance by the 280s. Athens still seems to have attracted people, for instance due to the fame of its numerous philosophical schools.

[26] Tracy (above n. 20) 319. Tracy points out numerous relatives: Aischias son of Acrotimos of Icarion, perhaps grandfather, councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV, 61, l. 45);

ἰσοτέλεια is entirely restored δεδόσθαι [αὐ]τῶι καὶ ἐγγ[όνοις ἰσοτέλειαν]. Whitehead noted the necessity of caution, but other scholars have not questioned the restoration. The restoration of a word or a line can depend on factors like considerations of space, the number of letters per line in the inscription, the typical forms in this kind of honorary decree, or the typical combinations of honours. The language and phraseology of Athenian honorary decrees are fairly formulaic, and as a rule the lines of a particular decree have the same number of letters, so it is possible to suggest restorations with some likelihood.

Practically the only scholar who has examined the fate of μετοικία after the Classical period to the extent of trying to formulate a theory is Whitehead. He notes that the system survived into the 3rd century and suggests that Antigonus Gonatas might have abolished it in 262/1 specifically to humiliate Athens.[28] Whitehead examines *SEG* III 122: following Pouilloux,[29] he sees it as a sign of development which seems to have separated ἰσοτέλεια entirely from the sphere of resident foreigners in the earlier, polis-orientated sense. If I understand him correctly, in his view this meant the disappearance of the practical content or at least the diminishing of the importance of ἰσοτέλεια.

Whitehead makes too drastic a conclusion based on one single piece of evidence. The soldiers praise the archon for the fact that he ἐπε]μελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς δοκιμασίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰσοτελείας, ὅπως [ἂν ὡς τάχιστα] ἐπικυρωθε[ῖ] τοῖς ἐγ ῾Ραμνοῦντος ἡ δωρεὰ ἀκολούθως τῆι τοῦ [βασιλέως προ]αιρέσει.[30] The inscription is from the period 262/1–256/5, when Athens was controlled by royal governors, and the authority of the Athenian government organs was limited to daily routine administration. The Museum

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Acrotimos son of Aischias of Icarion, proposer of a decree in 268/7? (*IG* II² 772, l. 8); Acrotimos of Icarion, paymaster and contributor to the Asclepieion ca. 245 (*IG* II² 1534B, ll. 266, 273); Acrotimos son of Aischias the Athenian, πρόξενος of the Aetolians in ca. 238 (*IG* IX² 1, 25, l. 73).

27 See p. 7 and n. 20.

28 Whitehead (above n. 20) 153.

29 J. Pouilloux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte: Étude de topographie et d'histoire*, Paris 1954, 118–120.

30 Ll. 6–9: "he also saw to the judicial scrutiny of the ἰσοτέλεια, so that the award would be as speedily as possible received by those [*stationed*] in Rhamnous, following the king's request."

hill was again garrisoned and the Athenian troops submitted to the king.[31] Obliging the Athenians to grant an important privilege to his soldiers was another tool Antigonus used to make clear Athens' suppressed position. Whitehead is partially correct in a way: in the case of our ἰσοτελεῖς soldiers, the privilege granted had no practical value at all, because they were in the service of the Macedonian king and would not have paid taxes to the Athenian state in any case. His conclusion of the significance of the document is, however, erroneous: it is not a sign of consistent development in the regulations and content of the privilege, but an exceptional case originating from exceptional circumstances.

An examination of the formulae of ἰσοτέλεια, grant clauses seems to support my argument. There are two variations. Either the privilege ἰσοτέλεια is granted (for instance *IG* II^2 505, 51–52 (302/1): εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς κα[ὶ ἰ]σ[οτέλειαν]) or the title ἰσοτελής (for instance *IG* II^2 554, 27–28 (306/5): εἶναι [αὐτὸ]ν ἰσοτελῆ). It is likely that if the privilege had lost its practical importance, or this importance had diminished, the title form would have replaced the privilege form entirely, emphasizing the primarily honorary value. This did not happen. Both forms appear in Classical and Hellenistic period, and indeed our latest decree awarding ἰσοτέλεια – provided the restoration is correct – has the privilege form of the formula. If ἰσοτέλεια is restored here, it could only be in the privilege form: the preceding grant verb, δεδόσθαι, has survived intact. The word ἰσοτελής is an attribute of a person, literally 'paying equal tax'. It never appears as an object to be given. The choice between the title and privilege forms of the formula seems to have depended on whether there were one or more recipients. In the former case the title form was selected, in the latter the privilege form.

It is very unlikely that the king would have abolished μετοικία in order to humiliate Athens. However, the foreign residents could not participate in political decision making. They would not have become citizens and gained political rights even if μετοικία had been abolished. The system was not connected to how freely or restrictedly the citizens could exert their political influence. The taking away of freedom of participation

[31] Apollodoros, *FGrHist* 244 F 44. Paus. 3,6,6. C. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*, Göttingen 1982, 13. Habicht (above n. 22) 154–156, 161, 164.

in the care of public affairs, the practical definition of a citizen,[32] was humiliating enough. The abolition of μετοικία would not have served Antigonus' purpose.

I would suggest the following: ἰσοτέλεια was still awarded in the satellite state period, at least in the 250s. Even if we do not accept the restoration in *IG* II^2 768 + 802, *SEG* III 122 confirms this: its circumstances were exceptional, but this does not mean that ἰσοτέλεια had lost its original meaning. If we *do* accept the restoration in *IG* II^2 768 + 802, it is evidence of ἰσοτέλεια in the 250s. After 229/8 ἰσοτέλεια grants were no longer made, because the foreigners who lived in Athens did not pay the metic tax anymore. The abolition of the tax was part of the development that changed the official status of the foreign residents, and the entire concept of status differentiation, in a significant way. After 229/8 the specific status of μέτοικος had, in practice, ceased to exist. The changes were caused by the realities of the circumstance. Foreign control in the satellite state period made it impossible for the Athenians to fully control matters that were connected to citizen status in the way they had been able to do when Athens was independent. This state of affairs lasted for such a long time that after the liberation of 229/8 the old practices were not restored. There were other, more pressing, matters to be resolved, so the state of status differentiation was left as it was.

At this point, one might ask: do not the ἰσοτελεῖς in the 2nd century and later grave inscriptions[33] make invalid the argument that ἰσοτέλεια grants were no longer made after 229/8? I do not think so. Although it is extremely unlikely that the families of all the ἰσοτελεῖς in Athenian grave inscriptions would have had a history of generations in Athens, there are only three ἰσοτελής inscriptions from 2nd–1st century.[34] It is quite possible that these were exceptions where the family of the deceased had an unusually long history in Athens and the ἰσοτέλεια privilege, originally awarded before 229/8, had been in the family for generations. This could have been a matter of great pride and thus inscribed in the stele by the descendants of the deceased, even if the title did not have practical significance in 2nd century and later.

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32 Arist. *Pol.* 1275a22–24.

33 See p. 79, n. 21.

34 *IG* II^2 7866, 7867, 7878.

4. Differentiated εἰσφορά payment and military service disappear by 229/8

In the Classical period the εἰσφορά payment and military service obligations of citizens and metics were arranged differently. For εἰσφοραί, originally used for exceptional military expenses and eventually also for defence works and grain supply, the assembly decided the size of the tax on each occasion and payment took place in groups called συμμορίαι. Soon the προσεισφορά practice was introduced: the 300 richest citizens paid the entire sum required and then collected the money from others.[35] This system was still in existence in the 320s.[36] Metics paid a sixth of the tax in each case in their own συμμορίαι.[37] Obligatory military service could be performed either in the navy or in the infantry. Citizens and metics served in different units: the latter were not taken on campaigns, but rather were used for defense at home.[38]

In state honorary decrees the different εἰσφορά and military service obligations are manifested in the grants of the privilege of equal εἰσφορά and military service obligations.[39] This meant access to citizen συμμορίαι and military units. The basic formulation is τὰς στρατείας στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς εἰσφέρειν μετὰ ᾿Αθηναίων.[40] Survival of the privilege

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[35] R. Thomsen, *Eisphora: a study of direct taxation in ancient Athens*, Copenhagen 1964, 205–206. M. Hakkarainen, in J. Frösén (ed.), *Early Hellenistic Athens. Symptoms of a Change* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, vol. VI), Helsinki 1997, 11. Although there were rich metics in Athens, they could not be προεισφέροντες: wealth in this context was defined as the amount of land property, which metics could not own without special privilege. Land was the most important source of income in the antiquity. Thereby it was considered the ideal form of wealth, and 'property' was understood to mean land property. G.M.E. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, London 1983, 78, 120–123.

[36] Thomsen (above n. 36) 212.

[37] Thomsen (above n. 36) 100, 225. Whitehead (above n. 20) 79.

[38] Whitehead (above n. 20) 82–85.

[39] Classical period (4th century) *IG* II^2 218 (346/5), 237 (338/7), 287 (before 336/5), 351 + 624 (330/29), 360 (325/4). Hellenistic period: *IG* II^2 505 (302/1), 516 (end of 4th cent.), *SEG* XXIV 117 (end of 4th cent.).

[40] There is some formulaic variation, such as that seen in *IG* II^2 287, 4–7: τ[ὰς] εἰσφορὰς εἰσφέρειν καὶ τὰ τέλη τελεῖν καθάπερ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, καὶ τὰς στρατείας στρατ[εύ]εσθαι μετὰ ᾿Αθηναίων. The phrase τὰ τέλη τελεῖν καθάπερ ᾿Αθηναῖοι does not indicate difference in the content of the privilege but most likely simply emphasizes its

indicates survival of the traditional organization in the two obligations.

The epigraphic evidence of this privilege is scarce (see n. 41). The three Hellenistic decrees are from the end of the 4th century. The lack of grants later does not necessarily mean that the differentiated εἰσφορά and military service obligations disappeared. *IG* II^2 660 (285/4) awards privileges to Tenians who live in Athens and have already received the εἰσφορά and military service privilege earlier (ll. 7–9, 39). It is a reaffirmation (ll. 25–46) of an award from the second half of the 4th century (ll. 1–24). Although the requirements for an earlier grant of the privilege are featured in the original decree, I do not believe it would have been included in the reaffirmation had the obligations of citizens and foreign residents become identical and the privilege been rendered obsolete. Thus, I would accept the decree as indirect evidence of the survival of different εἰσφορά and military service obligations. Kirchner restored l. 39 στρατευομένοις καὶ τε[λοῦσι τὰς εἰσφορὰς μετ' 'Αθηναίων]. Henry rejected Kirchner's [τελοῦσιν τὰς εἰσφορὰς] in ll. 8–9 and tentatively suggested 'Αθήνησ[ι, καὶ στρατεύεσθαι τὰς στρ]α̣τ̣ε̣[ίας. For l. 39 he proposed καὶ τε[λοῦσιν τὰ τέλη καθάπερ 'Αθηναῖοι].[41] Neither restoration seems to deny that l. 39 involved the εἰσφορά and military service privilege.

Did the different εἰσφορά and military service obligations survive beyond the 280s? When were these obligations of citizens and foreign residents standardized?

There are no references to the privilege or the payment of εἰσφοραί in 285/4–229/8.[42] A large number of the Hellenistic decrees have survived only in small fragments, so it is possible that some of these would have mentioned εἰσφοραί. This possibility does not help us, however. The next time we encounter εἰσφοραί is shortly after 229/8, when large sums were needed to pay off the soldiers of the Macedonian garrisons and to repair the

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significance in εἰσφορά payment: it gave the recipient access to citizen συμμορίαι τὰ τέλη τελεῖν simply means 'to pay taxes, tolls, duties'. If the phrase had referred to some other tax privilege, it would most likely have been added after the εἰσφορά and military service formula rather than in the middle of it.

[41] Henry (above n. 20) 259–260.

[42] The references of the latter type from the third century *before* 285/4 are difficult to interpret: *IG* II^2 715, 6–7 (beginning of 3rd cent.) refers to an earlier time and is partially restored. Little beyond the word itself survives of *IG* II^2 748 (beginning of 3rd cent.), so the context is difficult to decipher.

defences of the city and the ports:[43] *IG* II^2 834, ll. 21–22 (for Eurycleides of Cephisia); 835, l. 7 (for foreigner Apollas).

A point to note is that in *IG* II^2 835 (l. 7) Apollas, established in Athens, pays προεισφοραί,[44] not εἰσφοραί. προεισφοραί were originally paid by 300 wealthiest citizens. Foreigners were excluded, not because there were no foreign residents wealthy enough, but because here wealth was measured as wealth in land.[45] The fact that Apollas pays προεισφοραί would imply that the εἰσφορά obligation of citizens and foreigners became identical at some point between 285/4 and 229/8. There is no similar evidence for military service. But since the two obligations were tied together in the same privilege and both had a connection to the military sphere, logically it could be assumed that one would not have been standardized without the other.

I think it unlikely that the standardization would have taken place in 287/6–262/1, partially for the same reasons that I argued for in the case of ἰσοτέλεια and the metic tax (p. 8). Altering the system of taxation may not have been the primary concern because of other, more pressing matters: in the first years after 287/6 there was the restoration of defences, grain supply and diplomatic contacts. Later, the continued presence of Macedonian troops in Attica remained a concern. The Chremonidean war in the 260s further complicated the situation.

Since εἰσφοραί were not regular taxes but were decreed by the assembly when the need arose,[46] the different arrangements in the payment according to civic status had practical significance only when a tax was actual. In these decades there certainly would have been occasions where εἰσφοραί could be used: defence works, preparation for war etc. However, judging by our evidence, alternative methods of financing seem to have been preferred: after 287/6 Athens sought and succeeded in gaining considerable aid on several occasions to secure the corn supply.[47] There is also some

[43] See Habicht (above n. 31) 79 ff.

[44] Also *IG* II^2 834, of the same date and context, talks of προεισφοραί (l. 21).

[45] See n. 35.

[46] Occasionally, however, the need for εἰσφοραί was continuous, and they began to resemble a regular tax: the two metics honorands in *IG* II^2 505 are praised among other things for having paid *annual* εἰσφοραί during the years 347/6–323/2 (ll. 14–17).

[47] See n. 23.

evidence of ἐπιδόσεις,[48] (in theory) voluntary donations used for exceptional military expenses and, later, also for civil purposes such as building projects.[49] The significance of differently organized military service would have depended on circumstance too. The military units of foreign residents were not taken on campaigns abroad. However, after 287/6 the opportunity for military campaigning was limited. Athens' insecure position made defence the first priority, therefore the division of military units according to civic status was less important.

The importance of the traditional division of military units must have been dramatically reduced in 262/1–229/8 because of foreign control. Until the mid 250s Athens was not only in political but also strict military control: the garrison returned to the Museum, and while Athens' armed forces were not disbanded, the king reserved them for his own use and obliged the Athenians to follow him on campaigns.[50] The king seems also to have influenced the election of generals during these years.[51] In mid 250s the garrison was drawn from the Museum, and Athens became juridically autonomous. However, Macedonian troops remained in the countryside fortresses.[52] It is clear that the Athenians were not free to decide about the function of their armed forces or about military and defence issues in general. Undertaking an independent military campaign outside Attica was impossible. The division of military units according to civic status would have been purposeless if not completely impossible. There is no evidence of εἰσφοραί in 262/1–229/8, but some evidence of ἐπιδόσεις exists.[53] It is

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[48] *IG* II^2 682, 62–63 (referring to the 270s). A possible case is *IG* II^2 744. It is very fragmentary. The honorand, Phaullos, in any case seems to have donated money for defence expenses: ... τῆ]ς [π]όλεως σω[τηρία ... ... Φάϋλλος μυρία[ς ... δραχμάς]... (l. 3–4). This cannot be the question of εἰφορά, because the purpose the εἰφορά is going to be used for is generally not explained. With the ἐπιδόσεις on the contrary, the purpose is usually expressed, and 'to safeguard the polis' appears often. What we have here must be either ἐπίδοσις or some other type of donation. Caution is needed, particularly because the section in question is for the most part restoration of the editor.

[49] Hakkarainen (above n. 35) 12–13.

[50] See p. 82 and n. 31.

[51] *SEG* III 122, 2–3. Habicht (above n. 31) 52, 56–57. Habicht (above n. 22) 156.

[52] Mercenaries in Macedonian service: *IG* II^2 1286 (240s; foreign στρατιῶται and citizens), *SEG* XLI 87 (230s; Athenian and foreign κρυπτοί), *IG* II^2 1299 (235/4, Athenian soldiers and ξένοι).

[53] *IG* II^2 768 (l. 12, fragmented) praises [Aisch]ias for participation in ἐπίδοσις "for the

likely that εἰσφοραί were not used during this time simply because there were no opportunities for undertakings that might have required them. ἐπιδόσεις, on the other hand, had a wider range of usages, and thus occasions could arise where they were needed even in the circumstances of these decades.

The circumstances where Athens' freedom in military issues was limited, especially concerning expeditions, and where there were no occasions for εἰσφοραί, lasted for three decades. The traditional arrangements of εἰσφορά and military service obligations of citizens and foreigners fell out of practice, and *IG* II^2 835 indicates that when Athens became independent in 229/8 the arrangements were not restored.

5. The foreign residents of Athens after 229/8: foreigners but no longer μέτοικοι

After 229/8 the situation was as follows: The children of naturalized citizens were automatically citizens of full right, and the marriages of citizens and foreigners were legal Athenian marriages. It seems very likely that the foreigners who lived in Athens no longer paid μετοίκιον. The old system of different εἰσφοραί and military service obligations was no longer adhered to. The changes were the result of conditions in the πόλις. The years 262/1–229/8 were the decisive "final straw" because they were the longest time of continuous Macedonian control Athens had experienced so far. Direct, strict political control lasted for only the first 5–6 years, but Macedonian military control remained until 229/8. Athens, though juridically free, could not act against the king's wishes. The circumstance affected both the military sphere and taxation (εἰσφοραί). Since military service and the payment of taxes were the primary obligations of foreign residents to the state, the conditions must have greatly affected their official status as well. The changes were so extensive that after 229/8 the foreigners of Athens can no longer be said to have been μέτοικοι. They remained foreigners,[54] but the specific metic status had ceased to exist.

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security of the *polis*" (late 250s). *IG* II^2 791, an ἐπίδοσις decree with a list of participants, from the 240s. The list includes five foreigners, among them an ἰσοτελής (col. II, l. 10). (col. II, l. 10).

54 Names with foreign ethnics survive in private grave inscriptions and other epigraphic

With the liberation of 229/8 the restrictions of freedom manifested by Macedonian control disappeared. In that sense, the Athenians could have restored μετοικία. Sources, primarily epigraphic, imply that they did not do this. This was, again, due to prevailing conditions.

εἰσφοραί disappear from the sources after the 220s, which implies that they permanently fell out of use. I believe this is connected to ἐπιδόσεις. These were originally used for similar purposes as the εἰσφοραί, to cover military expenses the πόλις was not prepared for, as well as for grain supply. The usage of ἐπιδόσεις expanded to civil purposes in the 3rd and 2nd centuries,[55] but that of εἰσφοραί remained the same. ἐπιδόσεις were used along with εἰσφοραί immediately after 229/8 when there was a great need for resources. Despite independence, Athens' position was far from secure. Liberty was achieved because Macedon was experiencing turbulence due to problems of inheritance. Athens' leaders chose a policy of neutrality and avoidance of anything that might anger Macedon,[56] but the defence of the πόλις needed to be as strong as was possible given the circumstances.[57] Athens' state resources were limited, as is noticed from the fact that the Long Walls were left unrepaired. While εἰσφοραί disappear from record, we have some evidence of ἐπιδόσεις from the first half of the 2nd century: two ἐπίδοσις decrees for construction projects.[58] It appears that in the 2nd century Athens had neither the resources nor opportunities for military undertakings of significant scale.[59] On the other hand, there was no need to take extensive measures to secure the grain supply and strengthen defence: in the wars waged in Greece (First and Second Macedonian War) Attica

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sources for centuries after this date.

55 Hakkarainen (above n. 35) 12–13.

56 Habicht (above n. 22) 177–8. Polybios scolded this policy as quietist, opportunist and worthless: 5,106,6–8.

57 The situation is reflected in numerous military inscriptions, which show strong activity especially in Rhamnous, a deme and fortress in north-east Attica facing the island of Euboeia, one of Antigonid strongpoints. The inscriptions from Rhamnous have been puplished by V. Petrakos: V. Petrakos, *Ὁ δήμος τοῦ ῾ραμνοῦντος. Σύνοψη τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρευνῶν (1813–1998)*. II: *Ὁι ἐπιγραφές*, Ἀθῆναι 1999.

58 *IG* II^2 2332 (183/2), 2334 (ca. 150). The list of the former contains some 20 foreign names.

59 For instance, in 200 Athens allied with Rome against Macedon, but the Athenians could not in practice wage war or even properly defend their own hinterland. Habicht (above n. 22) 201.

was, generally speaking, not threatened in a way that endangered the crops. Also, Athens was now also allied with Rome, which could provide defensive aid in a threatening situation.[60] Thus, if resources were primarily needed for civil purposes, like construction projects, then the disappearance of εἰσφοραί was natural. It would not have made sense to alter the εἰσφορά system by making the payment of these taxes voluntary, because of the ἐπιδόσεις.

The necessity of dividing citizens and foreigners in different military units was eliminated after 229/8 because of the small scale of Athens' military activity, the armed forces being mainly limited to guarding the city, the ports and the countryside. However, military service seems to have remained obligatory. There are several military inscriptions featuring Athenian[61] and foreign soldiers.[62] The Athenians are specifically termed citizen soldiers (στρατευόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν). They are unlikely to be hired soldiers: state resources being limited, it would have been pointless to hire citizens if they could be obliged to military service. The same of course applies to foreigners who lived in Athens. However, it is likely that the foreign soldiers appearing in inscriptions in the last decades of the 3rd century were both foreigners who resided in Athens and mercenary soldiers recruited more recently. In fact, some decrees which honour a ξεναγός (mercenary commander) prove that Athens indeed had mercenary soldiers in its service during these times.[63] Even though there were probably enough citizens and resident foreigners who were fit to carry arms and could be obliged to military service, and even though Athens' resources were scarce, recruiting mercenary soldiers was necessary. By 229/8, the ἐφηβεία system

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[60] To Roman side; declaration of war on Philip V and the reasons for it: Polyb. 26,16,9; Liv. 31,14,6 (citing Polybios); Liv. 31,15,5; 31,44,29; 41,23,1. Romans aiding the Athenians against Macedonian forces invading Athens: Polyb. 16,27,1–3; Liv. 31,16,2; 31,24,1–25,2. See also Habicht (above n. 22) 199 ff.

[61] Sunium: *IG* II^2 1302 (222/1), 1308 (end of 3rd cent.). Eleusis, Panacton, Phyle: 1303 (after 220/19), 1304 (shortly after 211/0), 1305 (end of 3rd cent.?), 1306–7 (ca. end of 3rd cent.). In Rhamnus: *IG* II^2 1311 (ca. end of 3rd cent.); Petrakos (above n. 57) nos. 22 (229), 35 (222/1), 44 (after 216/5), 45 (after 229), 46 (214/13), 48 (210/9), 49 (207/6), 55 (2nd half of 3rd cent.).

[62] Eleusis: *IG* II^2 1958 (ca. 210). Rhamnus: *IG* II^2 1304 (shortly after 211/0); Petrakos (above n. 56) no. 49. πάροικοι in Rhamnus: Petrakos (above n. 56) nos. 23, 27, 30, 38, 40–42, 43, 47, 50, 51.

[63] *IG* II^2 1313; Petrakos (above n. 56) no. 57 (both end of 3rd cent.).

was no longer the two year training of the 4th century, obligatory to all Athenian youths and including extensive instruction in military skills, but simply a training club for the sons of wealthy families.[64] Only a minority of those fit to carry arms would have had real competence in military skills. Even fewer would have had experience in fighting. Professional soldiers, on the other hand, were likely to have this kind of experience and were therefore especially valuable at this time. The πάροικοι seen in Rhamnus in the last three decades of the century (n. 63) are most likely experienced mercenary soldiers. The fortress of Rhamnus was a focal point in the defence of Attica, because it faced Euboea, which was firmly in Antigonid control after 229. The most important city, Chalkis, on Euripus, was a strongly armed base of the Macedonian fleet. During the reign of Philip V, it formed one of the "bounds of Greece" along with the Acrocorinth (in Corinth) and Demetrias (in Magnesia).[65] The threat of the return of Macedonian control remained throughout these decades. This, it was essential to place the most experienced soldiers in Rhamnus, a critical defence point.

After 229/8 the foreigners established in Athens no longer had the limitations of metic status. They were free to marry Athenian citizens, and the children born of this marriage had full citizen rights. Some traditional obligations, most likely military service, survived, but the foreigners were no longer differentiated from Athenians on the basis of their non-citizen status in the sphere of these obligations. Two major limitations remained: foreigners still did not have political rights, and were not allowed to own land without a special privilege.[66]

University of Oulu

64 Habicht (above n. 22) 235–238.

65 *Der Neue Pauly* 2 (1997) 1090–1091; 4 (1998) 207–210, 289; 6 (1999) 312.

66 The right to own land, ἔγκτησις, is fairly common in προξενία decrees in the late 3rd and 2nd centuries.

THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT STRATOS: NEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE BUILDING DESIGN[1]

JARI PAKKANEN

1. Introduction

The proportional relationships of the various elements in Greek Doric buildings underwent a gradual shift during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Most evidently this change can be observed in the column and entablature proportions of monumental architecture: Hellenistic buildings have quite slender columns and clearly lower entablatures compared to their predecessors which results in a radically different appearance of the facade.[2] Most architectural scholars agree that simple arithmetical proportions are a key to understanding Classical and Hellenistic architectural design, but there is far less consensus whether the Doric design system can be regarded as being based on a fixed-size module[3] and what was the range of foot units

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[1] The permission to carry out the fieldwork was granted by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, and the fieldwork at Stratos was greatly facilitated by the friendly co-operation of the Sixth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Patras. The research has been funded by the Emil Aaltonen Foundation, the Finnish Archaeological Institute at Athens and Royal Holloway, University of London; the three-dimensional computer model of the building was financed by the Finnish Institute at Athens. The members of the research group were T. Pöyhiä, E. Tikkala and R. Vaara; Dr P. Pakkanen and an anonymous referee have read an earlier version of the manuscript and given valuable comments. I wish to gratefully acknowledge the help and support of all these institutions and individuals.

[2] See e.g. A. W. Lawrence & R. A. Tomlinson, *Greek Architecture,* New Haven & London 1996[5], 151; M.-C. Hellmann, *L'architecture grecque* 1. *Les principes de la construction,* Paris 2002, 136–45.

[3] For a recent summary on arithmetical proportions and modularity of Greek design, see M. Wilson Jones, "Doric Measure and Architectural Design 2: a Modular Reading of the

used in the Hellenic world.[4] In order to better understand the principles of building design and the relationship between tradition and innovation in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic architecture, it is necessary to carry out new detailed investigations of individual buildings: the target of this study is the Doric temple of Zeus at Stratos in Western Greece (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. The temple of Zeus at Stratos from the east. J.P. 2000.

The temple is one of the most important Early Hellenistic buildings in mainland Greece, and even though it is located on the north side of the Gulf of Corinth, stylistically it is very close to Peloponnesian Late-Classical

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Classical Temple", *AJA* 105 (2001) 675–84. It should be noted here that I do not think that Wilson Jones' approach to the question of modular design is methodologically sound. The shortcomings of the paper are actually shared by the majority of traditionally orientated architectural studies on Greek design and metrology: since they rarely employ appropriate quantitative methods needed to solve the questions at hand, their results must remain tentative (cf. Section 5 of this paper, esp. n. 63).

[4] As Coulton noted already in the 1970s, "the assumption that only two foot-standards were used throughout the Greek world needs to be proved, not just accepted, and the chaotic situation in other branches of Greek metrology suggests that this is unfounded"; J. J. Coulton, "Towards understanding Greek temple design: the stylobate and inter-columniations", *ABSA* 69 (1974) 62.

architecture.[5] It was built of local white limestone, but the ambitious building project was never completed: for example, the columns were not fluted and the individual drums still retain their projecting bosses (Fig. 2). They were necessary for manoeuvring the heavy blocks during the critical lifting phase.

Fig. 2. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Column drums. J.P. 2000.

The krepis of the temple is nearly entirely preserved to the level of the first step, as is the second step on the east front and the north side of the temple; only fourteen blocks of the stylobate and five bottom drums remain *in situ* in the north-east corner. The lower courses from the cella have fared the destruction of the temple and recycling of its building material rather better: the porch stylobates and the cella wall toichobate blocks are entirely preserved, as are all four anta orthostates. The cella wall orthostate blocks remain only at the pronaos end of the building; the foundation blocks of the cella floor are mostly in place, but none of the stylobate blocks carrying the

[5] For example, the proportions of the Stratos capitals have very close parallels in the Tholos at Epidauros, the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, and the temple of Zeus at Nemea; see J. Pakkanen, *The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea. A Reconstruction of the Peristyle Column,* Helsinki 1998, 35, table 5.

interior order have been discovered at the site.[6]

The short plan of six by eleven columns is very typical for a fourth-century Doric building (Fig. 10).[7] A representative sample of the exterior order blocks has been preserved for reconstructing the exterior Doric order rather precisely (Fig. 7), but no traces of the interior columns have been found in the excavations; since there are several fragmentary interior architrave and geison blocks,[8] it is very probable that all the interior columns were dismantled and transported away to be reused in another building.

The economic and political reasons behind the interruptions of ancient building projects are in most cases unknown,[9] and for regions such as Acarnania there are few literary sources which could clarify the situation. The temple building at Stratos was part of large urban development project of the polis, but any detailed discussion of the economy of the area in the fourth century BC must wait for the publication of the results of the Stratiké Surface Survey Project.[10]

The unfinished nature of the monument provides an interesting testing ground for combining traditional archaeological fieldwork with new methods of reconstructing the physical appearance of the building and studying fourth-century architectural design. In this paper I will first present a brief summary of archaeological work carried out in the sanctuary since nineteenth century. The middle sections concentrate on the exterior and porch columns of the building: First, how can the building height be reconstructed on the basis of archaeological material? Secondly, how can the curving taper, entasis, of the pronaos and opisthodomos columns be studied from drum measurements? The height range of the building is calculated using a computer-intensive statistical method. It is also suggested

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[6] F. Courby & Ch. Picard, *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie,* Paris 1924, esp. pl. 3.

[7] Knell lists nine parallels; H. Knell, "Dorische Ringhallentempel in spät- und nach-klassischer Zeit", *JDAI* 98 (1983) 207–22, 230.

[8] Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 68–80.

[9] Th. E. Kalpaxis, *Hemiteles. Akzidentelle Unfertigkeit und "Bossen-Stil" in der griechischen Baukunst,* Mainz am Rhein 1986, 17–18.

[10] For a brief discussion of the urban development of Stratos, see end of Section 3 in this paper; for a preliminary discussion of the survey project, see F. Lang, "The Dimensions of Material Topography", in J. Isager (ed.), *Foundation and Destruction. Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece*, Athens 2001, 205–21.

that the original plans for the temple were changed in the middle of the building project by reducing the height of the columns by one drum. The final main section of the article centres on the question of whether the building design can be derived from plan and facade dimensions. The quantitative evaluation is based on cosine quantogram analysis; after the initial analysis of the building measurements, Monte Carlo computer simulations are used to test the probability of the obtained results.

2. Archaeological work in the sanctuary

W. M. Leake was the first known western traveller to visit the ancient remains of Stratos in 1805, and L. Heuzey was the first person to map the walls and the remains of a Doric temple on a projecting platform of the western stretch of the walls in 1856.[11] Archaeological excavations at Stratos have a history of more than a century: A. Jaubin of the French School at Athens (École française d'Athènes) started work at the temple site already in 1892: the discovered inscriptions and a brief note of the conducted work were published in 1893,[12] but the survey notes made by A. Tournaire on the architecture of the building were subsequently lost and never published.[13]

F. Courby, Ch. Picard and R. Vallois continued the French work at the site in 1910; more limited test trenches and studies of the cella interior were carried out in 1911 by Picard and Ch. Avezou and in 1924 by Picard and J. Replat.[14] Their book appeared in print the same year as the final season of work on the temple was conducted, but the publication was not without controversy: Courby and Picard felt that A. K. Orlandos' long and nearly simultaneously published article on the temple exploited the French

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[11] W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* vol. 1, London 1835, 137–43; L. Heuzey, *Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie. Exploration de ces deux regions, avec l'étude de leur antiquités, de leur populations anciennes et moderne, de leur géographie et de leur histoire,* Paris 1860, 331–45, pl. 8. Heuzey's plan is reproduced in Courby & Picard (above n. 6) fig. 2.

[12] A. Jaubin, "Inscriptions de Stratos", *BCH* 17 (1893) 445–52; Th. Homolle, "Nouvelles et Correspondance", *BCH* 17 (1893) 213–14.

[13] Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 8.

[14] Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 8–9.

work at the site and they also clearly express this in the monograph.[15]

N. Norman carried out a restudy at the temple site as part of her research on fourth-century cella interiors in the 1970s,[16] but the relatively few archaeological remains of the interior order had already been well covered by Courby and Picard.[17] Most recently, the Sixth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the German Archaeological Institute have conducted extensive research in and around Stratos.[18] From the point of view of the temple architecture, the most important result of the surface survey was the discovery of the ancient limestone quarries to the north-west of the city.[19] E.-L. Schwandner and L. Kolonas also carried out a study on the platform of the sanctuary of Zeus and the city wall projecting to the north and south of the temenos; they came to the conclusion that the temple was built at the end of the fourth century BC on top of a fifth-century predecessor.[20]

The Finnish research group carried out two seasons of fieldwork in the sanctuary of Zeus in 2000 and 2001. The most important aim of this research has been to clarify problems related to the reconstruction of the temple of Zeus by means of carrying out building measurements at the site: for example, Courby and Picard's estimate of the building height is based as much on their idea of 'correct' column proportions as on actual blocks at the site.[21] The main emphasis of the first season was on column drums: 113

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15 Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 9–10; even though the journal in which Orlandos' article was published is dated to 1923, it did not appear before 1925: e.g. the clearing of the cella done in 1924 by the French is taken into account in the study; A. E. Orlandos, "Ὁ ἐν Στράτῳ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ναὸς τοῦ Διός ", *AD* 8 (1923) 1–51.

16 N. Norman, *The "Ionic" Cella: a Preliminary Study of Fourth Century B.C. Temple Architecture,* unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of Michigan 1980.

17 Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 59–82.

18 E.-L. Schwandner, "Spáthari – Tempel ohne Säule und Gebälk?", in E.-L. Schwandner (ed.), *Säule und Gebälk. Zu Struktur und Wandlungsprozeß griechisch-römischer Architektur,* Mainz 1996, 48–54; P. Funke, "Acheloos' Homeland. New Historical-Archaeological Research on the Ancient Polis Stratos", in J. Isager (ed.), *Foundation and Destruction. Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece*, Athens 2001, 189–203; Lang (above n. 10) 205–21.

19 Funke (above n. 18) 196, fig. 6; Lang (above n. 10) 206, fig. 12.

20 E.-L. Schwandner & L. Kolonas, "Beobachtungen am Zeusheiligtum von Stratos", *MDAI(I)* 16 (1996) 187–96.

21 Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 25–29, 41. The danger of not taking into account the

column drums and 11 capitals were measured. During the second season we concentrated on the cella wall and anta blocks. A sample of block drawings by architect T. Pöyhiä is illustrated in Figs. 3–4 and the right half of Fig. 8.

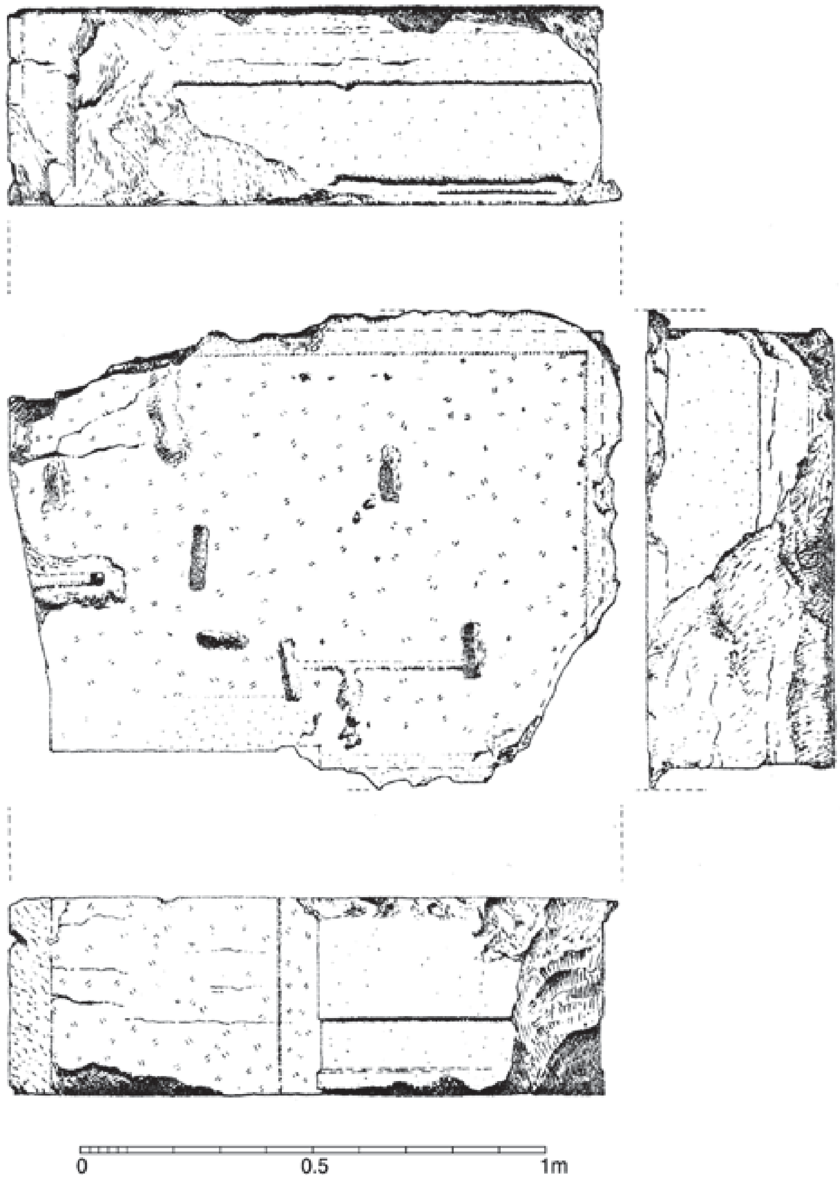

Fig. 3. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Anta capital. T. Pöyhiä 2001.

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primary nature of the archaeological material is well illustrated by the 4th-century Tholos at Delphi: Amandry and Bousquet were able to convincingly show in the 1930s that the column should be reconstructed with five and not four columns as had been previously thought; however, this reconstruction was rejected by Dinsmoor only because the four-drum shaft fitted better his view of 4th-century architectural proportions; P. Amandry & J. Bousquet, "La colonne dorique de la Tholos de Marmaria", *BCH* 64–65 (1940–41) 121–127; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece,* London 1950[3] (1975) 234 n. 3.

3. Reconstructing the building height

Calculating the building height from the preserved blocks is not as straightforward as is often presented in architectural studies which give the building dimensions with millimetre precision. Quantitative methods can help to define the limits of our knowledge, but archaeological material rarely fulfils the two assumptions required for carrying out classical confidence interval calculations for the average block height: the original 'population' of building blocks should be normally distributed and the preserved sample random. However, computer-intensive statistics can be employed to find a probable range for the building height.[22]

The 30 peristyle columns of the temple were constructed with nine drums in each shaft, and currently 61 drums at the site have their full height preserved. The height variation is significant: the shortest drum measures only 0.604 m and the tallest 1.216 m. Using the bootstrap-*t* method with finite population correction factor the 95% confidence interval for the drum mean height cannot be determined more accurately than as 0.804–0.859 m[23]

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[22] Pakkanen (above n. 5) 49–62. I have calculated the confidence intervals presented in this paper using the bootstrap-*t* (studentised) method. A 95% confidence interval for the drum height means that there is a 95% probability for the real mean drum height being within the determined range. The basic principle behind bootstrap methods is that since the existing sample provides the best knowledge of the studied phenomenon, the sample can be used as a guide to the population distribution. Technically, this involves taking several random resamples of the sample with replacement in order to approximate the confidence interval range. I have chosen to use the bootstrap-*t* method because it does not require that the original population is normally distributed. For a recent review of the archaeological applications of bootstrap methods, including an assessment of the Tegea analysis presented in Pakkanen (above n. 5) 53–54, see M. Baxter, *Statistics in Archaeology,* London 2003, 148–153. The discrepancy of 2 mm noted by Baxter between the bootstrap-*t* confidence interval in the original Tegea publication and his recalculation is well within the error margin of drum measurements; also, variation of this magnitude can often be observed between separate bootstrap runs of the drum data. On bootstrap methods in general, see B. F. J. Manly, *Randomization, Bootstrap and Monte Carlo Methods in Biology,* London, Weinheim, New York, Tokyo, Melbourne and Madras 1997^2, 34–68 and A. C. Davison and D. V. Hinkley, *Bootstrap Methods and Their Application,* Cambridge 1997.

[23] The formula used to calculate the *t*-statistic was $T_B = (\bar{x}_B - \bar{x}) / (s_B/\sqrt{n})$, where the sample mean $\bar{x} = 0.8296$ m and sample size $n = 61$; $\bar{x}_B$ and s_B are calculated for each bootstrap sample. The values limiting 95% of the distribution were $t_{\alpha/2} = 1.868$ and $t_{1-\alpha/2} = -2.140$. The confidence interval can be calculated as

and for the whole column, capital included, as 7.73–8.24 m.[24]

However, the variation in the height of the cella wall and anta blocks (Fig. 3) is much smaller, and the confidence interval for one course can be calculated as 0.398–0.402 m.[25] Since the exterior order of the temple and the cella wall are architecturally tied together by beams and coffers, the cella wall can be used to define the height of the peristyle column more precisely than solely on the basis of column drums. The height of the cella wall up to the anta capital level – which is also the total height of the porch columns – can be established as 7.25–7.31 m[26] and the height of the peristyle column as 7.88–7.93 m.[27]

The calculations above are based on the preserved archaeological material, and, interestingly, Courby and Picard's suggestion for the exterior column height of 7.908 m falls inside the determined statistical confidence interval.[28] As has been noted above, the French estimate was largely based on their idea of Classical column proportions. Since the number of blocks in

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$$\bar{x} - t_{\alpha/2}\,(s/\sqrt{n}\sqrt{(N-n)/N}) < \mu < \bar{x} - t_{1-\alpha/2}\,(s/\sqrt{n}\sqrt{(N-n)/N}),$$

where the sample standard deviation s = 0.12334 and the population size N = 270 (original number of drums). From the formula we obtain the confidence interval 0.804–0.859 m. Since the *t*-statistic T_B was calculated without using the finite population correction factor it is justified to introduce it in the confidence interval calculations (on the factor, see e.g. S. Shennan, *Quantifying Archaeology,* Edinburgh 1997^2, 363–65). The random numbers used in the generation of the t_B values are produced with statistical program Survo's *rand*(n_s) function ($1 \leq n_s \leq 2^{32-1}$) using INSEED and OUTSEED specifications (the function has been implemented by S. Mustonen; the numbers are generated according to Combined Tausworthe method; the period length of *rand* is about 10^{18}). For the bootstrap-*t* formulae, see Manly 1997, 56–58, and for the program used in bootstrapping, see Pakkanen (above n. 5) p. E1 in app. E.

24 There are five exterior order capitals preserved at Stratos; their height range is 0.492–0.510 m with a mean height of 0.502 m.

25 Their height range of the blocks is 0.379–0.437 m; $\bar{x}$ = 0.3996 m; n = 78; s = 0.0090; N = 554 (original number of cella wall anta blocks); $t_{\alpha/2}$ = 1.876; $t_{1-\alpha/2}$ = –1.996. The formula for calculating the confidence interval is the same as in n. 23 above.

26 Height of the orthostate (1.285 m) plus 15 wall blocks gives a range of 7.253–7.308 m.

27 The height difference of the peristyle and porch stylobates (0.05 m) + cella wall up to anta capitals + cella entablature height (2.038 m) – peristyle frieze backer height (0.640 m) – architrave height (0.825 m) = 7.876–7.931 m; cf. Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 42, fig. 20 & pl. 10.

28 The estimated height varies slightly in Courby & Picard (above n. 6): on p. 29 the height is given as c. 7.90 or 7.94 m, and on p. 42 as 7.908 m.

the cella wall limits how the exterior colonnade can be reconstructed, Courby and Picard had to choose between various alternatives: the lowest option gave a column height of 5.45 times the lower shaft diameter, the middle 6.06 diameters and the highest 6.77 diameters.[29] They do not discuss the matter any further but just note that considering the apparent date of the building, only the second alternative is plausible.[30]

Does the new fieldwork merely confirm that Courby and Picard were correct in their quick dismissal of the other alternatives? I would not be that hasty. A column height in the range of 6.5–7.0 times the lower diameter would fit better the comparative material from the Early Hellenistic period, while a proportion closer to 6 lower diameters is quite typical for early and mid-fourth-century buildings. The proportional taper of the column shaft is even more anomalous: for the unusually strong taper of 3.8% at Stratos I have found only one parallel in mid-fourth-century Doric architecture and none in later.[31]

The discrepancy could perhaps be explained by a closer study of the preserved material at Stratos and comparative material from other sites. Figure 4 presents a drawing of one of the exterior capitals superimposed on a top drum. The diameter difference between the ninth drum and the capital is approximately 10 cm,[32] a situation which does not have a parallel in other unfinished Doric monumental buildings in the mainland or the islands.[33] The fourth-century Archilocheion on Paros gives a more typical example of

[29] Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 29.

[30] Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 29; they argue later in their study that the date of the building is c. 330 BC; *ibid.* 85–87.

[31] Taper of the column shaft at Stratos: 100% – (lower column diameter 1.29 m – upper column diameter 1.01 m) / (column shaft height 7.4 m) ≈ 3.78%. For the comparative material, see Pakkanen (above n. 5) 72–73; J. Pakkanen, "The Column Shafts of the Propylaia and Stoa in the Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos", *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 2 (1998) 155–57.

[32] The upper diameter is possible to measure on seven top drums and the mean is 1.110 m (range 1.098–1.120 m); the two well preserved capitals have lower diameters of 1.007 and 1.015 m measured on the arrises.

[33] In the unfinished temple at Segesta there is considerable variation between the capital and column shaft diameters, but both the capitals and shafts are unfluted, and the bottom of the capital neck has a strongly projecting protective band at the bottom; D. Mertens, *Der Tempel von Segesta und die dorische Tempelbaukunst des griechischen Westens in klassischer Zeit,* Mainz am Rhein 1984, fig. 6, pl. 27, insert 20.

Greek building practices (Fig. 5): the slightly recessed band at the top of the unfinished drum matches almost exactly the diameter of the capital neck. The stage at which work on the columns was interrupted is the same as at Stratos: the capitals are finished but the drum surfaces are only roughly worked out with a point and the bosses have still been left in place.[34] Fifth-century Doric buildings followed the same practice: the exterior columns of the peripteral temple of Apollo on Delos have a difference of 3.1 cm between the top of the unfinished drum and the capital neck, but in the porch column it is only 0.2 cm;[35] in the unfinished double stoa at Thorikos the difference is 2.9 cm,[36] and in the small peripteral temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous 0.7 cm.[37]

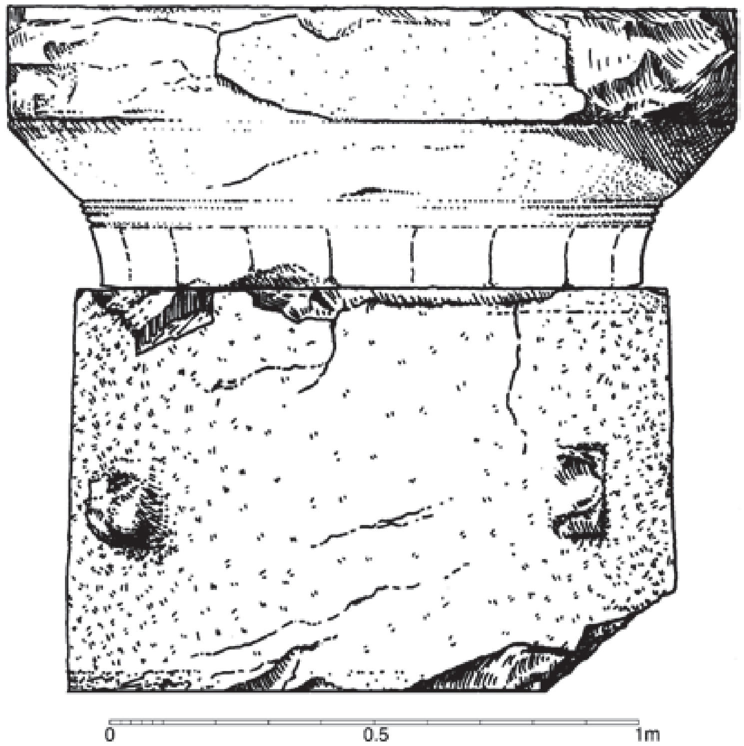

Fig. 4. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Top drum and capital of the peristyle column. T. Pöyhiä 2000.

[34] The building is dated to the middle or second half of the 4th century BC; on the building, see A. Ohnesorg, "Der dorische Prostylos des Archilocheion auf Paros", *AA* 1982, 271–90.

[35] F. Courby, *Les temples d'Apollon,* Délos 12, Paris 1931, 16, figs. 20, 23–24, 65–66.

[36] Society of the Dilettanti, *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica Comprising the Architectural Remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium, and Thoricus,* London 1833^2, chap. 9 pl. 3 (drawing by F. Bedford).

[37] Society of the Dilettanti (above n. 36) chap. 6 pl. 4 (drawing by J. Gandy).

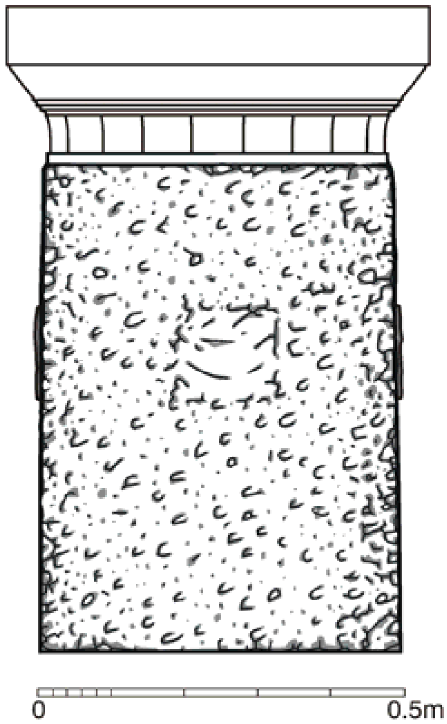

Fig. 5. The Archilocheion on Paros. Capital and top drum of the facade column. J.P. after Ohnesorg (above n. 34) fig. 3.

Leaving a 10-cm margin as at Stratos gives no practical advantage for working the final profile of the column shaft: on the contrary, it requires the introduction of one additional phase of carving to work out the curvature of the shaft profile before cutting the shaft fluting could have started.[38] The archaeological material of the temple of Zeus and the comparative material can be used to argue that a design change took place at Stratos in the middle of the building project. The diameter difference between the capital and the top drum at Stratos is consistent with an interpretation that one drum is missing from the executed columns: the maximum measured diminution in a ninth drum is 5 cm which leaves ample margin for fitting a tenth drum in the shaft.[39] Moreover, unfinished drums intended for the temple of Zeus have been discovered in the limestone quarries near Lepenou, just four kilometres away from the polis of Stratos.[40]

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[38] See Section 4 below on the porch column entasis; the extra amount of carving required for the exterior columns can be estimated by comparison of the peristyle columns and the further worked porch columns (cf. Figs. 4 and 8).

[39] The diminution of the ninth drums varies between 2.6–5.0 cm.

[40] Funke (above n. 18) 196. There is a clear scale difference between the larger temple and the smaller public buildings of the city.

Therefore, I propose that the temple was planned with ten drums per column shaft but the design was later changed and a lower version with only nine drums was built. Figure 6 presents a reconstruction of the temple facade as it was most probably originally intended. Based on the cella wall, the 95% confidence interval for the designed height of the exterior column can be calculated as 8.67–8.73 m, which is 6.72–6.77 times the lower diameter; the proportional taper of 3.4% is still quite strong but more in line with comparative architectural material.[41]

Figure 7 shows the facade of the building as it was executed. The photorealistic digital model incorporates the results of the new fieldwork: the biggest difference of the new reconstruction compared to the previous ones is the variation in the height of column drums and the irregular placement of the bosses.[42] The proportional height of the columns as they were carried out is 6.11–6.15 times the lower diameter.[43]

Economic factors are a very likely cause behind the design change. The temple is part of large-scale urban development at Stratos: during the last third of the fourth century BC also the civic buildings in the agora and the first phase of the theatre were constructed.[44] A temple building project such as the one at Stratos would have most likely been dependent at least partially on more or less voluntary private benefactions.[45] The building itself

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[41] Height of the orthostate (1.285 m) plus 17 wall blocks gives a range of 8.048–8.111 m; for calculation of the column height, see above n. 27. Proportional height of the column: 8.671 / 1.29 ≈ 6.722; 8.734 / 1.29 ≈ 6.770. Taper of the column shaft: 100% – (1.29 – 1.01) / 7.9 ≈ 3.41%. For a reference to the comparative material, see above n. 31.

[42] The model has been made by Dr Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos and his team Sixton using AutoCAD; the surface textures were rendered in 3-D Studio Max by Anaparastasis. From the detailed study of the drums it was evident that the bosses could not have been aligned on the axes of the columns as they are presented in Courby & Picard (above n. 6) pl. 8: some drums have only three bosses, and no consistent pattern was discovered between the drum dowels, the empolia and the bosses. Since the bosses would have been removed when the fluting was cut, there obviously was no need to plan their positions in a systematic way.

[43] Proportional column height: 7.876 / 1.29 ≈ 6.105; 7.931 / 1.29 ≈ 6.148.

[44] Funke (above n. 18) 193–94.

[45] The inscription *IG* IX 1, 446, dated to the late 4th or early 3rd c. BC, was discovered in the north-east corner of the temple and it gives a probable list of local subscribers to the temple project; the subscriptions vary between 10 and 60 minai. For a discussion of the inscription, see Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 87. For financing temple building in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, see A. Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders*

bears evidence that the strain of all the late-fourth-century building activity on the finances of a relatively small city was too much. If the shortage of funds became evident after the construction of columns had already been started, the most simple way of producing a fully standing building and cutting down the building costs would have been to make the building one drum shorter than originally intended.

Fig. 6. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Reconstruction of the facade as planned. J.P.

4. Porch column entasis

The columns of the two porches, the pronaos and the opisthodomos, were worked one step further than the peristyle columns: the bosses had been

at Epidauros. A Social and Economic Study of Building in the Asklepian Sanctuary, During the Fourth and Early Third Centuries B.C., Liverpool 1969, 35–38, 81–85. For general discussions on funding, see J. J. Coulton, *Ancient Greek Architects at Work. Problems of Structure and Design,* Ithaca, N.Y. 1977, 20–21; Hellmann (above n. 2) 56–66.

carved off, and the drums from these four columns can therefore yield further information on the design of entasis, the gentle curvature of the column shafts.

Eleven of the original 28 drums are preserved, and the side elevations of the best preserved seven drums are illustrated on the right of Figure 8. It is unlikely that they originally belonged to the same column, but the differ-

Fig. 7. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Reconstruction of the facade as executed. Ch. Kanellopoulos, J.P., Sixton & Anaparastasis.

ences between the four columns were very small, as is evident from the good fit between the measured drum dimensions and the fitted curve on the left side of Figure 8: in the graph the curvature of the shaft profile is greatly exaggerated by stretching the *x*-axis; the actual measured points of the profile are plotted as circles.

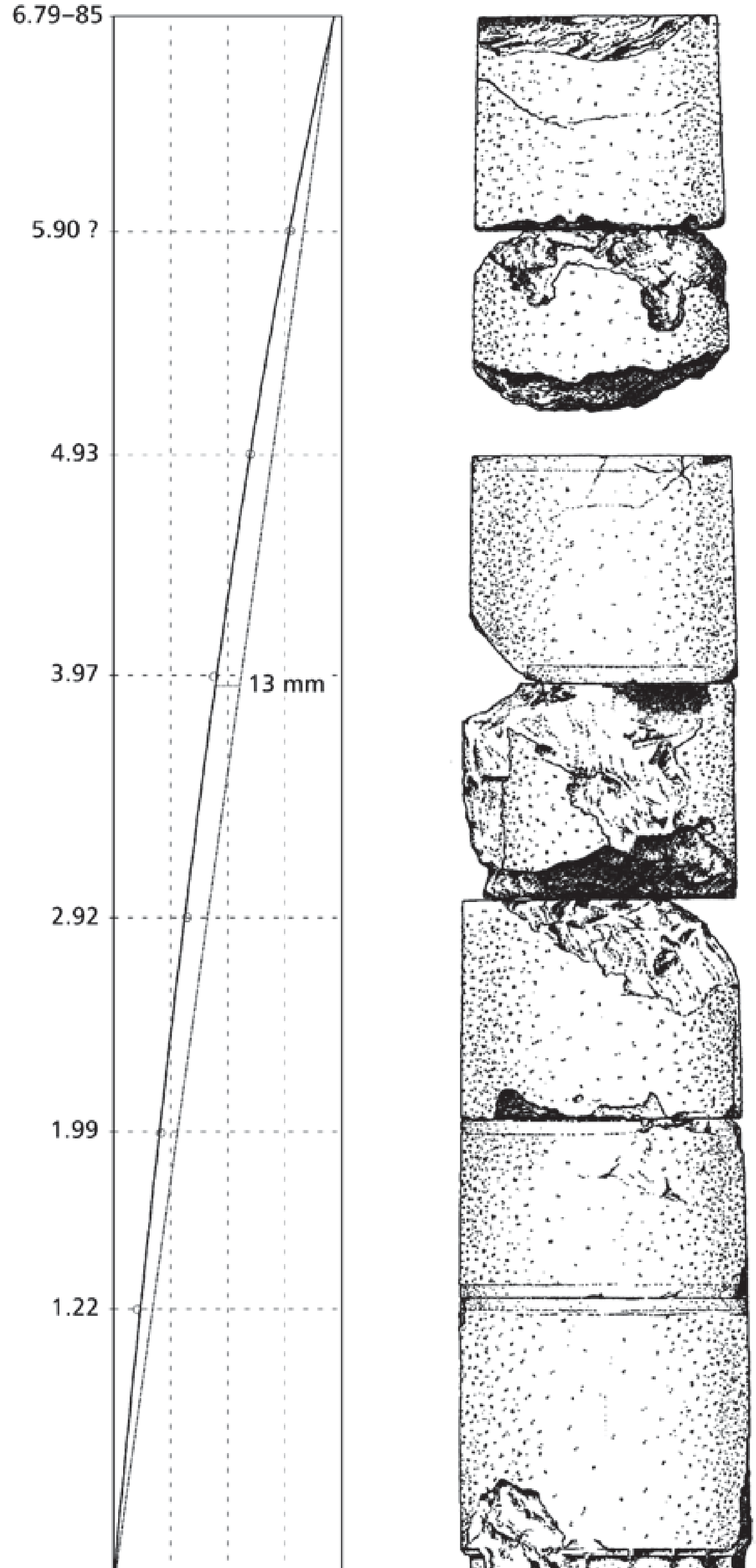

Fig. 8. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Profile of the porch column. Diagram by J.P., drawing by T. Pöyhiä 2001

Mathematical modelling can be used to determine the maximum projection of the entasis.[46] The exact height of the porch column shafts is not known since no capital from these columns is preserved at the site: the height of the shaft can be estimated as 6.79–6.85 m from the cella wall height and approximate proportional height of the capital.[47] When a cubic is fitted to the shaft profile data, the maximum entasis can be calculated as circa 13 mm, 0.2% of the column height, and it is slightly more than half way up the shaft.[48]

In fourth-century and Hellenistic Doric architecture the position of maximum entasis projection is in most cases in the centre of the shaft.[49] The small deviation at Stratos can most likely be explained by the unfinished state of the column and the fact that the drums were not originally from the same shaft. However, the preserved drums clearly demonstrate how the curvature of the shaft was taken into consideration at this stage of finishing the temple.

5. Design unit of the building

The relationship between an architectural design and building measurements is among the key questions in the study of Greek architecture. All attempts to try to define a module or a metrological unit of unknown size in a set of dimensions should employ an appropriate statistical method: if they do not, the risk of drawing false conclusions from the data is significant. The method used in this paper is based on D. G. Kendall's cosine quantogram analysis where the validity of the initial results is evaluated by using Monte Carlo computer simulations.[50]

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[46] J. Pakkanen, "Entasis in Fourth-Century BC Doric Buildings in the Peloponnese and at Delphi", *ABSA* 92 (1997) 323–44; Pakkanen (above n. 31) 155–57.

[47] The porch capital height can be estimated as follows: peristyle capital height (0.502 m) / height of peristyle column (7.9 m) × height of porch column (7.3 m) ≈ 0.46 m.

[48] The plotted points are (0, 0), (0.013, 1.216), (0.025, 1.985), (0.039, 2.922), (0.053, 3.966), (0.072, 4.932), (0.093, 5.902), (0.116, 6.833); the formula of the fitted curve is $y = 0.018 + 88.25x - 316.45x^2 + 534.71x^3$.

[49] Pakkanen (above n. 46) 342–43; Pakkanen (above n. 31) 155–57.

[50] On the method more in detail, see D. G. Kendall, "Hunting Quanta", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Mathematical and Physical Sciences* A 276 (1974) 231–266. The effect of simulation distributions in the second stage is questioned

If a design unit of certain size, or a quantum in statistical terms, was used by the Greek architect to decide the sizes of various elements and his design was executed relatively precisely, it should be possible to detect the original design by analysing the building measurements. The quantum hypothesis is in this case that a building dimension X can be expressed as an integral multiple M times the quantum q plus a small error component ε:

$$X = Mq + \varepsilon.$$

The reason why the dimension does not exactly fit the quantum is not significant from the statistical point of view: the error could equally well be a result of modern measurement errors or differences between the ancient building execution and the initial design, but in any case ε should be significantly smaller than q. The practical result of this is that since 'errors' of ±10 mm are quite usual in Greek architecture,[51] design units as small as a dactyl or one sixteenth of a foot unit cannot be discovered in a set of architectural dimensions. This is also why taking building dimensions and expressing them in terms of hypothetical dactyls does not advance our understanding of Greek architectural design. Computer simulations can, however, be used to demonstrate that a quantum in the region of a quarter-foot can be detected.[52]

To determine if dimension X can successfully be given in terms of quantum q, X is divided by q and the remainder is analysed: the closer ε is to 0 or q, the better X fits q. How well the dimensions cluster around the quantum can be calculated by using the formula

$$\phi(q) = \sqrt{2/N}\sum_{i=1}^{n}\cos(2\pi\varepsilon_i / q),$$

in P. R. Freeman, "A Bayesian Analysis of the Megalithic Yard", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* A 139 (1976) 20–35, but it can be demonstrated that the results are not significantly dependent on data modelling; see J. Pakkanen, "Deriving Ancient Foot Units from Building Dimensions: a Statistical Approach Employing Cosine Quantogram Analysis" in G. Burenhult and J. Arvidsson (eds.), *Archaeological Informatics: Pushing the Envelope. CAA 2001*, Oxford 2002, 501–506; J. Pakkanen, "The Toumba Building at Lefkandi: a Statistical Method for Detecting a Design-Unit", forthcoming in *ABSA* 99 (2004). The new software developed by the author for the analysis is also discussed in these articles.

[51] J. J. Coulton, "Towards Understanding Greek Temple Design: General Considerations", *ABSA* 70 (1975) 94.

[52] Pakkanen (2002 in n. 50) 502–503.

where N gives the number of studied measurements. The maximum function score $\phi(q)$ indicates which one of the studied quanta q is the most probable candidate for the design unit (Fig. 9). In the second phase of the study computer simulations are employed to determine whether this quantum actually produces a peak high enough to be considered a 'true' design unit rather than just background noise. In these simulations random sets of artificial data are created from non-quantal distributions and they are analysed exactly as the original measurement set in order to resolve the question whether a peak as high as the detected maximum function score could also be a result of non-quantal data.[53]

Three different modules and foot units have been suggested as the design unit of the temple of Zeus at Stratos: an 'Ionic' foot of 0.294 m,[54] a module of 0.316 m,[55] and a 'Doric' foot of 0.329 m.[56] I will first analyse the principal plan dimensions of the building (Table 1) and then the facade dimensions (Table 2). The reason for dividing the measurements into two sets is that it can enable a further analysis of the architectural design principles at Stratos.

In Figure 9 is presented the cosine quantogram of the building plan data. The studied range for q is 0.06–0.60 m: the lower limit of the range is chosen so that it is significantly larger than the error margin of measurements and smaller than a quarter-foot of any suggested Greek foot unit, and the upper so that it is greater than the cubits corresponding to possible foot standards. The results of the cosine quantogram analysis can be presented as a single curve where the quantum score $\phi(q)$ is plotted against q. There is only one clear peak at 0.1053 m with a score of 4.9. The Monte Carlo computer simulations of non-quantal replica data sets indicate that a peak with a height of 3.9 or greater is significant at 5% level (α = 5% in Fig.

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[53] I have in previous papers suggested that kernel density estimation (KDE) distributions can be used to create the simulated non-quantal data sets; Pakkanen (2002 and 2004 in n. 50).

[54] H. Bankel, "Moduli an den Tempeln von Tegea und Stratos? Grenzen der Fussmassbestimmung", *AA* (1984) 417–20.

[55] Courby & Picard (above n. 6) 85; W. Koenigs, "Zum Entwurf dorischer Hallen", *MDAI(I)* 29 (1979) 233–34.

[56] D. Mertens, *Die dorische Tempelbaukunst des griechischen Westens in klassischer Zeit,* Habilitationsschrift München 1981, 328. See also Koenigs (above n. 55) 231 n. 45, 233, though Mertens' analysis of the Stratos facade is omitted from the final publication; see Mertens (above n. 33).

9).[57] The highest score produced in the simulations was actually 4.6, so statistically there remains very little doubt that the detected peak is not a 'true' quantum. The unit is exactly one third of the design module of 0.316 m suggested already by Courby and Picard; furthermore, the analysis does not give any support that an 'Ionic' or a 'Doric' foot would have been employed in the layout of the temple plan.[58]

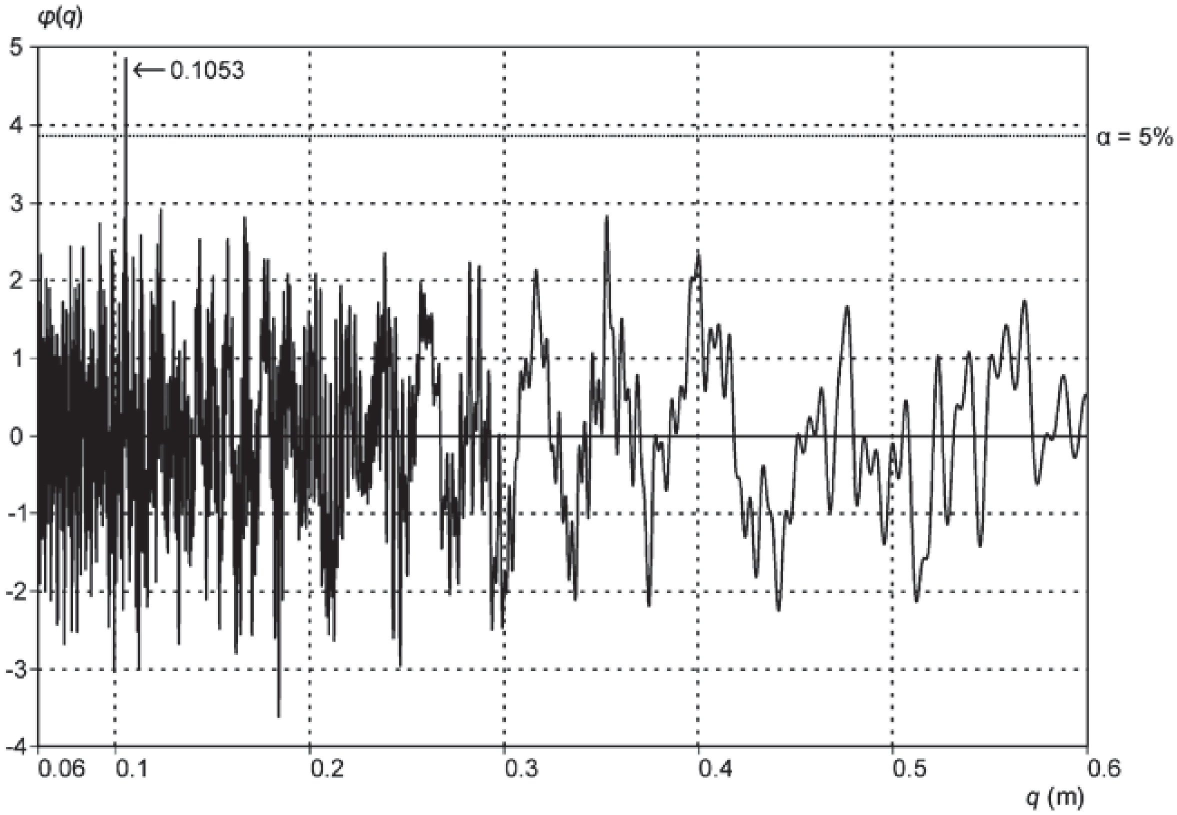

Fig. 9. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Cosine quantogram analysis of the building plan dimensions. J.P.

The fit of the design unit or module to the plan dimensions is presented in Table 1. The discrepancies between the dimension expressed in terms of the detected quantum and the actual measurements are less than a

57 A non-quantal data model based on the plan data was created using KDE with a window-width of 4.0; the 5% significance level is based on 1000 Monte Carlo simulations; on KDE and data modelling more in detail, see Pakkanen (2002 in n. 50) 502 and Pakkanen (2004 in n. 50).

58 The principal reason why Bankel's graphic method fails to recognise the design module at Stratos is that it presupposes that all design units are possible to give as whole dactyls of the employed foot, not e.g. one third of the 'foot' as here; cf. Bankel (above n. 54) 417–20.

centimetre for nearly all the principal dimensions (col. D); the only exceptions are the cella length measured at toichobate level and the interaxial distance of the porch columns. The modular layout of the temple is further analysed in Figure 10. The most likely starting point of the architect is the distance between the axes of the columns of 30 modules; the corner interaxial is reduced by 3 modules, and the axes of the columns are set 7 modules from the stylobate edge, thus resulting in a stylobate width of 158 modules and length of 308 modules. The combined width of first and second steps of the krepis is 7 modules and the width of the euthynteria is 1 module. The outer faces of the cella antae are aligned with the centres of the second and fifth columns of the front, so the exterior width of the cella becomes 90 modules. The only place in the plan where the strict modular arrangement seems to break apart is in the positioning of the ends of the cella according to the sides of the third and ninth columns of the flanks: since the lower diameter of the column is not an exact multiple of the plan module, the distance of the cella from the front and back edges of the stylobate (*a* in Figure 10) cannot be given in terms of an integral multiple of the module.

The principal dimensions of the facade are presented in Table 2. New dimensions of the peristyle column based on the Finnish fieldwork at the site are given in bold typeface; the height of the column is omitted because it cannot be determined precisely enough for the purposes of design unit analysis. The maximum peak of the cosine quantogram of the facade data is precisely at the same place as in the plan analysis, but with a score of 4.1 it is substantially lower than in the first analysis (Fig. 11). The peak is still clearly statistically significant: the computer simulations place the 5% significance level in this case at 3.7.[59] The reason for the lower peak is clear on the basis of Table 2: with the exception of lower column diameter, all facade dimensions at building plan level have a discrepancy of less than a centimetre, but the general fit of the other facade elements is discernibly worse.

The statistical analyses of the building dimensions of the temple of Zeus at Stratos have also a more general significance for the study of Greek architectural design. It is generally accepted that fourth-century and later Ionic temples had a strictly modular plan, but the same transparency cannot

[59] A KDE distribution with a window-width of 0.45 was used to produce the 1000 non-quantal simulation data sets.

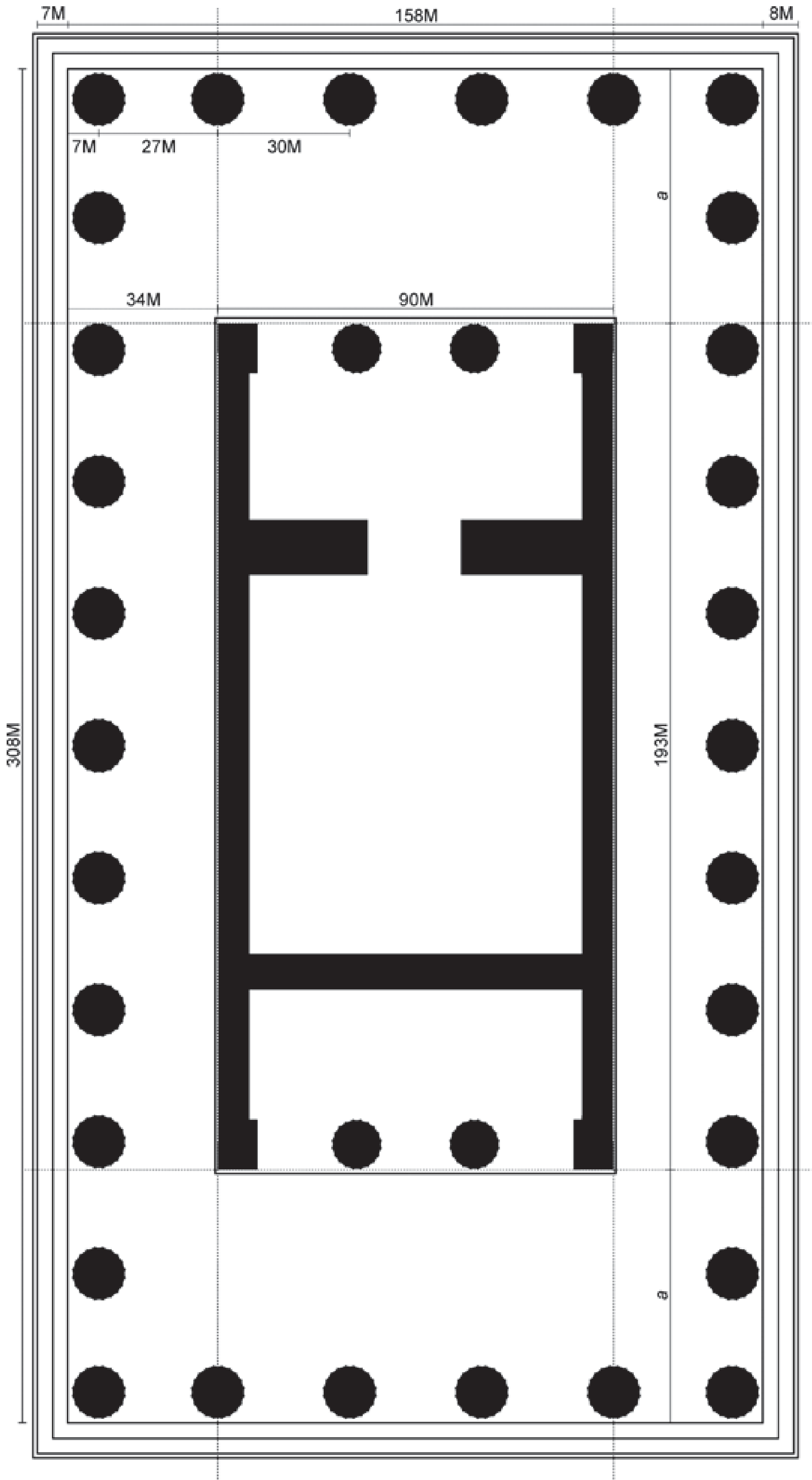

Fig. 10. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Plan with principal dimensions expressed in terms of the design module of 0.1053 m. J.P.

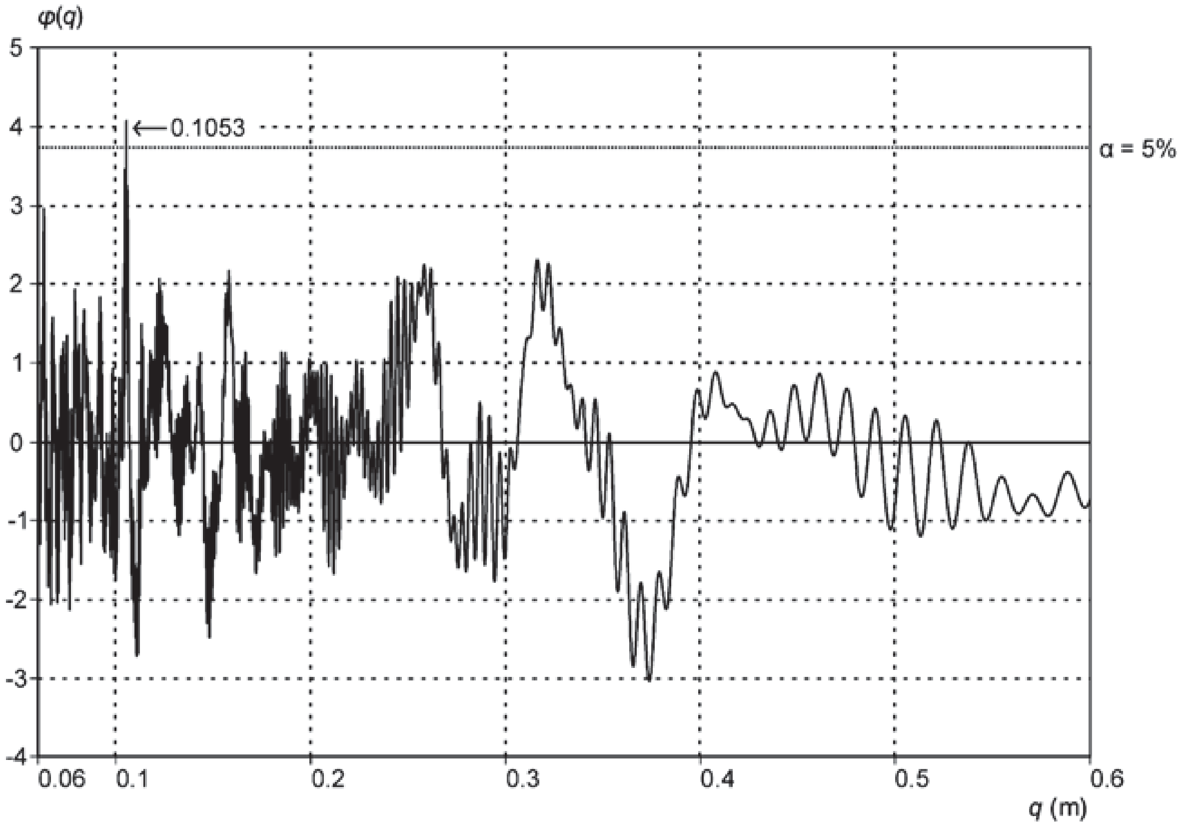

Fig. 11. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Cosine quantogram analysis of facade measurements. J.P.

be observed in Doric ground plans. Using a uniform square grid over the whole plan as in the Ionic is quite impossible: in order to attain a more regular frieze, the corner intercolumniation needs to be contracted in the Doric order.[60] The temple at Stratos comes as close to Ionic simplicity in plan as is possible in a Doric building: the angle contraction is exactly one tenth of the normal axial intercolumniation, and the whole plan follows a strict design principle.

The better fit of the plan dimensions compared to the facade data at Stratos could possibly be explained by the use of a successive design system by the architect. Following Vitruvius' rules for the Ionic order, J. J. Coulton has proposed that the opacity observable in Doric design could be explained by the fact that the building facade does not meticulously follow a modular

60 See e.g. Coulton (above n. 45) 60–64, 70–71; Wilson Jones (above n. 3) 675–78. Attempts to analyse Doric temple plans as modular have e.g. resorted to trying to define 'original' and 'executed' planning phases; R. de Zwarte, "Der ursprüngliche Entwurf für das Hephaisteion in Athen – Eine modulare architektonische Komposition des 5. Jhs v. Chr.", *BABesch* 71 (1996) 95–102.

system.[61] In Vitruvius the module is derived from the building width, but higher up in the facade this module is quickly abandoned and the sizes of further building elements are derived from the previous parts: the dimensions of the plan are directly related to the design unit, but, for example, the architrave depth is one step and the geison height several steps removed from the initial module. The major discrepancies observable in Table 2 could also be explained by the use of sub-divisions of the module, but their introduction to the analysis would not necessarily increase our knowledge of the general design: for example, the mean capital height of 0.502 m is very close to $4^3/_4$ modules, but one quarter module (c. 26 mm) already falls too close to the above defined error margin of ±10 mm to be necessarily classified as significant.[62] Therefore, the question of whether the design of the Doric temple facades should rather be classified as following a successive proportional system than a strictly modular one cannot definitively be answered on the basis of an analysis of a single building.[63]

There are two equally likely interpretations how the detected design unit of 0.1053 m could be related to a foot unit of 0.316 m: it could either be a specific unit used only in the temple design or one third of a local foot standard. W. Koenigs has suggested that the design unit of a Greek building, the 'Iochmodul', was derived from the intercolumniation of the building and that the sizes of the other elements are related to this module rather than the standard measurement unit otherwise employed in the region.[64] If the

[61] Vitr. 3,5,1–15; Coulton (above n. 51) 68–74.

[62] In general, the introduction of small sub-divisions of both modules and metrological units into design analyses should be discouraged: they may simply mask any significant patterns by eliminating all real discrepancies.

[63] In Wilson Jones (above n. 3) 675–713 it has been recently suggested that already 5th-century Doric facades are based on a modular design. Besides the criticism put forward above in n. 3, the principal difficulty in Wilson Jones' method is that it largely omits the plan dimensions: Wilson Jones assumes that the size of a possibly used module is linked to the triglyph width but he adjusts this dimension to produce smaller discrepancies in relation to a few facade and plan dimensions. All in all, the method is quite subjective compared to an appropriate statistical approach. In Coulton (above n. 51) 70 a possible research project for detecting modular and proportional relationships in Greek buildings is outlined, though it could be modified to employ a more developed statistical analysis.

[64] Koenigs (above n. 55) 211–26; Coulton argues that a more correct term for Koenig's 'Iochmodul' would be 'Iochfuss'; J. J. Coulton, "Modules and Measurements in Ancient Design and Modern Scholarship" in H. Geertman & J. J. de Jong (eds.), *Munus Non Ingratum. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Vitruvius' De Architectura and*

standard measurement unit at Stratos could be defined as something else than 0.316 m, this would strongly support Koenigs' theory. Discussion of metrological units employed in the Greek world is, however, hampered by the fact that most studies on the topic are methodologically unsound. Therefore, further analyses of Greek architecture and urban planning are needed to solve the question of foot standards in general and the one used at Stratos.

6. Conclusions

Based on new fieldwork at the sanctuary of Zeus at Stratos, the height of the temple peristyle column can be established as 7.88–7.93 m. The proportional column height of 6.11–6.15 times the lower diameter is very conservative for an Early Hellenistic building; the great diameter difference between the partially carved top drum and the finished capital suggests that the temple was originally designed with one more drum per column. The change in plans can plausibly be connected with the economic strain the large-scale urban development caused to the polis finances at the end of the fourth century BC. The planned height can be estimated as 8.67–8.73 m, which is 6.72–6.77 times the lower diameter.

The roughly finished exterior columns do not allow for a reconstruction of the final shaft profile, but the porch columns were worked one step further and demonstrate how the entasis was taken into consideration in the final preliminary phase before cutting the fluting could have begun. The shaft displays a gentle curvature with a maximum projection of 13 mm.

Any study which attempts to discover the proportional relationships and metrological units used in Greek architecture must start with a statistical analysis of the building dimensions: this is the only way to assure that all relevant possibilities are taken into account. Cosine quantogram analysis of

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the Hellenistic and Republican Architecture. Leiden 20–23 January 1987, Leiden 1989, 87. A foot unit of 0.315 m for the East Stoa of the South Agora at Miletos has been argued by de Waele based on inscriptional and archaeological evidence, but is not clear whether the unit should be classified as a 'Iochfuss' related only to this building or as a regional foot standard; J. A. de Waele, "Der Entwurf des Parthenon", in E. Berger (ed.), *Parthenon-Kongreß Basel. Referate und Berichte 4. bis 8. April 1982,* Mainz 1984, 99–100; cf. Koenigs (above n. 55) 212.

the Stratos data shows that the length of the unit used in the design of building elements is 0.1053 m. The layout of the temple follows nearly in its entirety a strictly modular pattern; the only exception is the lengthwise placement of the cella according to the sides of the flank columns. The fit of the facade dimensions to the design unit, especially the ones of the superstructure above the krepis, is not as good as the plan data: the use of a successive proportional design system where the upper elements are not directly derived from the module could be a possible explanation for this. The length of the design unit suggests that a foot standard of 0.316 m was employed in the temple construction, but its relationship to the local unit at Stratos remains unresolved.

Royal Holloway, University of London

Table 1. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Principal plan dimensions expressed in terms of the design module of 0.1053 m. Dimensions from Courby & Picard (above n. 6).

A.	B. Measured dimension (m)	C. Modules	D. Discrep. (m)
Euthynteria width	18.32	174	–0.002
Building width at first step	18.11	172	–0.002
Stylobate width	16.64	158	0.003
Euthynteria length	34.12	324	0.003
Building length at first step	33.91	322	0.003
Stylobate length	32.44	308	0.008
Axial width of facade	15.17	144	0.007
Interaxial distance of columns	3.16	30	0.001
Interaxial distance at corner	2.845	27	0.002
Distance of column axis from stylobate edge	0.735	7	–0.002
Stylobate block width	1.58	15	0.000
Cella width at toichobate level	9.59	91	0.008
Cella width between exterior faces of antae	9.48	90	0.003
Cella length at toichobate level	20.49	195	–0.044
Cella length between exterior faces of antae	20.325	193	0.002
Interaxial distance of porch columns	2.825	27	–0.018
Interaxial distance between anta and pronaos column axes	2.85	27	0.007

Table 2. The temple of Zeus at Stratos. Principal facade dimensions expressed in terms of the design module of 0.1053 m. Dimensions mainly from Courby & Picard (above n. 6); new data printed with bold typeface.

A.	B. Measured dimension (m)	C. Modules	D. Discrep. (m)
Euthynteria width	18.32	174	–0.002
Building width at first step	18.11	172	–0.002
Stylobate width	16.64	158	0.003
Axial width of facade	15.17	144	0.007
Interaxial distance of columns	3.16	30	0.001
Interaxial distance at corner	2.845	27	0.002
Distance of column axis from stylobate edge	0.735	7	–0.002
Stylobate block width	1.58	15	0.000
Krepis height	1.265	12	0.001
Lower column diameter	**1.29**	12	0.026
Upper column diameter	**1.01**	10	–0.043
Abacus width	1.36	13	–0.009
Capital height	**0.502**	5	–0.024
Triglyph width	0.625	6	–0.007
Metope width	0.955	9	0.007
Architrave depth	1.25	12	–0.014
Architrave height	0.825	8	–0.017
Frieze height	0.946	9	–0.002
Geison height	0.248	2	0.037
Entablature height	2.019	19	0.018

DE TITULIS CORANIS LAUDATIS A SANTHO LAURIENTE IN OPERE SUO *HISTORIA CORANA* (1637)

Olli Salomies

Sante Laurienti sive Santhus Laurientes (1597-1656), homo origine Coranus ex Latio, a. 1637 scripsit historiam oppidi Corae (iam *Cori*), qui liber manu scriptus, a scriptoribus rerum Coranarum paulo antiquioribus saepius laudatus,[1] iam adservatur Romae in *Biblioteca Casanatense*.[2] Eiusdem codicis folia omnia photographice depicta sunt in museo Corano recens (a. 2000) condito, ubi facillime leguntur. In initio operis (f. 5 et 5 *v.*) Laurienti profert titulos quosdam Coranos, quem locum ab Angelo Bartòla excerptum publici iuris nuper fecit M. Buonocore (*Theodor Mommsen e gli studi sul modo antico dalle sue lettere conservate nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Neapoli 2003) p. 331–332 adn. 995).[3] De titulis his cum quaedam

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[1] Ita fit apud Sante Viola, *Memorie istoriche dell'antichissima città di Cori ne' Volsci* (Roma 1825); item apud A. Accrocca, *Cori. Storia e monumenti* (Roma 1933). – Gratiae mihi agendae sunt Domenico Palombi praefecto musei Corani, cuius auxilio in rebus Coranis saepius usus sum.

[2] In frontispicio leguntur haec: *Historia Corana / auctore / P. F. Santho Lauriente de Cora / Ordinis Minorum de / Observantia / ad / S.P.Q.R. / atque / ad illustrissimos Dominos Urbis Conservatores DDD / =1637=* (*Biblioteca Casanatense*, ms. 4057). Quod ad nomen Laurientis attinet, supra scripsi *Santhus Laurientes* casu nominativo, cum haec forma reperiatur in poemate ab amico quodam scripto quod legitur in codice supra scripto f. 137. In iis quae sequuntur tamen utar casu nominativo formae vulgaris *Laurienti*.

[3] Observandum tamen est hoc factum esse non sine mendis; nam e. g. in titulo 6520 (de numero nude posito cf. adn. 5) legitur non *M. Cal. f.* (ut est apud Bartòla), sed *M. Cal. M. Cal. f.*, et praeterea *a F. Claudio* (non *F. Claudio*). Cf. infra ad titulum 6523. Quae infra dicuntur de lectionibus Laurientianis, nituntur ipso codice (quem photographice depictum diligenter ut spero examinavi in museo Corano mense Octobri a. 2004), non iis quae inveniuntur in libro supra dicto Buonocoriano.

non solum dici possint sed fortasse etiam sint dicenda, hoc ad me pertinere ratus sum, cum iam per multos annos in titulis Coranis investigandis sim occupatus. Ita mihi proposui ut in hoc commentariolo exponam, unde titulos sumpserit Laurienti et qui rursus usi sint sylloge Laurientiana in titulis Coranis proponendis.

Antequam autem accedam ad ipsum Laurientem, verba mihi aliquot facienda sunt de Ulixe Ciuffio (Ulisse Ciuffi) item Corano, homine docto saec. XVI. Ciuffium hunc de rebus Coranis quaedam scripsisse apparet ex scriptoribus saec. XVII et XVIII. Scripta haec aut latent aut perierunt; iam S. Viola in libro suo a. 1825 edito (v. adn. 1), quamvis dicat (p. 75), nescio num recte, librum Ciuffii manu scriptum etiamtunc exstare ("si possiede dalla famiglia *Marchetti*"), usus eodem non est sive potius (ut puto) uti iam non potuit. Idem Viola (p. 74–5) scribit Ciuffium natum esse Corae circiter a. 1532, vixisse "alla ultima vecchiezza" (cf. Casimirum, v. infra),[4] et scripsisse praeter multa alia librum qui inscribitur *Genealogia delle famiglie di Cori*; addit hoc libro usum esse Laurientem supra dictum, quaedam ex ipso Lauriente laudans (p. 75). Anno tamen 1744 scripta eiusdem Ciuffii etiamtunc exstabant, nam Ciuffio se tum usum esse dicit Frater Casimirus de Roma (Casimiro da Roma) in libro suo *Memorie istoriche delle chiese, e dei conventi dei Frati Minori della Provincia Romana* (Roma 1744); Casimirus (p. 91) loquitur de "un picciolo libro di memorie" (librum de genealogia puto significans) et ex eodem laudat quaedam ad tempus pontificatus Sixti V pertinentia (1585–90) et praeterea titulos quosdam Coranos (p. 92–3), de quibus infra dicam; idem Casimirus (p. 93) scribit Ciuffium a. 1634 mortuum esse annorum 96.

At iam transeamus ad ipsum Laurientem. Laurienti igitur in operis sui f. 5 et f. 5 *v* hos sedecim titulos Coranos profert: 6517,[5] <u>6520</u>, <u>6529</u>, <u>6528</u>, <u>6511</u>, <u>6518</u>, <u>6519</u>, <u>6540</u>, 6526, 6506, 932*, <u>6510</u>, <u>933</u>*, <u>6514</u>, <u>6547</u>, 6523. Lineola subducta indicavi titulos eos, quos habet etiam frater Casimirus, de quo modo dixi, hoc ordine enumerans: 6520, 6529, 6528, 6511, 6518, 6510, 6519, 6540, 6547, 933*, 6514. Si ea quae traduntur apud Laurientem conferuntur cum exemplis Casimirianis, facile apparet titulos 933*, 6514, 6511, 6518, 6520, 6528, 6529 apud utrumque proferri eodem plane modo,

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[4] Haec Viola non videtur sumpsisse ex ipso Casimiro, nam librum Casimiri nusquam laudat.

[5] Numeri nude positi (6517 etc.) ad numeros *Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum* vol. X pertinent.

nisi quod in locis quibusdam minima quaedam inter se discrepant. Ita e.g. in titulo 6511 et Laurienti et Casimirus lectionem *Fortunato* pro *Fortunata* habent, in 6518 *Touria* ubi debuit esse *Toutia*; uterque habet in versu ultimo tituli 6514 *Coriolan.* (*Coriola.* Casimirus) *C. N.* pro eo quod in aliis exemplis omnibus est *Utili Cn. s.* Si addis cum apud Laurientem tum apud Casimirum titulos hos enumerari eodem plane ordine (6520, 6529, 6528, 6511, 6518, deinde 933* et 6514), utrumque dicere titulos 6520–6518 adservari in ecclesia S. Petri ("in fonte marmoreo baptismatis"), titulos 933* et 6514 in porticu ecclesiae S. Mariae Plebis (addit tamen Laurienti lapidem iam esse positum, "ut nosmet perspeximus", "pro stipite in domo Mercurii Corbi prope plateunculam Matthaeorum"), utrumque denique titulos 6520–6518 ut unum proferre et etiam ex titulis 933* et 6514 unum solum titulum facere, facillime apparet aut Casimirum titulos hos ex Lauriente sumpsisse aut Laurientem et Casimirum hausisse ex eodem fonte. Hoc, non illud, esse verum inde apparet quod apud Laurientem multa sunt quae apud Casimirum non inveniuntur et quod quidam tituli (de quibus infra dicam) non eodem modo proferuntur apud Laurientem et Casimirum. Cum autem constare videatur Laurientem usum esse Ciuffio eo de quo dixi supra et cum ipse Casimirus diserte dicat se titulos exscribere ex eodem Ciuffio (et se in hac re profiteatur usum esse summa diligentia), sequitur ut apud utrumque tituli hi proveniant ex Ciuffio.

At iam videamus de titulis eis, qui apud Casimirum ex Ciuffio haurientem sequuntur post titulum Paul(lae) "Touriae" n. 6518 et ante titulos 933* et 6514, titulos dico 6510, 6519, 6540, 6547, quos idem Casimirus hoc ordine enumerat et titulis 6520 – 6518 ita subiungit, ut appareat eum etiam hos titulos habuisse pro partibus eiusdem tituli unius, quem (ut supra dixi) adservari in ecclesia S. Petri idem Ciuffius affirmavisse habendus est. Etiam hi tituli apud Laurientem quidem inveniuntur, sed ordine alio enumerati:

Casimirus: 6518 *Paul. Touria* etc. - 6510 *Libero* etc. - 6540 + 6519 *Calvia* etc. - 6547 *L. Lucreti* etc. (sequuntur tituli 933* et 6514)

Laurienti: 6518 *Paul. Touria* etc. - 6540 + 6519 *Calvia* etc. - (interponuntur tituli 6526, 6506, 932*) 6510 *Libero* etc. - (interponuntur tituli 933*, 6514) 6547 *L. Lucreti* etc. (sequitur titulus 6523)

Si addis Laurientem his titulis addere locum, ubi adserventur, et praeterea titulos 6510 et 6547 paulo aliter proferri apud Casimirum et apud Laurientem, effici videtur Laurientem in titulis 6510, 6540 + 6519 et 6547 proferendis non usum esse Ciuffio (quamquam observandum est verba titulorum 6540 + 6519 eadem plane esse apud Laurientem et Casimirum; sed hi tituli eodem modo iam ab antiquioribus quibusdam ut a Metello proferuntur). Quomodo in his titulis inter se discrepent Casimirus et Laurienti ex sequentibus apparet:

	Casimirus:	Laurienti:
6510	(in ecclesia S. Petri) (…) *spira Volubrana*	in ecclesia S. Mariae Plebis (…) *spira Ulubrana*[6]
6519 + 6540	(in ecclesia S. Petri) *Calvia / H.L.L.N.A.* etc.	in pariete unius domus prope palatium Ioannispetri Montagnae *Calvia H.L.L.N.A.*[7] etc.
6547	in ecclesia S. Petri) *L. Lucreti L. f. Pop. Vituli*	in ecclesia S. Mariae Plebis *L. Lucreti L. f. Pap.*[8] *Vituli*

Ex iis, quae supra sunt dicta, efficitur cum Laurientem tum Casimirum usos esse Ciuffio, sed ita, ut apud Laurientem tituli etiam ex alio quodam fonte sumpti reperiantur.

De titulis his plura dicam paulo post; nam hoc loco videndum est de reliquis titulis qui apud Laurientem inveniuntur. Sunt autem hi:

- 6517, titulus aedis "Herculis", quem Laurienti ita praebet: *Marcus Manlius M. f., L. Turpilius L. f. duomvires … eisdemq(ue)* (non *eisdeque*) *probavere*. Hic titulus cum loco suo antiquo semper facile legi potuerit et apud Laurientem non omnino recte quidem, sed certe non corrupte proponatur, sequitur ut veri non ita dissimile videatur Laurientem titulum hunc proposuisse ex visu. Huic conclusioni non obstat quod quaedam verba aliter ac in titulo abbreviate scripsit (*senat. senten.*, postea *coera.*);

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[6] *Ulubrana* sine dubio est lectio recta (Ulubrae enim fuerunt oppidum Coranis vicinum); quae lectio cum apud Laurientem primum inveniatur, nihil obstat, quominus statuamus eundem hunc titulum vidisse.

[7] Ita (non *L.L.N.A.*) legitur in codice Laurientiano. Littera *H* ita scripta est, ut hasta transversa et a sinistra et a dextra extra hastas rectas emineat, et praeterea ita, ut hasta recta dextra in parte superiore curvetur dextrorsum. Sequitur ut suspicari possis Laurientem indicare voluisse non litteram *H* legi hoc loco, sed aliud quoddam.

[8] *Pap.* sine dubio est lectio recta, cum tribus Coranorum fuerit Papiria. Hic titulus ante Laurientem propositus est in codice Leidensi q. d. Petaviano (*Leid. Burm*. Q. 6 f. 6), sed corrupte; ita etiam de hoc titulo statui potest ipsum Laurientem eum posse vidisse.

praenomen Manlii errore perscripsit fortasse ideo, quod hunc titulum interpretans verba facit de Manlio illo Capitolino (quem eundem habet ac hominem hunc Coranum), praenomen eiusdem *Marcus* semper perscribens. – Inter hunc titulum et eum qui sequitur 6526 proponuntur tituli ii de quibus supra dixi, 6520, 6529, 6528, 6511, 6518, 6540 + 6519.

- 6526, *Coppius* (sic) *Verus* etc., titulus pertinens ad aquam caelestem in piscinas colligendam ("in parietibus domorum Vallis in via, quae [sic] ex ecclesia sancti Salvatoris [iuxta aedem Castorum] itur versus plateunculam Matthaeorum");

- 6506, *aedem Castori Polluci* etc., fragmentum epistylii aedis Castorum quod etiamnunc visitur loco suo antiquo ("super columnas existentes in platea ecclesiae Sancti Salvatoris"); etiam hunc titulum Laurientem ex visu proposuisse credi potest.

- 932*, titulus inter falsos relegandus incipiens *apollini aescul.* etc. ("in monumento in in reliquias conscisso, quod erat ante valvas ecclesiae Sancti Archangeli"; post hunc titulum et ante eum qui sequitur n. 6523 proponuntur tituli 6510, 933*, 6514);

- 6523, *d. m.; C. Egnatio Felici* etc., titulus militis urbaniciani ("in Faustini Fasanellae I(uris) V(triusque) D(octoris) aede [sic] est marmoreus [scil. lapis], qui in quadam vinea iuxta Annuntiatae ecclesiam [id est extra portam Romanam] fuit inventus").

Tituli 932* et 6523 apud Laurientem primum (quod sciam) proponuntur. Nihil obstat quominus sumamus eum titulum 6523 (de quo titulo v. etiam infra) proposuisse ex visu. De titulo n. 932* nescio quid dicam; hoc fragmentum (cf. supra quomodo lapidem descripserit Laurienti; verba tituli idem Laurienti ita reddit: *apollini aescul. om. – ri. – / prae. – deor. –*) inter titulos falsos a Mommseno relegatum est, recte ut puto, quamquam inesse possunt etiam quaedam ex titulo quodam genuino provenientia. Nomina numinum in initio tituli si sunt ficta, id quod verisimillimum mihi videtur, eo omnino consilio ficta sunt, ut demonstraretur eo loco, ubi postea fuit ecclesia S. Michaelis Archangeli, antiquitus fuisse aedem Apollinis et Aesculapii.

At titulum 6523 certe potest vidisse, item titulos 6517 et 6506 (v. supra), et idem dici posse videtur etiam de titulis 6510 et 6547 (v. adnn. 6 et 9); praeterea (ut supra vidimus) ad titulum 6514, quem propter corruptelas quasdam apparet exscripsisse ex Ciuffio, adnotat titulum iam adservari in domo Mercurii Corbi seque eundem ibidem "perspexisse".[9] Praeter titulos, quos sumpsit ex Ciuffio et quos ipsum vidisse statui potest, sunt apud Laurientem etiam tituli quidam quos neque sumpsit ex Ciuffio neque ipse videtur descripsisse. Hi sunt tituli 6526 et (ex iis qui reperiuntur etiam apud Casimirum ex Ciuffio haurientem) 6519 et 6540. Hi tituli iam in syllogis epigraphicis, quae ante Laurientem exstabant, inveniuntur. Quod ad titulum 6526 attinet (de quo v. etiam adn. 8), exemplum Laurientianum prope id accedit quod invenitur apud Metellum vel qui a Metello pendent (hoc praesertim ex eo apparet, quod cum apud Metellum et in Metellianis tum apud Laurientem reperimus lectionem *L. P. Turpili(us)* et verba *ex s. c.* in fine tituli posita); ita non de eo, ex quo exscripsit Laurienti, sed tamen de genere fontis, quo in hoc titulo usus est, satis constat.[10] Idem fere de titulis 6540 + 6519 dici potest, nam etiam hi tituli inveniuntur iam apud eundem Metellum et in Metellianis.

Ut supra dixi (adn. 1), liber a Lauriente scriptus, quamquam editus est numquam, tamen saepius a scriptoribus rerum Coranarum S. Viola (a. 1825) et A. Accrocca (a. 1933) laudatur. Cum nobis hoc loco sermo sit de titulis Coranis, iam videamus, num etiam in titulis tradendis scriptores quidam sylloge Laurientiana sint usi. Viola et Accrocca, quorum modo feci mentionem, titulos Coranos proferunt, sed ita, ut eos non ex Lauriente sed aliunde sumpserint, Viola ex Grutero, Muratorio, Vulpio, aliis, Accrocca praesertim ex *Corpore inscriptionum Latinarum* Mommseniano. Alius homo origine Coranus, a quo tituli quidam Corani (numero 13) traduntur, est A. Ricchi in libro suo qui inscribitur *La Reggia de' Volsci, ove si tratta ... del regno de' Volsci ... e specialmente di Cora* (Napoli 1713). Ricchius hic in rebus historicis non videtur esse usus scriptis Laurientianis, neque tituli ei quos profert[11] vestigia exemplorum Laurientianorum videntur praebere praeter titulum unum 6526, qui invenitur *Reggia de' Volsci* p. 289. In hoc enim titulo (qui iam dudum periit) a Lauriente tantum et a Ricchio (et apud

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[9] Etiam in aliis quibusdam titulis (e.g. 6526 et 6540 + 6519, de quibus v. supra) locum ubi suo tempore adservabantur ita definit, ut videatur titulos hos non quidem de visu descripsisse, sed vidisse aut certe cognitum habuisse, ubi inveniri possent.

[10] Notandum autem est etiam alios titulos, quorum exempla ex fonte quodam Metelliano manant, apud Laurientem inveniri, titulos dico 6514, 6520, 6529. At (ut supra dixi) hos titulos Laurienti cum sumpisse videatur ex Ciuffio, tituli hi nos potius de origine sylloges Ciuffianae docent quam de titulis Laurientianis.

[11] Tituli hi plerumque sumpti sunt ex Grutero, sed etiam aliis syllogis Ricchius usus est.

Marocco, de quo v. infra) in v. 1 nomen alterius IIIIviri traditur abbreviate *Turpili.* ("*Turpily.*" Ricchi). Etiam in aliis quibusdam Laurienti et Ricchi eandem lectionem praebent (e.g. *produxerunt* pro *perduxerunt*, quod est apud plerosque), sed talia etiam apud alios quosdam eiusdem fere aetatis scriptores reperiuntur. Quod ad lectionem *Turpily.* attinet, Ricchius dicit se habere titulum hunc ex "Panvino [sic], lib. 25". Qui locus quamvis sit mihi omnino ignotus, tamen apparet hunc titulum in syllogen Ricchianam non pervenisse ex Lauriente. Idem dicendum est de titulis Coranis (non ita paucis), quos habet Iosephus Roccius Vulpius in operis sui *Vetus Latium profanum et sacrum* vol. 4 (1727), nam praeter quosdam, quos potest vidisse ipse, tituli sumpti sunt ex Grutero et ex aliis syllogis, certe non ex Lauriente. At si iam procedimus ad homines eos qui saec. XIX ineunte titulos Coranos protulerunt (nam de Casimiro iam supra satis sum locutus), incidimus in scriptorem satis doctum, qui sibi monumenta rei publicae Pontificalis describenda suscepit; cum prae se ferre cuperet speciem hominis, qui titulos plerumque suis oculis vidisset,[12] tamen multa exscripsit ex prioribus, inter quos sine dubio fuit etiam Laurienti. Is est Giuseppe Marocco, qui in operis sui *Monumenti dello stato pontificio e relazione topografica di ogni paese* vol. V (Romae 1834) profert titulos Coranos haud paucos.

Eum in titulis quibusdam usum esse opere Laurientiano facillime apparet ex exemplis titulorum 933* et 6514. Titulus 933* fortasse non in omnibus fictus sed inter genuinos certe non recipiendus apud auctores quosdam antiquiores inde a Laurienti traditur aut ita, ut post titulum 933* sequatur 6514 (Laurienti, Casimirus, Marocco), aut ita, ut in fine tituli 933* appareant litterae primae tituli 6514 (Ricchi, Vulpius). Ita, cum titulus 6514 incipiat litteris *NAE* (ubi restituenda est lectio *[Mentei bo]nae*), titulus 933* finiri videatur litteris *DICA*, invenimus apud Casimirum (p. 92) lectionem *(...) q. pleb. dica / nae serucis* (pro *serveis* nom.) e.q.s., apud Ricchium (p. 335) et apud Vulpium (p. 144) *q. pleb. dica. mae.* ("*&c.*" post *mae* addit Vulpius). At Laurienti hoc loco habet non *(... q. pleb.) dica nae (serucis* e.q.s.*)* ut Casimirus sed *Dianae*, quam lectionem esse emendationem ipsius Laurientis putaverim, cum etiam in hoc titulo videatur eodem fonte usus

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[12] Cf. p. 181, ubi, postquam observavit titulos Coranos proferri a pluribus scriptoribus (ex quibus diserte nominat Gudium Muratorium Gruterum Vulpium Corradinium Ricchium Feam Violam), scribit "ma noi esponiamo al cortese leggitore quelle [scil. iscrizioni], che personalmente abbiamo ritrovate in quella illustre città, e sono le seguenti" (sequitur titulus fictus sumptus ex libro Laurientiano, cf. infra).

esse ac Casimirus (v. supra). Et ut iam veniamus ad Maroccum, eandem lectionem *Dianae* etiam apud hunc reperimus. Si praeterea respexeris etiam alia omnia in titulis 933* et 6514 apud Maroccum plane respondere exemplis Laurientianis[13] et etiam loci, ubi lapis adservetur, indicationem apud utrumque esse eandem,[14] facile statues Maroccum titulos hos nullo modo potuisse videre, sed sumpsisse ex Lauriente.

Idem dicendum est etiam de titulis 6526 (ubi verba omnia apud Maroccum eadem sunt atque apud Laurientem, nisi quod initio scripsit ".... *OPPIVS*" pro *Coppius*, ut Laurienti legit) et 6547 (ubi soli Laurienti et Marocco habent *Pap.* et post *vix.*), et praeterea de titulo 6523 (qui apud Casimirum non reperitur), quamquam in hoc titulo, quem homines doctos quosdam saec. XVII et XVIII Corae ex visu descripsisse constare videtur, Marocco quaedam errore mutavit. Hic titulus ita traditur:

Laurienti:	Vulpius:	Marocco:
(...)	*(...)*	*(...)*
MILITI CHOXI. VRBλNλIa[15]	*MILITI COHOR. VRB.*	*MILITI CHOXI. VRBANNIA*
... TRABIVS SCRATVS ET ...	*... TRABIVS SERATVS ET ...*	*... TRABINVS SCRATVS ET*
...		
HEREDES ...	*HAEREDES ...*	*HAEREDES ...*

Exemplum apud Marocco occurrens si confertur cum exemplis prioribus, facile apparet Maroccum titulum sumpsisse non ex Vulpio sed ex Lauriente, quamvis quaedam errore paulum mutaverit (*TRABIVS* in

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[13] Ita Laurienti et Marocco praebent *anteponend. colend.*, cum apud Casimirum legatur *anteponen. colen.*; in titulo 6514 reperimus apud Laurientem et Maroccum *Thimoteus* (*Thimotheus* Casim.); *Antius* (*Anti. V. S.* Casim.), *Coriolan.* (*Coriola.* Casim.).

[14] "Lapis … nunc propositus est pro stipite in domo Mercurii Corbi (e.q.s.)" (Laurienti) ~ "In casa Corbi formante uno stipite" (Marocco).

[15] Nescio quo errore in editione Buonocoriana hoc loco scriptum sit *VRB*; nam in ipso codice id fere legitur quod supra dedi. Quod scriptum est minus diligenter inspicienti potest videri esse *Vrbanna* aut (si sumis litteras *N* et *I* inter se esse conexas) *Vrbannia*, id quod apud Maroccum invenimus. At re vera apud Laurientem primum legitur *VRB*, deinde sequitur littera quae admodum similis est litterae Graecae *lambda* eius formae, quae in editionibus huius temporis in usu est; sequitur *N* formae eius quae in titulis Latinis invenitur, deinde alterum *lambda*, cui a dextra subiungitur littera *I* formae in titulis Latinis usitatae. In fine est littera quaedam quae prope accedit ad huius temporis litteram *a* formae cursivae. Hoc loco quid in lapide re vera inscriptum fuerit non liquet, sed fuisse ibi indicationem aut annorum aetatis (aetas enim militis huius alibi non memoratur) aut potius cohortis veri simillimum est.

TRABINVS, HEREDES in *HAEREDES*).

Quod ad titulos 6520, 6529, 6528, 6511 et 6518 attinet, qui cum apud Laurientem tum apud Casimirum eodem (ut supra vidimus) fonte usos proferuntur hoc ordine, eodem ordine habet Marocco p. 186. Fieri potest, ut hos titulos Marocco sumpserit aut ex Lauriente aut ex Casimiro; at cum constet eum in aliis titulis usum esse Lauriente, non video, cur non sumamus eundem etiam titulos modo dictos sumpsisse ex Lauriente, praesertim cum etiam Laurienti re vera habeat in titulo 6520 lectionem *M. Cal. M. Cal. f. Pap. Prisci* (non *M. Cal. f. Pap. Prisci*, ut errore quodam apud Buonocore scribitur), quae lectio (ubi *M. Cal.* bis scribitur) tam apud Casimirum quam apud Maroccum reperitur.

Quaedam tamen Marocco videtur correxisse alio quodam fonte usus; in titulo enim 6529 habet *Toutiae Clepant. Q. Tibi matri*, non *Tupae Clepant. Q. Tibi mater* ut Laurienti (vel *Iupae Clepant. Q. Sibi mater* ut Casimirus). Nescio num haec sumpserit ex Vulpio, apud quem solum praeterea reperitur lectio *Toutiae* (obstare tamen videtur quod apud Vulpium paulo post legitur *Q. Clidi*, non *Q. Tibi*), quem scriptorem nomine laudat p. 161 ad titulum 6510 et p. 167. Vulpium Marocco praeterea potest adhibuisse in titulis 6519 et 6540. Omnino observandum est Maroccum in titulis proferendis usum esse pluribus scriptoribus; ita e.g. titulum 6510 sumpsit ex Muratorio, quem nomine laudat.

Appendix: Tituli duo Corani a Piranesio ficti

In emphemeridis huius vol. 31 (1997) scripsi (p. 126–8) de titulis quibusdam Coranis, quos Carolus Fea, notissimus ille antiquitatum studiosus saec. XIX ineuntis, dicit Corae se descripsisse,[16] mentitus quidem, cum omnes exscripserit ex libro a G.B. Piranesi scripto, *Antichità di Cora* (1764), in cuius libri frontispicio tituli Corani quidam sunt delineati. Hos titulos omnes Piranesi sumpsit ex Vulpio. Inter eos sunt praeter titulos quosdam satis notos (ut 6524 Ti. Cl(audi) Iusti) tituli duo de quibus partes tantum in frontispicio conspiciuntur ideo, quod lapides, in quibus sunt inscripti, in delineatione Piranesiana aliis lapidibus obteguntur. Hi tituli cum a Fea supra dicto dicantur exstare Corae, a Mommseno in *Corpus* recepti sunt, ubi hodie reperiuntur ut genuini sub numeris 6521 et 6530. At re vera hi tituli

[16] Tituli Corani apud Feam reperiuntur in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 10592 f. 296.

originem ducunt ex exemplis Vulpianis titulorum et genuinorum et fictorum. Ut a titulo n. 6530 incipiam, qui titulus apud Piranesi est a dextra frontispicii, Mommsen eum ita praebet: *[---] M. F. [--- / ---]PRO[--- / ---]VIR*[17] *[--- / ---]BL[--- / ---]DEO[---]*. Hunc titulum autem si cum exemplo Vulpiano tituli 6528 contuleris, facile apparebit tituli reliquias has sumptas esse ex 6528; litteras *M. F.* enim sumpsit Piranesi ex indicatione patris Publilii alterius, *PRO* ex *pron(epoti)*, *VIR* ex *IIII vir*, *BL* ex *Luc. Publ.*, *DEO* ex *deorum pulvinaria*. Ita titulum 6530 iam delendum esse constat.

Titulus alter 6521 apud Piranesi conspicitur in frontispicio a sinistra ita, ut media pars tituli alio lapide sit obruta. Hic titulus, eo de quo modo dixi multo longior, hoc modo factus est: finem (inde a *M. Cal[---]*[18]) Piranesi sumpsit ex titulo 6520; quae praecedunt proveniunt ex titulo falso 933* ita, ut *FO* Piranesi sumpserit ex *fortunae*, *NDA* ex *anteponendae*, *COL* ex *colend*; etiam litterae *SC D* et *PEQ* in titulo 933* inveniuntur.[19] Initium tituli (*pat[---]imis [---] / com[---]sus* e.q.s.) unde sumpserit Piranesi, videndum; titulum Coranum, quem adhibuerit, ego certe invenire adhuc non potui. Fortasse haec sumpta sunt ex titulo non Corano. Sed utcumque res se habet, pro certo habendum est etiam titulum 6521 ex corpore titulorum Coranorum esse delendum.

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[17] Ita Piranesi et Fea; apud Mommsenum est errore *VCR*.

[18] *M. Cal///e* Mommsen errore, quae sunt apud Feam male legens.

[19] Titulum 6521 hoc loco ita laudo, ut est apud Piranesi; nam Fea (ex quo sumpsit Mommsen) hunc titulum hic et illic neglegenter reddidit atque etiam versum unum (incipiens *PEQ[---]*) omisit. Aliquid huic titulo male legendo attribuit etiam Mommsen, qui post versum suum decimum (incipientem *SENA*) omisit versus quattuor eos qui apud Feam scripti sunt a sinistra tituli huius.

CONSULAR LEGISLATION IN PRE-SULLAN ROME

KAJ SANDBERG

The consulship of republican Rome would surely merit a thorough treatment comparable to that which Corey Brennan has recently bestowed to the praetorship.[1] Since the publication more than twenty years ago of Adalberto Giovannini's work *Consulare imperium*, the latest substantial contribution to our understanding of this magistracy,[2] controversy has arisen as to the role of the consuls and the precise nature of the consulship. Above all Richard Mitchell, in his iconoclastic study *Patricians and Plebeians*,[3] has proposed bold new interpretations of the origin, evolution and, indeed, the whole character of this office. That the modern emphasis on the consulship as the **key** to Roman politics is not unproblematic has been recognized also by Fergus Millar, who pointed out the well-known yet much overlooked fact that it was only after Sulla – that is, in the very last decades of the Republic – that the consuls tended to spend their year of office at Rome.[4] I have myself, in my works on the legislation of the pre-Sullan Republic, found reason to question many current views of the consulship.[5] I have, above all,

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[1] T. C. Brennan, *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic* I–II, Oxford 2000.

[2] A. Giovannini, *Consulare imperium* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 16), Basel 1983.

[3] R. E. Mitchell, *Patricians and Plebeians. The Origin of the Roman State*, Ithaca 1990.

[4] F. Millar, "The Last Century of the Republic. Whose History?", *JRS* 85 (1995) 239.

[5] K. Sandberg, "The *concilium plebis* as a Legislative Body during the Republic", U. Paananen et al., *Senatus populusque Romanus. Studies in Roman Republican Legislation* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 13), Helsinki 1993, 74–96; "Tribunician and Non-Tribunician Legislation in Mid-Republican Rome", C. Bruun (ed.), *The Roman Middle Republic. Politics, Religion and Historiography, c. 400–133 BC. Papers from a*

proposed a marginalization of the legislative role of the chief magistrates of Rome, which effectively confines their sphere of legislative activity during much of this period to extrapomerial matters, as I have called them (pertaining to the world outside the *pomerium*, i.e. matters of war and peace, foreign relations, and the like).[6]

In this paper I shall further advance my case, now with the focus on the consulship. This I will do with an array of fresh arguments, commenting upon some of the reactions to my earlier work. All the major issues that will be dealt with here constitute quite complex problems and have, accordingly, prompted a vast amount of scholarly literature. Therefore, in order not to adduce another monograph's worth of details and references, I have resolved to keep my footnotes short and to refrain as much as possible from repeating all of my earlier argumentation. This, along with a full documentation of all the problems involved and earlier research, can be found in my book *Magistrates and Assemblies*. While in the present study it is clearly inevitable that I must provide a minimum of background and orientation, the emphasis will be put on those very points where diverging opinions have been brought forth by other scholars.

It is convenient to begin this paper by providing a synopsis of my main theses, before expounding them in more detail and confronting them with some of the reactions they have prompted in the scholarly discussion.[7]

Conference at the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, September 11–12, 1998 (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 23), Rome 2000, 121–140 and, in particular, the monograph *Magistrates and Assemblies. A Study of Legislative Practice in Republican Rome* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 24), Rome 2001.

[6] For the significance of the *pomerium* (the sacred city boundary) and my distinction between intrapomerial and extrapomerial matters, see, above all, Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 119 ff., esp. 122. Cf. Sandberg 1993 (n. 5), 82.

[7] No effort has been made here to take into account every single reaction known to me, as I will return to certain problems in forthcoming papers. Therefore a list of reviews of my earlier works might be helpful to anyone interested in the themes that I have covered. Reviews of *Magistrates and Assemblies* (Sandberg 2001 [n. 5]): R. S. Howarth, *BMCRev* 2002.05.28; K. Christ, *AAHG* 56 (2003) 21–23; L. de Libero, *HZ* 276 (2003) 428–430; V. Marotta, *RSI* 115 (2003) 780–787; M. H. Crawford, *CR* 54 (2004) 171–172 and B. Linke, *Klio* 86 (2004) 484–485. My earlier studies are discussed, sometimes at length, in reviews of the volumes in which they appear. *Senatus populusque Romanus* (n. 5): L. de Libero, *HZ* 261 (1995) 160–162; F. Reduzzi Merola, *Index* 24 (1996) 377–381 and P. Salmon, *RBPh* 74 (1996) 231. *The Roman Middle Republic* (n. 5): J.-C. Richard, *REL* 78 (2000) 328–330; U. Walter, *HZ* 271 (2000) 715–717; M. H. Crawford, *CR* 51 (2001)

1) Current perceptions of the political system of pre-Sullan Rome, including prevailing notions of the consulship, have been distorted by a failure to keep the actual evidence for this period at the centre of the attention. Already a cursory glance at the scholarly literature yields that there is a large number of altogether unfounded notions in circulation.

2) The record of consular activity in the mid-republican period – or rather, the way it has been documented by modern scholarship – is not firmly based on the testimony of the primary sources. This is particularly true of legislation. Many of the republican laws which are listed as consular statutes in modern scholarly works are in fact of uncertain attribution or even altogether conjectural. A careful analysis of the technical terminology present in the primary sources suggests that consuls normally did not legislate themselves on civil matters in the mid-republican period.

3) That consuls did not concern themselves with civil legislation in the Middle Republic is also suggested by an institutional situation that can be inferred by a close scrutiny of the evidence for the use of the popular assemblies. The centuriate assembly (*comitia centuriata*) was normally not employed for civil legislation, and the sole tribal assembly (the *concilium plebis*, which was identical with the *comitia tributa*), which after the decline of the *comitia curiata* was the only assembly that legislated on civil matters, was summoned by none but the tribunes of the *plebs* before the last century BC.

Methodological considerations

The first question at issue, concerning basic methodology, is of fundamental importance for my entire case. I have argued that many of the traditional approaches to politics in the Roman Republic are flawed, and that the entire scholarly discussion has admitted too many elements that are not firmly based on the testimony of the primary sources. Empirical facts have become

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331–333; B. M. Levick, *G&R* 48 (2001) 101–103; E. Orlin, *BMCRev* 2001.01.15; M. Dondin-Payre, *AC* 71 (2002) 442–443 and J. M. Rainer, *ZRG* 119 (2002) 640–646.

more and more obscured by an accumulated body of scholarly doctrine.

Most current notions of the structure of the political system of republican Rome, of the composition, functions and competence of the various institutions, and of their formal interaction, are still based on Theodor Mommsen's monumental study *Römisches Staatsrecht*, which in practice is a codification of the Roman constitution as a unified system of positive law.[8] There is certainly a vast number of later descriptions of this system, but it can be observed that Mommsen's synthesis to a remarkably limited extent has been modified by later research. Comparatively little original work has been done on the republican institutions since the publication of Mommsen's *magnum opus*. This state of affairs no doubt reflects the fact that, since the pioneer work of the 19th-century scholars, the focus of the scholarly discussion of the politics of republican Rome has shifted away from the political institutions to the political agents (that is, to individuals, and, in particular, to groups of individuals), to political culture and the whole social and economic setting of political life.[9]

It is important to stress that the prevailing model of the political system of republican Rome is essentially a 19th-century construction, that for an extended period of time has attracted only incidental attention. In my opinion there can be little doubt that it calls for a thorough revision. At least the development during the whole period antedating the Late Republic has, I believe, been studied on erroneous premises. The standard interpretation is in my mind anachronistic, because it to a considerable extent is based on data that are attested for only in the sources for the last century BC. I have argued that due attention has not been paid to the fact that a number of novel features were introduced into political life in connection with the reforms of Sulla in the late 80s BC.[10] I have also argued that many current notions have been heavily coloured by a remarkably large amount of free conjecture and bold speculation admitted into the discussion by the 19th-century scholars.[11] Modern conjecture is not always recognized as such, but is often mistaken for well-established fact.

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[8] Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* I^3–II^3, III, Leipzig 1887–1888.

[9] On the impact of Matthias Gelzer and his followers, see the discussion in K. Sandberg, "De-constructing and Re-constructing the Political System of Republican Rome" (forthcoming).

[10] See, in particular, Sandberg 2000 (n. 5), 131 f. and Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 21 f.

[11] Sandberg 2000 (n. 5), 125 and Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 12 f.

I believe I have demonstrated, in my studies of republican legislation, that many aspects of the legislative procedure appear in an entirely new light if studied by means of a strictly empirical method. My method consists of consistently keeping empirical data at the very centre of all analysis, something which hitherto – in the field of Roman constitutional history – has been far from a matter of course. This state of affairs reflects the nature of the surviving evidence. In comparison with the sources available for later periods of Roman history the evidence for the mid-republican period is scarce. Moreover, the sources in question, particularly those for the earlier part of the period, are gravely problematical. To cope with the difficulties presented by an inadequate and troublesome source material it has been customary to supplement the surviving information on mid-republican conditions with data attested for later periods, particularly the last century BC, which is a period about which we happen to know a great deal. This specific period, especially the last decades of the Republic, constitutes one of the best documented periods in all of Roman history. For this period there is a wealth of high quality sources, not only an extensive literature – including a large body of contemporary documentation –, but also a number of original documents such as laws and *senatus consulta*, which in some cases survive quite substantially.

As for constitutional matters, it has normally not been seriously questioned that data attested in the sources for the Ciceronian age are of relevance also for earlier periods. Therefore the last century BC has established itself as the main avenue to the Roman Republic, almost regardless of the specific era under study. In my opinion this is a flawed approach, because it provides us with highly disparate data. I have argued that due attention has not been paid to the fact that the entire constitutional setting changed with the reforms of Sulla in the late 80s BC. It is particularly important to observe that the consulship, as a result of these reforms, became essentially a civil office. Unlike their pre-Sullan predecessors, who spent most of their year in office leading military operations far from the capital, the consuls of the last century BC were based in Rome where they headed the civil administration. This means that the very structures of political life changed drastically in the beginning of the last century BC.[12]

[12] Cf. T. Hantos, *Res publica constituta. Die Verfassung des Dictators* Sulla (Hermes Einzelschriften 50), Stuttgart 1988, 79 f.

The value of the testimony of Cicero and of other late republican material as sources for the pre-Sullan period is further diminished by the well-known fact that much of the last century BC was a period of severe crisis and, during certain particularly troubled years, political anarchy. The problem, to quote John North, is "that the period for which the information is of such high quality is short, amounting to little more than the years of Cicero's political maturity, and that this was itself a period of crisis, not one of normality".[13] The political conditions of the last century BC are, of course, well known to scholars, but the apparent implications have not been duly recognized. If political life in the last decades of the Republic featured radically new structures, it is obvious that the sources for this period have little bearing on pre-Sullan conditions. In my earlier studies I have stressed the importance of studying the political system of the Middle Republic exclusively on the basis of the sources for this specific period.

The validity of my method has been questioned by Michael H. Crawford, who rejects the idea that the Sullan constitutional settlement involved significant changes of the political system. He quite rightly observes that some of the changes that took place in the later Republic (some of which have been attributed to Sulla, that is) predate the ascendancy of Sulla,[14] but it remains an indisputable fact that the surviving sources depict Sulla as a major reformer of the political system. It is, above all, amply documented that he tampered with the *tribunicia potestas*, which for centuries had been a major factor in Roman politics.[15] Moreover, Appian tells us in explicit terms that the Sullan reforms involved voting in the popular assemblies.[16] Rejecting my contention that Sulla had introduced a major change in the nature of consular legislation, Crawford cites a passage of Cicero (*Flacc.* 15), which in his mind suggests that the whole pattern of voting in the popular assemblies in the mid-first century BC went back to

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[13] J. North, "Democratic Politics in Republican Rome", *P & P* 126 (1990) 4.

[14] Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 172.

[15] Caes. *civ.* 1,7,3 (cf. 1,5,1): *Sullam nudata omnibus rebus tribunicia potestate tamen intercessionem liberam reliquisse*; Liv. *per.* 89: *legibus novis rei publicae statum confirmavit, tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne ius legum ferendarum ademit*; Vell. Pat. 2,30,4: *Pompeius tribuniciam potestatem restituit, cuius Sulla imaginem sine re reliquerat*; App. *civ.* 1,100: τὴν δε τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἴσα καὶ ἀνεῖλεν; *Vir. ill.* 75,11: *tribuniciam potestatem minuit*.

[16] App. *civ.* 1,58.

time immemorial.[17] Even if this rather bold interpretation of the phrase he must be thinking of – *o morem praeclarum disciplinamque quam a maioribus accepimus, siquidem teneremus!* – were correct (one seriously doubts, however, if the *maiores* here necessarily are the distant founders of the Republic), the passage by no means warrants that procedural changes never took place in the legislative assemblies between the inception of the republican period and Cicero's lifetime.[18] Not only is the mere idea absurd, considering that we are dealing with a period spanning nearly five centuries, but we actually know for certain that one major change was introduced. The adoption of the written ballot, a reform to which Crawford himself refers to later,[19] was brought about in accordance with four tribunician *leges tabellariae* in the period 139–107 BC. The third of these, passed by the tribune C. Papirius Carbo in 131, extended this method of voting to the legislative assemblies.[20]

I should also stress that, whatever their nature and specific content, my methodological approach derives its justification not solely from the supposed impact of Sulla's reforms. As I have repeatedly underlined, my exclusion from consideration of political conditions attested for **only** in the post-Sullan period is justified also by the fact that much of the last century BC was a period of severe crisis, which in my mind automatically limits the value of data documented solely in this period.[21] That conditions attested for in the last decades of the Republic are not necessarily indicative of political practice in the pre-Sullan period is clear also from an observation made, incidentally, by Crawford himself:[22] "It is difficult to comprehend political life at Rome in the late Republic. Not only are its structures and institutions alien to us; they were also in a state of disruption and change." I could not agree more.

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[17] Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 172.

[18] In my mind the passage rather implies the opposite, that the meetings of the popular assemblies in Ciceros days were **not** conducted in accordance with ancestral custom.

[19] Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 172.

[20] For the four ballot laws, see Cic. *leg.* 3,35–36. Among the many modern discussions I would like to single out A. Yakobson, "The Secret Ballot and its Effects in the Late Roman Republic", *Hermes* 123 (1995) 426–442.

[21] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 21.

[22] M. Beard & M. H. Crawford, *Rome in the Late Republic. Problems and Interpretations*, London 1985, 40.

"Eliminating" consular legislation

In a thorough scrutiny of the primary sources I have sought to demonstrate that many of the republican laws which are usually held to be consular – included as such (mostly with invented names altogether) in the canon of Rotondi (which recently, for the period down to the Gracchi, has been replaced by the works of Flach and Elster) – are in fact of uncertain attribution or even altogether conjectural.[23] There has been a conspicuous tendency among modern scholars to ascribe laws of unknown authorship to consuls. A good example of this tendency is the law on bribery of 159 BC which Rotondi calls "*lex Cornelia Fulvia de ambitu*", ascribing it to the consuls Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius Nobilior; this attribution is accepted also by Broughton.[24] A look at the actual evidence gives a much needed reminder of how vague our knowledge of republican legislation often is. The only source for this law is the epitomator of Livy, who merely states that, in the year in question, *lex de ambitu lata est*.[25]

A remarkably large share of the consular laws present in the list of Rotondi are neither mentioned nor alluded to in ancient sources, but their existence has been postulated by modern scholars in order to account for various innovations or reforms attested for in the historical record. For instance, Pliny the Elder's report in his account of monetary history that the coining of silver commenced at Rome in the consulship of Q. Ogulnius and

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[23] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), esp. 41–44 and 85–93. All known fragments of republican laws are conveniently collected in *RS* = M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes* I–II (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplemen*t* 64), London 1996. However, our knowledge of republican legislation is only rarely based on documentary evidence; it primarily rests on scattered reports in historiographical and other literary sources (of which few predate the last century BC). Lists of Roman statutes, with references to classical sources and modern scholarship, are therefore essential tools: *LPPR* = G. Rotondi, *Leges publicae populi Romani*, Milano 1912 (repr. Hildesheim 1990); *GFFR* = D. Flach, in Zusammenarbeit mit S. von der Lahr, *Die Gesetze der frühen römischen Republik. Text und Kommentar*, Darmstadt 1994 and M. Elster, *Die Gesetze der mittleren römischen Republik*, Darmstadt 2003. A new collection of the evidence for legislation, *Les lois du peuple romain*, is currently being prepared by an international team of scholars under the direction of J.-L. Ferrary and Ph. Moreau. An important aid is also *MRR* = T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* I–II, New York 1951–52 (with *Supplementum*, Atlanta 1986).

[24] Rotondi, *LPPR* (n. 23), 288; Broughton, *MRR* I (n. 23), 445.

[25] Liv. *per.* 47.

C. Fabius (*coss.* 269 BC) has called into existence an altogether hypothetical "*lex Fabia Ogulnia*", ascribed to the consuls of the year.[26] Pliny's reference to the consuls is, of course, nothing else than the normal Roman method of dating by eponyms; consular involvement is not implied. And there is certainly no need to postulate a consular law. It is interesting to note that the rest of Pliny's account actually includes several explicit references to monetary laws, all of which seem to be tribunician measures.[27]

Laws of uncertain attribution as well as hypothetical laws are almost invariably attributed to consuls.[28] This means that the consular share of republican civil legislation, which even by orthodox views is fairly limited, is actually much smaller than what is usually recognized. I think that there are cogent reasons to believe that it is all but non-existent before the last century BC. The strongest support for this view is found in the classical authors' use of Latin technical terminology, which never connects consuls or other curule magistrates with legislative procedure. It is an indisputable fact that no other words than *promulgare* and *rogare* bind historical agents to specific stages in the legislative procedure. The problem with other words, notably *ferre*, is that their exact implication with regard to the proceedings in the legislative assembly cannot be known.[29] By means of a thorough scrutiny of technical terminology present in the primary sources I have established that the consuls of the Middle Republic, in contexts of civil legislation, are never represented as performing *promulgatio* or *rogatio*.

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[26] Plin. *nat.* 33,44: *Argentum signatum anno urbis CCCCLXXXV, Q. Ogulnio C. Fabio cos., quinque annis ante primum Punicum bellum*. Rotondi, *LPPR* (n. 23), 243 f.; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* II, Cambridge 1974, 615.

[27] Plin. *nat.* 33,46: *Mox lege Papiria semunciarii asses facti. Livius Drusus in tribunatu plebei octavam partem aeris argento miscuit. Is, qui nunc victoriatus appellatur, lege Clodia percussus est.*

[28] For more examples, see my discussion of non-tribunician statutes in Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 85–93.

[29] The Greek literary sources for the republic are of very little value for terminological analysis, as the Greek authors usually do not provide adequate equivalents to the technical terms that they found in their Latin sources. It is only in the official inscriptions, particularly the translations of statutes, that it is possible to discern an effort to render the original terminology in a Greek form, but this material is very scanty. See, à propos, 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, in particular, Id., *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysis* (American Studies in Papyrology 13), Toronto 1974.

Whereas tribunes of the *plebs* are frequently associated with these key stages in the legislative procedure, there are only four instances in the entire record for this period where curule magistrates are represented as performing these functions.[30] Interestingly enough none of these pertains to "normal laws", but to the passage of *leges de bello indicendo* (declarations of war). Another context in which curule magistrates are attested for is elections. One sole passage constitutes the only evidence we have for a consul performing a *promulgatio* or *rogatio* in this period, and this pertains to the passage of a *lex de bello indicendo* in 200 BC.[31] These observations, I think, corroborate my hypothesis that consuls and other curule magistrates, though no doubt formally competent to legislate on civil matters, in practice did not do that.

There are also, I believe, reasons to believe that the great majority of those relatively few statutes which are associated with consuls by classical authors were in fact passed by tribunes of the *plebs*.[32] There is evidence for tribunes legislating on the request of consuls, who usually are recorded as acting on the initiative of the Senate.[33] This, I have argued, was, during the better part of the pre-Sullan Republic, the normal way for consuls and other

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[30] Curule magistrates of the pre-Sullan period are represented as performing *promulgatio* or *rogatio* in the following passages: 1) Liv. 6,42,14 (the election of *duumviri aediles*, i.e. curule aediles, in 367 BC); 2) Liv. 27,5,16–17 (the appointment of Q. Fulvius Flaccus as *dictator* in 210 BC); 3) Liv. 31,6,1 f. (the passage of a *lex de bello indicendo* in 200 BC) and 4) Liv. 45,21,1–3 (the passage of another *lex de bello indicendo* in 167 BC). There is a possible fifth instance in the epigraphic record, in the so-called *Lex de provinciis praetoriis* (formerly known as *Lex de piratis persequendis*), a Greek translation of a Roman statute of c. 100 BC (*RS* 12). In this inscription (Cnidos copy, col. iii, lines 4 f.) there is a reference to an earlier law on the powers of provincial governors. This law, which is clearly an extrapomerial law, had been passed by a certain M. Porcius Cato in his capacity as praetor, perhaps the consul of 118 who held the praetorship in or before 121 BC (see *RS* I, 260): ἐν τῶι νόμωι ὃν Μάαρκος Πόρκιος Κάτων σ̣τ̣ρ̣α̣τ̣η̣γ̣ὸ̣ς̣ ἐκ̣ῦ̣ρ̣ω̣σε. As indicated by the dotted letters, the last words are not clearly legible. The current restoration of the verb is not unproblematic. Andrew W. Lintott, observing that the word κυροῦν is not normally used of a person obtaining the approval of a measure, and that ἐρωτᾶν is used for *rogare* elsewhere in the text of the inscription, concludes that the translator was faced with *tulit* in the Latin original, see "Notes on the Roman Law Inscribed at Delphi and Cnidos", *ZPE* 20 (1976) 81.

[31] Liv. 31,6,1 f.

[32] See, in particular, Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 97 and passim.

[33] See e.g. Val. Max. 7,6,1 (215 BC); Liv. 30,27,3 (202 BC), 31,50,8 (200 BC), 39,19,4 (186 BC) and 45,35,4 (167 BC).

curule magistrates to legislate on civil matters. This kind of legislative practice would explain the fact that consuls, who are never connected to the actual passage of civil legislation (by the verbs *promulgare* or *rogare*), are sometimes recorded as law-makers by the word *ferre*, in constructions such as *consul legem/rogationem tulit*. It is not unreasonable to assume that laws, which had been conspicuously backed by a consul or another curule magistrate, would normally be associated with this magistrate in the historical tradition. That classical authors reporting details about legislation might ignore the actual proposer of a law, if this person acted on the initiative of others, is evident from an interesting passage of Pliny the Elder: *lex Metilia extet fullonibus dicta, quam C. Flaminius L. Aemilius censores dedere ad populum ferendam*.[34] Here we have a law, designated *lex Metilia*, which was associated with two censors of which neither was himself a Metilius. It seems clear that the law got its name from the person by whom it was promulgated and rogated in the legislating assembly. Both Rotondi (who finds Pliny's phraseology "infelice") and Broughton identify the legislator as M. Metilius, one of the tribunes of 217 BC.[35] True, my case would be considerably stronger had the passage referred to consuls instead of censors (who normally did not engage in comitial legislation), but it serves quite well to prove that there was a clear distinction between the *auctor legis* and the *lator legis*, and that these are not always the same person.

Crawford again, in his review of my contribution to the volume *The Roman Middle Republic*, though being sceptical, concedes that I have "identified an interesting phenomenon, namely that the sources for the middle Republic talk of curule magistrates generally as passing statutes, whereas tribunes go through the processes reasonably well known from the late Republic of promulgating and proposing".[36] Curiously oblivious of this observation, in his review of *Magistrates and Assemblies* he seems to fail to understand the essence of my terminological analysis.[37] As a result, Crawford not only distorts the results of my terminological analysis, but completely misrepresents them. Believing that I have tried to show that tribunes are described as legislating with the terms *promulgare* and *rogare*,

[34] Plin. *nat*. 35,197.

[35] Rotondi, *LPPR* (n. 23), 252; Broughton, *MRR* I (n. 23), 236.

[36] Crawford 2001 (n. 7), 332. Sandberg 2001 (n. 5).

[37] Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 171–172.

and consuls with the term *ferre*, he goes on to cite instances where *ferre* is used of tribunes and *rogare* of consuls and praetors.[38] As he notes himself, I actually cite all the passages he refers to. It is therefore a bit strange that he did not seem to have had time to take a second look at what I actually say. The plain truth is that I nowhere claim that the terms in question were used in the way Crawford suggests. Indeed, I explicitly assert that "the frequently occurring word *ferre*, in constructions such as *consul/tribunus plebis legem* (or *rogationem*) *tulit*" was used for both consular and tribunician legislation.[39] I also make perfectly clear that my analysis focuses on the use of *promulgare* and *rogare*.

Crawford also suspects that I have not "really taken on board the extent of Livy's wanton insouciance about institutional terminology; or of the filtering of almost everything we know about the middle Republic through the experience of the late Republic".[40] First of all, I should stress that my observations about technical terminology are based on all extant sources. Livy is, of course, the single most important author, but my scrutiny of the sources did include the whole corpus of literary sources (including legal literature) as well as the entire epigraphic and papyrological record, even coins. I am also perfectly aware that the sources for pre-Sullan Rome are mostly post-Sullan. We would certainly wish to have more adequate sources, but it is simply an inescapable fact that Livy and other late republican and imperial sources constitute the bulk of the written evidence for the Middle Republic. This means that any interpretation of political and constitutional conditions in this period must be based on this material. That is, the standard model is based on the very same body of evidence that I have used in my inquiry. Why should this scholarly reconstruction be perceived *a priori* as more tenable than mine? If Crawford wants us to think that nothing can be inferred from the sources for the mid-republican period, then we should establish that the political, institutional and constitutional history of this period cannot be subject to scholarly study, and that all research on republican Rome should focus entirely on its last few decades. The most absurd consequence of such a stance would be that the large body of work done on pre-Sullan Rome cannot be critically reviewed.

The big question is, of course, whether or not it is possible to deduce

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[38] Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 171.

[39] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 45.

[40] Crawford 2001 (n. 7), 333.

from an argument *e silentio* that consuls and other curule magistrates did not themselves put law proposals before the legislative assemblies. Crawford is quite right to stress the fact that we for the Middle Republic do not have the contemporary documentation that we have for the Ciceronian age.[41] I am well aware of the possibility that qualitative differences in the documentation available to us may distort our perception of how things worked in the various periods of the Republic, and I also admit that I should have stressed this in more explicit terms. However, as I shall show below, there are reasons to believe that the terminology found in the sources does reflect actual conditions in the Middle Republic, at least the way they were perceived by the historians and antiquarians who took an interest in this period.

Crawford does not contest that consular legislation was rare before the late second century BC, but this, in his mind, only explains why "the complete apparatus of '*promulgare*' and '*rogare*' happens not to be attested for."[42] Here he misses something very important. As we have already seen, both words are actually attested for in connection with curule magistrates in the pre-Sullan period, but exclusively in contexts pertaining to elections or declaration of war. There is, in other words, a very clear pattern emerging from the sources, and this corroborates my hypothesis that these were the curule magistrates' normal spheres of comitial action (in the centuriate assembly). The possibility that the mere scarcity of consular legislation accounts for the complete absence of evidence linking curule magistrates to legislative procedure in civil contexts is diminished considerably by the fact that even rulers and magistrates of foreign communities are connected to such procedure: at Syracuse (in 214 BC), at Argos (in 197 BC) and at Carthage (in 195 BC).[43] Given the extreme rarity in Roman sources of references to legislation in foreign states, it is remarkable that the legislative procedure is described here with a technical terminology not attested for in connection with the chief magistrates of Rome. It is therefore most difficult, for me at any rate, to escape the impression that it is no accident that classical authors do not represent consuls and other curule magistrates as performing the *promulgatio* and *rogatio* of Roman statutes (as ever, with the

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[41] Crawford 2001 (n. 7), 333.

[42] Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 171.

[43] Liv. 24,25,10: *rogationem promulgarunt* (the local *praetores*); Liv. 32,38,92: *rogationes promulgavit* (king Nabis of Sparta) and Liv. 33,46,5–6: *legem ... promulgavit pertulitque* (Hannibal).

exception of *leges de bello indicendo*).

Crawford also supposes that curule magistrates are not normally recorded as having promulgated or proposed for the middle Republic, because it was tribunician legislation that the late Republic regarded as controversial and as requiring an account of the various stages.[44] He would not have come up with this kind of argument if he had bothered to check all of the relevant material, which he frankly admits not to have done.[45] This material is in numerous cases found in passages pertaining to routine legislation. Indeed, it can be found also in accounts of such tribunician legislation which was initiated by the Senate, usually with a consul as an intermediary. Moreover, the terminology in question also appears in other fairly non-controversial or "neutral" contexts – namely in the accounts of foreign legislation we considered in the preceding paragraph.

As for my discussion of individual laws, Crawford finds "simply breath-taking" my approach to the sources "in order to eliminate as much pre-Sullan legislation as possible". But he gives merely one example of an argument which in his eyes is weak. [46] So strong a judgement would, in my mind, have called for more examples. And better ones. As a matter of fact, in rejecting my interpretation of a passage of Livy,[47] Crawford brings forth an argument that is clearly flawed. I have argued that the popular vote authorizing Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus to dedicate, as a *duumvir*, the temple that he in the aftermath of the battle at Lake Trasimene had vowed to Venus Erycina was a tribunician measure, and not – as is usually thought – a consular law of Ti. Sempronius (*cos.* 215).[48] I suggested that the passage in question, though in this particular case an explicit reference to tribunician participation is wanting, implies the same kind of procedure attested for in other remarkably similar passages in Livy, where it is recounted that the Senate directs a curule magistrate to hand a matter to the tribunes.[49] Additional support I found in a passage of Cicero according to which there was a *lex vetus tribunicia* that prohibited *iniussu plebis aedis, terram, aram*

[44] Crawford 2001 (n. 7), 333.

[45] Crawford 2001 (n. 7), 333.

[46] Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 171.

[47] Liv. 23,30,14.

[48] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 98 f.

[49] See, for instance, Liv. 30,27,3, 31,50,8, 39,19,4 and 45,35,4, which refer to legislation in the period 202–167 BC.

consecrari.[50] Now, Crawford rejects this argument on the ground that *consecrare* is not the same as *dedicare*. Here he seems to be simply wrong. A *dedicatio* of a temple or an altar to a deity is at the same time a *consecratio*. Although not strictly technically the same thing, these two acts are inseparable parts of the ritual by which an object was made a *res sacra*. It is therefore quite adequate, as indeed our sources frequently do, to refer to the whole ritual of *dedicatio*/*consecratio* by the term *dedicatio* which, to quote Nisbet, "is probably the better technical term. It would be supposed to carry the *consecratio* with it".[51] Therefore, provided that the *lex vetus* in question was enacted before 215 BC, the matter assigned to Ti. Sempronius clearly postulated a popular decree in the form of a *plebiscitum*.

In Crawford's mind my attempt "to write out of the story such consular legislation as is attested" reveals my "desperation".[52] Again he uses strong words with a minimum of documentation to substantiate his claim, and again he misses the mark. Crawford singles out two laws, the *Lex Licinia Mucia* of 95 BC, which deprived of their citizenship aliens who usurped the Roman citizenship (or had been illegally enfranchised), and the *Lex Iulia* of 90 BC, which granted Roman citizenship to those Italian communities which at the outbreak of the Social War were still willing to accept it. Here it must be stressed that I have not denied the historicity of these laws, nor have I raised doubts that they were consular laws, but Crawford finds it "bizarre" to describe them as 'pertaining to foreign relations'. Whether or not this particular characterization is accurate enough is of little importance as there can be little doubt what my point is, namely, that these two laws – which were concerned with *peregrini* and foreign states – belonged in the category of 'extrapomerial' statutes.[53] Moreover, if Crawford is right in assuming that the *Lex Pompeia* of Cn. Pompeius Strabo (*cos.* 89 BC) was no comitial statute this would only strengthen my case as I have argued that some of the consular laws of the pre-Sullan period were in

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50 Cic. *dom*. 127.

51 R. Nisbet, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De domo sua ad pontifices oratio*, Oxford 1939, 209–212 (Appendix VI). Cf. J. Linderski, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3], Oxford 1996, 376–377 s.v. '*consecratio*'. I thank Dr. Jyri Vaahtera, an expert on Roman religion and augural matters, for the reference.

52 Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 172.

53 Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 79 and 101 n. 16.

fact *leges datae*, or possibly *edicta*.[54]

The implications of the use of the legislative assemblies

The view that the consuls of the Middle Republic did not legislate on civil matters is perfectly compatible with a politico-institutional situation that, I daresay, has begun to emerge in the discussion of the political institutions of republican Rome. If a) the centuriate assembly was not used for civil legislation in this period and b) the *concilium plebis* was the only tribal assembly, it is quite obvious why there is no evidence for curule magistrates performing the *promulgatio* or the *rogatio* of civil laws. When the oldest assembly of Rome, the *comitia curiata*, had lost its legislative functions,[55] these magistrates simply had no legislating assembly at their disposal. Of course, it is seldom possible to prove anything conclusively in the study of ancient Roman history, particularly when we are dealing with periods antedating the Late Republic, but it can indeed be shown that the prevailing views of the use of the centuries and the tribes are based entirely on scholarly conjecture and not on a close reliance on actual evidence.

While it is well known that the centuriate assembly was not employed for civil legislation during the latter part of the pre-Sullan Republic, it is far from common knowledge that there is only scanty (and, as we will see, very problematic) evidence for earlier legislation in this assembly. Ernst Meyer notes that we do not know of one single law passed by the centuries in the period between the *lex Hortensia* (of 287 BC) and Sulla (of course, with the exception of decisions concerning war and peace), but he seems to believe that there is evidence for centuriate legislation in the period immediately preceding the Hortensian law.[56] Michael Rainer, objecting to my views, betrays a similar conviction: "Dass die *comitia centuriata* als eigentliche und

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[54] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 102 f.

[55] The last known curiate law, an enactment ordering the recall of M. Furius Camillus from his exile, dates to 390 BC (Liv. 5,46,10). That the curiate assembly was no deliberative popular assembly in the Late Republic is reflected in the fact that the participation of the citizenry (by the year 63 BC) was no longer needed; the 30 *curiae* were each represented by a *lictor* whenever it was necessary to obtain a curiate decision, see Cic. *leg. agr.* 2,31.

[56] E. Meyer, *Römischer Staat und Staatsgedanke*^{2}, Darmstadt 1961, 192.

ursprüngliche Versammlung des Gesamtvolkes galten und bis zum Ausgang der Republik als solche bestehen sollten, darüber gibt es für mich keinen Zweifel. Es ist ganz allgemein davon auszugehen, dass alle Gesetze, die vor 367/366 und wahrscheinlich vor der *lex Hortensia* 287 v.Chr. beschlossen wurden, entweder in den *comitia tributa* oder in den *comitia centuriata* beschlossen wurden. Als wesentliches Beispiel nenne ich hier die Zwölf Tafeln".[57]

It is symptomatic that Rainer has to go all the way to the decemviral period, c. 450–449 BC, in order to find the example that he so badly needs. As a matter of fact, all other known instances of legislation in the centuriate assembly pertain to even earlier legislation. Therefore, the case for a period when the centuriate assembly was used for legislation in the pre-Sullan Republic rests entirely on evidence of the poorest quality imaginable. As is well known, the attendibility of the annalistic tradition for the Early Republic is highly dubious. In addition to the Twelve Tables (the *lex duodecim tabularum*), the ratification of which was believed to have taken place in the centuriate assembly,[58] there are only four statutes before Sulla that classical authors connect with this assembly: 1) the *lex Valeria de provocatione* of 509,[59] 2) the *lex Icilia de Aventino* of 456,[60] 3) the so-called "lex Aternia Tarpeia de multa et sacramento" of 454,[61] and 4) the so-called "lex Valeria Horatia de plebiscitis" of 449.[62] As was observed already by Richard Mitchell, the small group of recorded centuriate laws includes some of the most dubious laws of the whole Republic.[63]

I have also pointed out that the centuriate laws known to us were usually passed in most exceptional circumstances. This is certainly true of the *lex Valeria de provocatione*. This statute, perceived as a cornerstone of the republican constitution in the Late Republic, was believed to have been passed in the immediate aftermath of the expulsion of the last king and the establishment of the new political system. As for the Twelve Tables, this

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57 Rainer 2002 (n. 7), 643 f.

58 Liv. 3,34,6; Dion. Hal. *ant*. 10,57,6.

59 Cic. *rep*. 2,53; Val. Max. 4,1,1.

60 Dion. Hal. *ant.* 10,32,4.

61 Cic. *rep*. 2,60; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 10,50,1.

62 Liv. 3,55,1; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 11,45,1.

63 Mitchell 1990 (n. 3), 199. See also my discussion of these laws in Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 127 ff.

codification of customary law was ratified in a period during which the regular constitution was suspended and the political power entrusted to *decemviri legibus scribundis*, which was not only a new magistracy, but also exempt from appeal (*provocatio*). Finally, the "lex Valeria Horatia de plebiscitis" was passed immediately after the fall of the second decemvirate and a plebeian *secessio*. That is, the involvement of the centuriate assembly in these instances, even if it be accepted as historical, cannot be cited to support the view that this assembly was employed for legislation under normal circumstances.[64]

For the period between 445 BC and Sulla the only attested functions of the centuriate assembly were to elect magistrates with *imperium*, to pass judgement in cases *de capite civis* and to decide on matters concerning war and peace. Not a single law on civil matters is reported. Given the nature of the evidence, we are not permitted to conclude with certainty that this assembly was not used regularly for civil legislation in this period, but – in view of the complete absence of documentation – why should we even begin to assume something like that? The indisputable fact that the centuriate assembly was not used for legislation in the Middle and Late Republic (that is, before Sulla) is usually explained in terms of a gradual development. According to this view, which has been accepted wholesale by most authorities on the Roman popular assemblies, the legislative functions of the *comitia centuriata* were gradually transferred to assemblies which met by tribes.[65] Crucial to this kind of interpretation is the notion that tribal voting, which was based on 35 *tribus*, was more expeditious than voting by 193 *centuriae*. Also Michael Rainer, rejecting my interpretation of the operation of the comitial system, cites this widespread belief as a well-established

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[64] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 128 f. For a more thorough discussion of the use of the centuriate assembly, and of all the problems involved, see ibid. 123–131. See also U. Paananen, "Legislation in the comitia centuriata", *Senatus populusque Romanus* (n. 5), 9–73.

[65] G. W. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies. From their Origin to the End of the Republic*, New York 1909, 239; J. Bleicken, Das *Volkstribunat der klassischen Republik. Studien zu seiner Entwicklung zwischen 287 und 133 v.Chr.* (Zetemata 13), München 1955, 43; E. S. Staveley, "Tribal Legislation before the *lex Hortensia*", *Athenaeum* 33 (1955) 11; Meyer 1961 (n. 56), 192; L. R. Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies. From the Hannibalic War to the Dictatorship of Caesar*, Ann Arbor 1966, 7; R. Develin, "*Comitia tributa plebis*", *Athenaeum* 53 (1975) 317 and 322.

fact.[66] Which it is certainly not. I believe that I have established that voting in the centuriate assembly was actually much faster than in assemblies which voted by tribes.[67] Therefore, unless it can be shown that my demonstration contains errors, there is no reason – at least on account of any practical considerations – to postulate a transfer of the legislation from the *comitia centuriata* to the tribes.

Let us now turn to tribal legislation. Most laws in republican Rome were passed in assemblies which met by tribes, this much is universally acknowledged. But controversy abounds as to the implication of this observation. It is usually thought that, in terms of composition and presidency, there were already in the Middle Republic (if not earlier) two tribal assemblies. Whereas the *concilium plebis*, which was summoned by the tribunes of the plebs, was an exclusively plebeian affair, the *comitia tributa* is thought of as comprising the entire citizen body under the presidency of a consul or another curule magistrate. That the existence of the latter, which in modern scholarly literature is sometimes designated *comitia tributa populi* (a term lacking the authority of the primary sources), is not evident from the primary sources, but has been inferrred only by modern scholarship, is not widely known, even amongst scholars working with constitutional history. Rainer again, at odds with my contention that the *concilium plebis* was the sole tribal assembly before the Sullan reforms, clearly believes that the existence of a tribal assembly of the whole populus is a well-established fact (bold types are mine): "Zu diesen ausserordentlich anregenden Ausführungen doch einige kritische Bemerkungen. Diese betreffen zuerst die Existenz von *comitia tributa*. Es ist nicht einsichtig, warum diese durchaus nützliche Versammlung, die sehr wohl aus Patriziern und Plebeiern bestand, **a priori geleugnet werden soll**."[68]

It seems to me an altogether absurd situation that advocacy of the view that there was but one tribal assembly is generally regarded as iconoclasm, as it is in fact adherence to the prevailing view that entails admittance of notions that are not firmly based on the testimony of the primary sources. I believe that already Robert Develin has demonstrated that the whole notion of two tribal assemblies, which originated with the work of Mommsen, is nothing

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66 Rainer 2002 (n. 7), 643.

67 Sandberg 1993 (n. 5), 84 f. and Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 124 f.

68 Rainer 2002 (n. 7), 643.

but an assumption.[69] That Develin was right was all but confirmed by Joseph Farrell in an important, but much neglected, paper. The very existence of the terms *comitia* and *concilium*, interpreted in accordance with the well-known legal definition of the imperial jurist Laelius Felix,[70] has been the single most important piece of evidence in favour of two separate tribal assemblies – even if it was noted already in the beginning of last century that there is a clear discrepancy between the definition of these terms and their actual usage in classical writers.[71] Farrell, in a forceful demonstration, established how the two terms are actually used, effectively showing that they do not constitute evidence for postulating two distinct tribal assemblies.[72]

Unlike Develin, who in my mind goes too far in discrediting the evidence of the late Republic, I have no problem whatsoever with curule magistrates using the tribes for legislative purposes in this period. I have actually argued that the consuls possibly were given the formal right to convene the tribal assembly by Sulla, in connection with his well-documented endeavours to curtail the tribunician powers.[73] Therefore I see no point in opposing my views on the subject by citing evidence from the Late Republic and the Early Empire, especially as I have warned against using evidence from this period in studying pre-Sullan conditions. Martin Jehne counters my views of pre-Sullan conditions by citing data from the last decades of the Republic, arguing that the idea of one single tribal assembly is incompatible with the testimony of Cicero in one of his letters (*fam.* 7.30.1): *ille* (sc. *Caesar) autem, qui comitiis tributis esset auspicatus, centuriata habuit*. Oblivious of what I have said about the value of data attested for only in the post-Sullan Republic he continues: "Solange niemand eine ordentliche Erklärung dafür anbietet, wieso der Patricier und Dictator Caesar berechtigt gewesen sein soll, im *concilium plebis*

[69] R. Develin, 1975 (above n. 65) 302–337 and Id., "*Comitia tributa* Again", *Athenaeum* 55 (1977), 425–426.

[70] Preserved in Gell. 15,27,4: *Is qui non universum populum, sed partem aliquam adesse iubet, non 'comitia', sed 'concilium' edicere debet.*

[71] G. W. Botsford, "On the Distinction between *comitia* and *concilium*", *TAPhA* 35 (1904) 21–32. Cf. Botsford 1909 (n. 65), 119–138.

[72] J. Farrell, "The Distinction between *comitia* and *concilium*", *Athenaeum* 74 (n.s. 64) (1986) 407–438.

[73] Sandberg 1993 (n. 5), 80 f.; Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 108 ff.,147.

Quaestorenwahlen abzuhalten, scheint es mir weiterhin naheliegender zu sein, zwei Formen der Tributcomitien zu akzeptieren".[74]

Also Crawford rejects my views on pre-Sullan conditions by citing data from the post-Sullan period. He cites as a severe problem for my case the fact that the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (of c. 68 BC) has tribunes proposing a statute to the *plebs*, and that the *Lex Quinctia* (9 BC) has a consul proposing to the *populus* (both terms referring to a tribal assembly). According to Crawford this difference of practice was hardly a construction of the late Republic or Augustus, wherefore it **must** be traditional.[75] He does not explain why. I should point out that the evidence in question could as well be cited to corroborate my own views. If Sulla had given the consuls the right to use the tribes for legislation, it would make perfect sense that a distinction between *populus* and *plebs* was introduced at this point in references to tribal assemblies. That is, the tribal assembly under tribunician presidency was referred to as *plebs*, whereas it qualified as *populus* when it met under the presidency of a *magistratus populi Romani*. It remains a fact that the only evidence we have for a curule magistrate putting a bill before a tribal assembly in the pre-Sullan period is found in a passage of Livy pertaining to most irregular circumstances – at a military camp at Sutrium (!) in 357 BC.[76] Maybe the lack of additional evidence is yet another example of what Crawford styles "an unimportant accident",[77] but I believe that we should approach the whole problem strictly empirically, and so acknowledge that the notion of a regular tribal assembly at the disposal of curule magistrates before the last century BC is based entirely on scholarly conjecture.[78]

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[74] Cic. *fam.* 7,30,1. M. Jehne, "Integrazionsrituale in der römischen Republik. Zur einbindenden Wirkung der Volksversammlungen", G. Urso (a cura di), *Integrazione, mescolanza, rifiuto. Incontri di popoli, lingue e culture in Europa dall'antichità all'umanesimo: Atti del convegno internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 21–23 settembre 2000*, Roma 2001, 91 n. 8.

[75] Crawford 2001 (n. 7), 333; cf. Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 172. *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (*CIL* I^2 589 = *RS* 19); *Lex Quinctia* (Frontin. *aq.* 129 = *RS* 63).

[76] Liv. 7,16,7 f. Users of the *LPPR* (n. 23) will certainly find a number of additional examples, but a control of the primary sources cited by Rotondi reveals that these are based on unwarranted assumptions.

[77] Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 172.

[78] For a full-length discussion of the problem concerning the use of the tribes by curule magistrates, see Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 105–110.

The testimony of Polybius

The most serious challenge to my views of pre-Sullan legislation is posed by Polybius of Megalopolis, in his survey of the Roman constitution. This was pointed out in her review of *Magistrates and Assemblies* by Loretana de Libero,[79] who, however, fails to mention that I dedicate in my book an entire chapter to a discussion of the value of Polybius' testimony for the problems I consider. It would have been interesting to know on what grounds she altogether neglects the considerations I have expounded on the subject.

Polybius' survey of the political system of Rome is most interesting, not only because it contains explicit information on the Roman constitution (which do not otherwise abound in the ancient sources), but also on account of its early date. Written in the middle of the second century BC, or shortly thereafter, Polybius' history constitutes the oldest surviving account of Roman history. Particularly important, from the point of view of my specific method, is the fact that Polybius witnessed the operation of the political system in the Middle Republic, that is, well before the innovations brought about by Sulla and, equally important, before the political turbulence that was heralded by the tribunate of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus in 133 BC.

As I stressed in my book, Polybius is far from being helpful as to the legislative procedure in his day. His account does not provide specific information about the interaction between magistrates and assemblies, or between the various categories of magistrates engaged in legislation. Very little specific can be inferred from Polybius' account about the operation of the various popular assemblies, or about their curious co-existence. He does not even distinguish various types of assemblies, but almost invariably speaks of the δῆμος. As for the various categories of magistrates, only the powers of the consuls are discussed in any detail.[80] This is, of course, quite in accordance with his theoretical conception of the Roman system. As the consuls were at the apex of the magisterial hierarchy that constituted the monarchic element in the mixed constitution, it is understandable that he did not find it worthwhile to consider the functions of the other magistrates which, after all, were subject to consular supervision. It is, however, regrettable that the tribunes of the *plebs* – who along with the rest of the plebeian political organization were altogether exempt from formal consular

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[79] de Libero 2003 (n. 7), 429.

[80] Pol. 6,12.

control – are largely neglected in Polybius' survey. Only their obstructive powers are mentioned explicitly, even if much of what he says about the popular element in effect must pertain to the tribunes (for the simple reason that the people could not convene or make any decisions on its own initiative).

Dealing with the functions of the consuls Polybius does, however, make a statement that *prima facie* seems of immediate relevance for the concerns of this study. He states that it was the responsibility of the consuls that those state matters which were subject to popular discretion were put before the people. It was the consuls who summoned the assemblies, introduced the propositions, and executed the people's decisions: τούτοις καθήκει φροντίζειν καὶ συνάγειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, τούτοις εἰσφέρειν τὰ δόγματα, τούτοις βραβεύειν τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πλείοσι.[81]

Considered in isolation Polybius's account clearly implies that the consuls, also when it came to legislation, were the magistrates *par excellence* of the Roman state. There would be no reason whatsoever to take a second look at this statement were it not for the disturbing fact that there is a major discrepancy between the seemingly obvious interpretation of this passage and the actual record of republican legislation provided by other sources. As we have already seen, attested consular laws are very rare. No one contests this well known and easily observable fact.[82] Even if we would admit the whole group of poorly known laws attributed to consuls only by modern scholars and all the conjectural consular laws found in Rotondi's canon it can be observed that consular laws are heavily outnumbered by tribunician statutes. What does this mean? Are tribunician measures over-represented in the sources? This is the traditional explanation of the situation before 287 BC, i.e. the date for the Hortensian law. For instance, Jochen Bleicken rejects "mindestens 22 Plebiscite" from the period before the *lex Hortensia* (of 287 BC) as "Übertragungen später politischer Gedanken auf die Frühzeit".[83] The shortcomings of the historical tradition, it is thought, show in an over-representation of the tribunes of the *plebs* in the field of legislation. There is, at any rate, a curious predisposition among scholars to consider the traditions

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[81] Pol. 6,12,4. Discussion in F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* I, Oxford 1957, 675–678.

[82] See, for instance, Crawford 2004 (n. 7), 171.

[83] J. Bleicken, *Lex publica. Gesetz und Recht in der römischen Republik*, Berlin 1975, 77 in the note.

of tribunician actions less reliable than those pertaining to consuls. It is always a convenient solution to cite the unreliability of the sources for the earlier periods of the Republic, but one is left to wonder why data concerning the tribunes would be more liable to distortion than those concerning consuls.[84] It has also been suggested that the predominance of tribunician legislation is due to certain archival-technical circumstances, that is, that *plebiscita* were more accessible for consultation than consular laws.[85] This is, of course, nothing but idle guess work that cannot be corroborated in any way. It is also based on the *a priori* assumption that consular legislation was considerably more important, in quantitative terms, than what the surviving evidence suggests.

The situation after 287 BC has been easier to reconcile with traditional views. As tribunician measures were now universally binding, and the consuls were spending more and more time leading armies and fleets against Rome's enemies, it was only natural that the tribunes – now fully integrated into the political system – would take an increasing responsibility for the legislation. But how does all this fit in with Polybius' statement? Not very well. It seems obvious to me that Polybius' testimony cannot be taken at face value. If he is interpreted as saying that the consuls were significantly engaged in legislation, this is clearly inconsistent not only with the testimony of other sources, but also with a political situation that can be inferred from all surviving sources, including the account of Polybius himself. Namely that the consuls set out for their military provinces early in the year, and spent most of their year in office away from Rome.

There are at least two solutions to this problem. First of all, we should not forget that Polybius' history is essentially an account of Roman military history. This means that he in his own research was using principally sources pertaining to military and diplomatic affairs. In these realms of public life the consuls were always conspicuously present, something which must have reflected in the documents he read. Popular decisions on war and peace, military matters, and foreign policy were usually taken by the centuriate assembly, which met in military array *extra pomerium* on the Campus

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[84] Richard Mitchell (1990 [n. 3], 191) has made a good point. In view of the fact that tribunician legislation is so well documented before the *lex Hortensia*, he finds it surprising that modern scholarship tends to discount, qualify or declare unreliable (or even illegal) early *plebiscita* rather than develop an alternative historical explanation.

[85] P. Culham, "Archives and alternatives in Republican Rome", *CPh* 84 (1989) 103.

Martius under the presidency of a consul or another *magistratus cum imperio*. The tribunes, who were not entitled to summon the centuries, were not as visible as the consuls in the material Polybius knew best. I have also suggested as a possibility that Polybius is not speaking of the consuls in absolute terms, but with regard to their position within the magisterial hierarchy. This hierarchy did not include the tribunes or other plebeian officials.[86]

What were the *leges consulares*?

That the consuls of the Middle Republic, at least in practice, first and foremost were military commanders cannot be seriously questioned. The record of their actions in surviving historical accounts is essentially a record of exploits in the theaters of war.[87] This state of affairs is certainly no mere reflection of the preferences of ancient historians, who had a special predilection for military *res gestae*. It is all clear that the supreme magistrates of this period, at any rate after the inception of the third century, spent most of their year in office campaigning. As for the tribunes of the same period, no matter how we read the sources, it can be observed that they were the principal law-makers. Almost all important legislation is associated with these plebeian officials. As a matter of fact, focusing on internal affairs we have to conclude that it was not the consuls, but the tribunes, who were the leading magistrates of the pre-Sullan Republic. It can be observed that there were, at least in practice, two spheres of public life during the better part of a typical political year in this period, each one with a separate administration: on the one hand a civil sphere under the tribunes and, on the other, a military sphere under consular control. According to Richard Mitchell, this situation reflects a dichotomy that was an original feature of the administration of the Roman state.[88] As far as the Middle Republic is concerned, this kind of model is not

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[86] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 32 f.

[87] See, for instance, Broughton, *MRR* (n. 23).

[88] Mitchell rejects the historicity of the Conflict of the Orders as well as the existence of a political distinction between patricians and plebeians; there was a distinction, but it was religious and legal in nature. According to Mitchell, the plebeian organization was no revolutionary movement, but the original civil administration of the Roman state, see Mitchell 1990 (n. 3), esp. 1–30. Cf. Id., "The Definition of *patres* and *plebs*. An End to the

at variance with the testimony of the sources, but I do not think that this kind of interpretation is tenable for the Early Republic.

As I have stressed elsewhere, it seems to me that the bifurcation of Roman public life, which was hardly a real dichotomy, evolved only gradually. That we do not find evidence linking curule magistrates to legislative procedure during the three centuries preceding Sulla does not, I think, indicate that they were not entitled to legislate, only that they usually did not. Or rather, that it was later believed that they did not themselves concern themselves with the technicalities of legislation.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that the consuls also had civil competence. True, the fact that the consuls – in accordance with a compromise between patricians and plebeians – during many years in the period 445–367 were substituted with military tribunes (*tribuni militum consulari potestate*) testifies to the predominantly military character of the consulship in the Early Republic, but the *imperium domi*, which together with the *imperium militiae* defined the competence of the consuls, must have included the power to put matters before the people.

It is also quite clear that some of the early republican laws were later considered to have been consular. We have already seen that there were a few consular laws of the first half of the fifth century BC that, according to tradition, were passed in the centuriate assembly (which could be convened only by magistrates with *imperium*). This serves to prove that were ancient laws that were believed to have been passed by curule magistrates. This must also be true of statutes passed before the institution of the tribunate, which according to tradition happened in 494. Rotondi distinguishes 10, and Flach 13 laws, – most of them ascribed to the consul P. Valerius Poplicola – in the period preceding the first *secessio* of the plebeians.[89] As for other early legislation, sometimes it is evident from the context in historical accounts that it was believed that consuls occasionally legislated themselves on civil matters. For instance, Livy recounts that the consuls of the year 430, L. Papirius Crassus and L. Iulius Iullus, resolve to propose a law concerning the valuation of fines, having learned that the tribunes were planning to put such a law before the people.[90] We should note as well that

Struggle of the Orders", K. Raaflaub (ed.), *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome. New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1986, 130–174.

[89] Rotondi, *LPPR* (n. 23) 189–192; Flach, *GFRR* (n. 23), 45–73.

[90] Liv. 4,30,3: *Legem de multarum aestimatione pergratam populo cum ab tribunis parari*

there is also indirect, epigraphic evidence attesting that consuls did legislate in the Early Republic. A bronze pillar inscribed with the text of a consular law of 472, providing for an *intercalatio*, was seen by Varro in the last century BC.[91] Whether authentic or not, a question that is of course impossible to determine, it serves to prove that the most erudite of the Roman antiquarians did not hesitate to attribute early legislation to consuls. Finally, and most importantly, it should be pointed out that some of the early laws were referred to as *leges consulares*.[92]

I have argued that the consuls of the Early Republic legislated on all kinds of matters. For legislation pertaining to matters of war and foreign policy they used, as later in the Republic, the centuriate assembly. Laws on civil matters they passed originally, I believe, in the curiate assembly, which convened *intra pomerium*, in the *comitium*.[93] However, as soon as the tribunes' right to legislate was recognized, whether formally or *de facto*, it was only a question of time before the consuls would largely lose the initiative to these plebeian officials. Demands for change and reform normally originated in the plebeian community, and not among the patricians, who were intent on preserving *status quo*. Therefore the political organization headed by the tribunes at an early date emerges as the dynamic element in Roman society.[94] In the course of time the curiate assembly lost its legislative functions to the *concilium plebis*, and eventually became the institutional fossil we know from the Late Republic. After the completion of this process, I have argued, all civil legislation was concentrated in the hands of the tribunes

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consules unius ex collegio proditione excepissent, ipsi praeoccupaverunt ferre. Cf. Cic. *rep.* 2,60: *levis aestumatio pecudum in multa lege C. Iulii P. Papirii consulum constituta est*.

91 Macr. *Sat.* 1,13,21: *Sed hoc arguit Varro scribendo antiquissimam legem fuisse incisam in columna aerea a L. Pinario et Furio consulibus, cui mensis intercalaris adscribitur.*

92 The legislation of L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus and M. Horatius Barbatus in 449: Cic. *rep.* 2,54: *Luciique Valerii Potiti et M. Horatii Barbatii ... consularis lex sanxit, ne qui magistratus sine provocatione crearetur*; Liv. 3,55,4 f.: *Aliam deinde consularem legem de provocatione ... non restituunt modo, sed etiam in posterum muniunt sanciendo novam legem, ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet*, Liv. 3,55,13: *Hae consulares leges fuere*.

93 Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 118, 135.

94 Bleicken 1975 (n. 83), 82 ff., esp. 85 and 92. Cf. L. Amirante, "Plebiscito e legge. Primi appunti per una storia", *Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino* IV, Napoli 1984, esp. 2026.

of the *plebs*. In normal circumstances consuls would not themselves convene the tribal assembly or legislate on civil matters in the *centuriate assembly*, which lacked civil competence. Laws by curule magistrates on civil affairs were passed only when it was thougth necessary to formally sanction concessions made by the patricians to the plebeians during the Conflict of the Orders. Some of these were comitial laws passed in the the centuriate assembly, on the analogy of peace treaties which were normally ratified in this assembly. Some consular and dictatorial laws of the period were possibly *leges datae*.[95]

During most of the mid-republican period and down to at least the Gracchi, or even the reforms of Sulla, the Senate, which in effect constituted the government of the Roman state, normally depended on the tribunes in order to obtain popular decisions concerning civil matters. This kind of constitutional situation has been hard to accept for some scholars, who are reluctant to accept that the Roman aristocracy depended on the political organization of the plebeians. Loretana de Libero, criticizing my views, makes the following assertion: "Die Frage nach der praktischen Durchführbarkeit der vorgelegten Überlegungen, die den Patriziern keine Möglichkeit unabhängiger Gesetzesinitiativen vor dem Volk zugestehen und damit trotz *auctoritas patrum* eine gefährliche Abhängigkeit von den Volkstribunen kreieren, wird nicht gestellt".[96] There is, in my opinion, no justification for this kind of position. It is, after all, an undeniable fact that it was the plebeians who prevailed in the Conflict of the Orders, as the patricians were forced to accept all the demands of the tribunes. Effectively entrusting most of the legislation to the tribunes might well have been but a small concession compared with the recognition of the *ius intercessionis*. No scholar has ever cast into doubt that the obstructive powers of the tribunes from a very early date, at least *de facto*, were a key factor in Roman political life. By virtue of these powers any member of the tribunician college was able to make void any action or decision, by any political agent. If the patricians – and the *nobiles* who inherited their position – were able to tolerate such a dependence on the tribunes, they may as well have accepted the fact that legislation became a tribunician realm of public life.[97] This need not have been that hard to accept, after all, since the consuls could not in any case pass

[95] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 102 f. and 129.

[96] de Libero 1995 (n. 7), 161 f.

[97] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 142.

laws against the will of the tribunes.

As for the dangers posed by too radical tribunes, it must be remembered that the aristocracy still had many efficient means at its disposal to check tribunician initiatives. The grant of legal force to the *plebiscita* – whenever that first happened – was made, we must remember, with the provision that they should be subject to the formal approval of the patricians (*patrum auctoritas*). It was only with the *lex Hortensia* of 287 that the decisions of the plebeian assembly became unconditionally binding.[98] The patricians could also easily prevent bills from being put before the *plebs* by turning to a co-operative tribune. It is amply attested that tribunes were often prevented by their own colleagues from bringing measures to the people, and that the patricians usually had no difficulty in finding collaborators in the tribunician college.[99]

The modern axiom that the consuls played an active role in the legislation before the Late Republic is supported by the testimony of the primary sources in a conspicuously poor way. It seems rather to be based on a predisposition among scholars to perceive the consulship as the ancient Roman counterpart to modern political leadership. However, it is evident that the Roman political system, in respect of its structure and modes of operation, cannot be compared with modern states. It is true that the consuls were at the apex of a well defined magisterial hierarchy, but this was, we must remember, parallelled by the plebeian political system. It is also true that the Senate, advising the magistrates, exercised an overwhelming and continuous control of the political process, but this control was never formal. Moreover, consular authority never included control of the political organization of the plebeians, which was always a completely independent entity retaining its full independence even after the end of the Conflict of the Orders. Thus the political process in the Roman Republic did not articulate itself within a unitary political system, but should rather be perceived as the expression of a clash between two competing systems. In this process the various elements had to find ways to co-operate in order to avoid anarchy. That there was a strong interdependence between the Senate, the magistrates and the leaders of the plebeian organization is nothing but the very essence of Polybius's

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[98] For the *lex Hortensia*, including full bibliography, see now Elster 2003 (n. 23), 121–125.

[99] See Liv. 2,44,2, 4,48,6 and 6,35,6.

analysis of the political system of the Romans.[100]

Conclusion

In this paper I have revisited some of the problems that I have dealt with in my earlier work on the legislation of republican Rome. This time the focus has been on the consulship, the one political institution the understanding of which is most fundamentally affected by the interpretations that I have offered in the past. The aim has been to adduce additional support for my views, insofar as they have been challenged; the focal points of the present discussion have therefore been those very issues brought up by other scholars. At this point I hope it will be recognized that there are still problems with many of the standard views of republican legislation in general and the role of the consuls in particular – and, above all, that the discussion continues.

Åbo Akademi University

[100] Sandberg 2001 (n. 5), 143 f.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CCXVI. WEITERE NEUE UND SELTENE COGNOMINA

Hier wieder eine weitere Auslese.[1] Zu den unten gebrauchten Abkürzungen und diakritischen Zeichen s. *Rep.*[2] 474. *Arctos* 35, 2001, 189.

Acidinus: Kajanto 160 mit ausschließlich senatorischen Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 28874 (Freigelassener).

Acrianus: H. Solin, in *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero romano. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale su La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero romano, Roma 24–28 settembre 1979* (EPRO 92), Leiden 1982, 135 (Wandkritzelei aus der Isiskapelle auf dem Aventin). Aus dem Gentilnamen *Acrius*; oder steht das für *Agrianus* Kajanto 139?

Acutianus: Kajanto 139 mit acht heidnischen Belegen. Dazu christl. *ICUR* 21938.

Aebutianus: Kajanto 139 mit vier Belegen. *Rep.*[2] 497. Dazu noch *AE* 2001, 1902b (Hierapolis Phryg., 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr., ein ἄρχων).

Aeditua: *AE* 2001, 757 (Formiae, Freigelassene). Kajanto 319 verzeichnet nur den Männernamen *Aedituus* mit einem Beleg, der dem Poet Valerius Aedituus aus republikanischer Zeit gehört (*RE* VII A, 2312 Nr. 95).

Aelias m.(?): *RIU* 887 *Iul(io) Aeliati* (der Sexus steht nicht mit letzter Sicherheit fest, es scheint sich aber um einen Männernamen zu handeln). Der in *Rep*. 289 zitierte Beleg *Aelias* aus *CIL* III 3299 ist Frauenname, der auch aus dem griechischen Osten bekannt ist (s. H. Grégoire, zu Marc.

[1] Ein herzlicher Dank geht an Peter Kruschwitz, der meinen deutschen Ausdruck verbessert hat. Olli Salomies hat die Güte gehabt, den Text durchzulesen und mich auf einige Namenbelege aufmerksam zu machen. Vladimir Stolbe hat mich beim Studium russischer Publikationen von Inschriften des bosporanischen Reiches unterstützt.

Diac., *Vita Porph. Gaz*. [Paris 1930], S. 109).

Αἰμιλιάς: W. M. Ramsay, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire*, Aberdeen 1906, 78 (Isaurien) Dat. Ἐμιληάδι.

Agrippiana: Kajanto 175. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 190. Dazu *RAC* 47 (1971) 255 (Rom, christl.) Ἀγριπιανή.

Allianus: Kajanto 140 mit drei Belegen. Dazu Paton - Hicks 103 (ein M. Spedius); 135 (ein Ti. Claudius); beide zur koischen Oberschicht des 1. Jh. n. Chr. gehörig. Nicht ganz sicher als Zeugnis des Personennamens ist *MAMA* X 431 (Synaos) vgl. W. Ameling, *Gnomon* 70 (1998) 537 (die Editoren fassen ihn als Ethnikon auf).

Ἀματία: *MAMA* VIII 99 (Lykaonien). Der Männername *Amatius*: *Rep*. 291 (dazu *SEG* XLIX 2344, Nubien). Wohl eher Weiterbildung aus *Amatus -a* als der Gentilname *Amatius*.

Amatus -a: Kajanto 284. Dazu *TAM* II 748 (fem.).

Anniola: Kajanto 166 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Tabellae Sulis* 8.

Antonilla: Kajanto 168 mit fünf Belegen aus den germanischen und Donauprovinzen. *Rep*.[2] 497 aus Rom. Dazu *MAMA* V 236 (Nakoleia).

Antoninianus: *Rep*. 293. *Arctos* 32 (1998) 236. Dazu *SEG* XLVII 2199 (Kyrene) Boxer(?) aus Ephesos, 3. Jh. n. Chr.

Ἀπελλινάρις: *TAM* V 824 (316/7 n. Chr.). Vgl. Ἀπελινάριος *Arctos* 35 (2001) 190, wo der Name erklärt wird. Ἀπελεινάριος *MAMA* X 309 (Kotiaion). Schwer zu sagen, ob -ις eine für die spätantike Namengebung charakteristische Kürzung für -ιος darstellt (die griechische Normalform dieses Namens lautet Ἀπολλινάριος) oder ob eine Angleichung an lat. *Apollinaris* bestrebt wurde. Das wirkt auf die Akzentuierung aus, denn im ersteren Fall sollte man -άρις, im letzteren -ᾶρις schreiben.

Aprionianus: Gerov, *I. Lat. Bulg*. 82 (Vater *Aprio*).

Ἀκυλιανή: *MAMA* VI 373 (Synnada), Tochter von Ἀκύλας ἀρχιατρός.

Aquilianus: Kajanto 140 mit zwei Belegen (von denen der eine unsicher). Dazu *TAM* V 965. 992 (Thyateira) M. Ἰούλιος Διονύσιος Ἀκυλιανός. R. Heberdey - A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien, ausgeführt 1891 und 1892* (DAW 44, 6), Wien 1896, 71ff Nr. 155 C II 1 (Korykion antron) Αὐρ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀκυλιανός.

Arborius: Kajanto 334 mit zwei Männernamenbelegen und einem

Frauennamenbeleg, alle spät. Dazu *AE* 1982, 274 (Rom, ein Aurelius, Bruder eines Legionars). 2001, 2103 (Lambaesis). *P. Tjäder* 10. 11. 13.

Arcaricus: *AE* 2001, 1062 mit Anm. von O. Salomies (Graffito auf Terra sigillata) *Sexti Arcarici*. Das Cognomen *Arcaricus* ist mit dem Suffix *-icus* (dem wir weiter unten bei *Sternicus* begegnen werden) aus *arcarius* oder *Arcarius* gebildet. Gewöhnlich sind die neuen Cognomina auf *-icus* aus bestehenden Cognomina gebildet worden, da aber *Arcarius* selbst eine seltene Bildung ist (zwei Belege bei Kajanto 319), kann dem Namengeber auch das Substantiv vorgeschwebt sein.

Ἀρελλιανή: *MAMA* I 292. Der Editor ergänzt ohne Not [Οὐ]αρελλιανή, denn dieses Cognomen ist ansonsten unbekannt und der zugrunde liegende Gentilname *Varellius* sehr selten. Dem Photo kann man entnehmen, daß der Steinmetz sich mit dem "Umbruch" nicht viel Mühe gegeben hat; demnach steht nichts entgegen, etwa [καὶ] Ἀρελλιανῇ zu ergänzen. – Der Männername *Arellianus*: Kajanto 140 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep*.[2] 497. Dazu noch *I. Sultan Dağı* I (IK 62) 375 (Tyraion in Phrygien).

Ἀριλιανή(?): *I. Sultan Dağı* I (IK 62) 413 (Tyraion). Aus dem Gentilnamen *Arilius* (*Rep*. 21), sekundäre Graphie des vorigen Namens oder aber epichorisch? Vgl. Namen wie Αρλισ(σ)ις, Αρλιωμος bei L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 91f.

Ἀρουιανός: *MAMA* I 109 (Laodicea Combusta). Als Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Arvius* deutbar, sofern nicht epichorisches Namengut vorliegt; zwar klingen einige uns bekannte kleinasiatische Namen wie Αρουαρας ähnlich, sind aber doch nicht ganz dasselbe.[2]

Atax: *Rep*. 296 aus *CIL* VI 7911. Dazu *AE* 1971, 516 (Caesarea Mauret.) *P. Basilius Atacis l. Syneros*. Kajanto 202 kennt nur den Ethnikanamen *Atacina* aus *CIL* II 4627;[3] dazu *IRPCadiz* 401 *Atac[inus?]* (der Sexus bleibt unsicher).[4]

Aticianus -a: *ICUR* 1516 (mask.). *TAM* III 1, 290 Αὐρ(ηλία) Αρμαστα ἡ καὶ Ἀτικιανή. Kajanto 141. 203 hält *Aticianus* von *ICUR* 1516 für eine Variante von *Atticianus*; das kann sein, es existiert aber ein Gentilname *Aticius* (*Rep*. 25), den als bloße Nebenform von *Atticius*

[2] Vgl. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 96.

[3] Aber Mª L. Albertos, *La onomástica personal primitiva de Hispania: Tarraconensis y Betíca*, Salamanca 1966, 38 scheint den Namen für epichorisch zu halten und stellt ihn zu *Ataecina*; ob das nötig ist, sei dahingestellt.

[4] Vom Editor J. Gonzales falsch als Gentilname gedeutet.

abzutun, wie es Bang im Gentilnamenindex des *CIL* VI tut,[5] kein Bedarf besteht. *Atticius* selbst ist kein sehr üblicher Name, andererseits lässt sich *Aticius* leicht als eine selbständige mit dem Suffix *-cius* versehene Bildung neben *Atilius Atinius Atisius* usw. erklären. *Aticianus* kann also rein formal zu *Aticius* gestellt werden. Zu bedenken gibt nur die große Popularität von *Atticus*, doch ist auch *Atticianus* kein sehr übliches Cognomen geworden.

Αὐρηλιᾶς: *I. Sultan Dağı* I (IK 62) I 630 (Neapolis in Phrygien) Akk. Αὐρηλιᾶδα.

Aurellianus: *IRT* 668 (Lepcis Magna *Atilius Corinthu[s A]urellianus*; im Namen des Kaisers L. Domitius Aurelianus: *AE* 1981, 911 (Numidien) und *IRT* 943. In der griechischen Welt: Feissel, *Recueil des inscr. chrét. de Macédoine* 279 (Stobi, 4./ 5. Jh.) Αὐρηλλιανός.[6] Das Gentilicium severischer Kaiser wird nicht selten mit *-ll-* geschrieben.

Baebianus: Kajanto 141, wo drei Frauennamenbelege. Dazu *TAM* IV 1, 269.

Balbio: Kajanto 240 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XLVI 1959.1991 (Golan in Palästina, ca. 5. Jh.) Φλ. Βαλβίων λαμπρό(τατος).

Batavus: Kajanto 201 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 36 (2002) 108. Dazu *IDR* III 5, 451 (Apulum, Legionär) *Aur. Bataus*.

Benagius: Kajanto 363 mit drei späten Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 1442 (Germ. inf.) aus dem 4. Jh.

Βεττηνιανός: *TAM* V 608. 671 (ergänzt). Vertritt **Vettenianus*, vgl. *Rep*. 421 aus *Sardis* VII 1, 75 usw. Οὐεττηνιανός.

Blandianus: Kajanto 282 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XX 56 (Kilikien).

Bolanus: Kajanto 181. Dazu *NSc*. 1923, 72 (Rom). Dazu *CIG* 3846y (Aizanoi). *IGRR* IV 587 (ebd., ein Aelius). *MAMA* IX 96. 255 (ebda.). *TAM* V 36 (Bagis, 104/5 n, Chr,). J. Keil - A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise durch Lydien* (DAW 57, 1), Wien 1914, 22 Nr. 19 (Philadelpheia, Commodus). *CIG* 4502 (Palmyra). Der Name mag in Kleinasien während der Statthalterschaft von Asia des M. Vettius Bolanus

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[5] Besser W. Otto, *ThLL* II, 1039, 32, der *Aticius* mit *Attius* verbindet. *Aticius* ist in Rom mehrmals belegt, wenn auch nicht so oft wie *Atticius*, und was wichtig ist, schon aus der frühen Kaiserzeit (*CIL* VI 34551 ist eine Kolumbariumstafel). Neben *Atilius, Atinius* usw. einen *Aticius* anzunehmen bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten.

[6] Unsicher bleibt *MAMA* X 447 (Synaos), wo die Editoren Αὐρε[λλ]ιανός befürworten möchten, ohne allerdings etwa Αὐρ. Ἐ[λπιδ]ιανός ö.ä. ausschließen zu wollen.

populär geworden sein.[7]

Βωλᾶς: häufig in Kleinasien belegt, etwa *CIG* 3846z, 1 (Aizanoi). *MAMA* IX 147. X 80 (Appia). M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, Mainz 1986, 95 Nr. 225 (Kotiaion, 3. Jh. n. Chr.). Der Name ist wohl zu *Bolanus* zu stellen;[8] dagegen sind Namen wie Βῶλος fernzuhalten.

Bruttianus: Kajanto 193 unter geographischen Cognomina mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 1938 = *SEG* XLIX 1951 (Elaiussa-Sebaste in Kilikien), ein P. Aelius Βρουττιανός, ὁ κράτιστος. Sein Cognomen gehört nicht zu dem Landschaftsnamen, sondern zum Gentilnamen *Bruttius* und ist auf C. Bruttius Praesens, Statthalter von Kilikien 117–118, zurückzuführen. Dasselbe Cognomen führte vielleicht ein Proconsul von Lykien-Pamphylien (*IGRR* III 776 = *SEG* XVII 572), nach W. Eck, *EA* 33 (2001) 105f.

Caesiana: Kajanto 142 mit einem Beleg neben dem üblicheren Männernamen *Caesianus*. Dazu *AE* 2001, 388 (Rom, Freigeborene).

Κάλανδος: *I. Perg*. 572. Wahrscheinlich eine Art Rückbildung aus Καλανδῖνος, Καλανδίων, usw.

Calendarius: Kajanto 219 mt einem Beleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 193 (fem. Καλανδαρία). Dazu *TAM* II 735 Καλανδάριος.

Candidinus: Kajanto 227 mit einem Beleg aus Dakien. Dazu *RIU* 1424 vgl. *AE* 2001, 1685a. Zum Frauennamen *Candidina* vgl. *Rep.*^{2} 498.

Καπιτίων: *Rep*. 308 aus *IGBulg*. 723. Dazu *SEG* L 1208 (Kyzikos).

Capras: Kajanto 326 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VIII 1251 = X 2226 (Vaga; Sexus bleibt unsicher).

Catilla: *Rep*. 311. Dazu *MAMA* VIII 318 (Ikonion, christl.).

Cattianus: Kajanto 144 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*^{2} 498 mit zwei weiteren Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XLVI 1559 (Antandros in Troas).

Celerianus: Kajanto 144 = 248 mit fünf Männernamen- und drei Frauennamenbelegen und zwei christlichen.[9] Dazu *Tabellae Sulis* 98. *I. Pergamon* 274, 23 (117 n. Chr.) (aus der lokalen Oberschicht).

Cestianus: Kajanto 144 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *Corinth* VIII 3, 269

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[7] Diese heute communis opinio geht auf Waddington (zu Le Bas - Waddington 946) zurück: etwa L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 167f. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 130. *MAMA* IX S. LV. Zur Statthalterschaft des Vettius Bolanus vgl. B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* I, Göteborg 1984, 216.

[8] S. die vorige Anm.

[9] Die christlichen Belege sind auf S. 144 ausgefallen.

Πεδουκαῖος Κεστιανὸς ̓Απολλωνιάτης ῥήτωρ (gemeint ist Apollonia von Illyrien).

Cirtensis: *Rep*. 314 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 399 (Rom).

Cocceianus: Kajanto 144 mit acht Belegen (und 2 Senatoren). Dazu *MAMA* V R 18 (Nakoleia).

Collega: Kajanto 306 (zwei Senatoren). Dazu *MAMA* IV 198 (Apollonia Pisid.). VIII 404 (pisidisch-phrygisches Grenzgebiet). Die Verwendung des Namens in Kleinasien könnte auf Cn. Pompeius Collega, Legat von Kappadokien und Galatien (*PIR*^{2} P 600) zurückgehen; vgl. oben zu *Bolanus*.

Κομιτᾶς: Kajanto 256 (er stellt den Namen zu *cōmis* und akzentuiert Κομίτας). Dazu *MAMA* III 508. 509 (Korykos, christl.). Ich würde diesen Namen eher zu *comes Comes* stellen; das Amt des comes war wichtig in der Spätantike und konnte so seine Spuren in der Anthroponymie der christlichen Zeit hinterlassen; davon legen die folgenden Namen schönes Zeugnis ab. Das griechische hypokoristische Suffix -ᾶς wurde ja bekanntlich auch in der lateinischen Namengebung produktiv.[10]

Comitialis: Kajanto 220 mit zwei (wenn nicht einem) Namenträgern.[11] *Rep*.^{2} 498 (aus Hadrumetum, christl.). Dazu *AE* 2001, 643 (Ostia).

Comitinus: *Rep*. 316 aus Britannien. Dazu *RIB* II 8, 2504, 21, also ebenfalls aus Britannien.

Κομίτισσα: *MAMA* III 611 (Korykos, christl.) Gen. Κομητήσης. Aus *Comes* mit dem in der Spätantike auch in der lateinischen Namengebung gebrauchten Suffix -ισσα abgeleitet. Ähnliche Bildungen sind z. B. *Germanissa, Iulissa, Piscinissa, Scribonissa, Vetranissa*.

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[10] Zu diesem Suffix vgl. etwa E. Fraenkel, *RE* XVI (1935) 1638. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm*. I 461. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I 2^2, Berlin und Leipzig 1938, 5–8. L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, I 1, London 1946, 49f. O. Masson, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 13 = *OGS* I 175. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, II, Milano 1981, 16–21. Blass - Debrunner - Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen 1976^{14}, 100f. C. Dobias-Lalou, "Anthroponymes grecs en -ας en Cyrénaïque", *Des dialectes grecs aux lois de Gortyne*, Paris 1999, 23–32.

[11] Die von Kajanto aus *CIL* III angeführten 3 Belege auf Vasenstempeln mit dem Text *Comitialis f(ecit)* scheinen sich auf ein und denselben Mann zu beziehen. Wie zu ihnen der Stempel auf einer patella *CIL* VII 1337, 22 mit demselben, aber links geschriebenen Text sich verhält, ist mir nicht klar (dieser Stempel fehlt in *RIB* II).

Κομιτοῦς: *MAMA* III 385 (Korykos, christl.) Gen. Κομητοῦτος. 510 (ebda., christl.) Gen. Κομιτοῦ. Zum Siffix -οῦς vgl. unten zu Δομναροῦς.

Commodianus -a: Kajanto 256 mit 6 Belegen (davon 1 Senator, 1 Frauenname, 1 christl.). Dazu *SEG* L 1008B (Kamarina in Sizilien, wenn richtig gelesen und gedeutet; vgl. unten S. 190: Ἐγετιανός).

Κομμόδιλλα: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 195 aus Anazarbos. Dazu *TAM* V 432 (214/215 n. Chr.) Κομόδιλλα.

Concessianus: Kajanto 350 mit drei Belegen. Dazu der clarissimus puer Q. Octavius Gallus Concessianus aus Ureu aus severischer Zeit (*PIR*[2] O 38), Sohn eines Ritters; sein Bruder hieß *L. Octavius Gallus Atticus Concessus*. Ferner *Graff. Pal*. I 282 (kaiserlicher Sklave aus der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh.).

Consortilla: *ILAlg*. II 9382 (Castellum Arsacalitanorum) *Fabia Consor[t]illa*. Zur Namensippe *Consors* s. Kajanto 306.

Corbulo: *Rep*. 318. Dazu etwa *TAM* III 1, 557 (Freigelassener).

Cordulas: *RAC* 44 (1968) 144 (Rom, christl.). Die Lesung scheint gesichert (der Text ist links abgebrochen, doch muß der Name vollständig sein). Der Sexus bleibt unsicher, der Editor Ferrua vermutet einen Frauennamen, wenn der Name aber zur Namensippe *Cordus* gehört, wogegen eigentlich nichts spricht, dann ist es vorzuziehen, hier einen mit dem griechischen Suffix *-as* gebildeten Männernamen zu sehen. Wie bekannt, ist dieses Suffix oft auch lateinischen Namen angehängt und so in der lateinischen Namenbildungen produktiv geworden.

Cornuta: Kajanto 330 mit einem Beleg neben dem üblichen *Cornutus*. Dazu die polyonyme Servenia Cornuta, ein Nachkomme von L. Servenius Cornutus aus Akmoneia, Legatus pro praetore von Asia unter Vespasian (*PIR* S 405).[12]

Cotta: *Rep*. 319. Dazu *MAMA* V R 24 (Nakoleia). Dem Editor zufolge kann als Namenquelle M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messallinus, Proconsul von Asia ca. 25–36 n. Chr. in Frage kommen.[13]

Κρεσκιτούρα: *SEG* XLVI 1368 (Carthago Nova, 6. Jh.) Gen. Κρισκιτούρας. Kajanto 235 kennt nur den Männernamen *Cresciturus*.

Curina: *AE* 2001, 382 (Rom, Freigelassene). Aus dem in Rom öfters belegten Gentilnamen *Curius* abgeleitet.

Curio: Kajanto 318 mit vier Belegen ausserhalb der republikanischen

[12] Zuletzt vgl. H. Halfmann, *EOS* II 609. 644.

[13] Zu seiner Amtzeit vgl. B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*, I, Göteborg 1984, 210f.

Scribonier. Dazu *I. Kibyra-Olbasa* 102 (224/225 n. Chr.). *I. Sinope* 200 Ὀφίλλιος Κουρίων. Der Name könnte auch griechisch aufgefaßt werden, vgl. z. B. Ἐπί-κουρος, doch ist die Namensippe zu κοῦρος im Griechischen kaum präsent; der einzige mir bekannte Kurzname ist Κούρων *IG* XII 1, 925 (ca. 370 v. Chr.), der in Bechtel *HPN* fehlt.

Decor: Kajanto 232 mit vier Belegen, von denen aber *KFIT* 420 auszuscheiden ist.[14] Dazu *AE* 2001, 680 (Ostia; Deutung nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben).

Dentilianus: Kajanto 145 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *RAL* 1970, 129 (Formiae).

Dento: Kajanto 238. Dazu *SEG* XLVIII 1613 (Kibyra, 1. Jh. n. Chr.), ein Cornelius Sestullius.

Dignilla: Kajanto 280 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1981, 224 (Sinuessa).

Δομιτιάς: *SG* XLVI 1932, 1 (Golan in Palästina, christl.) Δομιττιάς. 2000 (ebd.) Δομεττιάς.

Domitinus: Kajanto 161 mit vier Männernamen- und zwei Frauennamenbelegen. Dazu *MAMA* VIII 502. 565. 566 (Aphrodisias) Δομετεῖνος.

Δομναροῦς(?): *TAM* III 1, 592 Αὐρ(ηλίᾳ) Δομναροῦ (Dat.) (oder sollte man Δομναροῦ(τι) verstehen?). Da kaum ein kleinasiatisches Etymon vorliegen kann, ist man versucht, diesen Namen mit lat. *Domnus -a* zu verbinden. Freilich hätten wir hier das erste Mal einen Fall, daß das Suffix -αροῦς einem lateinischen Namenstamm angehängt worden wäre. Dieses Namensuffix, das sich regelmässig neben anderen Frauennamensuffixen auf -αρ-, wie -άριον oder -αρώ findet, ist aber einigermassen verbreitet, besonders in Ägypten und Kleinasien, aber auch in Rom und Italien.[15] Auch von dem kürzeren Frauennamensuffix -οῦς waren bisher keine Beispiele bekannt, in denen es lateinischen Namenstämmen angehängt worden wäre. Aus derselben Publikation korykischer Inschriften kennen wir deren aber

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[14] Vgl. H. U. Instinsky, *Gnomon* 31, 1959, 143.

[15] Die Geschichte und Verbreitung dieses Suffixes ist noch nicht eingehend behandelt worden. Einige Bemerkungen in W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen 1933, 308–310. O. Masson, *Epigraphica* 46 (1984) 157f = *OGS* II 443f. Ders., *ZPE* 112 (1996) 144 = *OGS* III 257. Von der Verbreitung sei hier nur bemerkt, daß in Rom das Suffix durch zwei eindeutige Fälle vertreten ist, *Isarus* und *Nicarus*; der letztere neben *Nicario -ium* und Νικαρώ (die einschlägigen Belege in meinem *Namenbuch*).

jetzt zwei, Κομιτοῦς und Σεργοῦς (vgl. die einschlägigen Lemmata oben und unten). Zum Schluß noch die Frage, wie man den Dativ ΔΟΜΝΑΡΟΥ erklären soll. Entweder haben wir es hier mit einer Abkürzung für Δομναροῦ(τι) zu tun; der Genetiv dieses Namentyps lautete ja regelmässig -οῦτος. Oder aber es liegt eine bewusste Nebenform auf -οῦ vor, von welcher kleinasiatische Parallelen nicht zu fehlen scheinen.[16] Ist dieser Name also wirklich lateinisch? Wie kann man ihn aber sonst erklären, da er weder kleinasiatisch noch griechisch deutbar ist?

Domnilla: Kajanto 362 mit einem Beleg aus Ikonion. *Rep.*[2] 499 (Rom, christl.). *Arctos* 37 (2003) 176 aus Ikonion. Dazu noch *MAMA* VIII 252 (Savatra in Lykaonien).

Domnina: Kajanto 362 mit zwei heidnischen und acht christlichen Belegen. Dazu *IG* XIV 101 (Syrakus, christl.). *MAMA* I 291 (Phrygien). *SEG* XLVII 1920 (Abila in Syrien, 198/199 n. Chr.). L 1418. 1419 (Sidon, heidn.).

Domninus: Kajanto 362. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 176. Dazu *MAMA* III 16 (Seleukeia am Kalykadnos, christl.). VIII 323 (Ikonion, christl.). *SEG* XLVII 2009. 2011 (Gerasa). 2231 (unbekannter Herkunft).

Domnio(n): Kajanto 362. Dazu *IDR* III 5, 452 (Apulum, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.). *I. Novae* (1997) 67 (238–244 n. Chr.). *IPE* I^2 174 (Olbia, severisch). *MAMA* IV 131(Metropolis Phryg.). X 78 (Appia). 439 (Synaus).

Egnatianus: Kajanto 146 mit sieben belegen (von denen ein Senator). *Rep.*[2] 499 aus Sardinien. Dazu *SEG* L 767 quater (Kos, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Λούκιος Φάννιος Βάσσος Ἐγνατιανός, Gymnasiarch. *MAMA* VI 352 (Diokleia in Phrygien, ein Aurelius).

Ἠουηιανός: *MAMA* VIII 352 = *I. Sultan Dağı* I (IK 62) 507 (Neapolis in Phrygien) Γάιος Ἠουήιος Ἠουηιανός. Zum Gentilnamen *Rep*. 75.

Exactor: Kajanto 361 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *I.Autoparco Vatic*. 4. *Tabellae Sulis* 9.

Fabinus(?): *Bölcske* (s. unten unter *Iuliacensis*) 136 Nr. 28 *Sep(timius) Fabin(us?) e[q(ues)] al(a)e I T(hracum) vet(eranae)*. Möglich

[16] L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure gréco-romaine*, I, Paris 1963, 318–320 registriert einige Nominative von Frauennamen auf -οῦ; auch wenn seine Beispiele teilweise fragwürdig sind, ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß gewisse späte Beispiele auf -οῦ als Nominative (und so auch als Dative) empfunden werden konnten. Vgl. auch O. Masson, *BCH* 103 (1979) 367.

wäre auch *Fabin(ianus)* (s. *Rep*. 328) aufzulösen; außerdem ist die Lesung nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben. Vgl. unten S. 254–256.

Fadus: Kajanto 178 mit zwei Belegen (und einem von *Fada*). *Arctos* 35 (2001) 197. Dazu *I. Sinope* 214 *Q. Callius Fadus*. Diese Namensequenz wiederholt sich einmal, es braucht sich aber nicht um denselben zu handeln; nach dem zweiten Namen finden sich die Buchstaben MIL. Der Editor denkt an eine Liste von Namen von Freigelassenen, aber MIL läßt einen unverzüglich an Soldatenkreise denken.

Falconilla: Kajanto 331 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu G. Libertini, *Centuripe*, Catania 1926, 42 vgl. *Epigraphica* 51 (1989) 168 *[C]lodia P. f. Falconilla* (die von Kajanto angeführte Senatorenfrau [jetzt *PIR*^{2} P 671] ist ihr Nachkomme). *MAMA* I 191 (Laodicea Combusta) Αὐρ. Φαλκωνίλῃ.

Fautus: Kajanto 352 mit zwei (christlichen) Belegen. Die Zahl der Belege ließe sich vervielfachen, wobei es sich teilweise nur um eine flüchtige Graphie von *Faustus* handelt; z. B. *Bull. com.* 78 (1961–1962) 78. *Graff. Pal*. I 91. *ICUR* 4757. 7579. 17458 (*Fauta*). 20611. *BACTH* 1934/1935, 36ff Nr. 29. Zur Erklärung vgl. H. Solin, *Graff. Pal.* I S. 63f; dort auch zu Formen *Fautinus -a* (füge hinzu *ICUR* 18500. 21771. 23920).

Φιδηλία: vgl. *Fidelius* Kajanto 254 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. Der Frauenname in J. Keil - A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis, ausgeführt 1906* (DAW 53, 2), Wien 1910, 43 Nr. 89 (Philadelpheia): Φιδηλεία,[17] Tochter einer Φιδηλία ἡ κοσμιο[τ(άτη)] und eines κόμης.

Flavilla: Kajanto 169 = 227 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *PIR*^{2} L 264–265 Licinia F. maior und minor aus Oinoanda aus severischer Zeit. *TAM* II 920 Αὐρηλιανὴ Πλισταρχὶς Φλάβιλλα.

Fonteianus: Kajanto 146 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 199 mit vier Belegen. 37 (2003) 177 mit einem Beleg (aus Ratiaria). Dazu noch *AE* 2001, 670 (Ostia) *C. Fonteius Fonteianus*.

Forticlus: Kajanto 257 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Graff. Pal.* I 354 (kaiserlicher Sklave, zweite Hälfte des 2. Jh.).

Fortio: Kajanto 257 mit elf Belegen. Dazu *I. Perinthos* 159 (ein Aurelius). Der Editor ändert ohne Not in *Fort(un)io*,[18] trotz der Tatsache,

[17] Die Editoren akzentuieren Φιδήλεια, es kann sich aber nicht um einen Namen auf -εια handeln, ganz gewiss haben wir es mit einer graphischen Variante von -ία zu tun.

[18] Vgl. auch C. Brixhe, *Bull. épigr*. 1999, 382.

daß sein Bruder(?) Φορτούνι(ο)ς hieß.

Frontianus: *IDR* III 5, 335 (Apulum, ein Aelius). Durch Haplologie aus *Fronto* gebildet. Es mag überraschend erscheinen, daß der Name neben dem populären *Frontinus* und anderen Bildungen wie *Frontilla* bisher nicht belegt war.[19] Launen der Namengebung.

Frugianus: Kajanto 253 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 200 mit Belegen aus dem griechischen Osten. Dazu Γ. Κλαύδιος Πωλλίων Φρουγιανός, Bildhauer aus Kleinasien, tätig in Cumae in hadrianischer Zeit: s. *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* 1, 143.

Frugilla: *Rep.*[2] 335. 499, vorwiegend aus dem griechischen Osten. Dazu *TAM* III 1, 229 (Φρύγ-). V 122. *MAMA* I 273 (Laodicea Combusta).

Φρούγιος: *Rep.* 335 aus Ephesos. Dazu *MAMA* IV 354. 355 (Eumeneia, christl.). M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, Mainz 1986, 109 Nr. 253 (Kotiaion, ein Aelius).

Γάβιλλα: *Rep.*[2] 336 aus Kyzikos. 499 aus Lydien. Dazu noch *TAM* V 84 (Saittai, 211/212 n. Chr.) vgl. *EpAnat*. 31 (1999) 104. *SEG* XLVIII 1467 (Saittai, 224/225 n. Chr.).

Gaetulianus: *BMNWB* 6 (1981), 477ff Nr. 2 (non vidi) vgl. M. Minkova, *The Personal Names of the Latin Inscriptions in Bulgaria*, Frankfurt am Main 2000, 173.

Gaetulicianus: *AE* 2001, 2109 (Tubusuctu, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *d. m. s. C. Fontei Cerealis Gaetuliciani aequiti(s) Romani*. Läßt sich ungezwungen als Ableitung aus *Gaetulicus* deuten. Auch wenn zweites Cognomen, besteht kein Grund, an den rein cognominalen Charakter zu zweifeln und hier ein Ethnikon zu sehen.

Gaiana: Kajanto 172 mit vier Belegen neben dem üblicheren Männernamen *Gaianus*. Häufig im Osten: *MAMA* V 185. VI 274. 301. 315.

Gailla: Kajanto 172 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *BRGK* 27, 172. *MAMA* VII 508. VIII 370. *I. Sultan Dağı* I (IK 62) 100 (Philomelion). Kaum als kleinasiatisch zu erklären.

Galba: *Rep*. 336. Dazu *SEG* XLII 580 C 68 (Kalindoia, zwischen 68–98 n. Chr.) Λ. Σουλπίκιος Γάλβας. Kann der Mann seinen Namen vom Proconsul Achaiae C. Sulpicius Galba (cos. 22; wenn er dies war) her haben (man beachte aber die verschiedenen Vornamen)? Oder haben seine Eltern ihm das Cognomen in Erinnerung an einen berühmten Sulpicius Galba

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[19] Zu *Frontinus* vgl. M. Niedermann, *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à A. Ernout*, Paris 1940, 269.

aufgelegt? Dabei böten sich etwa Ser. Sulpicius Galba, der gegen Perseus gekämpft hatte und der der Nachwelt als größter Redner seiner Zeit galt, oder aber der Kaiser, dessen Geschicke in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jh. wohl allgemein im Umlauf waren.

Gavianus: Kajanto 147. Dazu *I. Kibyra-Olbasa* (s. *Arctos* 35 [2001] 207) 144 (222/235 n. Chr.).

Γεμελλίων: *Rep*. 338 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *TAM* V 852.

Germanicus: Kajanto 201 mit sechs Belegen ausserhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu Drew-Bear, *Nouv. inscr. Phrygie* (1978) 108 N. 47 (Eumeneia).

Γλαβριωνιανός: *SEG* XLIX 1701(Thyateira; derselbe Text in einem fragmentarischen Exemplar ist seit alters bekannt: *TAM* V 971) Λ. Βήδιος Καπίτων Γ., ὁ κράτιστος, λογιστής (*PIR*[2] C 411). Vgl. den entsprechenden Frauennamen Γλαβριωνιανή *Rep*.[2] 499f. (auch aus der gens Vedia, wohl Ephesierin).

Hadrianus -a: Kajanto 187. Dieses Cognomen ist nicht besonders populär geworden; Kajanto verzeichnet ausserhalb des Senatorenstandes sechs Männernamenbelege und einen Frauennamenbeleg (dazu 3 christl.).[20] Hier sei nur bemerkt, daß der Name einigermassen im griechischen Osten belegt ist: a) Männername: Athen 6mal belegt, 3. Jh. (s. *LGPN* II 9). *SEG* L 657, 227 (Drypia in Thrakien, christl.). Bandy, *Greek Chr. Inscr. of Crete* 1 (1970) 68; ausserdem in Sizilien 3mal in christlichen Inschriften: s. *LGPN* III A, 15. Kleinasien: *I. Sultan Dağı* I (IK 62) 88 (Philomelion). – b) Frauenname: *MAMA* VII 414 (Phrygien). *SEG* L 1287 (Phrygien). – c) fragmentarisch, Sexus unbekannt: *MAMA* III 202 (Korykos). Die Gründe für den Gebrauch des Namens im griechischen Bereich sind evident.

Ἁδριᾶς: *SEG* XVI 348 (Antikyra in Phokis) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἁδριᾶς.[21] *MAMA* VIII 265 (Perta in Lykaonien) (überl. Dat. ΑΔΡΙΑ). Wohl aus *Hadrianus* mit dem griechischen hypokoristischen Suffix -ᾶς abgeleitet; jedenfalls sehe ich keine andere Erklärungsmöglichkeit.

Hilaricus: *AE* 2001, 2115 (Tubusuctu) <*C.?*> *Iulius C. f. Ilaricus*. Zum Suffix *-icus* s. oben zu *Arcaricus* und unten zu *Sternicus*. Vgl. auch *Hilaric(u)lus* Kajanto 260.

Honorinus: Kajanto 279 mit 7 Männernamen- und vier Frauennamenbelegen. Dazu zwei Männernamenbelege: U. Ciotti,

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[20] Kajantos Angaben hinzuzufügen: *ICUR* 13130 *Hadri*<*a*>*ne*.

[21] In *LGPN* III B, 15 wird falsch Ἁδρίας akzentuiert.

Hommages à M. J. Vermaseren, 1978, 234 (Carsulae) *Ti. Lepidius Honorinus*, Mithrasverehrer, 3. Jh. n. Chr. *AE* 2001, 1275 (Graffito auf einer Platte, gef. in Britannien).

Ingenuinus: Kajanto 315 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu Pais 610 (aus Celeia). *Bölcske* (s. unten zu *Iuliacensis*) 41. *RIB* 123 (fem.). 358.

Invictus: Kajanto 277 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XLV 1381, 101 (Lipara) Λ. Νεάρχιος Ἴνβικτος.

Iovianus: Kajanto 212 mit sechs heidnischen Belegen. dazu *SEG* XLIX 978 (Serdica, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.).

Iuliacensis: G. Alföldy, in *Bölcske. Römische Inschriften und Funde*, hrsg. von Á. Szabó und E. Tóth (Libelli Archaeologici, ser. nov. 2), Budapest 2003, 219–228 *T. Karinius Iuliacen[sis domo] Arelate ex provin[cia Nar]bon(ensi), b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) p(iae) f(idelis)* (191 n. Chr.; der Stein stammt aus Campona). Zur Erklärung des Namens vgl. die Ausführungen von Alföldy 224f.

Ἰουλιάδης: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 203. 36 (2002) 112. Üblich im Bosporanischen Reich: 5mal in *CIRB*. *Studia Pontica* III (1910) 181 (Pimolisa in Paphlagonien).

Ἰουλιάς: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 203 mit einem Beleg unbestimmter Herkunft aus Kleinasien. Dazu *TAM* IV 1, 375 = *IJO* II 155 (eine Aurelia). *MAMA* I 28 (Laodicea Combusta, christl.). *SEG* XLVI 1995, 10 (Golan, christl.).

Iustilla: Kajanto 252 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *MAMA* VI 187 (Apameia Phryg.). *SEG* XLIX 1805, 164 (Phrygien).

Iuventianus: Kajanto 148 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *MAMA* VI 285 Εἰουεντιανός.

Iuventinus: Kajanto 162 mit sieben Männrnmen- und fünf Frauennamenbelegen. Dazu *PLRE* III760. *TAM* V 1122.

Labicula: s. unten 192.

Λαιλιανή: *Arctos* 37 (2003) 180 mit zwei Belegen aus Athen. Dazu *TAM* V 943 (eine Aurelia).

Laevianus: Kajanto 148 mit einem Beleg. Dazu ein Λαιβιανός Καλλιστράτου aus Thyateira: *TAM* V 982. 983. 1012. S. 312.

Libella: Kajanto 343 mit fünf (teilweise unsicheren) Belegen. Dazu *IDR* III 5, 71 (Apulum, Sklave des Statthalters, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.).

Λικιννιανός –ή. Dies ist eine übliche Form in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri, z. B. *IG* IV 717. *FD* III 4, 260f. *SEG* XVII 165

(Hermione). *ISM* II 381. Paton - Hicks 141. *I. Pergamon* 513 (zweimal, 1 Mann, 1 Frau). *I. Smyrna* 595. *TAM* II 406. V 1 p. 166 (Münzmeister in Maionia). *P. Lond*. 113. Lateinisch: in den Digesten 5, 3, 7, 1 wird *quidam Licinnianus* erwähnt. Auch der Gentilname selbst wird des öfteren Λικίννιος geschrieben: die athenischen Belege in S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens*, Louvain 2003, 342-348; üblich auch in Kleinasien, etwa in Oinoanda (s. *IGRR* III 482–502), sonst z. B. *TAM* II 905. 1046. 1194–5. V 987. 1022, usw.[22] So auch in lateinischer Schrift.[23] Die Schreibung des Gentilnamens mit der Gemination ist auch in lateinischen Inschriften des Westens belegt;[24] ferner in juristischen Quellen, bei Gaius und in den Digesten in guter Überlieferung.[25] Es wäre interessant, die Belege zusammenzustellen und auf ihre geographische und administrative Herkunft hin zu erklären (eine gute Zahl von *-nn-* stammt aus Kaisernamen in Meilensteinen). Die Verwendung von *-nn-* hängt damit zusammen, daß das *i* vor *n* kurz ist; auf ähnliche Weise wird besonders im griechischen Osten oft *Atinnius, Stertinnius, Titinnius* usw. geschrieben.

Lolliana: Kajanto 149. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 205. Dazu noch *IG* XII 6, 373. 384.

Longianus: Kajanto 149 = 231 mit einem Beleg aus dem Jahre 406. Dazu *MAMA* VIII 418 (Aphrodisias) Γάιος Ἰο[ύ]λιος Λογγιανός.

Λόγγιλλα: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 205. Dazu *MAMA* VII 70 (Laodicea

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[22] Bei Einwohnern im Westen z. B. ein Placentiner bei Phleg. Trall. *FGrHist*. 2 B 257 fr. 37.

[23] Im östlichen Reichsteil z. B. *CIL* III 184 = *IGLS* VII 4028. *AE* 1961, 88 (Asia). 1967, 495 = 1999, 1661 (Antiochia Pisid.). 1981, 750 (Tomi). 1985, 813 (Galatien). 1990, 813 (Galatien). *EKM* 482. *IGLS* 71. *MAMA* I 19. VII 8. VIII 8.

[24] Mir sind bekannt *CIL* III 7811. VI 13341. 21347. *AE* 1978, 630 (Carnuntum).

[25] Licinnius Fronto (*PIR* ^{2} L 199) in Ulp. *dig*. 4, 4, 18, 3; er kann aber die Gemination aus dem Osten mitgebracht haben, wenn er zur Familie der Licinnii Frontones in Oinoanda gehörte. Licinnius Lucusta (*PIR*^{2} L 207) in *dig*. 31, 48. Interessant ist der Senator und Jurist M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus (zu seinen Vornamen vgl. O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* 416), gebürtig wahrscheinlich aus Thyateira (*PIR*^{2} L 236), dessen Gentilname inschriftlich oft mit der Gemination geschrieben wird, so auch in den Digesten (wie auch im Namen seines mutmasslichen Vorvaters M. Licinnius Rufinus *TAM* II 1194f und in dem seines gleichnamigen Sohnes *IGRR* IV 1217); es wäre demnach zu erwägen, als die "Normalform" seines Gentilnamens *Licinnius* festzulegen. Ferner *lex Licinnia* öfters in den Digesta und bei Gaius. Und zuletzt sei noch darauf hingewiesen, daß der Name der Licinia, Frau des C. Gracchus, deren Mitgiftfrage in den Digesten 24, 3, 66 pr. besprochen wird, dort in der Form *Licinnia* überliefert ist.

Combusta) Αὐρ. Λονγίλλῃ. VIII 129 (Lykaonien, Aurelia).

Λωρεντιανός: *I. Perge* 457 Αὐρ. Λωρεντιανὸς Μᾶρκος. Kajanto 182 kennt einen (dazu fragmentarischen) Belege von *Laurentianus*, unser Name ist aber eher zum Gentilnamen *Lorentius* zu stellen, denn *Laurentius* selbst ist spätes Gebilde, während die Inschrift aus Perge noch aus dem 2. Jh. stammen kann.

Lucas: *Rep*. 353. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 205. Dazu (nicht-christliche Belege) *EE* VIII 3, 477. *CIG* 4759. 4700k. Kleinasien: Amisos: *SEG* XXXVII 1087 (2./3. Jh.). Thyateira: *SEG* XLIX 1712. Antiochia Pisid.: W. M. Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discoveries on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, London 1915, 370–384; dazu noch *SEG* XXXI 1142. Ägypten: *CIG* 4700k. 4759. Kyrenaika: *SB* 224 = *SEG* XXVII 1156 = Lüderitz 3.

Luciana: Kajanto 172 mit fünf Belegen neben dem üblicheren Männernamen *Lucianus*. Dazu *MAMA* X 358.

Lucias fem.: *Rep*. 353. Dazu *SEG* XL 1104 (Lydien, 130/1 n. Chr.).

Lupianus: Kajanto 327 mit neun Belegen (davon 4 christl.). Dazu *I. Pergamon* 461 (vielleicht auch in 553B) Κλαύδιος Λουπιανός (kein Ortsbewohner). Le Bas 1723b (Pergamon).

Lutatianus: Kajanto 149 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.*[2] 500 aus Sinope. Dazu *MAMA* I 60*a* (Laodicea Combusta) Φλ. Λυτατιανὸς ᾿Αλεξάνδρου πολίτης (der Mann war entweder Bürger von Laodicea oder stammte aus Alexandrien).

Μάκελλα(?): *SEG* XLVIII 1517 (Philomelion in Phrygien) Αὐρ. Μ. Kajanto 244 verzeichnet die Männernamen *Macellus* (2mal) und *Macellio* (1mal).Was besonders den griechichen Beleg angeht, würde man eher für eine Variante von *Marc*- optieren.

Maiorianus: Kajanto 294 mit 2 Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 4 Albingaunum 30 (christl.).

Maiula: Kajanto 167 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 390 (Rom) *Maiola*.

Maiulus: Kajanto 167 mit drei heidnischen und drei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 26315.

Mamertinus: Kajanto 212. Dazu *SEG* XLVI 2089 (Ägyptier, ein Aurelius).

Mamilla: *ILAlg*. II 8819 *Clodia L. f. Mamilla*. Bezeichnungen von Körperbestandteilen sind gelegentlich zu Cognomina geworden (*Barba,* *Bucca, Coma, Corculum, Crus*). üblich sind solche Namen nie gewesen, der Typ existiert aber.

Μαρκελλάς: M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, Mainz 1986, 212 Nr. 534 (Amorion in Phrygien, 3. Jh.). Zum Suffix vgl. unten Βαλεριάς.

Mariscus: Kajanto 334 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *I. Beroia* 497, Gladiator aus Arpi in Apulien, 2. Jh. n. Chr.

Maritus -a: Kajanto 305 mit fünf Männernamen- und zwei Frauennamenbelegen. Dazu *TAM* IV 1, 153 (eine Aelia).

Matronianus: Kajanto 305 mit fünf späten Belegen. Dazu *SEG* L 1295 (Hyia in Pisidien) (in der Erstpublikation [vgl. *SEG* XIX 865] wurde Μητρωνιανός gelesen; wenn Μα- stimmt, ist der Name als lateinisch einzustufen). *SEG* XLVII 2021 (Gadara, spät).

Mercatio: *AE* 1929, 161 (Trebula Mutuesca) *T. Zonius Mercatio*.

Μεσσικᾶς: *MAMA* III 619 (Korykos, christl.) Μεσσικᾶ ἱματιοπρά(του). Möglicherweise Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Messius* über *Messicus* (*Rep*. 362, wo auch die Weiterbildung *Messicius*).

Miles: Kajanto 320 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep*. 363 (aus Rom). Dazu *Bölcske* (s. oben zu *Iuliacensis*) 139–141 Nr. 33–35 (derselbe noch *CIL* XVI 113, Präfekt der *coh(ors) III Bat(avorum) mil(liaria) eq(uitata)*.

Minutalis: Conc. Aurel. a. 541, p. 145, 90 *Minutalis presbyter, civitatis Cadurcis*. Gebildet aus dem späten und seltenen sekundären Adjektiv *minutalis*.

Montanilla: Kajanto 309 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *Inscr. It*. III 1, 62 (Volcei). *IDR* III 5, 581 (Apulum, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Μοσκιλιανός: *TAM* V 1116 (Thyateira, Sohn einer Claudia). Man wäre versucht, den Namen als lateinisch aufzufassen und etwa zu *Musc(u)lus -a* zu stellen, wenn nicht zu einem unbelegten Gentilnamen **Muscilius* (vgl. *Muscius, Muscinius* und besonders *Musculeius*).

Murensis: Kajanto 210 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2001, 1182 (Ilipula, Baetica, 5./ 6. Jh.).

Mutata: *Rep*.[2] 501 aus Britannien. Dazu *MAMA* I 262 (Laodicea Combusta, 3. Jh.). Kajanto 353 (ein Nachtrag in *Rep*. 366) kennt nur den Männernamen *Mutatus*.

Narbonensis: Kajanto 202 mit vier sicheren Belegen. Dazu *Graff. Pal*. I 21. 34. 43. 44 (kaiserlicher Sklave und aus der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr., Herkunft aus der Narbonensis möglich, wenn auch unbeweisbar).

Natalianus: Kajanto 290 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Epigraphica* 13 (1951) 124 (Rom, Eques singularis).

Nerucio: *AE* 2001, 940 (Iguvium, Freigelassener, Lesung sicher). Man wäre versucht, das sonst nirgends belegte Cognomen zu einem ebenfalls unbelegten Gentilnamen **Nerucius* zu stellen. Dies ist eine gut mögliche Bildung, vgl. *Nerullius, Nerusius, Nerutius*, mit Belegen auch aus Mittelitalien.

Nerulla: Kajanto 176 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *PIR*^{2} M 485, eine clarissima femina, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.

Νέρβιλλα(?): *I. Perinthos* 216 Akk. Νέρβειλαν (Mutter Domitinana). Im Lateinischen war *Nervilla* bisher nicht belegt, doch leicht erklärbar als Ableitung aus *Nerva*. Eine kleinasiatische Erklärung kommt kaum in Frage, noch weniger eine griechische.

Νιγερίων: *SEG* XLVI 800 (Pydna) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νιγερ[ί]ων. Vgl. *Nigrio* Kajanto 228 mit einem Beleg.

Numerianus: Kajanto 151. Dazu *SEG* XXXVIII 1493 (Syedra, ἀγωνοθέτης). XLVIII 1942, 8 (Samra in Arabien) Νομερειανός.

Numidianus: Kajanto 151 = 206 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 98 (*Nymidianus*).

Νουντιανή: *I. Perge* 413 ᾿Ανθεστία N. Eine große Überraschung, denn eine Namensippe *Nuntius* war bisher unbekannt. An sich wäre *nuntius* kein unpassendes Namenwort, aus einem Grund waren aber davon gebildete Personennamen bisher nicht bekannt. Launen der Namengebung.

Olbiensis: *Epigraphica* 65 (2003) 136–138 Nr. 4 (Carales) *M. Isteius Ulbieses*. Weil der Mann aus Carales kommt, denkt man als Namenquelle zunächst die sardische Stadt. Auch das Suffix ist lateinisch.

Olivola: *Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 73 *Avillia Olivola*. Vgl. *Olivula* in *Rep.* 372 aus *ICUR* 23583.

᾿Οπικός: *SEG* XLV 1381, 43 (Lipara, vielleicht späthellenist.). M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, Mainz 1986, 52 Nr. 45 (ca. Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Ich würde dieses Cognomen zum alten Namen der Osker stellen (vgl. Fest. p. 189). Diese Bezeichnung lebt im Lateinischen als Adjektiv *opicus -a* in der Bedeutung "altfränkisch, roh(sinnig)" weiter.[26] Verwandte Bedeutungen sind auch in der griechischen Literatur vorhanden, einen kaiserzeitlichen Namenbeleg würde ich aber als lateinisch auffassen.

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[26] Die Belege in *ThLL* IX 2, 702f.; füge hinzu *CIL* IV1343a, wo wahrscheinlich der Vokativ *opice* vorliegt (von mir am Original verglichen).

Optimus -a: Kajanto 276 (mit sechs Frauennamenbelegen). Dazu *I. Sinope* 158 Ὀφιλλία Ὄπτουμα.

Otacilianus: Kajanto 152. *Rep.*² 501. Dazu noch *I. Pergamon* 361f. 374A 8 (hadrianisch).

Palatinus: Kajanto 184. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 213. Dazu noch *SEG* L 1253 (Dokimeion, ca. 130–135 n. Chr.).

Patavinus: Kajanto 197 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ZPE* 134 (2001) 226 (215–225 n. Chr., Prätorianer aus Serdica).

Pilatus: Kajanto 354 mit drei Belegen. Üblich in Ägypten, s. *Arctos* 6 (1969) 110. Dazu *SEG* XLIX 2365, 38 (Kleinasien).

Placentinus -a: Kajanto 197 mit 7 Männernamen- und 2 Frauennamenbelegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 568 (Rom, 1 Männername, 1 Frauenname).

Placidina: Kajanto 262 mit drei Belegen (der Männername *Placidinus* ist etwas üblicher). Dazu *ICUR* 27046. *MAMA* VII 206 (christl.).

Plancianus: Kajanto 241 mit zwei Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Rep.*² 502. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 214. Dazu *I. Perge* 175. 176 (ein Aelius).

Planta: Kajanto 337. Dazu *TAM* II 853 (Μᾶρκος Κίρνιος).

Plautilla: Kajanto 169 = 242. Dazu *MAMA* VII 18 (Laodicea Combusta).

Plotiana: Kajanto 153 mit einem Beleg neben dem üblicheren Männernamen *Plotianus*. Dazu *I. Beroia* 122 (3. Jh.). *SEG* XLIX 814 (Thessalonike, 2./3. Jh.).

Πλωτιάς: M. Waelkens, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, Mainz 1986, 60 Nr. 80 (Aizanoi, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Πλωτινάς: *I. Perinthos* 175 Πλωτεινάδι Περινθίᾳ.[27] Zum Suffix vgl. unten zu Βαλεριάς (unter *Val-*).

Plotio: *Rep.*² 380 (aus Ägypten). 502. Dazu *CIRB* 702 (2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Πωλάς: *I. Kios* 64 Dat. Πωλάδι.

Πωλλάς: R. Heberdey - A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien, ausgeführt 1891 und 1892* (DAW 44, 6), Wien 1896, 65 Nr. 140 Dat. Πωλλάτι.

Pollianus: Kajanto 153 mit acht Männernmenbelegen und einem Frauennamenbeleg. Dazu als Männername *I.Magnesia* S. XXIV. *I. Perg.* 374 (2mal). *I. Kyzikos* 16. 193. 408; als Frauenname *I. Smyrna* 261.

Πωλλιττᾶς oder **Πωλλιττάς**: *SEG* XLIX 1648 (Philadelpheia in

[27] Im Index S. 449 ist der Nominativ falsch als Πλωτεῖνα gegeben.

Lydien) ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΠΩΛΛΙΤΑΤΑ. Der Name wäre im Akkusativ; die Erklärung ist nicht ganz sicher, doch plausibel (in *SEG* wird auf eine weitere Möglichkeit verwiesen).

Pomponiana: Kajanto 153 mit zwei Belegen neben dem üblicheren Männernamen *Pomponianus*. Dazu *I. Canusium* 116.

Ποπλᾶς: *Rep*. 381. Dazu *MAMA* V 235 (Nakoleia).

Potens: Kajanto 247 mit hauptsächlich Männernamenbelegen; als Frauenname von ihm zweimal verzeichnet. Dazu *ICUR* 12892 (christl., 2. Jh.).

Potentissimus: Conc. Cabil. a. 647–653, p. 309, 158 *Potentissimus episcopus ecclesie Vappensis*.

Potitianus: Kajanto 354 mit sechs Belegen ausserhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *MAMA* VIII 593 (Aphrodisias).

Praetextatus: Kajanto 300. Dazu *TAM* V 885.

Praetorianus: Kajanto 317 mit drei Männernamen- und zwei Frauennamenlebegen. Dazu *ILAlg* II 7943 a–b (Cuicul). Unsicher bleibt *CIL* IX 5844, wo eher *praetorianus* vorliegt.

Praetorinus -a: Kajanto 317 mit drei Männernamenbelegen und einem Frauennamenbeleg. *Rep*.[2] 502 aus Amasia. Dazu *I. Sinope* 130 Φούλβιος Πραιτωρεῖνος. ebda. 145 *Ofillius Praetorinus*. Frauenname *AE* 1996, 1209 (Salona, Sklavin).

Πριμάς: Kajanto 276 mit einem Beleg. Dazu L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie mineure*, Paris 1962[2], 363 (Pisidien).

Πριμιλλιανή: *I. Beroia* 334 (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) Πρειμιλλιανῷ Κουρτίῳ Πρειμιλλιανὴ Διονυσία τῷ πάτρωνι ἥρωι. Auch der Männername nur selten belegt, Kajanto 291 verzeichnet einen (christlichen) Beleg. Aber in Beroia würde man die Belege als Gentilnamen auffassen; gerade in Makedonien waren die mit dem Suffix *-ianus* versehenen Gentilnamen verbreitet.

Principianus: Kajanto 291 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VIII 5880.

Priscillianus: Kajanto 288. Dazu *TAM* V 957 (Thyateira) Vater und Sohn aus der lokalen Oberschicht.

Probata: Kajanto 276 mit acht Belegen neben dem üblicheren Männernamen *Probatus*. Dazu *I. Apollonia* 180 (Vater Κλαύδιος Θεόμνηστος).

Procillianus: Kajanto 177 mit einem Beleg (neben zwei Belegen auf *-l-*). Dazu *I. Pergamon* 374A 28 (hadrianisch).

! *Propinquianus* in *Rep*. 385 jetzt *I. Perge* 173, also aus Perge.

Publiana: Kajanto 153 = 174 mit drei Belegen neben dem üblicheren Männernamen *Publianus*. Dazu *TAM* V 168a (Saittai, 199/200 n. Chr.) Ποπλι[α]νή.

Publicianus: Kajanto 153 mit zwei Belegen *Rep.*[2] 502. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 215. Dazu noch *TAM* V 481 (2mal). 717 Ποπλικιανός.

Purpureus: *CIL* VI 10206 I (Gladiator). Zu *purpureus* zu stellen, nicht mit *Purpurius* Kajanto 230 zu verbinden. Freilich ist die Inschrift spät (um 300 n. Chr.), so daß an sich das späte Suffix *-ius* vorliegen könnte, da aber nun einmal *-eus* geschrieben wurde, ist es vorzuziehen, daran festzuhalten.

Purpuria: *Cod. Vat. Lat*. 11698 f. 276 (Rom) *Purpuria Cerelli*, also Sklavin (deswegen wohl nur als Variante von *-ea* zu bewerten, nicht als eine mit dem späten Suffix *-ia* versehene Bildung). Kajanto 230 verzeichnet nur den Männernamen *Purpurius*.

Purpurio: Kanto 230 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 9077.

Quadratianus: Kajanto 232. *Rep*. 388. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 215. Dazu noch *ICUR* 20485 (*Aur(elius)*, centurio praefecti praetorii). *TAM* V 553 Πο. Κλ. Στλάκκιος Κοδρατιανός.

Quadratinus: Kajanto 233 mit einem Beleg aus Gallia cisalpina. Dazu *ICUR* 17995.

Κοδρατίων: So wird das Cognomen eines Consularis bei Philostr. *VS* 2, 6 wiedergegeben; wohl derselbe wie Aristeides' Freund Quadratus (Arist. *or*. 47, 22. 50, 63–65. 71. 100) und Statius Quadratus, Konsul 142 und Prokonsul von Asien 156/7 (vgl. *PIR*[2] 1). *Quadratio*, ansonsten nirgends belegt, wird eine Art Kosename sein.

Quartianus: Kajanto 293 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *IGRR* IV 665 (Diokleia in Phrygien, 241/2 n. Chr.) Κουαρτιανός, Asiarch.

Rectinus: *Rep*. 390 aus Telesia in Italien; vgl. *Rectina* Kajanto 252 mit sechs Belegen, vornehmlich aus den europäischen Provinzen. Dazu R. Heberdey - A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien, ausgeführt 1891 und 1892* (DAW 44, 6), Wien 1896, 39 Nr. 95 (ein T. Flavius); für die Namensippe *Rectus* ist keltische Zuweisung geltend gemacht, der Name unseres Mannes ist aber lateinischer Herkunft, da Ῥηκτ- geschrieben (in den keltischen Namen scheint das *e* kurz zu sein).[28]

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[28] Zur keltischen Namensippe vgl. K. H. Schmidt, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen*, Tübingen 1957, 98f. 257.

Regallianus: *AE* 2001, 2161 *C. Cassius Regallianus*, Konsul 202 n. Chr. Ein Vorfahre des Gegenkaisers Regalianus,[29] der auch ein nur dort bezeugtes Cognomen führt (Kajanto 316).

Reginianus: Kajanto 154. Dazu *MAMA* VII 80 (Laodicea Combusta) Αὐρήλιος Ῥεγινιανός.

Regulianus: Kajanto 317 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 185. Dazu *TAM* IV 1, 150 Ῥηγλιανὸς ἱππῶν οἰκονόμος.

Reverius: A. Ferrua, *Palladio* n. s. 13 (1963) 18 (ein Pilgergraffito aus Cimitile, d. h. Nola, 4. Jh., Lesung sicher, von mir kontrolliert) *Reverius votum [solvit?]*. Ich stelle den Namen zu *revereor*. Aus Verbstämmen wurden nicht ganz selten neue Namen auf *-ius* gebildet: etwa *Benagius* (wenn aus *bene agere*), *Desiderius, Explicius, Indagius Impendius, Possidius, Refrigerius, Sternutius* (wenn nicht Weiterbildung aus **Sternutus*)*, Subicius, Vigilius* und andere vertreten diese Kategorie von neuen Namen, bei denen das Suffix direkt dem Verbstamm angehängt wurde. Es sei noch erwähnt, daß ähnlich gebildete Namen auch in der griechischen Namengebung der späteren Kaiserzeit in Gebrauch kamen und einige von ihnen sogar populär wurden, wie etwa *Gelasius -ia Hyperechius -ia*.

Rhenus: Kajanto 203 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1931, 10 = 1933, 154 = 1975, 396 (Brixellum, Freigelassener). *BRGK* 17, 176 (Germ. sup., 2./3. Jh.).

R(h)odanius: Kajanto 203 mit einem Beleg (ein gallischer Bischof 356 n. Chr.). Dazu C. Carletti, *RAC* 79 (2003) 52 Nr. 5 (Rom, 375 n. Chr.).

Romanianus: Kajanto 154 = 182 mit sieben Belegen (davon 5 aus Afrika). Dazu *NSc*. 1923, 32 (Rom).

Rugianus: Kajanto 237 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu *PIR*[2] R 209 (Senator, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.).

Rutilianus: Kajanto 154 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu öfters im griechichen Osten: *I. Kyzikos* 444. *I. Pisid. Cen*. 34–41. *I. Perge* 136.

Rutilus: Kajanto 230 mit fünf Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *SEG* XLIX 1867 (Termessos) Ἀπολλώνιος Τροκονδου Ἀπολλωνίου Ῥοτείλου (hierher gehörig?).

!*Salus*: Kajanto 232 mit vier Belegen, davon 1 Männername, 1 Frauenname, zwei unsicheren Sexus. Auszuscheiden aber der

[29] Vgl. W. Eck, *ZPE* 139 (2002) 209.

Frauennamenbeleg *CIL* VI 33154, denn dort ist *Salvi(a)* zu lesen.[30] Dafür tritt als sicherer Beleg für den Frauennamen *MAAR* 10 (1932) 82 (Rom). *Salus* gehört prinzipiell zu den aus Abstarakta gebildeten Cognomina, die Communia sind, *Salus* aber ist nur ein einziges Mal mit Sicherheit überliefert, und zwar in der gerade erwähnten stadtrömischen Inschrift; all die von Kajanto angeführten Belege sind entweder unsicher oder lassen sich als Männernamen mit *Salvus* gleichsetzen.

Saluta: Kajanto 177 mit 7 Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 4 Sulmo 76.

Salvitto: Kajanto 177 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* XV 2419. *AE* 1974, 222 vgl. H. S., *Analecta epigraphica* 70 und 381. Möglicherweise auch in *CIL* VI 18892 vorhanden, vgl. H. S., *Analecta epigraphica* 218.

Σάλουιττος: *SEG* XLVI 1125 (Kos) Gen. Σαλουίττου. Neben *Salvitto* Kajanto 177 und *Salvitta* (vgl. H. S., *Analecta epigraphica* 381) eine wohl mögliche Bildung.

Sanctianus: Kajanto 252 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep*. 396. Dazu *I. Perge* 276 (zwei Brüder).

Sedecianus: *Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 203 *[--- S]edecianus*. Die Ergänzung ist sicher, vgl. *CIL* IX 6406, wo *Sedecianus* als Gentilname gebraucht wird.

Selicianus: *I. Sinope* 214 *L.(?) Callius Selicianu[s]*.[31] Aus dem Gentilnamen *Selicius* abgeleitet. Es könnte sich um einen Soldaten handeln (vgl. oben zu *Fadus*), so daß die Annahme lokaler Selicii sich dadurch erübrigt.

Sementivus Sementinus: s. *ZPE* 148 (2004) 277f. [Ungenau *Arctos* 35 (2001) 218f.]

Seranus: *Rep*. 401. Dazu *Tyche* 11 (1996) 47 (Siscia); dort zur Herkunft des Namens).

Σεργωνᾶς: *SEG* XLVI 1985 (Golan, 5./ 6. Jh.) wohl Gen. Σεργωνᾶ. Wie der folgende Name, zu *Sergius* zu stellen, und zwar mit zweifachem Suffix -ωνᾶς gebildet. Als Vorbild konnte dienen der populäre griechische Name Θεωνᾶς; wir erhalten das Gleichnis θεός > Θέων > Θεωνᾶς : der Heiligenname Σέργιος > *Σέργων > Σεργωνᾶς.

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[30] Zur Geschichte dieses Namens s. H. S., "Spes", in: *Utriusque linguae peritus. Studia in honorem T. Viljamaa* (Annales Univ. Turkuensis B 219), Turku 1997, 8.

[31] Der Vorname ist I überliefert, was am leichtesten als Verlesung eines L abzutun ist; und vgl. einen L. Callius in derselben Inschrift. Im Index S. 169 erklärt der Editor I als I(ulius), was absolut ausgeschlossen ist.

Σεργοῦς: *MAMA* III 710*b* (Korykos, christl.) Gen. Σεργοῦτος. 746B (ebda., christl.) Gen. Σεργοῦτως. Zum Suffix vgl. oben zu Δομναροῦς.

Serotini[anus?]: *AE* 2001, 1401 (Treveri) *L. Atrect[i] Serotini[ani]*. Wahrscheinlich so zu ergänzen;[32] die Editoren führen als erste Alternative *Serotini[us]* an, doch würde man an erster Stelle *Serotini[anus]* ergänzen, weil *-ianus* gegen Ende des 2. Jh., aus welcher Zeit die Inschrift stammt, noch vielfach üblicher war; auch scheint rechts (aus der folgenden Zeile zu schliessen) Raum für mehr als für einen Buchstaben zu sein.

Serotinus: Kajanto 295, der neben mehreren heidnischen Belegen nur einen christlichen verzeichnet. Dazu *MAMA* III 711 (Korykos) Σηρωτίνου ἀπὸ πρωτητόρων.

Sertoriana: Kajanto 155 mit einem Beleg neben dem sechsmal verzeichneten Männernamen *Sertorianus*. Dazu *CIL* II^2 7, 761. Der Männername noch *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 1. 2. 5.

Servulus/Servolus: Kajanto 314 mit zwei heidnischen Belegen (üblicher in christl. Urkunden). Dazu *CIL* II^2 7, 928 (ca. 100 n. Chr.). *NSc*. 1930, 383 (Altinum, Freigelassener).

Setianus: Kajanto 155 mit einem Beleg aus Hispanien. Dazu *TAM* V 549 (81/82 n. Chr.) Στατίλιος Σητιανός.

Σεβηρᾶς: *IPE* I^2 491 (Chersonesos) Σεβηρᾶς Λίλλωνος ὁ καὶ Λίλλις. Zum Suffix -ᾶς vgl. oben zu Κομιτᾶς.

Sextilianus: Kajanto 155 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XLVI 2207 (Kyrene, 172–175 n. Chr.).

Silianus: Kajanto 155. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 219. Dazu *I. Pergamon* 269. 310. 605. 637: Familie der Claudii Siliani.

Silvanensis: B. Gerov, in La romanisation entre le Danube et les Balkans (auf Bulg.), *Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet. Filol. Fak.* 48 (1952/53) 268 (Municipium Montanensium) *Silvanesis*.[33]

Silvanianus: Kajanto 155 = 213 mit drei Belegen. *Rep.*^{2} 503. Dazu *RAC* 48 (1972) 197 (Rom, heidnisch).

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[32] In der Editio princeps *BRGK* 40, 2 wird *L. Atrect[i] / Serotini [. f(ilii)]* ergänzt, doch braucht man für den Mann ein Cognomen. Dort wird ferner für *Serotinus* keltiche Herkunft erwogen, der Name ist aber lateinisch, genügend in der Stadt Rom belegt, um ihn im Grunde mit Weisgerber für römisch-italisch zu halten; eine andere Sache ist, daß er sich in keltischen Gebieten mit lokalem Stoff decken kann.

[33] Vgl. M. Minkova, *The Personal Names of the Latin Inscriptions in Bulgaria*, Frankfurt am Main 2000, 254.

Sospes: Kajanto 232 mit vier Belegen (davon zwei senatorisch). Dazu *IASLA* 68 (Sklave). In Athen 4mal in der Form Σῶσπις Σώσπιδος belegt (s. *LGPN* II 418; vornehmlich 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Ferner *Corinth* VIII 3, 226. *I. Beroia* 27 A 10 (um 200 n. Chr.). *MAMA* I 13 (Laodicea Combusta). VII 574 (Phrygien, ein Aurelius). *AE* 1997, 1481 = *SEG* XLVII 1825 (Ikonion) Μ. Αἴλιος Σῶσπις οὐετρανός ... Κλαυ(δίῳ) Σόσπιδι Βασιλεῖ καὶ Αἰλίᾳ Σωσφιτίλλῃ τῇ γυναικί μου. Man hat Σῶσπις für einen griechischen Namen gehalten,[34] aber für den lateinischen Charakter könnte der Umstand sprechen, daß die Belege durchweg kaiserzeitlich sind (und für das Griechische wäre er eine undurchsichtige Bildung). Was den Beleg aus Ikonion angeht, so spricht für den lateinischen Charakter das Cognomen der Frau, das kaum eine andere Erklärung gestattet als die Gleichsetzung mit *Sospitilla* (s. *Arctos* 35 [2001] 219);[35] und es kann sein, daß hier als Namenvorbild L. Caesennius Sospes, Legat von Galatien etwas vor 114 v. Chr. hat dienen können.[36] In den griechisch geschriebenen Belegen wird so gut wie durchweg (außer dem zweiten in der Inschrift aus Ikonion) ω gebraucht, und so wird das *o* auch im Lateinischen lang gewesen sein.

Spedianus: Kajanto 156 mit einem Beleg. Dazu Paton - Hicks 135 Τιβέριος Κλαυδιος ᾿Αλκιδάμου Τύλλος ᾿Ιουλιανὸς Σπεδιανὸς ᾿Αλλιανός. Kann ein leiblicher Sohn von M. Spedius Beryllus Allianus Iulianus Paton - Hicks 103 aus der lokalen Oberschicht von Kos sein.

Spesindeo: Kajanto 217 mit drei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *CIL* X 6762. *AE* 1974, 694 = 1981, 873 (prov. proc.). 1998, 812c (Britannia, Zinnstange). Daneben *Spendeus*, das zweifellos denselben Namen vertritt: *AE* 1993, 1729 (Mactar, *Isp-*). *ILT* 208. *I.Altava* 208 (*Spendeu*).

Statilianus: Kajanto 156 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *I. Klaudiu polis* 9.

Sternicus: *ICUR* 13447 (Lesung sicher). Da nicht griechisch deutbar, bleibt nur lateinische Herleitung übrig. Scheint zu *sterno* zu gehören. Freilich sind so gut wie alle mit dem Suffix *-icus* versehenen Cognomina

34 So C. Brixhe, in *Poikila epigraphica*, Paris 1997, 62–65, der die Inschrift neu publiziert hat.

35 Man fragt sich nur, woher die Frau ein Cognomen hat, welches aus derselben Wurzel stammt wie das ihres Mannes; war sie vielleicht seine Ex-Sklavin, die ihren Namen dem des Herrn verdankte?

36 Es war ein nicht seltener Namenbrauch in den östlichen Provinzen, daß die Cognomina römischer Statthalter in lokalen Familien modisch wurden; s. O. Salomies, ad *AE* 1997, 1481.

Ableitungen aus älteren Cognomina, und ich kenne kein einziges aus einem Verbstamm abgeleitetes Cognomen auf *-icus*. Da aber dieses Suffix sich in semantischer Sicht, zumal in der späteren Kaiserzeit, von anderen Suffixen wie *-ius*, kaum unterschied, das nicht selten direkt Verbstämmen angehängt wurde (s. oben zu *Reverius*), macht die Verbindung von *Sternicus* zu *sterno* plausibel. Ich notiere noch, daß ein zu *sterno* gehöriges Adjektiv bekannt ist, das seit Vergil belegte *sternax*. – Vgl. auch *Sternutius* in *ICUR* 23550 zu *sternuto* (oder Weiterbildung von **Sternutus*?).

Studentius: Kajanto 259 mit einem Männernamen- und einem Frauennamenbeleg. Dazu mask. *ICUR* 13101 (346 n. Chr.).

Studius: Kajanto 259 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu der Konsul 454 n. Chr.; die Belege in *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, by R. S. Bagnall - A. Cameron - S.R. Schwartz - K.A. Worp (Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 36), Atlanta 1987, 442; dort hinzuzufügen eine unveröffentlichte Inschrift aus Cimitile (d. h. Nola), von der kürzlich ein Photo von T. Lehmann publiziert wurde;[37] der Wortlaut ist ungefähr folgendermassen herzustellen: *[--- q]uae vixit a[nn. ---] / [---] d(eposita) IIII Nonas [---] / [consulatu Aetii et] Studii vv. c[c.]*.

Sucrinus: *CIL* IX 2787.[38] Mutet lateinisch an, aber Bezugspunkte sind schwierig zu finden. Vielleicht könnte man sich einen an sich unbelegten Gentilnamen *Sucrius* als Ausgangspunkt vorstellen. Kaum mit dem hispanischen Flußnamen *Sucro* oder dem von Verg. *Aen*. 12, 505 besungenen Rutuler Sucro zu verbinden.

Τακιτούρνους: *IDR* III 5, 370 (Apulum; ein Aurelius). Sein Sohn heißt Αὐ. Τάκιτους.

Taurio: Kajanto 329 mit fünf Belegen. *Rep*.^{2} 504 (= *ICUR* 27076). Dazu noch *IPO* A 213 (in Ostia schon aus *CIL* XIV 746 bekannt).

Tertianus: Kajanto 292. Dazu *I. Byzantion* 19 Λ. Μόλιος Τ. (vielleicht Vater, jedenfalls Verwandter Λ. Μόλιος Τέρτιος). *TAM* IV 1, 16.

Τερτιάς: *Rep*. 411 aus Ägypten. Dazu *TAM* IV 1, 305. Drew-Bear, *Nouv. inscr. Phrygie* (1978) 101 Nr. 38.

Thevestinus: Kajanto 207 (alle Afrikaner). Dazu *AE* 2001, 245 (Rom,

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37 In M. de Matteis - A. Trinchese (edd.), *Cimitile di Nola. Inizi dell'arte cristiana e tradizioni locali. Cimitile bei Nola. Anfänge der christlichen Kunst und lokale Überlieferungen* (Artificium. Schriften zur Kunst, Kunstvermittlung und Denkmalpflege 17), Oberhausen 2004, Abb. 8.

38 G. Camodeca hat mich auf diesen Beleg aufmerksam gemacht.

Vigil, aus severischer Zeit). Das Cognomen läßt afrikanische Herkunft erwägen.

Τιβεριάς: *SEG* XXXI 1513 (Eileithyiaspolis in Ägypten, ca. 2. Jh.) Gen. Τιβεριᾶτος (Mann Reiter der ala Commagenorum).

Tiberius: Kajanto 175. *Rep.*[2] 504. Einige Nachträge: in Athen dreimal belegt (ca. 80 bis 2. Jh.; s. *LGPN* II 427). Häufig in Termessos, s. *TAM* III 1 S. 337. Dazu noch etwa in Ephesos und Umgebung (s. *IvE* VIII 2, 194). Einzelbelege: *IG* IV 625 (Argos). X 2, 2, 325 (Stuberra, 74/75 n. Chr.) XII 3, 1233 (Melos). *IGRR* III 851 (Olba, ein P. Aelius). *MAMA* VIII 97 (Lykaonien, Τιβέρις παῖς). *IGLS* 2935b (Heliopolis, 2. Jh.). *SEG* XLVII (Abila in Syrien, 168/9 n. Chr.). XLIX 2038 (Caesarea Maritima).

Tribunus: *Rep.* 413. Dazu P. Themelis, *PAE* 2000 (ersch. 2003) 91f (Messene, Ephebenliste, 70 n. Chr.) col. I 28 Γ. Ἀγελήιος Τριβοῦνος.

Tutilla: *AE* 2001, 772 (Formiae, Freigelassene).[39] Zu *Tutus* Kajanto 280 (oder zum Gentilnamen *Tutius*).

Ulpiana: Kajanto 159 mit einem heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg neben dem üblicheren Männrnamen *Ulpianus*. Dazu *SEG* L 1451 (Sidon).

Urbanianus: *Rep.* 416 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XLVI 800 (Pydna, 250 n. Chr.) Οὐρβανιανὸς Βίλιστος. Doch eher ein Gentilname, vgl. oben zu Πριμιλλιανή.

Valentilla: Kajanto 247. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 223. Dazu *MAMA* I 14. 57. 100. 202(?). 302. 323. 362. 380.[40] VII 16. 242. 577–579. *I. Sultan Dağı* I (IK 62) 319 (Tyraion).

Οὐαρελιανός(?): *MAMA* I 232 (Laodicea Combusta, christl.). Ein Gentilname *Varelius* ist bisher unbelegt, dagegen ist *Varellius* aus *CIL* XI 985 bekannt (und nicht weit entfernt soll, laut der Ergänzung des Editors, das Cognomen [Οὐ]αρελλιανός aufgetaucht sein, doch ist hier eher Ἀρελλιανός zu verstehen; s. oben zu *Arellianus*). Obwohl *Varelianus* an sich eine mögliche Bildung darstellt, liegt hier doch wohl eher Οὐαλεριανός vor; ähnlich zu urteilen *MAMA* V 249. VII 351 Οὐαρέλιος. Reziproke Distanzmetathese ist bei den Liquidae nicht selten und kommt

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39 Vgl. *Rep.*[2] 504, wo der Beleg versehentlich ohne den Vermerk "Ineditum" registriert wurde.

40 Dagegen bleiben zwei weitere im Index von *MAMA* I S. 234 s. v. Αὐρήλιος verzeichnete Belege ganz unsicher als Zeugnisse vom Gebrauch des Namens in diesen Gegenden.

auch sonst in lateinischen Namen vor, z. B. Αὐλήριος (*MAMA* VII 580; öfters in Papyri), Κελεᾶρις usw.[41] – Eine weitere Variante desselben Namens in *MAMA* VII 570 Οὐαρυλιανός.

Βαλεριάς: *TAM* V 1086 (Thyateira). Wie bekannt, war das griechische Namensuffix -ᾶς produktiv in der Bildung lateinischer Männernamen (vgl. oben zu *Cordulas*). Auch das feminine Suffix -άς konnte lateinischen Namen angehängt werden, wie die folgende Liste mir bekannter Beispiele anschaulich macht: *Aelias*, Αἰμιλιάς, ʼΑντωνιάς, ʼΑπρωνιάς, *Aurelias, Bruttias, Clo<d>ias*, Δομιτιάς, Φαυστάς, ʼΙουλιάς, *Lucias*, Μαρκελλάς, Παυλάς, Πλωτιάς, Πλωτινάς, Πωλάς, Πωλλάς, Πριμάς, *Saenias*, Τερτιάς, Τιβεριάς. Das Suffix war sowohl im griechischen Osten als auch im lateinischen Westen in Gebrauch.[42]

Varianus: Kajanto 158. Dazu G. E. Bean - T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964*–1968 (DAW 102 = Ergänzungsbd. zu TAM 3), Wien 1970, 65 Nr. 38 (Archiater).

Vegetianus: s. unten S. 190.

Velatus: Kajanto 320 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2001, 1671 (Vetus Salina in der Pannonia inf.) *Aur(elius) Velat(us)(?)*.

Venetus: Kajanto 196. Dazu *I. Beroia* 178.

Verecundia: B. Gerov, in La romanisation entre le Danube et les Balkans (auf Bulg.), *Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet. Filol. Fak*. 48 (1952/53) 227 (3. Jh. n. Chr.).[43] Wegen der späten Zeit wohl als ein richtiges Cognomen zu bewerten, nicht als Gentilname in Funktion eines Cognomens.

Veriana: Kajanto 158 = 253 mit einem (christlichen) Beleg neben dem üblicheren Männernamen *Verianus*. *Rep.*^{2} 505. Dazu *SEG* XLVII 1583 (Lagina in Karien).

Vetustina: Kajanto 302 mit einem Beleg neben dem etwas üblicheren Männernamen *Vetustinus*. Dazu *CIL* II^2 5, 966.

Vincomalos: *Rep*. 423 mit einem afrikanischen Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2001, 1183, Bischof von Ilipula, geb. 424 n. Chr.

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[41] Die papyrologischen Belege in F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I, Milano 1976, 104.

[42] Zum Suffix und ihrer Verbreitung vgl. etwa L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 159. *Hellenica* XI–XII, Paris 1960, 392–394. XIII, Paris 1965, 256. *Bull. épigr*. 1959, 411. 1974, 330.

[43] Vgl. M. Minkova, *The Personal Names of the Latin Inscriptions in Bulgaria*, Frankfurt am Main 2000, 275.

Violentilla: Kajanto 268 mit drei sicheren belegen aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu *TAM* III 1, 390 Dat. Κλαυδίᾳ Βιολεντίλλῃ Ναννηλιδι, Artemispriesterin.

Vitula: Kajanto 329 mit vier Belegen beider Sexus. Dazu *AE* 2001, 1176 (Lusitanien, fem.).

CCXVII. FALSCHE NAMEN

Apotelesticus. In *CIL* VI 3623 endet die dritte Zeile mit APOTE. Mommsen schlägt vermutungsweise *Apote[lesticus lib.]* vor. Ein seltsamer Einfall des grossen Gelehrten, den der Editor besser hätte verschweigen sollen. Merkwürdigerweise hat ihn Vidman, wenn auch mit Fragezeichen, in seinem Cognominaindex weitergeschleppt. Da in der ganzen antiken Anthroponymie keine Namen auf *Apote-* bekannt sind, fragt man sich, ob in der nur von Emiliano Sarti gesehenen Inschrift eine Korruptel anzunehmen sei. Oder es liegt ein Name auf *Apothe-* vor; vgl. *Apotheca* als Cognomen eines Quattuorvir von Interamna Lirenas (*CIL* I^2 1542 = X 5190),[44] aber in einem ganz andersartigen intellektuellen Kontext.

Ἐγετιανός. Um dem weiteren Umlauf dieses in *SEG* L 1008B und S. 619 bekannt gemachten Namenbelegs sofort Einhalt zu gebieten, sei kurz darauf hingewiesen, daß es sich zweifellos um einen falschen Namen handelt. Er ist auf einer Bleischwere aus Kamarina in Sizilien überliefert; der Text der Erstpublikation durch V. Lavore bei G. Di Stefano, *AIIN* 46 (1999) 268 ist korrupt, und so ist auf den in der Form Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἐγετιανο(ῦ) wiedergegebenen Namen kein Verlaß. Wenn die erhaltenen Buchstaben richtig wiedergegeben worden sind, und wenn es erlaubt ist, anzunehmen, der Herausgeber habe am Anfang Buchstaben verkannt, dann könnte man an Οὐεγετιανός = *Vegetianus* denken. Dieses ist ein regelrechtes Cognomen, aus *Veget(i)us* abgeleitet, nicht oft belegt, jedoch eine gute lateinische Bildung.[45]

Pomerius. Dieser Name soll in einer gemalten Pinselinschrift auf einer in Magdalensberg gefundenen Amphora möglicherweise istrischer

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[44] Die Inschrift wurde in Casinum gefunden, das Quattuorvirpaar ist aber interamnatisch: H. Solin, "L'epigrafia dei villaggi del Cassinate ed Aquinate", in: *L'epigrafia del villaggio*, a cura di A. Calbi, A. Donati e G. Poma, Faenza 1993, 368f.

[45] Kajanto 158 = 247 kennt davon zwei Belege.

Herkunft vorliegen: G. Piccottini, *Archaeologia Austriaca* 84–85 (2000–2001) 379: *Vernioni Pome[rii] / olei f[los]*. Der Mann soll *Vernionius Pomerius* geheissen haben. Diese Deutung ist in *AE* 2000, 1162 akzeptiert worden. Verdächtig ist *Pomerius*, das nur aus Ennod. *epist.* 39 bezeugt ist und als eine mit dem spätantiken Suffix *-ius* versehene Ableitung aus *pomerium* erklärt wird (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 364), wäre also höchst überraschend in der viel älteren Amphoreninschrift. Anhand des beigefügten Photos liest man ohne Vorbehalt *Pomp[---]*.

CCXVIII. VERKANNTE NAMEN

Αἰμύλος. Dieser Name liegt wahrscheinlich vor in *MAMA* IV 19 σὺν Αἰμύλ[ῳ]. Die Editoren schreiben (im Index) Αἵμυλος, denken also möglicherweise an lat. *Aemulus*, denn ein Name auf Αἰμ- wäre aus dem Griechischen her unerklärbar. Nun ist aber *Aemulus* praktisch inexistent in der lateinischen Anthroponymie, er fehlt in Kajantos Cognominabuch und ist als Cognomen nur in der stadtrömischen Inschrift *CIL* VI 23748 (daraus *Rep*. 289) belegt. An sich wäre *aemulus* kein unpassendes Namenwort gewesen, doch ist *Aemulus* nur ganz okkasionell als Name gebraucht worden. Im Griechischen war aber die Namensippe Αἰμο- in Gebrauch (Bechtel *HPN* 25); an Kurznamen führt Bechtel Αἵμων (der freilich auch direkt auf αἵμων bezogen werden konnte) an. Bechtel kennt auch Αἵμυλος, den er S. 504 unter den Namen nach Charaktereigenschaften ("verschlagen") aus dem 1. Jh. (es gibt aber ältere Belege, s. unten) anführt. Man könnte ihn aber auch als Pendant zu Αἵμων auffassen und entsprechend Αἰμύλος akzentuieren. An Parallelen fehlen es nicht Beispiele: Ἀθηνύλος Ἀθήνων, Ἀριστύλος Ἀρίστων, Ἀρχύλος Ἄρχων, Ἀσύλος Ἄσων, Ἀστύλος Ἄστων, Γερύλος Γέρων, Γοργύλος Γόργων, Δεινύλος Δείνων, Δημύλος Δήμων, Δορκύλος Δόρκων.[46] Αἰμύλος ist seit dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. belegt: *IG* V 2, 323, 9 (Mantineia in Arkadien); sonst *IG* II^2 10601 (1./2. Jh.). XII 5, 882, 20 (Tenos, 1. Jh. v. Chr., Vater und Sohn). Hierher zu stellen wohl auch der entsprechende Frauenname Αἰμύλη, den ich aus Aizanoi belegen kann: *MAMA* IX 237 (auch hier vermuten die Editoren einen lateinischen Namen,

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[46] Um nur die von Bechtel *HPN* unter den vier ersten Buchstaben verzeichneten Fälle anzuführen.

mit konfusen Bemerkungen zu einer Korruptel für Aemilia).[47]

Labicula. In *CIL* IV 4776 lesen wir *Ladicula fur est*. Die Lesung ist, aus dem beigefügten Apographon zu schließen (die Inschrift ist leider verschollen), bis auf den dritten Buchstaben sicher. So wie dieser im Apographon gezeichnet ist, könnte er entweder als B oder als D gedeutet werden. Der Editor liest also *Ladicula*, ein solcher Name ist aber vollends unbekannt und ließe sich kaum erfolgreich erklären. Man kann aber in dem dritten Buchstaben gut ein sog. barockes B erblicken. *Labicula* wäre ein neuer Name, doch leicht zu postulieren, als eine Ableitung aus dem Städtenamen *Labicum/Labici* mit dem Suffix *-ulus -ula*, wie *Graecula, Lucanulus, Poenula* aus Völkernamen. Zu bedenken gibt nur, daß der Name der alten latinischen Stadt sonst keine Spuren in der Anthroponymie hinterlassen hat, vornehmlich wegen ihrer geringen Bedeutung. Aber es bietet sich eine andere Erklärungsmöglichkeit, nämlich die Ableitung aus einem Gentilnamen, entweder aus *Labius* mittels des Suffixes *-culus -a*, wie *Ulpiculus* aus *Ulpius*, oder aus *Labicius* mittels des Suffixes *-ulus -a*, wie etwa *Mateiclus, Nummulus, Rosculus*.[48] – Man könnte noch an eine dritte Lesung denken, nämlich *Laricula*; doch wäre das R weniger gut gelungen, in den Gelegenheitsinschriften par excellence wie es die Graffiti sind, kann man aber allerlei unregelmässige Buchstabenformen erwarten. *Laricula* könnte als eine Suffixableitung aus *Larix* aufgefasst werden; freilich war *Larix* ein seltener Namen, von dem Kajanto 334 nur einen Beleg kennt (vgl. aber auch P. Accoleius Lariscolus, Münzmeister 43 v. Chr.).[49] – Um das Fazit zu ziehen, erklärt man das pompeianische Graffito am ungezwungesten durch die Lesung *Labicula*, wobei die zwei Möglichkeiten der Ableitung aus dem Toponym oder aus dem Gentilnamen gegeneinanderstehen. Ich würde letzten Endes für die zweite Alternative plädieren.

[47] Unsicher bleibt *MAMA* IX 408, weil ergänzt.

[48] Das letztgenannte Suffix fehlt in Kajantos Erörterung der Suffixe, mir scheint aber evident, daß die drei Namen (und deren gibt es andere) auf diese Weise zu erklären sind.

[49] Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* 497 Nr. 486.

CCXIX. EGORASMENUS UND VERWANDTES

In einer kürzlich allgemein bekannt gewordenen Inschrift aus Bovianum ist ein neuer Name aufgetaucht: G. De Benedittis, *Molise. Repertorio delle iscrizioni latine. I. Bovianum*, Campobasso 1995, 55f Nr. 33 gibt den Namen auf der dritten Zeile wie folgt wieder: *L. Aristio Egorazmeno*. Wiederholt in *AE* 1996, 489 (mit einer Anmerkung von S. Follet) in der Form *L. Aristio* +[---]*azmen*[---]. Kein Deut über das merkwürdige Cognomen im Kommentar von De Benedittis, dem sonst allerlei Bemerkungen zu den Namen eingestreut sind. Am publizierten Photo kann man vom Namen nur AZME erkennen, was in mir schwere Bedenken gegen die Lesung hervorrief. Auf meine Bitte hin hat Marco Buonocore, der künftige Editor eines Supplements zu *CIL* IX, die Lesung verifiziert und stellt anhand eines älteren Photos, wo die Zeile in besserem Zustand sichtbar ist, fest, daß die von De Benedittis gegebene Lesung stimmt (dieser hätte aber unbedingt in seiner Edition mitteilen müssen, daß er den Namen an älteren Photos festgestellt hatte). Der Name *Egorazmenus* = *Egorasmenus* muß erklärt werden, denn ein solcher Name läßt sich ansonsten nirgends belegen und ist auch eine etwas überraschende Namenbildung. Perfektpartizipien treten im Griechischen äusserst selten als Personnenamen auf; ich kenne deren nur Κεχαρισμενός,[50] *Pephilemene*,[51] Τετιμαμένα.[52] Daneben ist nun *Egorasmenus* zu stellen, gebildet zu ἠγορασμένος, das in der Koine auf Personen bezogen in der Bedeutung 'losgekauft' belegt ist (Men. frg. 58. 805 Koerte = 63. 891 Kassel - Austin; *Apk* 14, 3 und sonst bei christlichen Schriftstellern).[53] – Ich mache noch auf eine andere onomastische Besonderheit in der Inschrift aufmerksam: Die letzte Zeile lautet *Scanianiae C. Donat[---]* (die Lesung scheint sicher zu sein). In *AE* wird vermutet, Scaniania sei Sklavin eines C. Donatius. Nun ist aber *Scaniania*, wie O. Salomies in *AE* richtig bemerkt, ein Gentilname, und da *Donatius* eine für die provinziale Namengebung charakteristische Bildung ist,[54] würde ich den Namen anders erklären:[55] durch die Annahme,

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[50] *SEG* XI 558 (Sparta, ca. 90–100 n. Chr.).

[51] Rom: *CIL* VI 23924; *IGUR* 888. Brundisium: *AE* 1978, 225 besser 1991, 323a vgl. *Arctos* 25 (1991) 140. Barcino: *CIL* II 4553.

[52] *IG* V 1, 520 (Sparta, ca. 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

[53] Auch urkundlich belegt; z. B. *Pergamon* VIII 1, 249 (ca. 133 v. Chr.).

[54] Als ein aus einem in der Kaiserzeit modisch gewordenen Cognomen abgeleiteter neuer

zwischen C und D sei ein L ausgefallen, erhielten wir eine Scaniania C. <l.> Donata. Die Ergänzung des Cognomens paßt auch raummässig wie angegossen.

CCXX. REATINA

Ein paar Randbemerkungen zu der ausgezeichneten Edition reatinischer Inschriften durch M. C. Spadoni in *Suppl. It.* 18 (2000) 11–151.[56]

Bekanntlicherweise haben viele Inschriften stadtrömischer Herkunft ihren Weg nach Rieti gefunden; für den größten Teil ist die wahre Herkunft schon von den Corpuseditoren erkannt worden. Kürzlich hat M. Buonocore in einem wichtigen Beitrag (von dem Spadoni leider noch keine Kenntnis haben konnte) für weitere Inschriften stadtrömische Herkunft zu vindizieren versucht;[57] darunter sind in Spadonis Edition 25. 28. 33. 50 eingeflossen. Die Frage nach der wahren Herkunft dieser Steine ist nicht leicht zu beantworten, und man sollte sie in einem breiteren Kontext einmal gründlich diskutieren.[58]

1. Die Editorin möchte am Ende der ersten Zeile *l(ibens)*, nicht *l(ibertus)* auflösen; ausserdem meint sie, es gäbe keinen Raum für weitere Buchstaben. Ich wäre nicht so sicher; eine genaue Nachprüfung des Photos erlaubt doch die Annahme, es gebe nach L Raum für einen oder zwei weitere Buchstaben. Ausserdem findet sich *libens* normalerweise nicht so früh im Text einer Votivinschrift, vor dem Namen der Gottheit, der die Inschrift geweiht ist. So würde ich *l[ib(ertus)]* ergänzen. Aus dem Photo geht nicht mit Sicherheit hervor, ob oben noch etwas geschrieben sein konnte; wenn ja, dann könnte da der Name des Patrons gestanden haben,

Gentilname.

[55] Wegen des provinzialen Charakters von *Donatius* würde ich auch die Deutung *Scaniania C. Donat[i* sc. *uxor]* ausschliessen (dabei würde auch das Fehlen des Cognomens von Scaniania stören, und auch von C. Donatius, denn wir befinden uns im 2. Jh. n. Chr., da das Cognomen seit langer Zeit sozusagen obligatorisch geworden war.

[56] Ich wiederhole nicht die von O. Salomies, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 269–272 vorgelegten Bemerkungen.

[57] "Il capitolo delle *inscriptiones falsae vel alienae* nel *CIL*. Problemi generali e particolari: l'esempio della *regio IV Augustea*", in: *Varia epigraphica. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di epigrafia, Bertinoro, 8–10 giugno 2000*, Faenza 2001, 84–86. 119–122.

[58] Ein paar Gesichtspunkte unten S. 249–251.

etwa in der Form *pro salute* o. ä. *illius*.

3. Die Lesung des Cognomens der Frau ist ein harter Brocken. Ich habe die Inschrift im Thermenmuseum am 14. Mai 2003 lange untersucht und später den Namen noch anhand guter Photographien zu entziffern versucht.[59] Die Editorin liest den Namen *Daphn(i)u(m)*; das V soll kleiner sein als die übrigen Buchstaben. Diese Deutung ist zum Scheitern verurteilt. Zuerst ist das P autonom und nicht mit dem folgenden Buchstaben durch einen Nexus verbunden. Sodann wäre die Auslassung von *i* recht sonderbar; und zuletzt wäre ein Name *Daphnium* eine undurchsichtige Bildung (der Hinweis der Editorin auf *Philematium* in 48 hilft nicht weiter). Was nach P folgt, kann nicht mit Sicherheit eruiert werden. Vielleicht wusste der Steinmetz nicht gut, was er hätte schreiben sollen; wohlgemerkt wurden die Namen der Sippe *Daphne Daphnus* in verschiedensten orthographischen Formen wiedergegeben. Ich stelle folgende Hypothese auf: Der Steinmetz wollte nach P einen Nexus von P und H einfügen, ohne zu bemerken, daß er das P schon eingehauen hatte. Doch wäre das Ergebnis recht schlecht gelungen; vor allem wäre der untere Teil der rechten Haste von H schief geraten. Deswegen schlage ich vor, nach P eher einen freilich etwas schlecht geratenen Nexus von P und F zu sehen; oder hat der Steinmetz ein überflüssiges P zu einem F geändert? Dies kann möglich sein; der obere Querstrich des F ist unter dem Bogen des P kaum sichtbar, aber den unteren Querstrich von F hat der Mann, wenn auch etwas schwach, eingehauen. Unmittelbar nach diesem Nexus sieht man den unteren Teil des schräg von unten links nach oben rechts gehenden ersten Striches von N; der Steinmetz bediente sich einer solchen Form von N mit schrägem ersten Strich, wie man aus POMPONIVS in der dritten Zeile sieht. Sodann sieht man den oberen Teil des zweiten Striches von N, der natürlich schräg ist. Der Rest der Zeile ist dann so beschädigt, daß dort nichts sicher zu erkennen ist (hier hat sich die Editorin in Irre verleiten lassen, indem sie ein kleineres V [sie bezeichnet sie als V nana] erkennen wollte, aber das was sie als den zweiten Strich von V gedeutet hat, gehört entweder nicht zur Schrift oder ist als dritter Strich von N zu deuten). Demnach könnte man *Dappfn[e]* lesen. PF für PH mag sonderbar anmuten, läßt sich aber gelegentlich belegen: *AE* 1995, 1018 *Pf<i>lippus* in einem Meilenstein des Philippus Arabs aus

[59] Mein herzlicher Dank geht an Dr. Rosanna Friggeri, die mich beim Studium des Steines unterstützt und mir gute Photos zur Verfügung gestellt hat.

Salinae in den Alpes Maritimae.[60] Solche Schreibungen sind als Analogiegraphien zu verwerten: wie *Apfias* (belegt in *CIL* VI 12232) neben *Apphias* stehen kann und als freiere Graphie *Aph-* (mehrmals belegt: s. mein Namenbuch[2] 1029f), so kann neben (*Apph-* >) *Aph-* ≈ *Apf-* analog *Daphn-* ≈ *Dapfn-* angenommen werden. Sicher ist dies nicht, aber jedenfalls scheint mir evident, daß hier einfach der Grundname *Daphne* statt einer merkwürdigen und undurchsichtigen Bildung **Daphnium* festzulegen ist. – Unverständlich ist die Behauptung, die gens Acestia habe keine anderen Belege aufzuweisen; schon Schulze, worauf die Editorin hinweist, zählt deren sechs.[61]

5. Als Gentilnamen will die Editorin *Esuvius* festlegen, vielleicht zu Recht. Doch ist da, aus dem Photo zu schließen, vor E Raum für zwei Buchstaben, so daß *[- V]esuvius* nicht ganz auszuschließen ist. Der Editorin ist übrigens ein merkwürdiges Mißverständnis unterlaufen, denn erstens akzeptiert Schulze nicht die Mommsensche Ergänzung *[P]esuvius*, sondern lehnt sie ab, und zweitens wird bei Solin - Salomies 205 auf unsere Inschrift nicht verwiesen; drittens versteht man nicht, was sie mit der Feststellung will, *Vesuvius* sei "forma molto più rara", denn in Wirklichkeit existiert **Pesuvius* nicht. Im ganzen kann man sagen, daß sowohl *Esuvius* als auch *Vesuvius* recht selten bezeugte Gentilnamen darstellen, doch sind beide plausible Bildungen in Mittelitalien.

7. Die Editorin bezieht das Fragment auf Germanicus. Auf den ersten Blick scheint ihre Rekonstruktion überzeugend. Bedenken gibt nur die Ergänzung *[Ti. Caes]aris A[ugusti f.]*, denn in der Titulatur des Germanicus wird Tiberius nach 14 n. Chr. nur selten *Caesar Augustus* statt *Augustus* genannt.[62] So drängt sich die Vermutung auf, hier könne auch etwas anderes ergänzt werden. Es könnte sich zum Beispiel um eine Weihung an Tiberius handeln, etwa *[pro salute* o. ä. *Ti. Caes]aris A[ugusti f. Au]gusti [---]*, oder aber etwa an Nero: *[Neroni Claudio --- Ti. Caes]aris A[ugusti pronepoti,*

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60 Andere einwandfreie Fälle kenne ich nicht. Auszuscheiden wohl *CIL* XII 3237, wo PFYRRO überliefert ist, der Stein bot aber wohl PH in Nexus. In *CIL* VI 26319 las Bormann PFIEBE gegen den PHOEBE des Erstherausgebers Oderici; Henzen vermutet, ohne Zweifel zu Recht, PHEBE als das was im Stein stand. In *ILJug*. 2846 OPFELIO liegt eher lat. *Ofellius* vor als ein gr. Name auf ’Οφελ- oder ’Ωφελ-.

61 Ihre Zahl ließe sich leicht vermehren: z. B. *CIL* VI 10486. 27253. *AE* 1982, 145 (Tusculum). 1987, 158 (Rom). 1994, 1401 (Sirmium).

62 Die wenigen Belege bei H. Solin, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 207.

divi Au]gusti [abnepoti ---]. Unverständlich ist mir, was die Editorin zu eventuellen lokalen Ehrungen des Germanicus sagt.

9. Man sollte von so hypothetischen Ergänzungen in einer maßgeblichen Edition eher absehen.

15. Die Editorin hat im Kommentar die einzig wirklich interessante Einzelheit zu nennen unterlassen, nämlich daß der verstorbene Prätorianer aufgrund seines Namens aus den gallischen oder germanischen Provinzen stammte. Dies hätte sie aus *Arctos* 23 (1989) 216, worauf sie hinweist, lernen können.

16 = *CIL* I^2 2661. Durch die Bemühungen der Editorin steht die Herkunft dieser wichtigen bisher heimatlosen Inschrift jetzt fest. Auch die Textkonstitution ist jetzt auf sichererem Boden. Im Kommentar hätte man ein paar Worte mehr zu sprachlichen Eigenheiten gewünscht, wie zur Nominativendung *-io*. Sodann fehlen in der Bibliographie zwei wichtige Werke: R. Wachter, *Altlateinische Inschriften*, Bern 1987, 459f und sonst; B. Vine, *Studies in Archaic Latin Inscriptions*, Innsbruck 1993, 219, 305f, 317, 336, 340, der als erster die Lesung *[H]erenio* vorgeschlagen hat. – Kann man wirklich sagen, *faciedo* (für *faciendo*) und *Erenius* seien "archaische Formen" (im letzteren Fall ist *-n-* freilich die übliche Graphie der Zeit, aber das Fehlen von *h* ist kein sprachliches Phänomen, sondern ist durch die Beschädigung des Steines bedingt oder beruht auf falscher Lesung).

20. Die Deutung des Textes als "annunciante una editio di munus gladiatorium" bleibt äußerst problematisch.

21. Ich hatte in Zeile 4 *[fil(iae)]*[63] ergänzt und halte daran fest, weil auf *Mercatae* ein Trennpunkt folgt und weil der "Umbruch" des Textes das nahelegt.

25. Das Cognomen *Iudex* war schon bekannt: so hieß ein Duovir in Utica 29–30 n. Chr. (*RPC* I 192 Nr. 741).

28. Die Textform stimmt nicht ganz mit dem überein, was man am Photo erkennen kann: in Zeile 3 sieht man vor F eine Haste (man erwartet E), und das R ist mit gutem Willen erkennbar.

31. 5 kann zu *[T. Mu]nnini T. l. Alexandri* ergänzt werden, vgl. *CIL* VI 22709 *[T.] Munnin[i]us T. l. Philocles Reatinus*. Diese Beobachtung stammt von Marco Buonocore, dem ich herzlich danke; vgl. demnächst sein Supplement zu *CIL* IX.

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[63] Nicht [*f(iliae)*], wie die Editorin behauptet.

32. In 4–5 liest die Editorin *L. Pompil<i>us*, vielleicht zu Recht. Ich möchte ihr doch anheimstellen, ob nicht das Gentile *Pompeius* vorliegen könnte. Der Querstrich des mutmaßlichen L ist nicht so markant wie der des anderen L in 4. Wenn *Pompeius* gemeint ist, dann ist E schlecht in Form von I geschrieben.

34. 3 lies *patro[no]*.

42. Der Kommentar ist stellenweise etwas obskur und hat versäumt, die interessante Einzelheit anzugeben, daß Malchio, aus seinem Cognomen zu schließen, syrischer Herkunft war (und der Hinweis auf *malchio* in *ThLL* ist unangebracht). Neben Weaver hätte die Editorin auch Chantraines Buch zur Nomenklatur kaiserlicher Sklaven und Freigelassener heranziehen können; aus dessen Analysen geht hervor, daß *Caesaris libertus* auch nach Augustus bestens belegt ist. So kann der Herr des Malchio auch Caligula gewesen sein.

50. *Saturia* ist nicht Cognomen (so im Index S. 148).

51. Es muß *Saturni[nae]* ergänzt werden, denn das von der Editorin präsentierte *Saturnia* ist mit ihrem Suffix *-ia* ein für die Namengebung der späteren Kaiserzeit charakteristisches Cognomen, während die Inschrift deutlich der frühen Kaiserzeit gehört. Außerdem ist *Saturnia* recht selten belegt.

52. Die Auslegung der Editorin kann nicht richtig sein. *Posides* ist ein Männername; der Namensträger kann also nicht Tochter von Niceta und Primitia sein. Und wie ist es mit der Ergänzung *[coniu]gi*?

54. Die Editorin hat mir die absurde Auflösung *s(i) q(uis) l(aeserit)* zur Last gelegt!

58. 3 möglich auch *[---]ntia*. Mit dieser Lesung erhielten wir mehrere übliche Cognomina wie etwa *Vincentia*, während das von der Editorin herangezogene *Cornutia* als Cognomen nicht existiert.

CCXXI. SINOPENSIA

Ein paar Bemerkungen zu dem hochwillkommenen Band der Inschriften von Sinope, bearbeitet von D. H. French (IK 64, 2004).[64]

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[64] Einige Quisquilien: Es hätte sich gelohnt zu notieren, daß in 21 die Schrift linksbündig ist. – 24. Bemerkenswert ist der zweite Name, den French als Genetiv (also als Vatersnamen) von Νίμαξ versteht Die Form Νίμακτος war schon aus Pantikapaion

92 ist nicht eine Weihung an Mark Aurel seitens des Commodus, sondern eine Dedikation an Commodus. French datiert die Inschrift in 186/7. Nun kann man anhand des Photos eines Abklatsches Pl. 11 leicht feststellen, daß in der ersten erhaltenen Zeile rechts die Zahl der imperatorischen Akklamationen erwähnt war, die nur VIII gewesen sein kann. Die Zahl der tribunicia potestas wiederum war wenigstens XI. Für den zur Verfügung stehenden Raum wäre die angebrachteste Ergänzung wohl *X[I, imp. VIII]*, und demnach wäre das Jahr 186, doch kann trib. pot. XII oder etwa XV nicht ohne weiteres von der Hand gewiesen werden (trib. pot. XVI geht nicht mehr, weil Commodus dabei cos. VI gewesen wäre). Die Inschrift kann also entweder ins Jahr 186 oder aber zwischen 186 und 189 datiert werden. Bemerkenswert an der Titulatur ist das Fehlen von *M*. oder *Marci* im Vatersnamen und die Reihenfolge *Sarmaticus, Germanicus*, während die umgekehrte Folge üblicher war.

121. Die Ergänzungen sind teilweise problematisch, besonders was die nachträglich hinzugefügte Erwähnung von Carnuntum angeht. French versteht den lateinischen Text *veter. ex c[enturionibus, natus] / Carnuntum Pannoniae superioris*. Das ist kein Latein. Nun hat die griechische Einlage Καρν[---], was Salač zu Κ α ρ ν[οῦτον (sic)], ergänzt, das bliebe aber außerhalb des syntaktischen Gefüges. Am nächstliegenden wäre es, Καρν[ουντῖνος] zu ergänzen (sofern nicht am Ende der Zeile 10 eine zum Namen der Stadt gehörende Präposition stand, was ich nicht vorziehen würde, denn die nachträglichen Einlagen in 2 und 9 scheinen jeweils eine Einheit zu bilden). Wenn dem so ist, dann ist Frenchs Ergänzung *[natus]* gut, aber *natus Carnuntum* kann man nicht sagen (ich würde den

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bekannt (s. L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste*, Praha 1955, 313); Zgusta zufolge bleibt es unsicher, ob Nominativ oder Genetiv vorliegt; es handelt sich aber um ein Amphorenstempel und demzufolge Genetiv, ganz wie in den Amphorenstempeln aus Sinope: *Histria* VIII 2 (1998) 53 Nr. 3, wo der Editor ebenfalls einen Nom. Νίμαξ annimmt (vgl. auch O. Masson, *Bull. épigr*. 1992, 191). Kürzlich hat S. Tokhtas'ev, *Hyperboreus* 1 (1994) 157, aus der deutschen Zusammenfassung 166 zu schließen, als Nominativ Νιμάκτης festzulegen versucht, ob zu Recht, stehe dahin. Jedenfalls darf man in der neuen sinopäischen Inschrift mit French einen Genetiv sehen. – 103 wird ins 1./2. Jh. datiert. Man würde doch das 1. Jh. ausschließen. – 129. Der Editor hat den Text nicht gut verstanden. In 2 kann unmöglich *p(ater)* vorliegen; in 3 nicht *C(aii Fanii) l(iberti)*. – 130. "In no. 78 below, we have *Casino* for *Casiano*" bleibt unverständlich. – 137. Wäre es nicht vorzuziehen, im Namen des Mannes ein Gentilicium zu ergänzen, also etwa M. Κελε[ρίου]? (Und der Mann fehlt im Index wie auch sein militärischer Rang.)

spätlateinischen Usus des Akkusativs statt des Lokativs ausschließen). Man könnte etwa *[apud] / Carnuntum* ergänzen; der erweiterte Gebrauch von *apud* neben Verben der Ortsruhe in lokaler Bedeutung ist ja ein bekanntes volksprachliches Phänomen.[65] Außerdem würde ich statt *ex c[enturionibus]* eher *ex c[enturione]*) verstehen.[66] – Das Cognomen der Frau war *Procope*, man darf nicht *Procope(s)* schreiben (im griechischen Text muß übrigens Προκοπή akzentuiert werden). – Der Editor datiert die Inschrift ins 1./ 2. Jh. Schon der Name des Mannes *P. Ael(ius) Pompeius* legt aber nahe, daß sie nicht vorhadrianisch sein kann.

122. Dies ist ein bemerkenswerter Text, dessen voller Wortlaut zuerst gegeben sei: *M. Blossius M. f. Ter. mil. coh. Cypr. ⊂centuria⊃ Bassi ex testamento h. s. e*. French in seiner Edition datiert ihn in 1./ 2. Jh.,[67] aber alles spricht für eine Frühdatierung, etwa zwischen Augustus - Tiberius: der Schriftträger, die Buchstabenformen und vor allem der Wortlaut, die Namensform mit inbegriffen. Der Mann wird mit Filiation und Tribusangabe, aber ohne Cognomen angeführt. Die interessanteste Einzelheit bildet aber die Erwähnung einer *cohors Cypria*. Soldaten einer kyprischen Hilfskohorte ohne die laufende Nummer sind sonst nur aus Pantikapaion bezeugt (*CIRB* 726, ein C. Memmius; 691, ein L. Volusius, *centuria Ael(i) Secundi*). Es wird sich um dieselbe Kohorte handeln, und zwar eine I cohors Cypria. Die Nummer wurde in unserer Inschrift weggelassen, weil im Zeitpunkt ihrer Aufstellung noch keine andere cohors Cypria existierte. Dieselbe Erklärung gilt wahrscheinlich für *CIRB* 726, die freilich von den Editoren ins 3. Jh. datiert wird, was mir ausgeschlossen

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[65] Vgl. z. B. E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*, Uppsala 1911, 252f. A. Gagnér, *Studien zur Bedeutung der Präposition apud* (UUÅ 1931. Filosofi, språkvetenskap och historiska vetenskaper 3), Uppsala 1931, bes. 94–116. Das Material in *ThLL* II 336, 61ff. Mit *Carnuntum*: Amm. 30, 5, 11. Hier. *chron*. a. Abr. 2193. Hist. Aug. *Sept. Sev*. 5, 1. Oros. *hist*. 7, 15, 6.

[66] Der Ausdruck *ex centurione* ist in Inschriften meistens abgekürzt; ausgeschrieben findet er sich mit *-e* in *CIL* VIII 7080. 28065. *I. Aquileia* 2804. French beruft sich auf *CIL* X 3370 *ex centurionib(us)*, dies ist aber der einzige inschriftliche Beleg für den Gebauch des Plurals.

[67] Besser in der Erstpublikation M. P. Speidel - D. H. French, *EpAnat*. 6 (1985) 99: 1. Jh. n. Chr. Man versteht nicht recht, wie French den urprünglichen Ansatz aufgegeben hat, wenn er dann bei der Diskussion der Datierung von 124 dieselben Argumente für einen Ansatz ins 1. Jh. vorführt wie in *EpAnat*. für 122.

scheint.[68] Schwieriger ist *CIRB* 691 zu beurteilen, die man wegen des Namens des Zenturionen nicht gern als vorhadrianisch einstufen möchte; und eine *cohors IIII Cypria c. R.* gab es wenigstens seit 103/107 (*CIL* XVI 54; vgl. 57 vom Jahre 110).[69] Unser M. Blossius war in der Teretina eingeschrieben,[70] und dies gibt uns einen Wink auf seine Herkunft. *Blossius* ist ein charakteristisch campanischer Name; die Teretina ist als hauptsächlicher Tribus mehrerer Städte der regio I (dazu nur für Arelate bezeugt). Die einzige der Teretina angehörende Stadt, in der Blossii bezeugt sind, ist Sinuessa,[71] wo kürzlich ein Sp. Blossius Sp. f. Ter. duovir (Ende des 1. Jh. v. Chr.) aufgetaucht ist.[72] Es ist demnach möglich, daß er oder seine Familie aus Sinuessa oder wenigstens aus Campanien (aber die Teretina erscheint sonst nicht als hauptsächlicher Tribus im campanischen Stammgebiet, wo *Blossius* heimisch war) stammte (Italiker sind in Sinope bezeugt: Nr. 137).[73] Ob er sich auf Kypros niedergelassen hatte und seine Aushebung dort erfolgte, bleibt wohl unsicher,[74] trotz der frühen Zeit der Inschrift (die Volksbezeichnungen der Truppen lassen bekanntlich nur für die Zeit unmittelbar nach der ersten Aushebung Rückschlüsse auf die Herkunft der einzelnen Soldaten der Auxiliarkohorten); außerdem läßt der Name *cohors Cypria* offen, ob es sich um eine echte Volksbezeichnung handelt oder nicht. Jedenfalls haben wir es mit einem bemerkenswerten Zeugnis zu tun, einem aus Italien stammenden römischen freigeborenen Bürger. Leider können aus diesem isolierten Fall keine weitgehenden Folgerungen gezogen werden, aber zusammen mit den zwei Soldaten aus Pantikapaion, die wohl auch römische Bürger waren,[75] läßt er die Frage zu,

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[68] Der Wortlaut der Inschrift spricht stark für eine Datierung in die erste Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.

[69] Und eine cohors III Cypria c. R. war im Jahre 109 in Dakien stationiert: *RMD* 148. – *C(ohors) IV C(ypria)* noch in *IDR* II 179b–d. 185.

[70] French schreibt irrtümlich Terentina.

[71] Daß die Teretina die hauptsächliche Tribus der Einwohner von Sinuessa war, kann heute wohl für sicher gehalten werden.

[72] *MGR* 5 (1977) 305.

[73] Man kann ihn mit den Erstherausgebern nicht als einen Bithynier bezeichnen.

[74] Blossii im griechischen Osten: O. Salomies, *Arctos* 35 (2001) 153f.

[75] Abwegig ist die Vermutung von K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau*, Bern 1951, 75f, das Fehlen des Cognomens deute regelmässig auf Peregrinität hin, auch wenn das Praenomen da wäre (in den beiden Inschriften aus Pantikapaion ist der Vorname da, aber das Cognomen fehlt).

ob wir es möglicherweise mit einer Bürgerkohorte zu tun haben, zumal auch die dritte und die vierte cyprische Kohorte das waren. Da er nicht als Veteran bezeichnet wird und außerdem seine Zenturie angegeben wird, dürfte er während der Dienstzeit gestorben sein, d. h. in augusteisch-tiberischer Zeit war diese Kohorte wohl in Sinope stationiert.[76] Die zwei Inschriften aus Pantikapaion, die auch nicht Veteranen gehören, dürften von der Existenz eines Detachements in dieser Stadt oder in ihrer Nähe zeugen.[77]

124. In der Textwiedergabe ist zu korrigieren 3–4 *ei[us]/dem* für *ea[e]/dem*. Der Mann, ein *mil(es) cohort(is) August(ae)*, war gebürtig aus Savatra im südlichen Galatien. Der Editor weist auf einen anderen Soldaten aus Savatra hin; da dieser *miles cohortis I Augustae Cyrenaicae* war, meint er, auch C. Octavius könne derselben Kohorte angehört haben. Er wird aber nur als *mil(es) cohort(is) August(ae)* bezeichnet, und *cohortes Augustae* gab es mehrere. Das Fehlen einer Nummer der Kohorte erklärt sich wie bei 122 durch die frühe Zeit der Anbringung der Inschrift. Notierungswert ist der Trennpunkt am Ende der 3. Zeile, als ob im Sprachempfinden des ordinator oder des Steinmetzen *sesqueplicarius* zwei Teile enthielte.

130. Es gibt überhaupt keinen Grund, über die Rechtfertigung des Cognomens *Praetorinus* (das noch in 145 wiederkehrt) einmal Überlegungen zu machen und die Frage zu stellen, ob etwa ein Steinmetzfehler für *Praetorianus* vorliege, denn es handelt sich um eine ganz regelrechte mit dem überaus populären Suffix *-inus* versehene Bildung, und notiere, daß *Praetorianus* nicht besser beglaubigt ist als *Praetorinus* (vgl. oben S. 181). Abwegig ist die von Robinson präsentierte Vermutung, daß es sich vielleicht um "a Paphlagonian spelling of the name" handele.

134. Grabinschrit einer wohl lokalen Familie der Cn. Servilii. Bemerkenswert ist die Namensequenz *Cn. Servilius Caepio*. Haben die Eltern das Cognomen in Erinnerung an die republikanischen Servilii Caepiones zugelegt, von denen manche berühmte den Vornamen *Gnaeus* führten?[78] Sind die sinopäischen Cn. Servilii etwa Nachkommen von

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[76] Dieselbe Ansicht vertritt W. Eck, "Prokonsuln und militärisches Kommando", in: *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, hrsg. von W. Eck und H. Wolff, Köln – Wien 1986, 521.

[77] Speidel und French, aaO. haben gezeigt, daß das Bosporanische Reich zum Kommandobezirk von Bithynien-Pontus, nicht von Moesia gehörte.

[78] Zu dieser Namengewohnheit H. Solin, "Un aspetto dell'onomastica plebea e municipale. La ripresa di nomi illustri da parte di comuni cittadini", in: *Varia*

Klienten der großen Cn. Servilii Caepiones? Bei der Suche eines konkreten Namenmusters sei darauf hingewiesen, daß der Konsul 203 (*RE* 44) in 192 Gesandter in Griechenland war und daß sein Sohn (*RE* 45) ebenfalls Mitglied einer Gesandschaft in 172 an König Perseus war; vor allem wäre des Konsuls 106 (*RE* 49) zu gedenken, der in 129 in Asia diente.[79] Man könnte sich ferner fragen, ob der Cäsarmörder Q. Servilius Caepio Brutus, wie er nach seiner Adoption durch seinen Onkel Q. Servilius Caepio mit dem vollständigen Namen offiziell hieß,[80] irgendeine Rolle in der Namengebung der Familie mit möglicherweise republikanischen Bestrebungen hat spielen können; doch war er für die Nachwelt vor allem mit dem Namen *(M.) Brutus* gegenwärtig. Man sieht aber nicht, wie die republikanischen Einzelpersonen, die in Griechenland gewirkt hatten, auf die Namengebung einer sinopäischen Familie de 1. Jh. n. Chr. Einfluß hätten ausüben können. Und im ganzen ist es vorzuziehen, als Namenmuster allgemein das servilische Cognomen anzunehmen, das in servilischen plebeischen Familien der Kaiserzeit durch mündliche Überlieferung oder Lektüre historischer Werke als Cognomen mehrerer berühmter Servilier im allgemeinen Bewußtsein festgelegt war. – Interessant ist auch das Cognomen der Servilia Anthos. *Anthus* war ein populärer Männername, seit spätklassischer Zeit belegt,[81] besonders üblich in der Kaiserzeit und in Rom (mit zur Zeit 123 stadtrömischen Belegen). Hier wurde er aber als Frauenname gebraucht (eine andere Erklärung ist ausgeschlossen),[82] als solcher auch in Rom belegt (*CIL* VI 12246, Deutung einwandfrei). ἄνθος ist im Griechischen ein Neutrum; daß Ἄνθος zu einem bestehenden Männernamen wurde, erklärt sich dadurch, daß er eine Kurznamenbildung ist und so nicht direkt auf ἄνθος bezogen wurde. Aber wie soll man erklären, daß Ἄνθος auch als Frauenname verwendet werden konnte? Ich glaube, man darf davon ausgehen, daß ἄνθος von Menschen, besonders von

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epigraphica. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia, Bertinoro, 8–10 giugno 2000, Faenza 2001, 411–427. Beispiele aus dem griechischen Osten auf S. 421.

79 Vgl. Broughton, *MRR* III 194.

80 Vgl. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*, Atlanta 1991², 83f.

81 Der älteste mir gegenwärtige Beleg ist *I. Apollonia* 8 (4./ 3. jh.).

82 Trotz der Endung *-os* kann nicht *’Ανθώς mit einem nicht bräuchlichen Suffix vorliegen.

jung Gestorbenen gebraucht werden konnte;[83] davon war kein langer Schritt dazu, daß Ἄνθος gelegentlich auch zu einem Frauennamen werden konnte. Dabei verhält sich Ἄνθος ganz wie im Lateinischen *Flos*, das ein Commune war,[84] sowie auch *Amor* (*amor* war eine übliche Anrede von Frauen), *Decor* oder *Favor* für beide Geschlechter belegt sind.[85]

138. Da ein Name Δᾶς schwerlich erklärlich wäre, frage ich mich, ob nicht eher Λας gelesen werden könnte (das Photo freilich läßt keine endgültige Entscheidung zu), der sich im kleinasiatischen Raum belegen läßt.[86]

212. Die Vermutung von Robinson, S in 4 stehe für *servus*, ist absolut zurückzuweisen, denn der Mann, dessen Namen dies S gehört, ist ein Freier. Etwa *[-] Pontius ++[---]s sacerd(os)*.

214 soll möglicherweise ein Liste von Freigelassenen sein. Aber MIL in 5 läßt unverzüglich einen Soldaten in den Sinn kommen. – In 4 kann nicht I(ulius) Callius Selicianu[s] verstanden werden, wie der Editor im Index S. 169 meint. I steht wohl für L.

CCXXII. RANDBEMERKUNGEN ZU IK 62

23. Nicht Αὐξίβισι Στρατονείκῃ (mit der Bemerkung "Αὐξίβισι is strange"), sondern Αὐξίβι(ο)ς Ἰστρατονείκῃ. Der Vollname Αὐξίβιος läßt sich aus verschiedenen Teilen der griechischen Welt belegen: aus Ambrysos in Phokis (*IG* IX 1, 20, 212 n. Chr.); Hypata in Thessalien (*IG* IX 2, 21, kaiserz.); Teos in Jonien (*SEG* II 619, kaiserz.); Ephesos (*I. Ephesos* 1600,

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[83] In Grabinschriften: *SEG* XXXVI 1183 (Galatien, Grabinschrift eines Jungen, 5./ 6. Jh.) ἔνθα κατάκιτε νέον ἄνθος Θεόδωρος; *TAM* V 1, 481 (Grabinschrift einer Ποπλικία) ῥόδον ἐρχόμενον νέον ἄνθος. Besonders verständlich sind Fälle wie *MAMA* I 381 ἐγὸ Φοτῆνος πρεσβύτερος νέον ἄνθος ἀφεμαρά(ν)θη. Andere Fälle, in denen sich ἄνθος auf Personen bezieht, zu notieren wird nicht schwierig sein. Hier eine Auswahl: *IG* II^2 3795. IV 623. IX 2, 649 (= *GV* 988, mit ὡς νέον ἄνθος). X 2, 1, 628. XII 2, 489. *Corinth* VIII 3, 128. *GV* 620 (Chios). *SEG* XI 773. XXII 355. XXXV 630 vgl. XXXVIII 590. *I. Kyzikos* 528. *IGUR* 476. 1217. *I. Moab* 277.

[84] Kajanto 336 verzeichnet von ihm zwei Männernamenbelege und einen Frauennnamenbeleg. Dazu noch *MGR* 9 (1984) 280 (Cosentia, Frauenname).

[85] Dazu vgl. H. Solin, "Spes", in: *Utriusque linguae peritus. Studia in honorem T. Viljamaa* (Annales Univ. Turkuensis B 219), Turku 1997, 8f.

[86] Vgl. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* 264f.

2. Jh. n. Chr.); Bargylia in Karien (*SEG* XL 953 (christl.); Herkunft unbestimmt (*ID* 354, 79, 218 v. Chr.). Auch in Rom: *CIL* VI 13438 (Sklave, 1./ 2. Jh.).[87] Dieselbe Schreibweise -ις in *I. Ephesos* 1600.

37. Der Mann heißt *Menopho*, nicht *Menophos*, wie im Index S. 136 angegeben. Μηνοφῶν war ein üblicher Name,[88] auch in Rom gerade in der Form *Menop(h)o* belegt.[89]

370. Κοιντογενής ist kein Name, wie im Index S. 142 angegeben (dort -γένης akzentuiert): ὁ μὲν Παύλου, ἡ δὲ Κοιντογενής heißt "er stammt ab von Paulus, sie von Quintus".[90]

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[87] Auszuscheiden *CIL* VI 15145/6, die ein Falsum ist: VI 3307*.

[88] In Attika 4mal belegt (laut *LGPN* II s. v., 107 – 1. Jh. v. Chr.). Euboia (*IG* XII Suppl. 657, 1. Jh. v. Chr.). Thera (*IG* XII 3, 528, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Thasos (*IG* XII 8, 306. 374 (1. Jh. v. Chr.). Kyzikos (*Syll.*^{3} 798 (1. Jh. n. Chr.). Pergamon (*FD* III 4, 133 (3. Jh. v. Chr.). Magnesia Sipylon (Couilloud 37). Kaunos (*SEG* XII 467). Phrygien (*MAMA* V 127. Haspels, *Highlands of Phrygia* [1971] 109). Bithynien (Dörner, *Reisen* 134). Herakleia von Pontos (*IPE* I^2 544).

[89] Außerdem in Afrika: *ILAfr* 440.

[90] Entstellungen in den Indices (in Auswahl): S. 128 ᾿Αμφίνομος; S. 129 δάμαρ ist kein Name; lies Δειονύσι[ος]; S. 139 ὀστιάριος; S. 140 Αἰλάρης bleibt unverständlich; S. 142 Ματρώνης ist Gen., Nom. also Ματρώνη; S. 149 Γάιλλα; unter Γάιος lies Πονπωνιανόν; S. 155 L. Pedusius Phileros; Orfitasius (auch in der Edition selbst zu korrigieren).

THE REALISTIC AND THE SUPERNATURAL ORDER OF THE WORLD PRESENTED IN PRUDENTIUS' *PERISTEPHANON*

STANISLAW STABRYLA

The question of realism in Prudentius' *Peristephanon* has not been given much scholarly attention hitherto.[1] But even a superficial reading of this cycle of poetry shows that, alongside the realistic components, the world portrayed in it comprises a series of motifs which could be termed "*miracula*" – supernatural or miraculous. The "*miracula*" in the structure of the cycle's individual parts seem to be a typical element of early Christian hagiography on the one hand, but on the other an expression of the poet's belief that the martyrdom of many of these champions of Christ was attended by extraordinary phenomena.[2] The poetic world of the *Peristephanon* is composed both of realistic constituents corresponding to phenomena in the real world, and of ones which are part of the supernatural order. Let us examine a few examples to reach some general conclusions on the matter.

In *Perist.* I (*Hymnus in honorem sanctorum martyrum Emeteri et Chelidoni)* the death of the two Spanish soldier martyrs is preceded by an extraordinary phenomenon, still memorable despite the lapse of time ("*Illa laus occulta non est nec senescit tempore*", v. 82). Suddenly two gifts (*munera*) belonging to the martyrs, a ring and a scarf, rise up into the sky, pointing the way to heaven (*viam coeli*):

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[1] E.g. M. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs. The Liber Peristephanon*, Ann Arbor 1993, makes only a short mention of it on the page 105. A.-M. Palmer, *Prudentius on the Martyrs*, Oxford 1989, passim, discusses this problem at some length, cf. below.

[2] The relation of the early Christianity, and particularly of such authors as Tertullianus, St. Hieronymus and St. Augustine to the problem of miracles is treated by Palmer (above n. 1) 32–56 (ch. *Curiositas and Credulity*).

Illius fidem figurans nube fertur anulus,
hic sui dat pignus oris ut ferunt orarium,
quae superno rapta flatu lucis intrant intimum.

Per poli liquentis axem fulgor auri absconditur
ac diu visum sequacem textilis candor fugit.
subvehuntur usque in astra nec videntur amplius.[3]
(*Perist.* I 85–90)

This miraculous occurrence is witnessed by the assembled crowd (*conventus adstans*)[4] and the torturer, who slays the martyrs, but is so strongly affected by the unusual event that he appears to be possessed.

In the poem's structure the miracle preceding the death of the two martyrs is the only exception to the general scheme for a realistic presentation of the world. The main sequence of cause-and-effect occurrences in the story of these two soldiers from Calagurris in Spain is made up of events belonging to the natural order of human experience, such as the attempt to force the two soldiers to sacrifice to the pagan gods (v.40–50), their categorical refusal (v. 53–69), the tortures (v. 70–72) etc. The description of the possession of the torturer (v. 92–111) is also part of the natural order, although the narrator's commentary suggests that the phenomenon itself, especially its causes, have a supernatural character.

The whole of Poem II, in honour of St. Laurence, (*Passio Laurenti beatissimi martyris*), is presented in the realistic convention. This formulation of the story of the martyrdom and death of St. Laurence seems to have been influenced by the poet's main source, *De officiis ministrorum* by St. Ambrose.[5] According to the narrator St. Laurence's martyrdom and death, here described in the realistic mode only, inspired a profound spiritual transformation in the people of Rome, who abandoned the worship of the pagan gods and embraced Christianity. In the closing apostrophe the poem's narrator beseeches the holy martyr to free him from the enthralment of the body and the bondage of the world:

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[3] All the quotations according to the edition: *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina*, ed. M.P. Cuningham, Turnholt 1966 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CXXVI).

[4] J. Petruccione, "The Persecutor's Envy and the Rise of the Martyr's Cult, 'Peristephanon' Hymn 1 and 4", *Vigiliae Christianae* 45 (1991) 329 f. asserts that the phrases "*fertur*" and "*ut ferunt*" are an indication that the poet refers to the oral tradition.

[5] Cf. *De officiis ministrorum* I 41; II 26; cf. also M. Brozek, *The Introduction*, in *Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, 'Poezje'* (transl.), Warszawa 1987, 30.

Audi benignus supplicem
Christi reum Prudentium
et servientem corpori
absolve vinclis saeculi!
(*Perist.* II 581–584)

The story of Eulalia in *Peristephanon* III (*Hymnus in honorem passionis Eulaliae beatissimae martyris*)[6] is built up basically of realistic components[7], such as the future martyr's escape from her country home (v. 25–44), her solitary journey to the town of Augusta Emerita (v. 45–63), her speech to the Roman governor (v. 64–95) and his reply, threatening her with torture and death (v. 96–125), Eulalia's refusal to offer up a sacrifice to the pagan gods and an account of the tortures (v. 126–160). However, the poem's final section brings the description of a miraculous event at the young martyr's death. A white dove flew out of the dying Eulalia's mouth, embodying her soul:

Emicat inde columba repens
martyris os nive candidior
visa relinquere et astra sequi;
spiritus hic erat Eulaliae
lacteolus celer innocuus.
(*Perist.* III 161–165)

The narrator's commentary describes the martyr's pure soul flying up to the gates of heaven in the form of a white dove, which even the torturer can see ("templaque celsa petit volucer" *Perist.* III 170).

Another item which seems to belong to the "miracula" category in this story is the snow which covered the martyr's body like a linen shroud. Of course there is nothing unusual about the atmospheric phenomenon of snow as such, which would be absolutely natural if it were not that it appeared at

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[6] The detailed notices on this poem in the paper of D. P. Kubiak, "Epic and Comedy in Prudentius' Hymn to St. Eulalia", *Philologus* 142 (1998) 308–325.

[7] The notion of realism is not equivalent with a historicity of decribed events. This problem in a relation to *Peristephanon* III is discussed at some length by J. Petruccione, "The Portrait of St.Eulalia of Merída in Prudentius; *Peristehpanon* 3", *Analecta Bollandiana* 107, fasc. 1–2 (1989–1900), 824. The problem of historicity and of the relation to legends in Prudentius' *Peristephanon* took up P. P. A. Sabbatini, "Storia e leggende nel 'Peristephanon' di Prudenzio", *Rivista di Studi Classici* (Torino) 29 (1972) 32–52; 87–221; ibidem: 31 (1973) 39–77; cf. also M. Lavarenne, *Introduction* in: Prudence, *Peristephanon liber*, t. IV: *Le livre d e couronne,* Paris 1951, 11.

the very moment of Eulalia's death in outcome of terrible torture, and that its occurrence was ordained by God Himself:

Ipsa elementa iubente deo
exequias tibi, virgo, ferunt.
(*Perist.* III 184 –185)

In *Peristephanon* V (*Passio sancti Vincenti martyris*) we have a far more concerted instance of "*miracula*" in the structure of world portrayed than in the previous stories in the cycle. The Spanish priest Vincent, who is tortured and killed on the orders of Datianus, the Emperor Diocletian's governor, for refusing to worship the pagan gods, severely criticises the traditional state religion (v. 35–92). The realistic convention is used to relate the next part of Vincent's dialogue with the governor, interrupted with descriptions of the tortures the persecutor uses against the intransigent priest (v. 95–208), and an account of the rest of his sufferings before he dies (209–268). But the next section of the narrative contains a relation of the miraculous occurrence which takes place while Vincent was in prison, where he is subjected to the most severe torture (v. 269–270). Suddenly an extraordinary light fills the dark dungeon and the fetters on Vincent's legs split open, while his bed of hard shells is suddenly covered with a layer of soft flowers (v. 277–279). Finally a choir of angels appears, the comeliest of whom announces to Vincent that his tribulations will soon come to an end, that he will die a victorious death and be rewarded in heaven, exhorting him to free himself of the shackles of the body and join them in heaven (v. 285–304).

In Prudentius' presentation the miracle which happens in the martyr's cell is not merely a hallucination or a mystical vision, but a real fact, authenticated by the prison-warder's reaction on seeing the extraordinary event:

Hoc cum stuperet territus
obsessor atri liminis
quem cura pernox manserat
servare feralem domum,

psallentis audit insuper
praedulce carmen martyris
cui vocis instar aemulae
conclave reddit concavum,
………

Vernare multis floribus
stramenta testarum videt
ipsumque vulsis nexibus
obambulantem pangere.
(*Perist*. V 309–316;321–324)

Datianus, Vincent's persecutor, too, treats this miracle as something that really happened, as something that belongs to the real world, though not at all auspicious for him:

Inplentur aures turbidi
praetoris hoc miraculo,
flet victus et voluit gemens
iram dolorem dedecus.
(*Perist*. V 325–328)

The next "*miraculum*" associated with Vincent is the warder's sudden conversion in outcome of the powerful impression the first miracle makes on him (*Perist.* 345–352). Another unusual phenomenon, counter to the ordinary laws of nature, is the fact that the martyr's body, which the praetor has ordered to be thrown out into the rushes along the riverbank, is not devoured by birds and predator animals. It is guarded by a crow (*corvus*) which flaps its wings to chase away approaching predators (v. 393–420).

The sequence of miracles making up the ancient legend of St. Vincent concludes with the story of the unsuccessful attempt to sink the martyr's body in the sea.[8] To the amazement of the sailors who were convinced that Vincent's body would submerge as soon as it was cast into the water out at sea, it is kept afloat and reaches the shore faster than their boat, where it finds a temporary sanctuary (v. 485–508).

By the incorporation into the story of St. Vincent's martyrdom of a series of episodes clearly transcending the bounds of reality as known to human experience, Prudentius seems to be trying to build up an aura of the miraculous surrounding the events associated with this martyrdom. In outcome we get a decisive predominance of "*miracula*" over "*facta*". The story of St. Vincent marks the maximum as regards presence of the miraculous in the component parts of the *Peristephanon* cycle, while the "*facta*" are merely a framework.

[8] Cf. S. Stabryla, "Death for Christ as Victory in the Light of Prudentius' *Peristephanon*", *Analecta Cracoviensia* 32 (2001) 679.

In the subsequent poems of the cycle supernatural motifs diminish quite visibly in favour of the historical material. This does not mean that the mode of presentation is exclusively realistic. Here are a few examples of further miracles.

The whole of the *Hymnus in honorem beatissimorum martyrum Fructuosi episcopi Augurii et Eulogii* (*Perist.* VI) is in the realistic convention, and neither the story's background nor its historical details, concerning the Spanish martyrs of Tarraco sentenced to death in 259, raise any doubts. Their agreement with the historical facts is confirmed by the *Acta Martyrum.*[9] In the hymn in honour of Fructuosus there are a few episodes which cannot be rated as belonging to the realistic convention.[10] The first (v. 91–99) is the appearance of a spirit from heaven ("*resultat / caelo spiritus*"), who delivers a speech in which he shows that only the souls of the blessed can endure the test of martyrdom, thereby finding their way to God.

Non est, credite, poena, quam videtis,
quae puncto tenui citata transit,
nec vitam rapit illa sed reformat.

Felices animae quibus per ignem
celsa scandere contigit Tonantis
quas olim fugiet perennis ignis !
(*Perist.* VI 94–99)

The ensuing scene, in which the martyrs are burned at the stake in by their persecutors, might be ascribed to the realistic mode of presentation of an execution scene, if it were not for the description of their souls' miraculous liberation from bondage.

Nexus denique qui manus retrorsus
in tergum revocaverant revinctas
intacta cute decidunt adusti.

Non ausa est cohibere palmas
in morem crucis ad patrem levandas,

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[9] Cf. H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs,* Oxford 1972, no. XXXII.

[10] In *The Acts of Martyrs* (no. XXXII 5–7, ed. H. Musurillo) there are descriptions of other miracles connected with the martyrdom of St. Fructuosus and his companions. Palmer (above n. 1) 208 analysed them ; a detailed comparison of the miracles in *Acta Martyrum* and in the *Peristephanon* cf. pp. 220–221.

solvit bracchia quae deum precentur.
(*Perist.* VI 103–108)

There are more miraculous events following the death of Fructuosus and his companions. The guard in the prefect's palace sees the gates of heaven wide open and the souls of the martyrs flying straight up to heaven.[11] Unlike the prefect, his daughter witnesses the same scene:

Vidit praesidis ex domo satelles
caelum martyribus patere apertum
insignes viros per astra ferri.
……………
Haec tunc virginitas palam videre
per sudum meruit parenre caeco,
ut crimen domini domus timeret.
(*Perist.* VI 121–123;127–129)

When, after the martyrs' bodies have been burned, the faithful collect up their ashes and bones to take home and keep them as holy relics, three figures in snow-white robes – no doubt angels – appear and instruct them to put all the remains into a marble urn and inter them together ("*mandant restitui cavoque claudi / mixtim marmore...*," v.140 f.).

In Prudentius' poem the miraculous events accompanying the martyrdom and death of Bishop Fructuosus and his two deacons provide a justification of their later apotheosis, and forecast the special care which the Spanish martyrs will bestow on Tarraco, their earthly home. In the conclusion of this poem the narrator expresses his hope that the martyrs will also extend their protection to him at the Last Judgement, just as they protect Tarraco, and save him from punishment on account of his poetry:

Fors dignabitur et meis medellam
tormentis dare prosperante Christo
dulces hendecasyllabos revolvens.
(*Perist*. VI 160–162)

The next work in the *Peristephanon* cycle, the hymn in honour of Quirinus (*Hymnus in honorem Quirini beatissimi martyris ecclesiae Siscinianae, Perist.* VII), is built up on the account of the miracle which occurred during the martyrdom of St. Quirinus, Bishop of Siscia (Illyria), in 310, during the persecution of the Christians under the Emperor Galerius.

[11] Cf. Roberts (above n. 1) 73.

Essentially the relation of the event itself is maintained in the realistic convention, and consists of the following episodes: the Bishop and Martyr is thrown into the river from the bridge, with a millstone round his neck (v. 21–30); crowds of faithful Christians gather on the banks (v.31–35); Quirinus is miraculously kept afloat, despite the millstone, and preaches on the subject of death to his flock (v. 36–45); the continuation of the description of the miracle (v. 46–50); and the Bishop's prayer for death by drowning in the river (v. 51–85).

In Prudentius' presentation, the miracle which precedes Quirinus' death consists in the martyr's keeping afloat despite the millstone round his neck. This event runs counter to the laws of physics, but it is a sign of the power of God, who can suspend the natural laws, as shown later in the example of St. Peter walking on water (*Perist.* VII 61–70).[12] Quirinus' prayer is in praise of God's extraordinary power, which has wrought the miracle:

Haec miracula sunt tuae
virtutis, domine, ut modo
suspendor leve praenatans
summo gurgite fluminis,
cum collo scopulum traham.

Iam plenus titulus tui est
et vis prodita nominis
gentilis habet stupor.
(*Perist.* VII 71–78)

Quirinus' prayer for death is answered: God withdraws the supernatural power which has enabled him to keep up on the water:

Orantem simul habitus
et vox deserit et calor
scandit spiritus ardua
fit pondus grave saxeum
corpus suscipiunt aquae.
(*Perist.* VII 86–90)

In the highly dramatic poem in honour of St. Romanus (*Romanus, Perist.* X), the historical facts are integrally combined with the legend of the martyrdom of this deacon from Caesarea, put to death in Antioch during the

[12] Cf. Mt 14,29 f.

wave of persecution under Galerius (303–311). This martyr was especially venerated in Spain.[13] While he is being tortured Romanus, who has voluntarily submitted himself for martyrdom out of love for Christ and his fellow Christians, experiences a singular instance of the power of God. When he has been put on the stake a huge downpour of rain extinguishes the fire, as if at the martyr's behest:

> *Et iam retortis bracchiis furca eminus*
> *Romanus actus ingerebatur rogo.*
> *"Scio" – inquit ille – "non futurum ut concremer,*
> *nec passionis hoc genus datum est mihi,*
> *et restat ingens, quod fiat miraculum".*
>
> *Haec eius orsa sequitur inmensus fragor*
> *nubis ruentis, nimbus undatim nigro*
> *praeceps aquarum flumine ignes obruit.*
> *Alunt olivo semiconbustas faces,*
> *sed vincit imber iam medentem fomitem.*
> (*Perist.* X 851–860)

Romanus' premonition does not fail him: he is to die by another kind of death ("*nec passionis / hoc genus datum est mihi*", v.854), and is fully aware that only a great miracle ("*ingens miraculum*") can save him from the stake. And indeed, at that very moment clouds appear and the rain sets his persecutors' plans to naught. But what is a great miracle of God for the Christians and most of all for Romanus himself, confirms his persecutors in the belief that he is a magician ("*magus*") applying Thessalian charms ("*Thessalorum carmine*") to escape punishment.

While the "*miraculum*" described in v.851–860 may be regarded as a fortuitous atmospheric event which frustrates Romanus' execution at the stake, the martyr's ability to continue speaking after the removal of his tongue (v. 891 ff.) is presented by the narrator as an outright miracle.[14] The horrifically maimed Romanus addresses his persecutor Asclepiades, telling him that his ability to speak despite the loss of his tongue is one of the innumerable signs of the power of the Creator, who is capable of suspending or amending the laws of nature which He Himself has established.

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[13] Cf. Brozek (above n. 5) 31

[14] Cf. Palmer (above n.1) 246.

Habet usitatum munus hoc divinitas,
quae vera nobis colitur in Christo et patre,
mutis loquellam, percitum claudis gradum,
surdis fruendam reddere audientiam,
donare caecis lucis insuetae diem.

Haec si quis amens fabulosa existimat,
vel ipse tute si parum fidelia
reddere pridem, vera cognoscas licet.
Habes loquentem cuius amputaveras
linguam. Probatus cede iam miraculis.
(*Perist.* X 951–960)

Standing before the astonished Asclepiades, Romanus accounts for his ability to speak though tongueless as a miraculous proof of God's power, before which his persecutor should humble himself.[15] The testimony of Ariston, the physician who performed the amputation, leaves no doubt that a real miracle is involved:

Sciat hic quis illi verba sigillet deus.
Ego unde mutus sit disertus nescio.
(*Perist*. X 999–1000)

A patent departure from the realistic convention comes in the eschatological passage in *Passio Agnes* (*Perist.* XIV 91–123). After the death of the martyr Agnes, her spirit is liberated from the shackles of the body and rises high above the earth. Accompanied by angels, she looks down on a world full of pride, envy, crime, paganism, and all sorts of evil. A special place in this description is accorded a scene where Agnes' spirit vanquishes a devil which has assumed the form of a fiery-plumed dragon. This eschatological section closes with a brief description of God decorating the virgin martyr with two garlands, as a reward for her chastity and for the sacrifice of martyrdom (v. 119–123).

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I shall close this outline of the two orders of the world portrayed in Prudentius' *Peristephanon* with some general remarks. The conclusion

[15] Cf. M. Kah, *"Die Welt der Römer mit der Seele suchend…" Die Religiosität des Prudentius im Spannungsfeld zwischen 'pietas christiana' und 'pietas Romana'*, Bonn 1990, 246.

which may be drawn is that the poetic world in this cycle is built up of realistic components alongside elements of the "miraculous", whereby the intensity of the latter type varies in the particular poems belonging to the cycle. The composition of the world presented by Prudentius in these poems through an amalgamation of the realistic and the supernatural was undoubtedly the realisation of one of his chief aims – to depict the martyrdom of these champions of Christ as extraordinary events transcending the bounds of ordinary human experience. The martyrs, who gave up their lives for Christ willingly and in full awareness, joyfully suffering terrible tortures, were especially beloved by God. They were his chosen ones, who by their suffering found a way to Him, and therefore deserve not only their ultimate reward, but also the distinction given them by God while they were still on earth. The "*miracula*" attending their suffering and death were signs through which God expressed His approval for their attitude, conduct, words, and death. They were signs in a double sense; on the one hand they confirmed the martyrs in their faith and conviction that they had made the right choice, while on the other hand they offered both the Christians and their persecutors proof of God's power, superior even to the laws of nature. Two orders coexist in the poetic world of the *Peristephanon*: the realistic order which is concordant with the categories of human experience; and the supernatural order beyond the senses, which is a sign of God's omnipotence. In the *Peristephanon* the two orders, the "*facta*" and the "*miracula*", continually overlap and intermingle with one another, giving rise to the idiosyncratic spiritual climate of these poems.

University of Kraków

NERO'S PET HIPPOPOTAMUS (SUET. *NERO* 37,2)

DAVID WOODS

> *Creditur etiam polyphago cuidam Aegypti generis crudam carnem et quidquid daretur mandere assueto, concupisse vivos homines laniandos absumendosque obicere*. (Suet. *Nero* 37,2)[1]

Various translators are all agreed in identifying the *polyphagus* as a human being. Aillaud translates as a "certain glouton, un Égyptien", Graves as "a certain Egyptian – a sort of ogre", Bird as "an Egyptian who was a great eater", and Edwards as "a fiend from Egypt".[2] More ambiguously, Rolfe refers to "a monster of Egyptian birth", but then refers to "him" rather than to "it". This suggests that he uses the term "monster" metaphorically, and that he also understands this *polyphagus* as a human being.[3] Some early modern commentators compared this incident to the alleged delight displayed by the emperor Aurelian (270–75) at a glutton who consumed a whole wild boar, one hundred loaves of bread, a sheep, and a pig (*HA Aurel*. 50,4),[4] but if the physical impossibility of this deed were not enough in itself to raise questions as to the historicity of this incident, we now know that, writing c.395, the sole author of the *Historia Augusta* simply invented much of his material. In this case, he was probably inspired by Suet. *Nero* 37 itself, or a derivative thereof.[5] Certainly, by the time of the *Chronographer*

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[1] Ed. M. Ihm, *C. Suetonius Tranquillus*: *Opera I*, Leipzig 1933, 247.

[2] H. Ailloud, *Suétone*: *Vies des Douze Césars II*, Paris 1931, 184; R. Graves, *Suetonius*: *The Twelve Caesars* (Penguin Classics), Harmondsworth 1957, 230; H. M. Bird, *Suetonius*: *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (Wordsworth Classics), Ware 1997, 267; C. Edwards, *Suetonius*: *Lives of the Caesars* (Oxford World's Classics), Oxford 2000, 217.

[3] J. C. Rolfe, *Suetonius II* (Loeb Classical Library 38), Cambridge MA 1914, 153.

[4] See e.g. J. H. Freese (ed.), *Suetonius*. *History of Twelve Caesars Translated by Philemon Holland* (*Anno 1606*), London 1930, Notes and Annotations, 87.

[5] See F. Paschoud, *Histoire Auguste V.1*: *Vies d'Aurélien et de Tacite*, Paris 1996, 224.

of 354 at latest, a tradition had developed that the *polyphagus* described at Suet. *Nero* 37 had been human, but the reliability of such a tradition is questionable.[6] It need not preserve genuine knowledge otherwise lost. Suetonius remains our earliest source in this matter, and probably best preserves the form and detail of the original tale. It is important to note, therefore, that his text remains ambiguous on this issue. Two factors seem to underlie the ready assumption that the *polyphagus* must have been human. First, this term was sometimes used of certain remote tribes. According to Strabo, the inhabitants of Ireland were πολυφάγοι as well as cannibals (*Geog*. 4,5,4), and he uses the same term to describe a tribe in the foothills of the Caucasus also (*Geog*. 11,5,7). Second, the fact that Suetonius refers to "raw" (*crudam*) flesh is reminiscent of the stock allegation made against various peripheral peoples who did not practise settled agriculture in the Roman manner, that they lived on raw flesh and milk.[7] Yet no source supports the existence of a primitive tribe of raw-flesh eating πολυφάγοι in Egypt. It is possible, of course, that this *polyphagus* was human, but an individual deviant rather than a representative of a wider cultural group, exactly as described by the *Chronographer of 354*. Nevertheless, the wider context suggests that we should identify this *polyphagus* as an animal instead, either a crocodile or a hippopotamus, probably the latter.[8]

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[6] Ed. Mommsen, *MGH AA. Chronica Minora I*, Berlin 1892, 146, l.1–5: *Hoc imp. fuit polyfagus natione Alexandrinus nomine Arpocras, qui manducavit pauca: aprum coctum, gallinam vivam cum suas sibi pinnas, ova C, pineas C, clavos galligares, vitrea fracta, thallos de scopa palmea, mappos IIII, porcellum lactantem, manipulum feni, et adhuc esuriens esse videbatur*. The *Chronographer* (p. 147, l.20–24) preserves a similar notice for another *polyphagus* under Severus Alexander (222–35) so that one suspects that he, or an earlier source, has rewritten and augmented a description of the Neronian *polyphagus* in the light of this later event, which need not have recorded the same phenomenon at all. Even if the Neronian *polyphagus* did in fact bear the name Harpocras, this does not necessarily mean that it was human, since it is an important part of the phenomenon of favourite animals or pets that they should be given human names. Yet anyone reading a notice recording such a detail may have been tempted to assume that the *polyphagus* was human for this very reason.

[7] B. D. Shaw, "Eaters of flesh, drinkers of milk": the ancient Mediterranean ideology of the pastoral nomad", *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982/3) 5–31.

[8] K. R. Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero*: *An Historical Commentary* (Coll. Latomus 157), Brussels 1978, 225, points us in the right direction when he describes Suetonius's account of the *polyphagus* as a "curious and far-fetched item" and makes the comparison with Vedius Pollio's eels.

The first argument in support of this identification must be that the crocodile (Plin. *NH* 8,89–94) and the hippopotamus (Plin. *NH* 8,95) were both from Egypt, unique to that province in fact. The second argument, and the reason also why we should favour the identification of the *polyphagus* as a hippopotamus rather than a crocodile, is that the hippopotamus was notorious for its appetite. Pliny reports that it used to overeat, but then prick itself upon broken reeds in order to bleed itself and unburden its body (*NH* 8,96). The third argument is that the wider literary context reveals that it was one of the standard charges made against someone as proof of his cruelty that he used to throw live prisoners to animals, often to his exotic pets, for insufficient reason. The wealthy knight Vedius Pollio (d. 15 BC) is said to have thrown slaves to be eaten alive in ponds of lampreys,[9] while the emperor Valentinian I (364–75) is said to have fed convicted criminals to his two pet bears called Innocence and Goldflake (Amm. 29,3,9). More relevant here, Suetonius criticizes Caligula for feeding prisoners to some wild beasts collected for a show without regard to the seriousness of the charges against them (*Calig*. 27,1). It would not be the least surprising, therefore, should his source for this scandal have reported a similar such tale concerning Nero also. It may be objected at this point that the hippopotamus is a herbivore and would not have eaten any flesh, raw or cooked, living or dead. Yet Suetonius's tale hardly derives from an objective scientific study of the eating-habits of the hippopotamus. It is important also that the hippopotamus was an unusual animal whose eating habits would not have been widely known, and that it was an aggressive animal that attacked its enemies with its tusks located in its mouth, that is, by biting them.[10] Hence it always looked as if the hippopotamus wished to eat its victim, even if this was not actually the case. More importantly, perhaps, the hippopotamus does sometimes consume flesh, although such behaviour has been described as aberrant and a reaction to nutritional stress.[11] The final point in favour of

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[9] Dio 54,23,1–6; Sen. *ira* 3,40,2, *Clem*. 1,18,2; Plin. *nat.* 9,77. In general, see R. Syme, "Who was Vedius Pollio ?", *JRS* 51 (1961) 23–30.

[10] On the aggressive nature of the hippopotamus, see e.g. S. K. Eltringham, *The Hippos*: *Natural History and Conservation*, London 1999, 120–21. The aedile M. Aemilius Scaurus was the first to exhibit a hippopotamus at Rome during his games in 58 BC (Plin. *nat* 8,96; Amm. 22,15,24). Augustus included a hippopotamus in games in 29 BC, although Dio wrongly claims that this was the first hippopotamus displayed in Rome (51,22,5).

[11] Eltringham (above n. 10) 82–4.

the identification of the *polyphagus* as a hippopotamus is that Nero sent a small expedition of praetorian guard to explore the territory of the Nile between Syene and Meroë c.62, apparently in preparation for a military expedition against Ethiopia.[12] This was prime hippopotamus territory, so that these guards may well have included one of these beasts among the various exotica which they probably brought back with them to the imperial court.

So why does not Suetonius call the hippopotamus by its proper title rather than describe it so ambiguously as a *polyphagus* ? The answer is that he did not himself live through many of the events which he describes and was only as good as his own source on any particular point. If this source was ambiguous or unclear, then his edited version of the same would probably have remained so also. In this particular case, since the term *polyphagus* is a transliteration from the Greek, one is tempted to assume that author of the ultimate source for this event must have written in Greek. Since Suetonius preserves two otherwise unattested Greek terms in his biography of Caligula, it is clear that the author of one of his ultimate sources for the Julio-Claudian period both wrote in Greek and delighted in the new and unusual.[13] One suspects that the same author may have taken an equal delight also in avoiding the obvious, so that he may have preferred to describe the hippopotamus by some other circumlocution rather than by its usual title. Hence Suetonius's text is ambiguous because this was a feature of the style of his source to whose wording he preferred to adhere as closely as possible.

In conclusion, Suetonius's description of Nero's possession of a flesh-eating *polyphagus* of Egyptian origin should be read as an ambiguous description of the possession by Nero of a pet hippopotamus. This ambiguity probably reflects the ambiguity of Suetonius's ultimate Greek source here, so that one may doubt whether even he himself was entirely clear as to the true nature of this *polyphagus*.

University College Cork

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[12] Plin. *nat.* 6,181, 184. Cf. Sen. *nat.q.* 6,8,3–4.

[13] See Suet. *Calig*. 29,1; 47.1. The identity of this source need not detain us here. It is not clear whether Suetonius had direct access to this Greek source or used an intermediate Latin translation. For a recent discussion of some of the relevant issues, see D. Wardle, "Cluvius Rufus and Suetonius", *Hermes* 120 (1992) 466–82.

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Künstlerlexikon der Antike. Herausgegeben von RAINER VOLLKOMMER, Redaktion von DORIS VOLLKOMMER-GLÖKLER. Band 1: A-K. LIX, 435 S.; Band 2: L-Z. Addendum A-K. VII, 560 S. K. G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2001, 2004. ISBN 3-598-11412-5. EUR 438.

Dies Lexikon stellt eine hochwillkommene Neuerscheinung dar. Ein wirkliches Desiderat der Forschung. In ihm sind alle Personen zusammengestellt, die Kunstwerke selbst manuell herstellten oder gedanklich konzipierten (wie Architekten), nicht aber die Mitarbeiter von Werkstätten, in denen Gegenstände als Massenware gefertigt wurden, wie etwa Terra sigillata -Gefäße oder Tonlampen. Alle wichtigen Gattungen antiker Kunstproduktion – Architektur, Malerei, Plastik, Vasen, Mosaiken, Gemmen, Münzen usw. – wurden berücksichtigt. Außerdem wurden solche Personen aufgeführt, die in literarischen Werken der Neuzeit als Künstler bezeichnet wurden, auch wenn sie heute als solche in Frage gestellt oder abgewiesen sind. In den beiden Bänden werden über 3800 Künstler behandelt, die vom 3. Jahrtausend bis um 700 n. Chr. um das Mittelmeer oder in den hellenistischen Königreichen bis zum Indus und in den römischen Provinzen in Nordwesteuropa tätig waren. Für einen Vertreter der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft ist es sehr wohltuend, daß etwa das alte Ägypten voll mitberücksichtigt worden ist.

Die Quellenbasis des Lexikons ist sehr breit angelegt, und es wird schwierig sein, etwaige größere Lücken zu finden. Es sei mir erstattet, zu erwähnen, daß in der Arbeitsstelle *CIL* an der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften eine für *CIL* XV bestimmte handschriftlich erhaltene Edition antiker Gemmen von Heinrich Dressel zur Zeit durch Manfred G. Schmidt zum Druck bearbeitet wird. Es ist mir nicht vollends klar geworden, in welchem Ausmaß die auf Gemmen geschriebenen Namen berücksichtigt wurden; es fehlen z. B. die in *CIL* I^2 2402–2434. 3611–3669 veröffentlichten Gemmenaufschriften (es kann sein, daß manche von ihnen Besitzernamen sind, nicht aber alle; z. B. die Sklaven sind doch eher als Gemmenschneider anzusehen). – Es wäre nützlich gewesen, bei nur inschriftlich bekannten Künstlern die von der Inschrift gebotene Dienstbezeichnung anzugeben, etwa M. Plautius Menecrates pictor. – Die Steinmetzen sind normalerweise nicht aufgenommen worden, und zwar zu Recht; warum aber wurde dann der Steinmetz Abraham berücksichtigt? Auch andere Steinmetzen werden gelegentlich aufgenommen, aber inkonsequent (etwa Anteros aus *CIL* VI 8893 ist da, aber die in 9550–9555 erwähnten fehlen).

Es versteht sich von selbst, daß ein so kolossales Werk nicht frei von kleineren Fehlern und Entstellungen sein kann. Unten sollen in strenger Auswahl einige kleinere Bemerkungen eines dankbaren Lesers folgen, die für eine zu wünschende Neuauflage gewertet werden können.

Acilius: Wenn dieser C. Acilius L. f. Treb(onia) nat(us) ein Architekt war, wie es scheint (*archit*. kann kaum als Cognomen gedeutet werden), dann muß *architectus* mit kleinem Anfangsbuchstaben geschrieben werden, um eine evtl. Verwechslung mit einem onomastischen Element zu vermeiden. – Aemilius, Kaeso: Die Inschrift ist ohne den geringsten Zweifel ein ligorianisches Produkt. – Aemilius Crescens: Der Mann war wohl ein architectus navalis (an Zeugen kommt noch *CIL* IV 4742 hinzu), daß er aber den Gentilnamen *Aemilius* geführt hätte, wie allgemein angenommen wird, ist unwahrscheinlich; er heißt in seinen Graffiti nur *Crescens*, ein Aemilius Cres(cens) in dem auf ihn bezogenen Graffito *CIL* IV 5134 hat nichts mit ihm zu tun. Zur Bibliographie füge hinzu Rougé, *Commerce maritime* (1966) 189; in Maulucci Vivolo korrigiere "I graffiti figurati" statt "I, Graffiti figurati". – Agathias Syros: Syros ist kein Name, sondern Herkunftsbezeichnung und muß Σύρος akzentuiert werden. – Agneios: Der Mann hieß in Wirklichkeit Agauos und war Vater des Herakleides (im Lex. Herakleides VII); der Autor hat ihn mit dem zweiten in der Inschrift erwähnten Bildhauer verwechselt. – Alexander: Schreibe ᾿Αλέξανδρος. Überhaupt wimmelt es in den griechischen Passagen von unerlaubt vielen Nachlässigkeiten, auf die ich im weiteren hinzuweisen verzichte. – Aloisius: Der Name des Mannes ist *Aloiosus* überliefert, und das hat nichts mit *Aloisius* (it. Luigi, frz. Louis) zu tun, sondern vertritt gr. *Alogiosus*, vgl. *CIL* XIII 1331. – Amiantus (I): Der Mann war kein Architekt, sondern *arc(arius)*, was der Autor aus *Arctos* 1997, 141 hätte entnehmen können. – Ebenso ist Q. Amiteius Architect(us) notwendigerweise kein Architekt. – Antenos: Er hieß in Wirklichkeit Anteros. – Architectus, Antonius: Dieses Stichwort muß weg, der Mann steht an richtiger Stelle auf S. 60 s. v. Antonius. Auch den nachfolgenden Verweis "Architectus → Quintus Architectus" kann man ruhig weglassen. – Blesamus Novius: Ich würde diesen Mann eher unter Novius Blesamus anführen. – Caelius: Der Fundort liegt weit von Neapel entfernt, in der Tat in Latium; das hätte der Autor, der Donderer folgt, aus *Arctos* 1997, 142 entnehmen können. – Cornelias: Es handelt sich um eine Frau namens *Cornelia Chelido*. – Plautius Lycon: Es ist ausgeschlossen, daß der aus Asien gebürtige (dies dem Artikel hinzuzufügen) Maler das Cognomen *Lycon* geführt hätte. – Pompeius, Sextus: Die Autorin hat den unkritischen Erörterungen von Donderer zu viel Gehör geschenkt, denn die Inschrift ist ohne den geringsten Zweifel eine ligorianische Fälschung (*Arctos* 1997, 142). – Quintus (II): Ich habe in *Arctos* 1997, 142 die Frage aufgeworfen, ob nicht *Q. Vinius Architect(us)* gelesen werden könnte. Wenn dem so ist, dann ist dieser Q. Vinius kein Architekt. – Veianius Vitellianus: Die von Donderer verfochtene Echtheit der Inschrift bleibt nach wie vor sehr unsicher.

Heikki Solin

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN, *Schriften und Nachlaß*. Band 3*: Schriften zur antiken Baukunst. Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der alten Tempel zu Girgenti in Sicilien. Anmerkungwen über die Baukunst der Alten. Fragment einer neuen bearbeitung der Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten, sowie zeitgenössische Rezensionen.* Bearbeitet von MARIANNE GROSS, MAX KUNZE, WOLFRAM MAHARAM und AXEL RÜGLER. Herausgegeben von ADOLF H. BORBEIN und MAX KUNZE. – Band 4,1:

Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums. Text: Erste Auflage Dresden 1764. Zweite Auflage Wien 1776. Herausgegeben von ADOLF H. BORBEIN, THOMAS W. GAETHGENS, JOHANNES IRMSCHER (†) und MAX KUNZE. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz; Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt; Winckelmann-Gesellschaft. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2001, 2002. ISBN 3-8053-2719-6. XL, 332 S., 4 Abb., 32 Taf. EUR 65,50 (Band 3), ISBN 3-8053-2031-0. CXI, 859 S., 16 Abb., 28 Taf. EUR 92 (Band 4,1).

Die große Winckelmann-Ausgabe schreitet gut vor. Die zwei hier anzuzeigenden Bände gehören zu den interessantesten, ist doch 'Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums' Winckelmanns Hauptwerk. Sein Text wird sowohl in der ersten als auch in der zweiten Auflage wiedergegeben, derart daß auf jeder Seiten der Text der ersten Auflage links, der der zweiten rechts gedruckt wird. Der Druck ist modern; nur die Titelblätter und gelegentlich andere Passagen werden in ursprünglichem Gewand wiedergegeben. In dem Vorwort wird Rechenschaft über die Entstehung der vorliegenden Ausgabe (die vor dem Fall der Mauer als deutsch-deutsches Projekt begonnen hatte) gegeben und über die Geschichte der verschiedenen Editionen des Werkes berichtet. Mit dem 1764 erstmals erschienenen Werk schuf Winckelmann ein neues historisches Ordungssystem für die Kunst der Ägypter, der orientalischen Völker, der Etrusker und Römer, vor allem aber der Griechen. Erstmals beurteilt er die Kunstwerke konsequent nach dem Kriterium des Stils und entwickelte eine Theorie über Ursprung, Wachstum, Veränderung und Verfall der Kunst. Es ist ein großes Ereignis in den Annalen der Geschichte der Altertumswissenschaft, daß dieses Werk jetzt in einer historisch-kritischen Ausgabe vorliegt. Ob darauf ein Kommentarband erscheinen soll, wird im Vorwort nicht ausdrücklich gesagt; nötig wäre er sicher.

Der dritte Band enthält einige kleinere Schriften zur antiken Baukunst, die aber von großem Interesse sind. Auch sie sind mehrfach ausgelegt und übersetzt worden. Aufs Geratewohl sei die Beschreibung einer berühmten Inschrift aus Cora erwähnt (S. 39f mit Kommentar S. 212–215), die auf dem Epistyl des Herculestempels aufgestellt wurde (die Editoren hätten im Kommentar erwähnen können, daß die Lesung des ersten Namens, Manlius, die damals im Umlauf war, nicht richtig ist, der Name ist *Matlius*. Am Ende sei es mir gestattet, eine kleine Korrektur zum Kommentar eines Passus derselben Schrift über ein auf dem Esquilin entdecktes Gemälde, von dem W. (s. 47) u. a. sagt: "Diese Gemählde stand an der Wand in einem Gartenhause der Villa Cesi eingesetzet, aber der jetzige Besitzer gedachter Villa der Prinz Pamfili hat alles daselbst überweißen lassen, und also ist nichts mehr von dem Gemählde zu sehen." Im Kommentar S. 245 meinen die Editoren, hier sei wohl die Villa Cesi an der via Flaminia (in der Nähe der Villa Giulia) gemeint. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich um die Villa Cesi in Anzio, die im Jahre 1648 in den Besitz von Camillo Pamphilj überging, heute Villa Adele (s. *Epigraphica* 65 [2003] 99–103).

Heikki Solin

MARCO BUONOCORE: *Theodor Mommsen e gli studi sul mondo antico. Dalle sue lettere conservate nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. Università di Roma 'La Sapienza'. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano e dei Diritti dell'Oriente Mediterraneo 79. Jovene Editore, Napoli 2003. ISBN 88-243-1492-9. 427 pp. EUR 35.

Per celebrare il centenario della scomparsa di Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), Marco Buonocore, *scriptor Latinus* e Archivista Capo presso la BAV, benemerito studioso dei fondi manoscritti vaticani, si è assunto il compito di raccogliere le 222 lettere autografe del grande studioso, indirizzate a varie personalità italiane nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, e oggi conservate e distribuite nei diversi fondi della Biblioteca. Oltre ad essere illuminante sulla personalità del Mommsen nonché sui suoi rapporti con amici e colleghi italiani, questo epistolario consente di seguire le varie tappe del suo lungo percorso culturale che si culminò nella fondazione e realizzazione di quello che diventò l'*opus* mommseniano per eccellenza, il *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Contatti personali con colleghi italiani erano di primaria importanza nella fase iniziale, negli anni 1840, quando la progettazione del *Corpus* cominciò a maturare nella mente del giovane Mommsen. Come viene testimoniato dalle lettere, soprattutto gli incontri con il grande Bartolomeo Borghesi, che era di quarant'anni più anziano del Mommsen, fecero una grande impressione sullo studioso tedesco. Infatti, dopo la morte del Borghesi, il Mommsen affermò che quegli era stato l'unico vero maestro che avesse mai avuto.

Verso il 1852, l'anno della pubblicazione delle *Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani Latinae*, che più tardi costituò il nucleo per i volumi IX e X del *CIL*, il Mommsen era già ben consapevole del fatto che una storia di Roma non avrebbe mai potuto essere scritta se le fonti epigrafiche avessero continuato a rimanere disperse, e spesso note solo da copie trascurate o del tutto inaccessibili. Infatti, dalla lettura dell'epistolario del Mommsen si ricava l'impressione che egli tenesse molto a che tutte le cose, anche quelle della vita privata, fossero in ordine e in qualche modo risolte. Egli considerò se stesso come uno studioso il cui compito era quello di rintracciare e portare alla luce i documenti della società antica per poi metterli in buon ordine. Questo lo considerava come suo dovere verso la scienza; altrimenti la ricerca non sarebbe andata avanti. L'organizzazione delle fonti antiche costituisce infatti un filo conduttore nei tanti interessi che il Mommsen ebbe: oltre a giurista, storico ed epigrafista, fu anche linguista e dialettologo, numismatico, ed un ottimo filologo e curatore di edizioni di testi latini. Quello che forse di più caratterizza il Mommsen come studioso è la sua indistruttibile tenacia rivolta alla costruzione di raccolte sistematiche e di corpora.

Chi esercitava il mestiere di epigrafista all'epoca del Mommsen rischiava di essere soprannominato 'DM Wissenschaftler', cioè studioso degli innumerevoli testi sepolcrali inizianti con la solita frase *Dis Manibus* (il termine fu usato almeno da Wilamowitz e Diels). L'espressione sta ad intendere un epigrafista che non va oltre la lettura del testo che o non sa o non vuole inserire nel contesto storico. Il Mommsen stesso poteva parlare dei colleghi meno talentosi, dicendo che erano "stupidi come un epigrafista". È chiaro che tali detti vanno letti contestualmente alla situazione degli studi classici tedeschi contemporanei. Il Mommsen, che era un polistorico, uno degli ultimi Varroni, e quindi difficilmente "stupido come un epigrafista", era naturalmente consapevole che la raccolta epigrafica del *CIL* si basava quantitativamente su testi piuttosti banali, ma questo non diminuisce il valore complessivo del progetto. In una lettera del 1879 egli scrive acutamente al suo collaboratore Enrico Stevenson: "la grandezza della nostra impresa consiste di minuzie, come tante montagne dai grani di sabbia" [p. 317, n. 178].

Pare del resto che il Mommsen si sia spesso divertito leggendo le iscrizioni. "Sarà un piacere di leggere e studiare in compagnia le iscrizioni e di rifare i giornali de' tempi romani"; così scrisse al suo intimo amico Giovanni Battista De Rossi nel 1851 [p. 82, n. 16]. Il Mommsen era talmente appassionato alle sue epigrafi ed ai viaggi epigrafici in Italia e altrove da essere soprannominato *homo lapidarius*. Egli raramente si permetteva di godere dell'*otium*. Stava sempre al lavoro e dormiva pochissimo cosa che, in parte, spiega anche i più di mille suoi titoli. D'altro canto, aveva spesso fretta e si lamentava della mancanza di tempo. Nel commento ad un'iscrizione di Terracina egli dice: "Cui otium erit, quod mihi deerat, plura sine dubio excipiet" (*CIL* X, ad n. 6331; più tardi, negli aggiornamenti [n. 8397], egli, onestamente, aggiunse: "ut festinans ipse descripsi imperfecte").

Nei lavori di gioventù la fretta era spesso causata dalle polemiche con le case editrici e dall'incertezza circa i finanziamenti e cose del genere, ma bisogna anche sottolineare che al Mommsen stava molto a cuore concludere i lavori, una volta iniziati. In una lettera del 1857 al napoletano Giulio Minervini, inviata cinque anni dopo la pubblicazione delle iscrizioni del Regno di Napoli, egli scrive: "Ella mi conosce, e saprà, che io non corro dietro alla vana gloria e che ho imparata la pazienza di aspettare il frutto degli studj, quando sarà maturo; ma rifletta, la prego, alle mille eventualità, che minacciano giornalmente alla nostra impresa, all'impazienza di quei che comandano e pagano, ed al dovere – almeno così sembra a me – di far oggi quel che può farsi, perché l'indomani non sta nelle nostre mani. Così pensai, quando pubblicai le iscrizioni Napoletane…. Questa, caro amico, è la mia fretta, fretta, se non m'inganno, non di giovine, ma di uomo prudente." [pp. 111 s., n. 25]. In alcune lettere successive il Mommsen definisce il suo *Corpus* non solo una "Torre di Babele", ma lo considera anche una prigione da dove bisogna uscire prima che sia troppo tardi. Quando i lavori per il IX e X volume del *CIL* erano quasi portati a termine, nel 1881, il Mommsen scrive al De Rossi: "se non fossimo stati noi due, carissimo Rossi, le tenebre epigrafiche non si sarebbero mai disperse, ed è un dovere, un santo dovere per noi, che se è possibile, non ci venga la notte prima di aver finito il lavoro." [p. 189, n. 93]. In un'altra lettera dello stesso anno egli annota: "senza quella intima fiducia in voi non mai avrei avuto il coraggio d'imbarcarsi nella galera epigrafica, da cui ora penso uscire in altri sei mesi dopo trent'anni di penitenziario non infruttuoso" [p. 194, n. 96].

Riguardo alla visione autoptica delle iscrizioni, la necessità per lo storico-epigrafista di vedere l'iscrizione con propri occhi è un principio insostituibile per il Mommsen (del suo collaboratore Enrico Dressel dice "che ha l'eccellente difetto di non fidarsi se non degli propri occhi" [p. 244, n. 129, lettera del 1886 al De Rossi]). Tuttavia, l'autopsia mommseniana ad altro non mirava se non a rendere certo l'andamento del testo iscritto (a proposito, cfr. quanto scrive Werner Eck in: *Concordia e la X Regio. Giornata di Studio in onore di Dario Bertolini* [Atti del Convegno, Portogruaro, 22–23 ottobre 1994], Padova 1995, 107 ss.). Infatti in questo senso, come epigrafista, nella sua voglia di rifarsi alle testimonianze più sicure, il Mommsen era un filologo. Per lui un documento epigrafico rappresentava solo il testo e quindi il supporto dell'iscrizione, il suo aspetto e le sue dimensioni non erano importanti per l'interpretazione. Dalle lapidarie espressioni del tipo *basis magna, litteris optimis bonae aetatis* ecc., che spesso sono tratte direttamente dagli autori precedenti, non si ricava molto, trattandosi di indicazioni orientative e troppo generiche. Se a volte viene nominata la forma del supporto – lastra, base, ara o simili, questo accade in maniera incompleta e nient'affatto sistematica. Per il Mommsen solo il testo epigrafico era portatore del messaggio storico; in lui c'era poca sensibilità per il contesto dei monumenti. D'altro canto, se il Mommsen avesse descritto le sue iscrizioni in maniera moderna fornendone tutte quelle informazioni che oggi sono indispensabili nelle edizioni epigrafiche, non avrebbe mai potuto fare quello che ha fatto. Mentre copiando solo il testo egli ci ha regalato numerosi documenti iscritti di cui altrimenti non sapremmo niente, visto che tante iscrizioni sono andate perse in seguito. In questo senso, dal punto di vista della salvaguardia del patrimonio epigrafico, il metodo mommseniano andrebbe considerato un successo.

Va ricordato anche che il Mommsen spesso sottolineava l'importanza dello studio analitico delle possibili integrazioni. I seguenti detti mommseniani, ricavati dalle sue lettere, sono tuttora validi: "a dir vero parmi piuttosto opera lusoria l'acconciare i supplimenti ad un numero di lettere troppo esattamente determinato" [p. 305, n. 175 del 1879], "assai più ho fidanza nella zappa che nel cervello" [p. 335, n. 189 dello stesso anno], oppure "meglio lasciare le cose incerte come stanno che sostituire alla possibilità un positivo falso" [p. 343, n. 197 del 1885].

Tutto sommato, un ottimo lavoro che, oltre ad essere uno studio epistolografico, fornisce al lettore tutta una serie di discussioni culturali e storico-epigrafiche, come pure tantissime osservazioni su singole iscrizioni. Dal punto di vista biografico italiano, le lettere del Mommsen, accompagnate da una miniera di commenti aggiornatissimi del curatore, offrono una panoramica molto affascinante dell'intellettualità italiana dell'epoca.

Mika Kajava

PINDARUS: *Pars II. Fragmenta. Indices*. Edidit HERWIG MAEHLER. Editio stereotypa editionis primae (MCMLXXXIX). Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae, in aedibus K. G. Saur 2001. ISBN 3-598-71568-2. VIII, 224 S. EUR 57.

Dies ist ein Nachdruck der 1989 erschienenen und von der Fachwelt freudig aufgenommenen Bearbeitung der erstmals 1953 veröffentlichten grundlegenden Ausgabe von Bruno Snell, von der 1964 die dritte Auflage das Tageslicht erblickte (von dieser erschien eine erste Überarbeitung durch M. 1975). Verlag und Autor haben sich daraf verständigt, der momentanen Nachfrage mit einem reinen Neudruck zu begegnen. Bald wird aber die Zeit für eine Neubearbeitung reif; man hat u. a. eine Änderung der Numerierung der Fragmente angeregt, und etwa die Papyri warten auf weitere Analysen (vgl. ferner die Erwägungen von G. B. D'Alessio, *Riv. fil.* 1991, 91–117). Es wäre schön, wenn auch der Verfasser einer Neubearbeitung Herwig Maehler hieße.

Heikki Solin

BACCHYLIDES: *Carmina cum fragmentis*. Edidit HERWIG MAEHLER. Editio undecima. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae in aedibus K. G. Saur 2003. ISBN 3-598-71116-6. LX, 172 S. EUR 19,80.

Dies ist der erste Teubnersche Bakchylides, auf dessen Titelblatt der Name Herwig Maehlers alleine zu lesen ist. In der 1970 erschienenen 10. Auflage stand noch "post Brunonem Snell edidit Hervicus Maehler". Snell hatte seinerzeit die Aufgabe von Fr. Blass und seinem Nachfolger W. Süss geerbt, die Teubneriana des Konkurrenten Pindars auf dem Laufenden zu halten; die 1. Auflage wurde 1898 publiziert. So hat der Verlag Teubner (mit seinen Nachfolgern) dem Bakchylidestext schon über ein Jahrhundert bedeutende Dienste erwiesen. Die neueste elfte Auflage begrüßt man freudig, denn die Bakchylides-Forschung hat große Fortschritte gemacht, an denen Maehler selbst einen nicht geringen Anteil hat (zu nennen vor allem sein 1982–1997 erschienener großer deutschsprachiger Kommentar und eine Auswahl auf Englisch aus dem Jahre 2004). An Zeugen sind neu hinzugekommen der Papyrus R (carm. 28 und Anfang von carm. 29) und Papyrus S (frg. 66). Von jetzt an ist Bakchylides nach dieser Ausgabe zu zitieren.

Heikki Solin

ARISTOPHANES IV: *Frogs, Assemblywomen, Wealth*. Edited and translated by J. HENDERSON. Loeb Classical Library 180. Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) – London 2002. ISBN 0-674-99596-1. 602 pp. GBP 14.50.

The final fourth Loeb volume of Aristophanes, freshly edited and translated by Jeffrey Henderson brings together the three last extant plays by the master of classic Attic comedy. It is the basic aim of the LCL to provide short introductory notes (including selective lists of manuscripts and annotated editions) for each play, followed by an edition with an English translation and extremely selective variant readings (written in Latin) together with explanatory comments on the text, doing the duties of a critical apparatus and a shortened commentary. All in all, the volume under review fulfills these aims very well: it does give the reader a comparably reliable text, and a stylistically appropriate, colloquial translation in American English. A synopsis or a note on the meters would be welcome.

The passage from the last really classical piece *Frogs* through the transitional *Assemblywomen* to the popular quasi-middle comedy *Wealth* is at least partly reflected in the shrinking numbers of variant readings (41, 32, 20, respectively), of comments (157, 78, 54, respectively), and of personal names, retrievable from the *Index* (86, 60, 27); it must be noted that the length of the plays shrunk around 25 to 20 percent, too.

Henderson's text relies only partly on the progress achieved by A. S. Sommerstein. Henderson adopts a smaller number of scholars' readings than his predecessor Sommerstein: in the *Frogs*, Henderson adopts 69 examples, but in the *Wealth* only 20 examples (in the *Wealth*, verses 98, 196, 216, 227, 271, 287, 300, 374, 391, 499, 514, 547, 596, 641, 792, 859, 946, 1078, 1120, and 1170). There are also alternative readings based on Henderson's own ideas (e.g., *Wealth*, verses 43, 45, and

688). Occasionally, this causes metrical irregularities (e.g., in *Frogs* 1335a) which — as they remain unexplained — may irritate some of us.

Erkki Sironen

The Comedies of Aristophanes. Vol. 9: *Frogs*, Vol. 11: *Wealth*. Edited with translation and notes by A. H. SOMMERSTEIN. Aris and Phillips Classical Texts, Warminster 1996, 2001. ISBN 0-85668-648-4. 312 pp. GBP 17.50 (Vol. 9, pb), ISBN 0-85668-739-1. 336 pp. GBP 17.50 (Vol. 11, pb).

Congratulations are due to Prof. Alan H. Sommerstein for having completed his 23 years long and conscientious labor of composing a full series of Aristophanes' comedies with introductions, texts and translations furnished with readable modern commentaries.

Both volumes under review here include a very handy list of references and abbreviations followed by a sensible introduction that elucidates the historical and cultural context. In the *Wealth* volume, the introduction has been further clarified by its eight subchapters; this would certainly have benefited the *Frogs* volume, also. A note on the text and a select bibliography are followed by the Greek text and English translation plus commentary. I find the note on the text with its sigla and other symbols explained, as well as the (reasonably selective) bibliography, very useful for both the beginning and the more advanced student.

In Sommerstein's hands, the textual form of the plays has progressed considerably: there are dozens of changes for the better. Instead of manuscript readings, Sommerstein quite often prefers the readings of earlier scholars: there are 77 examples of this in the *Frogs* and 40 in the *Wealth* (in *Wealth*, verses 98, 119–120, 171, 196, 216, 227, 271, 287, 293, 300, 368, 374, 391, 476, 499, 505, 514, 524, 537, 546, 547, 596, 598, 641, 677, 701, 792, 805a, 859, 870, 917, 946, 979, 1027, 1030, 1078, 1095, 1120, 1170, and 1173); because the critical apparatus is selective, a fuller account of manuscript readings must be retrieved from Coulon's old, but still acclaimed, edition in series *Collection Budé*. There are some mistakes in Sommerstein's Greek text, not only in the breathings and accents (e.g., in the *Frogs*, verses 215, 272, 366, 483, 492, 501 (twice), 518, 519, 581, 684, 699, 736, 749, 1187, 1198, 1469, and 1523; in the *Wealth*, verses 17, 367, 434, 447, 535, 543 (twice), 564, 637, 641, 678, 687, 706, 781, 881, and 1096).

Certainly numerous approaches to translating Aristophanes have been used during the past centuries, but this one is basically accurate, although also occasionally free (in such cases the literal translation is given in the commentary). The cues for the fast changing dialogue situations and staging, added in brackets, do help a lot. The spacious commentary, weighing various views argued by different scholars, testifies to Sommerstein's learning and humility — he confesses several times that he was wrong in his earlier publications. While giving a course on Aristophanes' *Wealth* this past autumn, I found the commentary excellent in many respects, but occasionally more comments on the language would have been useful: e.g., πλήν with the nominative κολοσυρτόν in verses 535–536 raised questions from my students.

An extra bonus in the *Wealth* volume is the *Addenda* to all the previous 10 volumes, altogether more than 100 pages. The absence of an index is now amended by the fresh *Index* volume, published in 2002.

Erkki Sironen

PLAUTUS: *Amphitruo*. Edited by DAVID M. CHRISTENSON. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. ISBN 0-521-45401-8 (hb); 0-521-45997-4 (pb). 339 pp. GBP 50 (hb), GBP 18.99 (pb).

It is pretty generally agreed that the *Amphitruo* is one of the funniest of Plautus' plays. Accordingly, one is pleased to observe the *Amphitruo* being added to the volumes of the useful Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics Series. This book, a revised version of the author's dissertation (p. ix), has been fairly well received, and I have found it both useful and instructive, especially as far as the commentary goes. However, it must be admitted that there are parts which seem less impressive. This also seems to be the bottom line of other reviews of this book; and speaking of reviews, this book may well be remembered for having provoked one of the weirdest reviews in the history of scholarly reviewing, that of C. Questa (the well-known authority on Plautine metre) in *RFIC* 129 (2001) 91-99. This review must be read to be believed; note, e.g., the reference (perhaps not really needed) to Jesse James, an American outlaw of the 19th century, on p. 94, the description of a well-known modern scholar as *merobibus multibibus multiloquus* on the same page and that of two well-known female scholars as "garrule" (and of their work as "titoli amatoriali") on p. 93. One also wonders about the way the author of the book reviewed here is spoken of on p. 96, only the first name being used. – In any case, the *genre* of a scholarly commentary is an extremely difficult one, and as there is normally enormous variation in the range of potential users, of whom it is practically impossible to please everyone, one should not wonder too much if reviewers find a passage or two with which they are unhappy.

The book begins pretty much as one would expect it to begin. There are chapters on Plautus himself, on Roman comedy in general, on the *Amphitruo* ("The play's the thing", p. 13-45, with sections on "Theme, structure, and movement", "Performance", and on "Reception and reaction"), on its background and sources (no firm views being taken, understandably), on metre, on the "Rezeption" of the play, and on the transmission of the text. I rather liked the chapter on the play itself, with an emphasis on the importance of interpreting the *Amphitruo* as a play (and not as a literary product in general), and thought that the other chapters, too, were more or less useful and informative, especially if used by the uninitiated as introductions to their respective topics. However, in the (first) chapter on Plautus himself, I wondered about some things, for instance about what is said in n. 5, but especially about the passage on Plautus' name (p. 1). It may well be that, in Plautine studies, the nomenclature 'T. Maccius Plautus' is regarded as "implausible", but this is misguided. In Rome in Plautus' period, one gets one's gentile name either by being born to a father with the same name or by being manumitted by someone, again a person with the same name. Thus Plautus can have become 'Maccius' either as the son or as the freedman of another Maccius, and it is in no way useful or even possible to introduce the existence of a *maccus* in the *fabula Atellana* at this point; what we are dealing with is a simple coincidence. As for the fact that Plautus calls himself 'Maccus' whereas later writers refer to him as 'Maccius', this was explained a long time ago by W. Schulze (*Zur Geschichte röm. Eigennamen* [1904] 298), who observed that *Maccus* is the dialectal form of an Etruscan original *mace*, and that *Maccius* is the same name equipped with a more 'Roman' ending (in the same way people called 'Bellicus' or 'Passienus' started to call themselves 'Bellicius' or 'Passienius'). As for the *praenomen*, it is really nice that it happens to be *Titus* because if Plautus did come from Sarsina in Umbria (doubted without a clear reason by Christensen, p. 1), his origin would fit marvellously with the fact that *Titus*, normally a rarish name, was the second most popular *praenomen* in Umbria (see my *Die röm. Vornamen* [1987] 158). *Plautus* was, of course, a nickname of sorts, as one would not expect someone in Plautus' position to have had a real *cognomen* in this period.

In the chapter on metre (and in the notes on metre in the commentary), a notation of the type ABCD, based on a *metron*, is used, with B and D denoting the *longae* and small letters standing for short syllables (e.g., ABcD = – – u –, aaBCdd = uu – – uu). In this chapter, the author does not seem to be at his best in explaining things, for what he says in some places must seem too complicated for the average student (e.g., the passage on resolution on p. 62 and sections ix-xi). Moreover, a detail or two in this chapter seemed a bit questionable to me; certainly I find it hard to believe that a word of the type *stultitia* was accented on the first syllable (p. 58).

The text, on p. 83-128, is given without even a rudimentary *apparatur criticus*, a decision which some will not think the best solution. However, there is a section (p. 77-80) in which the differences between this edition and those of Leo and Lindsay are noted (the author seems to choose sometimes a reading of Leo, sometimes that of Lindsay; new proposals by the author himself, two cases, are noted on p. 76). – Besides the lack of an *apparatus* of sorts, many may also object to the lack of a *conspectus metrorum*, something which does not seem to be explained anywhere. Now it is true that there is a table of the metres of lines 153-262 in the commentary on line 153ff. (p. 166) and similar tables in other places, but this is not quite the same as having a clear summary of the metrical structure of the whole play.

But let us now turn to the commentary which, for many users of the book, will be the most interesting part and which in any case is the longest (pp. 129-317). In general I must say that I found the commentary both helpful and instructive; no doubt it will be of great use to those dealing with the *Amphitruo*. At the same time I must, however, also say that there are details which I thought somewhat dubious. For instance, at 2 n., should one not scan *aBCD* (etc.) instead of *ABCD*, the *e* in *emundis* being short rather than long? At 404 n., I was wondering whether one should really be worried about the "anachronism" if the name of the *Portus Persicus*, used by Amphitryon on his way back to Thebes, were derived from an event of the Persian wars. I mean, would Plautus really have cared about a detail such as this? But let me illustrate the problems of a scholarly commentary by having a look at some notes on the text of a random passage, and let me choose the scene in which Sosia becomes aware of Mercury in front of Amphitryon's house (292ff.). Now, although most of what is said in the notes on this passage is information useful both to the student and to the scholar, there are also details I was somewhat less happy with. Some instances: line 320: does *perii, si me aspexerit* really need to be commented upon (here, as in many other places, by a translation of the phrase)? Line 329: should not the use of *ut* ("seeing that") have earned a short explanation? Line 332: the choice of *certo* instead of *certe* is explained with a refererence to "euphony"; but will this make a beginner any wiser? Line 339: *certum est* ("I'm resolved") might have deserved a bit more than just a reference to the *OLD*. Line 351: perhaps the mention of *rex Creo* should have been explained. Line 362: the point and the exact meaning of the note on *haecine tua domust?* are not clear to me. Line 365: the "Romanized Thebans" (said to have "generally" addressed Sosia as *puer* rather than by his name) struck me as a particularly unhappy formulation.

Thus what one observes, then, is that there are notes in the commentary of questionable relevance. However, this illustrates the extreme difficulty of writing a commentary which would please everyone rather than the results of the labours of Professor Christenson. In general, I must conclude by saying that this is a most satisfactory piece of work which will be used with profit both by students and scholars. – The book seem well produced; I noticed misprints only on pp. 44, 216, 306.

Olli Salomies

M. TERENTIUS VARRO: *Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta*. Edidit RAYMOND ASTBURY. Editio altera. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae in aedibus K. G. Saur 2002. ISBN 3-598-71236-7. XLIV, 155 S. EUR 50.

Astbury, ein harter Kritiker der großen Ausgabe von Cèbe, hat selbst 1985 eine kritische Ausgabe der Menippeischen Saturae Varros produziert. Jetzt hat der Verlag sie durch eine leicht neubearbeitete Auflage wieder zugänglich gemacht. Astburys Ausgabe wurde seinerzeit mit zwiespältigen Gefühlen aufgenommen; Lob und ernsthafte Kritik wechselten. In der Neuauflage hat A. der Kritik nicht sonderlich Rechnung getragen (so hat er auf die Einverleibung der meisten ausgewogenen kritischen Bemerkungen von Jocelyn in *CR* 1988, 33–36 verzichtet). Man kann sich auch mit Jocelyn fragen, ob die äußerliche Präsentation der Fragmente die bestmögliche ist – eine Mahnung an den Verlag mit Hinsicht auf die Gestaltung künftiger Teubner-Ausgaben.

Heikki Solin

Albii Tibulli aliorumque carmina. Edidit GEORG LUCK. Editio altera. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stutgardiae et Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri 1998. ISBN 3-598-71864-0. XLIV, 117 S. EUR 25.

Die 1988 erschienene erste Auflage der von Luck bearbeiteten Ausgabe des Corpus Tibullianum wurde von der Fachwelt nicht besonders günstig aufgenommen (vgl. vor allem Fedeli, *Gnomon* 1991, 309–313 und Tränkle, *MH* 1988, 258f). In der neuen

Auflage konnten die grundlegenden Schwächen verständlicherweise nicht beseitigt werden; was neu hinzugekommen ist, bleibt meist kosmetischer Natur. L. hat in der Praefatio die Liste der Hss stark vervollständigt (aufgrund von Hausmann, *Kontinuität und Wandel*, 1986, 598–632), es handelt sich aber meistens um recentiores, die kaum nennenswert zum Tibulltext beitragen. – Ein paar Quisquiliae. S. 102: im Apparat von carmen 6, 16 entferne den Punkt nach *sed*. S. 113: sind Eingriffe vom Typ "(Aegyptius 1, 3, 32; 7, 28)" wirklich nötig im Index (sie fehlen in der ersten Auflage)?

Heikki Solin

IULIUS VALERIUS: *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis translatae ex Aesopo Graeco*. Adhibitis schedis ROBERTI CALDERAN edidit MICHELA ROSELLINI. Editio correctior cum addendis. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae in aedibus K. G. Saur 2004. ISBN 3-598-71279-0. l, 222 S. EUR 62.

Die ausgezeichnete Ausgabe von Rosellini erschien zum ersten Mal 1993 (in *Arctos* 30 [1996] 273f kurz besprochen) und erscheint jetzt neu aufgelegt, um zwei Seiten Addenda vermehrt; der Text wurde unverändert nachgedruckt. Die Editorin hat die ausführlichen Besprechungen von G. Haverling, H. D. Jocelyn und M. D. Reeve mit Gewinn ausgenützt und aufgrund deren einige Verbesserungen für den Text und Apparat vorgenommen.

Heikki Solin

VIRGILIUS MARO GRAMMATICUS: *Opera omnia*. Edidit BENGT LÖFSTEDT. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Monachii et Lipsiae in aedibus K. G. Saur 2003. ISBN 3-598-71233-2. XVIII, 267 S. EUR 134.

Der kürzlich hingeschiedene Bengt Löfstedt, seit Jahrzehnten ein treuer Mitarbeiter unserer Zeitschrift, hat uns mit seinem letzten Werk eine ausgezeichnete Edition des frühmittelalterlichen Grammatikers geschenkt. "Virgilius Maro" (es handelt sich um ein nomen artis), vielleicht ein konvertierter Jude aus Spanien(?), wirkte im 7. Jh. möglicherweise in Irland und England. Er hat mehrere Werke hinterlassen, von denen einige verloren gegangen sind; erhalten sind zwölf von fünfzehn Büchern *Epitomae* sowie acht Lehrbriefe (*Epistolae*), die die *Ars maior* und *minor* des Donatus in Erinnerung bringen. Seine Schriften sind u. a. interessant, da sie die verworrenen sprachlichen Verhältnisse jener Zeit widerspiegeln und deswegen als Zeugnisse für die Romanisierung des Lateins nicht ohne Belang sind. Die hsl Überlieferung erfolgte über einen Archetypus mit beiden erhaltenen Werken. Darüber und über die hsl Grundlage im allgemeinen berichtet L. zwar etwas knapp, aber hinreichend; genauere Auskunft kann der Leser aus Polaras kritischer Ausgabe von 1979 holen. In der Textkonstitution ist L.s erstes Anliegen, einen Text aufgrund der wichtigsten Handschrift, des Codex Neapolitanus vom 9. Jh. zu produzieren; mit der Angabe von auch guten älteren

Konjekturen ist er äußerst sparsam, was zu bedauern ist. Nur von Polaras Konjekturen hat er manche akzeptiert, und er hat auch selbst deren eine gute Zahl produziert. Da er noch den Neapolitanus genauer als Polara ausgewertet hat, ist seine Ausgabe zweifelsohne die zur Zeit beste und wird so hoffentlich ein neues Interesse an dem Mann erwecken, zu dessen Auswertung nun eine zuverlässige Ausgabe zur Verfügung steht.

Heikki Solin

JOHN MARINCOLA: *Authority and tradition in ancient historiography.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997. ISBN 0-521-48019-1 (hb), 0-521-54578-1 (pb). XVI, 361 pp. GBP 60 (hb), GBP 30 (pb).

At an early stage, the Greeks decided that reading critical history was the best way to learn statecraft (cf. Thucydides and Polybius). This idea led to a flourishing tradition of historiography that was then carried on by the Romans, Arabs and Medieval Europeans. At the same time, special studies of politics and statecraft are relatively rare. A similar decision was made in China and thus there is also a very important tradition of Chinese historiography. In India, things went differently; there are few works of history, but an old and important tradition of political science.

John Marincola's book deals with the methods and techniques of Greek and Roman historiography from Herodotus (with occasional background from epics) to Ammianus. Lost histories are included when there are pertinent fragments available. An emphasis is laid on the way the historians themselves understood and presented their work. In many respects, there were significant differences in motivation and method in the periods of the Greek city states, of the Hellenistic monarchies and of the Roman Empire. Another difference is found between the authors of contemporary history and of the past. The first chapter, "The call to history", analyses various answers to the question of why one has taken to writing history. Generally, the greatness and uniqueness of the subject matter as well as the particular ability of the author to deal with it are emphasised. There are personal factors involved; a Thucydides would hardly have written the history of an Alexander. "The historians' inquiry" deals with the methodological accounts and explanations. Discussion of the methods had an important place in major histories, starting with Herodotus and Thucydides. Generally, the autopsy was held important, but its defects were also known and analysed. "The historians' character" was also found important for their reliability; most of them laid particular emphasis on their impartiality and critical acumen, true or not. The fourth chapter, "The historians' deeds," deals with the role contemporary historians themselves had in the history they wrote. This is important in cases such as Xenophon, Polybius and Caesar. Discretion was necessary as criticism was harsh towards self-praise (Ctesias, Cato). "The 'lonely' historian: contrast and continuity" takes up the recurring topos of the historian being somehow unique in his quest for truth. This includes the polemic and criticism of one's predecessors. There are seven appendices dealing with some further points, a bibliography, Index locorum, Index of Greek words, and General index.

Klaus Karttunen

DENIS FEENEY: *Literature and religion at Rome. Culture, contexts, and beliefs*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1998. Roman Literature and its Contexts. ISBN 0-521-55104-8 (hb), 0-521-55921-9 (pb). XII, 161 pp. GBP 40 (hb), GBP 15.99 (pb).

Il nucleo di questo volume –più che valido sotto molti aspetti- si può intendere come il punto di arrivo degli studi affrontati negli ultimi venti anni dall'A. Egli si è dedicato principalmente all'analisi delle opere di alcuni poeti latini del I sec. a.C. e del I sec. d.C. e soprattutto delle connessioni della poesia con il mondo delle divinità e con la mitologia, in particolar modo di origine ellenica, come dimostra ampiamente il suo importante saggio del 1991 dal titolo *The Gods in epic: poets and critics of the classical tradition*, di cui la presente opera rappresenta una necessaria evoluzione più matura e decisamente più completa. Con questo lavoro Feeney risale fino a prendere in esame il complesso ed articolato rapporto fra religione e letteratura a Roma, due mondi considerati contigui e necessari l'uno all'altro già dagli stessi Romani e che quindi devono essere analizzati insieme. L'A. intende rendere a noi note le loro molteplici interazioni –fino a pochi anni fa quasi del tutto ignorate o comunque banalizzate dagli studiosi di una e dell'altra materia– e rivelare la loro natura di sistemi culturali *tout court* –del tutto appropriata a tal riguardo, mi pare, la scelta del sottotitolo *culture, contexts, and beliefs*– l'uno attivamente coinvolto nell'evoluzione e nello sviluppo dell'altro. Proprio questa si rivela essere una delle principali innovazioni di quest'opera: il radicale cambiamento di prospettiva dal quale poter osservare la religione e la letteratura romane, ma soprattutto la consapevolezza che esse non possano essere osservate separatamente o considerate l'una come sfondo sui cui l'altra sia stata intessuta, come appare chiaro dalle parole dell'A.: "piuttosto che chiederci come la religione trasmuti in letteratura, dovremmo invece riflettere in termini di un ambito di pratiche culturali che interagiscono, entrano in competizione e si definiscono reciprocamente attraverso un processo" (pp. 1–2).

L'A. esamina in maniera analitica e profonda il rapporto fra religione e letteratura nel complesso panorama culturale della Roma dell'età tardo repubblicana e protoimperiale ed alla luce di tale rapporto finisce per svelare la vera essenza, la natura ed il valore della multiforme religione romana, restituendole la dignità di sistema culturale dinamico.

Il volume si apre con un'ampia ed articolata "Introduction" (pp. 1–11), nella quale l'A. spiega in maniera dettagliata l'intento dell'opera. Questa densa parte introduttiva presenta *in nuce* le tematiche affrontate in seguito e per il lettore si rivela strumento indispensabile per orientarsi all'interno delle complesse problematiche religiose, letterarie e culturali sullo sfondo delle quali Feeney costruisce la sua convincente teoria. Fin dalle prime pagine viene esplicitamente dichiarato l'intento del libro, ossia quello di ridefinire le modalità in cui letteratura e religione interagiscono, cosa che secondo l'A. non è stata affrontata correttamente dalla maggior parte dei latinisti, restii a considerare seriamente gli aspetti religiosi, nonché quelli letterari della cultura. Nell'introduzione l'A. si sofferma, poi, altrettanto dettagliatamente, sugli innovativi criteri metodologici alla base del proprio modo di procedere (pp. 2–8). Per prima cosa egli ribadisce la necessità che le testimonianze letterarie siano studiate –a differenza del tradizionale metodo di analisi– all'interno del loro contesto culturale, in particolare quando si tratta di un contesto religioso: ed è proprio partendo da alcuni testi di autori di fine I sec. a.C.–inizi I sec. d.C.

che egli ci introduce direttamente nel cuore dei problemi di interpretazione della religione romana. In secondo luogo, Feeney mira a scardinare i preconcetti –inserendosi in tal modo in quella linea di rivalutazione del sistema cultuale romano, sviluppata per la prima volta da Jocelyn nel 1966 con il suo contributo *The Roman Nobility and the Religion of the Republican State*– preconcetti, che hanno da sempre condizionato il modo in cui la maggior parte degli studiosi di letteratura e di religione romana hanno affrontato testi e tematiche. Alla luce di assunti fondati sia sul modello cristiano definitorio di ciò che conta in una religione, sia sul modello greco impostato sull'organicità del rito e della mitologia, si è creduto di volta in volta che la religione romana in età tardorepubblicana e protoimperiale fosse meramente formalistica e del tutto priva di interesse etico, che essa avesse perso la sua autenticità e fosse divenuta incoerente e dunque in fase di declino, che le *élites* che producevano e consumavano letteratura fossero divenute estranee e scettiche verso le proprie tradizioni religiose, ma soprattutto che l'esperienza religiosa romana fosse "non autentica" e "secondaria", al contrario di quella greca.

Nel momento in cui ci si trova in presenza della categoria di letteratura a Roma, è necessario affrontare la questione del modello greco, al cui confronto la cultura romana in generale è sempre venuta fuori piuttosto ridimensionata; quando in particolare, si passa ad analizzare l'elemento religioso nella letteratura, allora la posizione romana risulta ulteriormente svantaggiata, a causa di prospettive radicate, che hanno individuato organicità e forza culturale nella dimensione religiosa della letteratura greca, negandole a quella latina. Ed è proprio la "Greek/Roman anthitesis" ed i problemi da essa posti a costituire lo sfondo sul quale opera Feeney lungo tutto il corso del libro. Questa antitesi non è tale da poter essere evitata e non c'è nessun motivo per farlo. L'esperienza culturale romana e soprattutto quella in materia di religione è sempre stata in rapporto dialettico con il mondo greco e da questo dialogo bisogna partire, tanto che l'A. dichiara che: "uno degli scopi di questo libro è di tentare di rimodellare la contrapposizione in modi tali che non definiscano l'elemento romano come passivo, inerte, "secondario", ma piuttosto come partecipe di un processo culturale, dinamico e rivoluzionario" (p. 8).

Questo modo di procedere e di ridefinire il culto a Roma costituisce il principale merito di quest'opera.

La questione del paradigma greco viene trattata soprattutto nei primi due capitoli: "Belief "(pp. 12–46) e "Myth" (pp. 47–75).

Nel primo, l'A. affronta l'argomento della fede, anzi della pluralità di "fedi" –o meglio credenze, in quanto il termine *belief* può anche essere reso in tal modo– come caratteristica della religione romana. Fino ad una ventina di anni fa sarebbe stato percepito come assolutamente normale sostenere il sostanziale scetticismo delle *élites* culturali romane nei confronti dei loro dei e dei loro rituali e che tracce di fede autentica ed unitaria a Roma andassero ricercate solo nei riti privati, contrariamente a ciò che succedeva nella Grecia di epoca classica. La questione, però, era stata sempre impostata su presupposti errati, fra i quali quello secondo cui debba esistere un nucleo unitario di fede nel cuore di ogni sistema religioso, anche se antico. In realtà a Roma, afferma l'A., ci si trovava esattamente all'opposto, poiché vi era sempre stata una pluralità di discorsi religiosi e di generi e modalità di fede; base di tale teoria era costituita dal lavoro *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes?:essai sur l'imagination constituante*, (Paris 1983) in cui Veyne aveva teorizzato la nozione di una pluralità di modi di credere e con la definizione di "balcanizzazione dei cervelli" aveva perfettamente intuito la capacità dei romani colti di epoca tardorepubblicana e primoimperiale di accettare verità diverse e diversi criteri di giudizio in contesti differenti. Attraverso l'analisi dei discorsi religiosi a Roma –particolare attenzione viene dedicata al rapporto fra i *Ludi Saeculares* di Augusto ed il *Carmen Saeculare* di Orazio– Feeney dimostra che la coesistenza di differenti generi di fede non attestava la mancanza di energia di ognuno, ma che la loro interazione era al contrario dinamica e feconda di significati.

Nel secondo capitolo viene trattato un tema caro all'A.: la mitologia. Anche in questo caso è necessario, come operazione preliminare, cercare di fugare i fattori che hanno contribuito a rendere difficile lo studio del mito nel contesto della cultura a Roma: in particolare la convinzione della sua origine greca. È la sfera del mito, quella in cui più forte si è fatto sentire il primato della cultura greca nei confronti di quella latina: il mito è sempre stato "greco" e di conseguenza quello romano è stato spesso considerato come derivato, figlio di un'operazione di prestito da una cultura più creativa. Scopo dell'A. è, dunque, per prima cosa porre in discussione la validità assoluta del modello ellenocentrico di mito, il quale non permette di comprendere *in toto* le dinamiche culturali latine, e paradossalmente neanche quelle greche. In secondo luogo egli, partendo dall'individuazione –*Leitmotiv* di tutta l'opera– di una costante, continua, dinamica e ricca interazione culturale fra Grecia e Roma, dimostra che il rapporto dei Romani con il mito greco fu innovativo e soprattutto originale e creativo.

Il terzo capitolo, intitolato "Divinity" (pp. 76–114), è incentrato sul complesso e niente affatto chiaro problema della natura delle divinità e della modalità delle loro rappresentazioni, elementi che vengono ancora ritenuti a tal punto marginali, se non addirittura inesistenti, all'interno del sistema religioso romano, da far considerare all'A. che "ancora dieci anni fa una parte dedicata alla "divinità" in un libro sulla letteratura e religione a Roma, sarebbe apparsa affatto anomala" (p. 76). Questo è, principalmente, dovuto all'impatto che avevano avuto, già sui contemporanei, le creature divine della mitologia greca e che ha portato a vedere gli dei come l'essenza della religione ellenica e al contempo ad individuare una grossa lacuna al centro della religione romana. Anche la recente rivalutazione di quest'ultima, avendo privilegiato aspetti quali la coesione civica o i riti pubblici, non ha ritenuto di attribuire molto valore ad una sfera di contenuto più prettamente religioso, quale quella del "divino".

Feeney, invece, riesce ad intuire perfettamente l'importanza di conoscere come i romani percepissero il concetto di divinità e dedica una parte del suo libro a questo argomento non certo con lo scopo di riscattare la religione romana, come se solo un interesse profondo per la divinità, serva per restituire dignità ad un sistema religioso, ma perché ritiene che attraverso l'analisi di questo problema si possa comprendere un po' meglio le modalità con cui i romani rappresentavano il potere ed il modo in cui manipolavano tali rappresentazioni; una parte del capitolo è, infatti, dedicata alla divinizzazione di esseri umani al servizio dell'ideologia religiosa degli imperatori. Per fare questo l'A. elabora quella che egli definisce una "breve tassonomia della rappresentazione romana delle divinità" (p. 83), a partire soprattutto dall'analisi degli autori di prosa, che più degli altri sono stati presi dai moderni ad esempio come prova lampante di una mancanza di interesse per gli dei.

Discorso meno complicato è quello relativo al *ritual*, che viene trattato nel quarto capitolo (pp. 115–136). Il rito, infatti, è stato da sempre ritenuto l'unico elemento autentico della religione romana. Tuttavia Feeney ha deciso con questo libro di scardinare tutte le nostre certezze e non abdica al suo intento neanche in quest'occasione. Egli incentra questo capitolo sui *Fasti* di Ovidio, per dimostrare che l'esegesi del rito fosse parte integrante ed interattiva del rituale stesso e che l'autenticità del culto civico non fosse maggiore di quella degli altri elementi costituenti il sistema religioso romano.

Il libro si chiude con il capitolo "Epilogue: knowledge" (pp. 137–143). L'A. ritiene opportuno affrontare alla fine il tema della conoscenza della religione, per un motivo ben preciso. Come, infatti, egli ha ribadito più volte nel corso del volume, il sapere ed i sistemi culturali che a partire da esso si formano sono dei soggetti dinamici ed a Roma il sapere riferito alla religione non era una semplice questione di raccolta inerte di dati ed informazioni. Agli interrogativi su cosa sapeva un romano della propria religione e su come giungeva a conoscerlo, non è facile dare una risposta, poiché il sistema religioso di Roma –come già argomentato da Feeney nella parte relativa alla fede– era ampio, poco stabile e frutto di secoli di accrescimento asistematico; inoltre non esistevano testi guida ed organismi di controllo. Vi erano, dunque, diversi e numerosi modi di approccio alla religione, differenti sistemi gnoseologici all'interno dei quali si tentava di dare un senso all'attività religiosa e che non potevano non condizionare ciò che sarebbe, poi, emerso. L'A., quindi, analizzando le testimonianze letterarie senza preconcetti, ci mostra –chiudendo, così, il cerchio aperto all'inizio del libro con il problema relativo all'interazione dei diversi generi di fede– come quello che definiamo sistema religioso romano non aveva un proprio significato intrinseco, ma era composto dalle diverse forme di conoscenza religiosa e dalle conseguenze della loro reciproca interazione. La letteratura latina era una forma di conoscenza e come tale operava all'interno del contesto religioso romano.

Il volume è corredato di una ricca ed esauriente bibliografia (pp. 144–156).

Concludendo, mi sembra di poter dire che l'A. va ben oltre lo scopo dichiarato, ossia quello di modificare i nostri preconcetti sulla religione nell'Urbe e di rivalutarne il rapporto con la letteratura. Egli con questo libro si immerge nella complessa profondità del sistema religioso romano, riuscendo quasi sempre ad interpretarne i meccanismi ed a comprenderne il ruolo all'interno delle dinamiche culturali e sociali. Inoltre questo libro rappresenta una competente difesa dell'originalità della religione romana e fornisce un'intelligente interpretazione di alcuni dei più importanti poeti del periodo compreso fra la fine della repubblica ed i primi anni del principato.

Fabio Caruso

Il plurilinguismo nella tradizione letteraria latina. A cura di RENATO ONIGA. Lingue, culture e testi 6. Collana diretta da VINCENZO ORIOLES. "Il Calamo", Roma 2003. ISBN 88-88039-57-0. 348 pp. EUR 30.*

Renato Oniga has edited a collection of thirteen papers covering the time from Plautus to the Neolatin poetry of G. Pascoli (1855–1912). This seemed interesting since some very important work has been done in this field lately and the methods have been vitally improved. The activity in the field of language contacts and bilingualism, which are here referred to with the term 'plurilinguismo', has indeed been lively. The expectations are, however, fulfilled only to some extent. There are interesting and shrewd papers, but also some that one would not have missed if they had been left out.

In the Introduction (7–15), O. states his objectives and gives a synopsis of each paper. A general bibliography is not included, but some articles have one in the end whereas some list all bibliographic information in the footnotes. There are no indices.

The volume is arranged chronologically and opens with a traditionally discussed "Fremdsprachliches in Plautus' *poenulus*" by Matjaž Babič (17–30). Next comes Maurizio Bettini's "*Graphicus -ice* e alcuni riferimenti plautini alla pittura. Metafore pittoriche e rappresentazione drammatica" (31–61). B. describes how Plautus used *graphicus*, *graphice* in a meaning not attested in Classical and Hellenistic Greek literature. The semantic derivation is exciting and the examples are good, e.g., *graphice hunc volo ludificari* (*Persa* 843) that B. explains (33): "In altre parole, una *ludificatio* in cui concorrano tutte le caratteristiche technice, psicologiche e affettive che ne facciano un piccolo capolavoro."

Paolo Poccetti's "Il plurilinguismo nelle satire di Lucilio e le selve dell'interpretazione: gli elementi italici nei frammenti 581 E 1318 M" (63–89) is, in my opinion, the most pertinent as regards the general theme of the book. It is a competent analysis of Lucilius' linguistic ideals before the later rigid concepts of good Latin, and Lucilius' sharp interest in language as a social phenomenon with different ethnic varieties and informative registers.

Then follow Marco Fucecchi "Il plurilinguismo della menippea latina: appunti su Varrone satirico e l'*Apocolocyntosis* di Seneca (91–130), Francesca Boldrer "Il bilinguismo di Cicerone: *scripta Graeca Latina* (*fam.* 15.4)" (131–150), and Daniel Vallat "Un cas d'onomastique bilingue: les anthroponymes grecs chez Martial (151-171). The contributions of Alessandro Garcea, "Gellio, il bilinguismo greco-latino e i nomi dei colori" (173–198), Guido Cifoletti, "Influssi ebraici sulle traduzioni greche e latine della Bibbia" (199–211), and Annalisa Bracciotti, "*Nomen herbae Selenas*. Un passo bilingue *curae herbarum*" (213–253) would fit better in some other forum. The same can be said about Piera Molinelli's "Riflessi di un mondo plurilingue e multiculturale nel *Chronicon* di Andrea da Bergamo (IX secolo)" (254–272), though it is an extremely interesting and competent contribution on the morphological structure of late vernacular Latin.

Manfred Kienpointner, "Dante Alighieri: poeta e linguista plurilingue" (273–287) and Fedora Ferluga Petronio, "Monti, Kunič e la traduzione dell' Iliade" finish off the

* This is a concise version of my review for the *Journal of Roman Studies* 2004, 200–01, and the reader is directed there for further information.

volume with "Una forma di anticlassicismo pascoliano: l'ibridismo greco-latino nei *carmina*" by Patrizia Paradisi (303–348).

Martti Leiwo

BIRGIT AUERNHEIMER: *Die Sprachplanung der karolingischen Bildungsreform im Spiegel von Heiligenviten*. K.G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2003. ISBN 3-598-73013-6. 246 S. EUR 86.

Birgit Auernheimer's book *Die Sprachplanung der karolingischen Bildungsreform im Spiegel von Heiligenviten* exhibits a curious mixture of goals and methods: it examines how the Carolingian language reform manifests itself in the syntax of hagiographical texts. To study the syntax of early medieval texts is, as such, an admirable research plan, but when the author has, moreover, chosen to analyze the syntactical structures of these texts by means of dependency (or valency) grammar, her approach is definitely unique in modern research literature. Although this theoretical framework is no longer very popular, it is definitely quite appropriate for describing the ancient and early medieval theory of syntax which did not yet employ the notions of subject and predicate.

Thus, we can congratulate Auernheimer for choosing to study a poorly researched area and for approaching it in a novel way. She has also carried out her research in a sound and methodical manner although the technical nature of her analysis may put off readers who are unfamiliar with modern linguistics. However, the results of this research can be grasped without a close analysis of all the relevant diagrams (pp. 55–102). It must also be pointed out that the author has totally ignored the work of the two eminent scholars who have studied early medieval grammar on its own terms, namely Louis Holtz and Vivien Law (of the latter, only the book on Virgil Maro the Grammarian is mentioned).

Hagiographical texts offer interesting insights into the study of the consequences of the Carolingian language reform. These texts, which were used not only by the learned elite, were widely known before and after the Carolingian reform which permits us to see how they were reworked by the Carolingians. Authors such as Alcuin and Lupus of Ferrière even made the principles of their revision work explicit in the prefaces to their works. Among the texts studied, a prominent part is played by various vitae reworked by these two authors, but the most important text is the anonymous Vita Corbiniani.

Auernheimer's book can be warmly recommended for students of early medieval language and literary culture, and it can be hoped that its fresh approach will inspire further experimentation combining modern theoretical methods with historical, text-based studies.

Anneli Luhtala

Epigraphic Evidence. Ancient history from inscriptions. Edited by JOHN BODEL. Routledge, London – New York 2001. ISBN 0-415-11624-4. XXVI, 246 pp. GBP 14.99.

This little book aims to familiarise non-specialist readers with an immense topic: the nature and proper use of epigraphic evidence of classical antiquity as a historical source material. The topic is wide but is well covered by the following delightfully diverse papers: Epigraphy and the ancient historian (John Bodel); Local languages and native cultures (Maryline Parca); Names and identities: onomastics and prosopography (Olli Salomies); The family and society (Richard Saller); Civic and religious life (James Rives); Inscribed *instrumentum* and the ancient economy (Giuseppe Pucci); Appendix: A brief guide to some standard collections (John Bodel).

The first chapter by Bodel is both an introduction and a kind of résumé of the whole topic. Fifty-six densely packed pages present epigraphic sources (especially epitaphs) and their often problematic use as historical source material; the local and temporal variations in inscriptional material; the readership of the inscriptions and their relationship with literature and, finally, the symbolic use of inscriptions.

Not all of this is of equal value to a student of ancient history. One especially wonders why so many pages (20–30) are devoted to curse tablets and visual aspects of the inscriptions (e.g., palindromes). On the other hand, the kaleidoscopic variety of themes – interesting as it is as such – occasionally leads to sections that just vaguely refer to a topic and record a modern study dealing with the subject (see, e.g., p. 42: "Even graffiti have yielded insights into the world of letters in antiquity, for example by evoking the literary culture of Pompeii (Gigante 1979)." A reader who is unfamiliar with the subject must be puzzled; moreover, the whole idea that the quotations of poets preserved in graffiti could reflect literary tastes is suspect. See Solin, *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* II (1985) 333–4. Focusing more on the essential topics (from the point of view of a historian), would have clarified the presentation.

Some too broad generalizations apart (see, e.g., p. 8 for overestimated description of the role of Augustus in "the epigraphic revolution") Bodel's exposition is, generally speaking, reliable. One must point out, however, that on page 46 he presents an obsolete theory on the Roman building inscriptions. The idea that building inscriptions not only distorted but fundamentally misrepresented the historical reality was soundly refuted by Garrett G. Fagan, "The Reliability of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions", *PBSR* 64 (1996), 81–93. In spite of these shortcomings, this chapter offers a readable and admirably many-sided introduction to a difficult theme.

In the second paper, Parca analyzes local languages and native cultures in the light of the epigraphic source material. Because so wide and a difficult topic is to be dealt with in sixteen pages, the author had to be content with brief observations on several groups of inscriptions originating from all over the ancient world and covering the period from archaic Greece to the third century AD. The discussion is brief, but what emerges clearly is how difficult it is to paint a picture of ancient multiculturalism and how little inscriptions often have to offer such a study. Thus, though it is known from literary sources that the Gaulish language was spoken widely until late antiquity, we possess few inscriptions written in that tongue (p. 68–9). On the other hand, "Libyan" inscriptions are found all over the North Africa (p. 70) but the extent of its spoken use and, indeed, much of their content remain a mystery.

The third chapter is written by Salomies. As the author is a member of the editorial board of this journal, I shall refrain from assessing this particular paper. For a review, see *BMCR* 2002.10.39.

Saller's paper on the family and society is a magisterial one, deep but admirably concise, precise and still astonishingly many-sided. The first part discusses the importance of the inscriptions for social historians of antiquity, explains what can be learned about Greek and especially Roman family life by analyzing funerary inscriptions and illustrates the role of two women using funeral eulogies. The second part analyzes the position of slaves, freedmen and free labourers, examines the question of social mobility and ends with a note on social relationships. A reader not only receives a clear idea of the problematic character and the importance of inscriptions as a source material but also an understanding of how inscriptions are and have been used in social history.

Saller's exposition is excellent, but perhaps he could have underlined even more the problems of analysis caused by the stereotypicality of funerary inscriptions. It is not only that the stock epithets present a very limited picture of happy family life but that they were often employed so mechanically that they seem to have been rather unimportant to their commissioners. In Thugga, for instance, the 1617 published funerary inscriptions seldom mention commemorators and describe the deceased almost invariably by the phrase *p(ius) v(ixit) a(nnis)*. (See *Mourir à Dougga. Recueil des inscriptions funéraires,* M. Khanoussi - L. Maurin (eds.) [Ausonius, Mémoires 8], Bordeaux - Tunis 2002, 63–65). This is an extreme example, but one still wonders how often the people, especially in provinces, just reproduced Roman funerary inscriptions without really thinking about their content and, consequently, how generally accepted were the notions of happy family life that these stock epithets in Roman funerary inscriptions seem to reflect.

The article by Rives is basically a catalogue of various types of inscriptions related to civic and religious institutions. He focuses especially on *leges sacrae* and picks up several colourful examples evoking ancient rites and occasionally strange customs. Two points in his paper deserve closer attention. First, on pp. 123–4, he claims that, because *duoviri* were elected without real competition, electoral advertisements in Pompeii were just a form of self-promotion. This is based on Franklin, but on pp. 152–3, Franklin actually says that the quinquennial duoviral elections and the aedilician elections were keenly contested as we can judge from electoral advertisements. Moreover, H. Mouritsen, *Elections, Magistrates and Municipal Élite. Studies in Pompeian Epigraphy* (Analecta Romana Instituti Danici Supplementum XV) Roma 1988, p. 41 has questioned the dating of candidatures established by Franklin so that (p. 44) the post of a duovir also seems to have aroused competition. The discussion on the electoral advertisements continues and since publication of the book two lengthy studies on the subject have appeared: J. Franklin, *Pompeis difficile est: studies in the political life of imperial Pompeii*, Ann Arbor 2001 and C. Chiavia, *Programmata. Manifesti elettorali nella colonia romana di Pompei*, Torino 2002. Secondly, the picture given on euergetism is based on very old studies and misses the essential point: it was not just the "desire of people to obtain prestige in any way they could" that explains the munificence of private persons. Such a munificence was a convenient way for the rich to participate in the expenses of their own community. When they acted as benefactors instead of paying high regular taxes, they were not only able to decide when and how much to pay but were also able to obtain more social prestige and keep the political offices restricted to the richest members of the society by expecting similar acts from all the aspirants to public offices.

The last paper, written by Pucci, focuses on the use of inscribed, especially stamped, *instrumentum domesticum* as a source for the ancient economy. The beginning of the article is devoted to an interesting outline of the history of the discipline and the continuation deals with the different types of graffiti or stamps, their temporal and geographical distribution and especially the possibility of understanding what was the role that the persons mentioned in the stamps had in the production. The discussion is occasionally quite abstract (Greek stamps, for instance, are discussed at length without citing any of them *in totum*) but always sticks to the point and, thanks to the narrow focus (e.g., the importance of stamps as indicators of the extent of trade or of the economic activity of a particular region in the *imperium Romanum* is hardly mentioned), it manages to say quite a lot in a few pages on the reconstruction of the structures of ceramic (especially brick) production in Antiquity.

The appendix by Bodel presents well the older standard epigraphic *corpora* and the new internet resources but only mentions the major epigraphic handbooks on p. 157 (and again in the notes on p. 190) and, what is more regrettable, omits all studies on the use of inscriptions as historical sources. For instance, *Épigraphie et histoire: acquis et problèmes. Actes du congrès de la Société des Professeurs d'Histoire Ancienne*, Lyon 1998 discusses the same topics and complements nicely the present work while *The Epigraphic Landscape*, A. Cooley (ed.), (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 73), London 2000 includes interesting papers on how information offered by inscriptions should be interpreted.

Taken as whole, *Epigraphic evidence* is a valuable introduction to the subject. Bodel, Parca and Rives focus more on the presentation of various epigraphic sources while Salomies, Saller and Pucci are more interested in interpreting that material. Both approaches complement each other and leave the reader willing and waiting to face that challenge the inscriptional sources always are.

Ari Saastamoinen

Epigraphica. Atti delle Giornate di Studio di Roma e di Atene in memoria di Margherita Guarducci (1902–1999). Opuscula epigraphica 10. Dipartimento di Scienza Storiche, Archeologiche, Antropologiche dell'Antichità. Università degli Studi di Roma – La Sapienza. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2003. ISBN 88-7140-225-1. 252 pp., 39 ill. EUR 30.

Chi ancora non conosceva la straordinaria persona di Margherita Guarducci e l'incredible impegno da costei profuso negli studi epigrafici, sarà lieto di poter ricavare, dalla lettura del presente volume, e soprattutto dei ricordi introduttivi, l'immagine di una vita vissuta intensamente per l'amore della verità e quindi dedicata totalmente al lavoro. "Io ho fatto quel che potevo, quel che dovevo: ho sentito come un dovere quello di non lasciare incompiuta quest'opera, e ho lavorato", così disse "la signorina Guarducci" in un'intervista all'età di 96 anni, un anno e mezzo prima della sua scomparsa nel 1999 (cfr. pp. 23 s.). È chiaro che una produzione scientifica come quella della Guarducci, che conta quasi cinquecento pubblicazioni, non avrebbe mai potuto realizzarsi senza abnegazione ed autodisciplina. È ben noto che ella non si sposò mai, se non con il suo lavoro. "Non ho mai incontrato una persona che mi ispirasse quel sentimento, quel trasporto che era necessario per lasciare tutto – perché se mi fossi sposata, avrei dovuto lasciare tutto – ma come facevo?"…"Avere dei bambini, e come facevo?" (frasi tratte dalla suddetta intervista, p. 23). Per la Guarducci lavoro e convivenza erano concetti mutuamente esclusivi.

Mi piacquero, in particolar modo, i vari racconti dei soggiorni della studiosa in Grecia (a partire dal lontano 1927), prima come alunna della Scuola Archeologica di Atene, poi soprattutto a Creta, dove ella collaborò strettamente con Federico Halbherr, l'ideatore di un'edizione completa delle iscrizioni greche e latine dell'isola. Dopo la morte di questo nel 1930, alla giovane Guarducci (che aveva allora 28 anni) vennero affidati tutti i materiali raccolti dal suo "padre" scientifico con il compito di realizzarne la base per il *corpus* cretese. L'ultimo tomo delle *Inscriptiones Creticae*, il quarto, fu pubblicato nel 1950, dopo vent'anni di lavori faticosissimi sul campo. Come memoria personale voglio ricordare che durante la prima fase dei miei studi universitari, più di venticinque anni fa, io rimasi impressionato dai grossi volumi cretesi della Guarducci, quando li sfogliai nella biblioteca del nostro Dipartimento di Helsinki, forse per il semplice fatto che si trattava di un'immensa mole di lavoro portata a termine praticamente da una persona sola. All'epoca non pensavo ai difetti dell'edizione, o meglio, non ne sapevo nulla.

Col passare del tempo gli interessi della Guarducci divennero sempri più vari, raggiungendo una notevole vastità tematica, dagli studi sull'alfabeto greco arcaico a quelli sulla statuaria romana e su molte altre cose ancora. Negli anni '50 si documenta la nascita (almeno negli scritti) di una sua passione per la figura di S. Pietro, un tema questo che continuò a coltivare fino alla fine (come è noto, la Guarducci era molto legata alla chiesa cattolica). Vorrei anche ricordare, scrivendo questa nota a Villa Lante al Gianicolo (da 50 anni sede dell'Institutum Romanum Finlandiae), che un libro della Guarducci, uscito nel 1980, è indirettamente relativo a questa dimora, in quanto ha come oggetto la cd. *fibula Praenestina*. Secondo la Guarducci, questa sarebbe stata falsificata dall'allora residente nella villa, l'archeologo Wolfgang Helbig, che era anche noto per il commercio di oggetti d'arte (M.G., *La cosidetta Fibula Prenestina: antiquari, eruditi e falsari nella Roma dell'Ottocento*). Benché, a mio avviso, la fibula stessa (con la famosa iscrizione) possa ben essere giudicata autentica, il libro offre un interessantissimo panorama di alcuni circoli dotti ottocenteschi.

Insomma, la Guarducci era epigrafista, filologa, archeologa, storica, era tutto quello che i suoi tanti argomenti richiedevano. Quanti vogliano studiare seriamente il mondo antico saranno o dovrebbero essere d'accordo con il seguente principio che la Guarducci non cessò mai a sottolineare (nelle parole di Maria Letizia Lazzarini, p. 14): "il mondo antico costituisce un'inscindibile unità e che allo studioso che vuole indagarlo spetta il compito di inquadrare ogni singolo documento nel tempo e nell'ambiente che lo produssero, senza limiti formali, e di valersi, all'occorrenza, dell'apporto di ogni altra disciplina."

Le due Giornate di Studio in memoria della Guarducci ebbero luogo nel 2001, rispettivamente all'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" e presso la Società Archeologica Greca ad Atene. La scelta delle sedi risulta ovvia, visto che la Guarducci era docente di epigrafia greca alla Sapienza per quasi cinquant'anni (1931–1978; ordinaria dal 1942). Il nucleo vero e proprio del libro è costituito dagli studi presentati dai colleghi e allievi della Maestra. I temi, molto vari, rispecchiano, in un modo o in un'altro, gli interessi della studiosa: P. Lombardi (una nuova lettura del testo sulla cd. coppa di Nestore di Pithekoussai); M. L. Lazzarini (l'eponimia a Crotone a proposito di una nuova laminetta iscritta; particolarmente interessante risulta la prima attestazione epigrafica del demiurgo, *damiorgos*, a Crotone); D. Peppas Delmousou (il quadro storico-religioso del cd. Altare di Brauron; si noti la conclusione secondo la quale l'introduzione delle feste trieteriche nell'Attica ebbe luogo già nel IV sec. a.C.); Ch. Kritzas (una nuova copia da Gortina, rinvenuta nel 1992, del trattatto fra Gortinii, Hierapytnii ed i Priansii; nuove letture ed integrazioni); K. Buraselis (corrispondenza amministrativa; osservazioni sulla burocrazia sotto gli Attalidi [*SEG* 46, 1519]); G. Manganaro (bolli su lucerne ed alcuni lucernari catanesi); G. Sacco (un amuleto isiaco dalla via Latina, trovato a Roma nel 1993: νεικᾷ / ἡ Εἶσις; riesame di altri simili amuleti, anche di quelli con l'espressione "grande è il nome di Serapide"); A. D. Rizakis (saggio sulla classe dirigente della colonia di Filippi, che non sembra un'oligarchia chiusa); E. Miranda (Dioniso Kathegemon a Hierapolis di Frigia; interessante discussione del locale culto dionisiaco, testimoniato attraverso una dedica al dio da parte di un *hierofantes* dal nome *Gaios Ambeibios Frougianos*); T. Ritti (la neocoria di Hierapolis; considerazioni sulla cronologia della neocoria locale; si noti un nuovo documento del III sec. [p. 195]); G. Bevilacqua (discussione di alcune iscrizioni urbane, greche e latine, di un certo Q. Iulius Miletus, presidente di un'associazione di marmorari, il quale soleva invitare i suoi colleghi per celebrare le riunioni conviviali e mistiche in un ambiente particolare, denominato "Labirinto"; discussione di questo termine che l'autrice, probabilmente a ragione, ritiene indicante una costruzione vera e propria); S. Panciera (una nuova iscrizione di Salonicco, osservata dall'autore nel 1997, posta da un centurione, P. Aelius Romanus, al figlio P. Aelius Marcus, il quale nonostante la giovane età di 16 anni era già divenuto cavaliere; il padre, in cambio della ipotizzabile mancata promozione al posto di primipilo, avrebbe chiesto che il giovane figlio sia stato fatto cavaliere, e la richiesta sarebbe stata accolta); C. Carletti (nuove letture dei graffiti greci dal cimitero dei Ss. Marcellino e Pietro sulla via Labicana).

Tutti i contributi meritano di essere inseriti nel volume, in quanto fedeli al principio sempre seguito dalla Guarducci, cioè quello di ricercare, servire ed onorare la verità.

Mika Kajava

Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten. Band 1: *Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion.* Herausgegeben von R. MERKELBACH und J. STAUBER. B. G. Teubner, Stuttgart – Leipzig 1998. ISBN 3-519-07446-X. 647 S. EUR 134.
Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten. Band 4: *Die Südküste Kleinasiens, Syrien und Palaestina.* Herausgegeben von R. MERKELBACH und J. STAUBER. G. K. Saur Verlag, München – Leipzig 2002. ISBN 3-598-73007-1. 471 S. EUR 139.

Vor drei Jahren habe ich in *Arctos* 35, S. 263–265 in Erwartung auf den 4. und 5. Band die mittleren Bände, den 2. und 3. besprochen. Kürzlich habe ich erfahren, daß auch der letzte 5. Band fertig ist; statt dessen werde ich aber hier den 1. und 4. Band besprechen.

Der erste Band (*Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion*) gibt uns den Text einer sehr bunten Reihe von 747 Epigramme, die mit 68 Facsimilibus oder lesbaren Photos versehen sind. Die folgenden Bemerkungen habe ich mit zusätzlicher Hilfe von den Photos in C. Rouechés Aphrodisias-Corpus erzielt. Obwohl die Lesungen dieser Epigramme jetzt an mehreren Stellen besser als diejenigen von Roueché sind, sind leider in wohl erhaltenen Inschriften nicht ohne weiteres hoffnungslos beschädigte Stellen herausgelassen worden, z.B. 02/09/01, Vers 3 und 02/09/20 a, Vers 2. Übrigens ebendaselbst, b, Vers 1 würde ich lieber Dativ ἀνάγκῃ lesen. In zwei weiteren Fällen habe ich Fehler gespürt: die Versenden 5 bzw. 7–8 in 02/09/05 sind auf dem Stein nicht erhalten, obwohl sie in der *Anthologia Graeca* vorhanden sind; auch sollte ein elidiertes Theta, nicht Tau, in 02/09/24, Vers 4 ediert werden. Noch zwei mangelhafte Lesungen habe ich am Ende des Bandes aufspüren können: auf dem kleinen Grabepigramm für den sechsjährigen (ἑξξαέτη) Ampelios aus Tabala (14/16/03) dürften keine Gründe für eine Psilose in der Altersangabe vorhanden sein; ich sehe auch kein νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν im ἀμύμοσι 06/02/02, Vers 11 oder im ἀνέθρεψε 06/02/28, Vers 6. Wenn dieses mit der Zahl von 747 Epigrammen erwägt wird, kann man nur konstatieren, dass die Lesungen sehr selten mangelhaft sind; die Kommentare und Übersetzungen dieses Bandes sind aber auf harte Kritik gestossen.

Vielleicht ist es wegen der verhältnismässig zahlreichen lesbaren 94 Abbildungen, daß ich zum 4. Band (*Die Südküste Kleinasiens, Syrien und Palaestina*) zahlreichere Bemerkungen darbiete. Weil verhältnismässig viele Texte von den insgesamt 433 Epigrammen spät sind, gibt es Stellen, wo keine Sicherheit besteht, was als metrisch gelten soll. Meines Erachtens kann man kaum wissen, ob 20/22/01 überhaupt metrisch ist. In den Texten 17/09/01, vom Vers 6 bzw. 20/05/03, Vers 5 an herrscht sicherlich Prosa. Der ganze Vers 1 von 21/13/01 könnte dagegen bis zum Schluss als Hexameter gelten.

Es folgt weitere Kritik mit einigen Editionsvorschlägen: 17/03/02, das Ende von Vers 2 ἐσορᾶ]τε ὦ παροδεῖ[ται ist gegen das Metrum ergänzt worden; 17/08/04, Vers 4 eher ὑποβαίνων; 17/09/07, Vers 1 *Graiis*, Vers 2 *serv<u>s*, Vers 5 *vitiferi*; 17/09/08, Vers 3 Εὔφημοος (unmetrisch); 17/18/01, Vers 10 vielleicht sogar Κ[αίσαρ]ος Λουκίου, weil es offensichtlich zusammen mit Vers 9 gehört; 18/01/10, Vers 3 ὑπὸ statt ἀπὸ, sowie auch in 20/21/01, Vers 7; 20/05/02, Vers 2 Δόμνηι, Vers 4 πλῖον, Vers 6 κα(ὶ); 20/05/97 Vers 4 σταθε]ροῖς στήσαντο θεμέθλοις; 20/12/01, Vers 2 πατρὶς <σ>ω[φρ]οσύνης zweifellos richtig; 20/13/03, Vers 4 προ[γ]<ό>νων; 20/14/02, Vers 1 *moenia fortia* statt *fortia moenia*; 20/21/01, Vers 4 ἐννεσίηισιν mit ἰῶτα adscriptum, wovon es fünf weitere Belege in demselben Epigramm gibt, was auch beim 21/05/02, Vers 3 vorhanden ist; 20/24/01, Vers 10 *et* statt *ei*; δ' statt θ' in 20/25/01, Vers 1; 21/01/01, Vers 6 ist σὺν zu lesen; 21/04/01, Vers 2 könnte einerseits mit Hilfe von 21/22/01 als θεὸ[ν κλυτόμ]ητιν ἀ̣[(ε)ίδ]ων ergänzt werden, aber aus Raumgründen würde ἀ̣[ί]ων besser passen; das zweimal belegtes Wort μεθέπειτα in dem mit *diacriticis* beladenem Epigrammpaare 21/07/02 scheint ein überflüssiges Apostroph im Vers 3 zu haben; in 21/08/01, Vers 6 ist die korrigierte Form συνδοιὰς schwerlich akzeptabel, weil hier Akkusativ zu erwarten wäre, obwohl Μούσας νῦν δοιὰς kaum besser lautet; ebendaselbst, im Vers 7 ist auf dem Photo ohne Zweifel θεοτ[ερ]π̣ῆ̣ π̣ά̣ν̣τα zu lesen; in dem uniken und kaum metrischen *dipinto* 21/09/01, Vers 4 gibt es nicht die übliche Aspiration im Worte τοἰμάτιον, auch fehlt das ἰῶτα adscriptum im Vers 6; 21/12/01, Vers 2 heisst ἐκκομίσας; 21/21/03, Vers 2 vielleicht ταῦτα [ἐνὶ] ἡγεμόνεσσιν; der Dual ἐτέοιν ist in 21/23/09, Vers 7 beizuhalten; 22/10/99, Vers 4 ἐπέτρε[πε würde besser dem Meter genügen, obwohl es danach kaum mehr Raum gibt; 22/42/99 sollte ferner am Ende ζωοὶ δὲ ΓΕΓΙ̣[..]Ι̣Σ (vielleict zu γέγηθα?) gelesen werden.

Im Juni 2000 erlaubte Prof. Stephen V. Tracy mir in Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study, freundlichst ein Photo und einen Abklatsch des neuen Petra-Epigrammes 22/71/01 anzuschauen. Dazu möchte ich bemerken: am Ende von Vers 2 ἐρα̣[τει]νῆ̣ς; Vers 5 beginnt mit πῶς ἐλεητὰ; im Vers 6 wäre aus räumlichen Gründen χρησ̣[τὰ], ἀτὰρ wohl mehr angebracht als χρή[μ]ατα; das Metrum des Verses 8 kann kaum geheilt werden, wenn nicht willkürlich in Σαλουτάρια<ς> ἰσν<α>ετ<ῆ>ρας korrigiert wird; im letzten Verse habe ich Α̣Ν̣ΕΧΛ̣Ο̣ΕΝ gesehen – ἀεχθὲν ist jedenfalls nicht metrisch.

Angesichts der hohen Anzahl der Epigramme (insgesamt 1190, was mehr als eine Hälfte der Gesamtzahl von 2122 beträgt) scheinen in diesen zwei Bänden sehr wenige Texte zu fehlen. Aus der frühbyzantinischen Zeit fehlen wenigstens sechs Texte: in Smyrna L. Robert, Op. Min. II 1166–1167, in Troas C.I.G. 8804 (Assos), in Syrien I.G.L.Syrie 2860 (Heliupolis-Baalbek), in Palaestina Kraeling, Gerasa, 482 Nr. 314, in Nabatea-Arabia Waddington, Inscr. Syrie 2426 (Rimea) bzw. I.G.L.Syrie 9117 (Bostra). Diese werden wir im 5. Band mit Register und *Addenda & Corrigenda* auffinden.

Erkki Sironen

Luciano Agostiniano – Francesco Nicosia: *Tabula Cortonensis*. Studia Archaeologica 105. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-8265-090-1. 175 pp. EUR 130.

The third largest Etruscan text, a bronze tablet called *Tabula Cortonensis*, was found near the town Cortona in 1992. It took seven years before the discovery – clearly made in an obscure context – was announced to the scholarly community. After that, the *editio princeps* came out quite quickly, and we are grateful to the editors L. Agostiniano and F. Nicosia for this. We also have to thank them for a careful reading and analysis of the text, for spectacular photographs, for presenting all other inscriptions of Cortona conveniently for reference material, and for remarkable progress in the interpretation of the text. This edition has been and still is the solid basis for further studies of this important document of Etruscan language and history.

This one of the few – and by far the largest – Etruscan bronze tablets with documentary contents, the text is practically complete. It appears to be a 3rd–2nd century B.C. agreement of land cession or a decision in a land dispute between the Petru- and Cushu-families. What makes it extremely interesting as a document are the three (or actually four) name lists; the first one gives the participants, the second one (with fifteen names!) perhaps the judges, the third one the witnesses and the fourth one possibly the holders of the document. The fact that the process involves so many people from the elite of Cortona means to me that it is not only a private matter, but also that land owned by the city is involved (*rasna* in l. 4). In addition to the tablet's historical and juridical value (fully understandable when the interpretation becomes more certain), it is naturally an excellent touchstone of our growing ability to interpret large texts in the Etruscan language.

It would be unfair to blame the authors for the fact that, based on this *editio princeps*, other scholars have already in a couple of years amended the reading of the text on certain points, but especially have made clear progress in its interpretation. Thus, the book of Agostiniani and Nicosia can no longer be read without at least Adriano Maggiani's article 'Dagli archivi dei Cusu. Considerazioni sulla Tavola bronzea di Cortona', *RdA* 25 (2002) 94–114, and M. Pandolfini - A. Maggiani, *La Tabula Cortonensis e il suo contesto storico-archeologico*, Roma 2002.

Jorma Kaimio

Varia epigraphica. Atti del colloquio internazionale di epigrafia Bertinoro, 8–10 giugno 2000. Epigrafia e Antichità 17. Fratelli Lega Editori, Faenza 2001. ISBN 88-7594-019-3. 538 pp. EUR 155.

Il contenuto del volume è il seguente: M. G. Arrigoni Bertini: Il presunto *titulus* di L. Calpurnio Pisone nel teatro romano di Parma e la testimonianza del Borghesi; M.S. Bassignano: Considerazioni sull'epigrafia funeraria atestina; R. Bernardelli Calavalle: Il *CIL* e *Helvillum*. Alcune puntualizzazioni; L. Bivona: Brevi considerazioni sulla epigrafia latina di Sicilia; M. Buonocore: Il capitolo delle *inscriptiones falsae vel alienae* nel *CIL*. Problemi generali e particolari: l'esempio della *regio IV augustea*; A. Buonopane: Una base opistografa dagli scavi del *Capitolium* di Verona; F. Cenerini: Una nuova dedica a Silvano da Rimini: quale sacrum?; M. Corbier: *Maiestas domus Augustae*; R. Cordella - N. Criniti: Il patrimonio epigrafico dell'*ager Nursinus* e della Valnerina. Bilancio di un'esperienza; W. Eck: Die grosse Pliniusinschrift aus Comum: Funktion und Monument; J. D'Encarnação: Des nouveaux textes, les directions nouvelles de la recherche épigraphique en Lusitanie romaine; J. Gómez Pallarès: De Troya al Paraíso: para una interpretación del pavimento musivo de Estada (Huesca, España); A. Mastino - A. Teatini: Ancora sul discusso "trionfo" di Costantino dopo la battaglia del Ponte Milvio. Nota a proposito di *CIL*, VIII, 9356 = 20941 *(Caesarea)*; G. Mennella:

Evidenze epigrafiche sul commercio del marmo nel Piemonte romano; M. F. Petraccia Lucernoni: *Stationarii* o *latrones*?; G. Pianu - P. Ruggeri: *Vectigalia civitatibus ad proprias fabricas deputavit*: Severo Alessandro e il primo arco della colonia di *Uchi Maius* alla luce di un nuovo frammento della dedica (*CIL*, VIII, 26262); D. Pupillo: Il miliario tardoantico *CIL*, V, 8008 conservato nel Lapidario Civico di Ferrara; M. Šašel Kos: The Roman Inscriptions of Celeia commemorating emperors; L. Sensi: *Damnatio memoriae* ed una iscrizione di *Asisium*; H. Solin: Un aspetto dell'onomastica plebea e municipale. La ripresa di nomi illustri da parte di comuni cittadini; M. Traverso: *Centurionis mulier*; A. Valvo: Nuove iscrizioni e nuove letture di iscrizioni da Brescia; E. Weber: Iscrizioni falsificate sul "mercato nero" d'oggi; C. Zaccaria: La "trasformazione" del messaggio epigrafico tra II e IV secolo d.C. A proposito di un palinsesto rinvenuto nel Foro di Aquileia; J. Zelazowski: Epigrafia e letteratura. La biga onoraria come elemento della realtà municipale nel romanzo *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*; R. Zucca: *Additamenta epigraphica* all'amministrazione della Sardegna da Augusto all'invasione vandalica.

Chi scrive ha contribuito al volume e ha inoltre partecipato attivamente alla discussione degli interventi e quindi anche alla versione a stampa dei contributi; pertanto non si sente di poter scrivere una vera e propria recensione critica del volume in esame. Piuttosto vorrebbe sottolineare l'importanza dei "Colloqui Borghesi", che ebbero vita nel 1981 e di cui anche quello del 2000 ha fatto parte, senza dimenticare la serie di altri colloqui epigrafici di uguale importanza, quali le Rencontres franco-italiennes, con la partecipazione anche di studiosi di altre nazioni. Nei colloqui Borghesi, oggi promossi con entusiasmo ed energia da Angela Donati e dai suoi colleghi bolognesi, si discute di un tema prescelto di vasto respiro, anche se nel 2000 a Bertinoro non era stato fissato un argomento particolare. In questi colloqui, veramente internazionali (al presente volume hanno contribuito, oltre agli italiani, rappresentanti di sette nazioni), giovani e anziani si radunano per ascoltare e discutere. In particolare le discussioni possono dar vita a fruttuosi scambi di idee e di suggerimenti, contribuendo a comprendere meglio il testo di epigrafi difficili. A me i colloqui Borghesi, quello del 2000 come quelli successivi, hanno lasciato un ricordo di grande soddisfazione, sia sotto l'aspetto professionale che umano.

Per non astenermi completamente da qualche osservazione su questo volume così ricco di spunti interessanti, finisco soffermandomi su due importanti contributi, con gli autori dei quali ho continuato uno scambio di pareri. Marco Buonocore pone la questione delle iscrizioni false e soprattutto aliene sulla base alla documentazione offerta dalla IV regio augustea. Si tratta di un problema molto importante che sarebbe il caso di trattare una volta più approfonditamente, magari in un colloquio Borghesi. Prendo come esempio Reate, l'odierna Rieti, il cui museo civico ha ospitato da tempi immemorabili numerose iscrizioni, di cui il Mommsen aveva potuto dimostrare la provenienza urbana. Ma nel museo sono entrate ancora negli ultimi tempi epigrafi che si ritengono di origine urbana; due esempi sono *Suppl. It.* 18 Reate 25 e 28, pubblicate da M. C. Spadoni come genuinamente reatine, ma di cui Buonocore vorrebbe rivendicare la provenienza urbana. La prima è l'epitaffio dello schiavo imperiale Iudex, tabularius rationis chartariae; l'iscrizione sarebbe urbana in virtì della carica menzionata. Ma iscrizioni di funzionari pubblici si trovano nel corpus epigrafico di molte grandi città italiane, come per es. a Puteoli; talvolta esse possono essere davvero di origine urbana, ma non sempre, e alle volte la provenienza locale è accertata. Per quanto riguarda la reatina n. 25, potrebbe essere rivendicata a Roma solo se ci fossero altre prove solide, quali l'aspetto esteriore del supporto; ma qui esse mancano, per cui non riterrei l'iscrizione senz'altro urbana. E nel caso di Reate n. 28 manca ogni argomento per una sua provenienza urbana. Si aggiunga ancora che queste due iscrizioni sono entrate nel museo solo verso la fine del '900 e non furono mai viste prima, per cui non sarà facile ammettere che ancora ai nostri giorni epigrafi urbane siano entrate nel museo di Rieti senza che se ne conservasse alcuna memoria. Quello che era possibile nei secoli passati, non lo è più di recente. – Ekkehard Weber tratta il problema dei falsi alla luce di alcuni casi concreti, ma non in modo sistematico. Anche questo problema dei falsi meriterebbe di essere trattato a fondo nel quadro di un colloquio. Per quanto riguarda *CIL* I^2 1211 (non 1007), escludo assolutamente la possibilità di una falsificazione (le considerazioni addotte da Weber non sono convincenti). Non vedo neanche argomenti probanti che possano condurci a relegare tra i falsi l'epitaffio di un soldato della coorte dei Batavi milliaria edito in *CIL* III 3676.

Heikki Solin

Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie 19. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2002. ISBN 88-7140-212-X. 322 pp. EUR 46,48.

This volume of the by now well-established epigraphical series *Supplementa Italica*, meant to update older publications (especially the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*) by editing the inscriptions published subsequently to the *Corpus* and by furnishing a historical introduction and addenda to the "older" texts (not reproduced in the volumes), contains the following cities: Interamna Nahars in Umbria, by C. Andreani and M. Fora; 35 new texts); Pollentia and Augusta Bagiennorum in Liguria, both by G. Mennella and E. Bernardini (Pollentia with 36 new texts, Augusta with 13); and Vercellae (with "Inter Vercellas et Eporediam") by S. Giorcelli Bersani (35 new texts). This is now the 12th Ligurian contribution of Mennella, and, as Silvio Panciera observes in the *presentazione* (p. 8) – a traditional part of a *Supplementum* volume always with interesting observations – , since other contributors have also been dealing with Liguria, this means that the coverage of Liguria is nearing its completion. The same cannot be said of other Italian regions, but at least one can say that there is steady progress, as the publication of the *Suppl. It.* volumes has kept its planned pace of about one volume per year. I doubt whether many really thought in the beginning (in the early 80s) that this would actually be the case.

Again, the contributions are of great interest; as always, one must take into account not only the epigraphical parts but also the historical introductions which are normally of great use and often supersede earlier discussions of a certain city's vicissitudes. In this volume, I found the introduction to Interamna most instructive. It is a city which plays an interesting role, especially in the first century BC (the other cities dealt with here are historically less interesting, although Vercellae managed to get its name attached to a battle and although the cities all supplied a number of men to Rome's military forces). As for the addenda to the inscriptions already in the *Corpus*, these are also of great use, as one finds here references to modern bibliography (although one wonders if this information has to be as complete as to include notes on erroneous readings of a certain inscription by persons clearly outside the field of epigraphical studies – note, e.g., the readings of a certain P. Renzi adduced at Internamna no. 4209), information on the physical features and on the whereabouts of the stones, etc. Here, too, readers of this book will probably concentrate on the addenda to Interamna, as there are a number of well-known texts from this city. And there is, in fact, much of interest and of use. No. 4172 (*ILS* 3052), mentioning Rustii with the cognomen *Caepio*, might be used in determining the origin of the senatorial Rustii Caepiones; however, although a paper is quoted in which I suggest this possibility, the authors do not seem to take a clear stand on this question. – No. 4179, a not at all unproblematic text, mentions senators, clearly local, called Arruntius; and a woman who seems to be the daughter of a *C. Africanus*; Africanus Fabius Maximus cos. 10 BC is adduced here for illustration, but I very much doubt whether this person, a patrician, could be of any service. – In no. 4183a, some works dealing with the "gens Aufidia, di origine sabellica" (not a very helpful observation) are referred to, but not the monograph of N. Mathieu, *Histoire d'un nom: les Aufidii dans la vie politique, économique et sociale du monde romain*, (Rennes, 1999). – On no. 4206 (*ILS* 5645), note the interpretation of the term *muliebria aeramenta* (convincing, I think). – On no. 4213 (*CIL* I^2 2510; *ILS* 6629), the inscription honouring a certain A. Pompeius A. f. Clu., a senator clearly belonging to the famous *gens* and thus not a local man, the editors follow those scholars who suggest that the inscription should be dated to the early Augustan period, the *pericula* referring to something happening after the *bellum Perusinum*. This is no doubt a good solution.

Among the "new" texts (many of them not previously published or published only in journals of a more local character), there are some items of interest. For instance, there are new praetorians in nos. 4 and 5, a certain *Thalamus Aug. l. a veste* in no. 6 (none of these three texts in the *AE*). As for onomastics, note the nomen *Detelius* in no. 14 (according to the commentary, the first instance in Umbria). No. 3 (*AE* 1996, 603, in honour of the equestrian [Vol]usius Volusianus) is an inscription with some striking formulations. We now read, after the mention of the honorand, *[fabr?]i qui sub aede / [Intera]mna conveniunt*, which does not seem very satisfactory; certainly I cannot be the only one to miss a definition of the *aedes* (*[Intera]mna* is no doubt to be understood as an ablative representing the locative). Now the *ordinatio* of the text (especially that in line 2) seems to indicate that more is missing on the left than is indicated in the reconstruction here, and thus it seems possible to assume that the name of a deity should be supplied at the beginning of line 4 (in line 5, one could then add, e.g., *multa*, in line 6 *eius*). – "Sensi 1999", cited on p. 115, does not seem to appear in the bibliography.

In the contribution on Pollentia, the most interesting new text may well be no. 8, a fragment brilliantly elucidated by G. Mennella and thus turning out to be part of an inscription in honour of Lollianus Avitus cos. 144, thought to come from Pollentia. One also observes a *merkator vinarius* (10, = *AE* 1960, 284). No. 20 (*AE* 1998, 532), enumerating members of a family of Vennii, which is interesting inasmuch the eldest has the cognomen *Super*, confirming once again the interpretation of this cognomen by Schulze (*Eigennamen* 499 n. 1). This inscription also provides a new instance of a family in which some, but not all, sons have the same praenomen, Super and Quartus being Gaii, Secundus a Lucius. As both Super and Quartus are designated as *v(ivi)*, this cannot be explained by the fact that Quartus was born after Super's death. I cannot explain this use of praenomina (for one would expect all sons in a family to have either different praenomina or the same praenomen) but may be allowed to point out that I collected some parallel cases in *Die römischen Vornamen* 386f.

In the contribution on Vercellae, there is (p. 295f.) a useful treatment of the *lex Tappula* (*ILS* 8761) and a new edition of the bilingual (Latin/Celtic) inscription recording the *finis* of a *campus* (*CIL* I^2 3403a; "Lejeune, 1988", cited as an authority for the reading of lines 9–12, does not seem to appear in the bibliography; the same could be said of "Salomies, 1987", cited, perhaps not for a very good reason, as an authority on double filiations in the Cisalpina on p. 313).

I must conclude by stressing once again the importance of the contributions included here and of the series *Supplementa Italica* in general. I am also happy to be able to observe that there is constant progress; vol. 20 already exists and the preparation of vols. 21 and 22 is referred to in the *Presentazione* on p. 8.

Olli Salomies

ALFONS ZETTLER: *Offerenteninschriften auf den frühchristlichen Mosaikfußböden Venetiens und Istriens. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 26*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2001. ISBN 3-11-016261-X. IX, 306 S., 321 abb., 16 Taf. EUR 128.

Das Buch enthält eine lange Analyse von Offerenteninschriften, eingebettet in ihren archäologisch-topographischen Kontext, gefolgt vom Corpus der betreffenden Inschriften. Das 2001 erschienene Werk nimmt keinerlei Rücksicht auf das 1993 publizierte Buch von J. P. Caillet über dasselbe Thema (Caillets Werk wird nur im Vorwort erwähnt). Aber im Zeitalter des Computers wäre es nicht schwierig gewesen, wenigstens Verweise auf Caillet vorzunehmen. Auch sonst hat Z. neuere Literatur aus den neunziger Jahren weitgehend unbeachtet gelassen. Zu bedauern ist, daß Brusins Corpus der Inschriften von Aquileia nicht ausgewertet wurde; desgleichen fehlt jeder Verweis auf wichtige in den Supplementa Italica erschienene Beiträge (etwa Inschrifteneditionen von Tergeste und Iulium Carnicum). – Z. will sich auf Venetien und Histrien konzentrieren. Was machen denn da Inschriften einerseits aus Florenz, andererseits aus den Donauprovinzen, etwa aus Celeia, Iuenna oder Stojnik? Die Orte werden in alphabetischer Folge dargeboten, was Zusammengehörendes auseinanderreißt (z. B. Aquileia und Grado). – Die Texte werden in Majuskelbuchstaben und ohne moderne Interpunktion und ohne jegliche Erklärungen geboten, was den Zugang zu ihrem Verständnis gewiß beträchtlich erschwert. Schon die erste Inschrift auf S. 166 wird mit einer bloßen Majuskeltranskription wiedergegeben, und der Leser muß mühsam mit Hilfe des Index (unter Theodor, Bf.) im ersten Teil des Buches suchen, um mit der Interpretation des schwierigen Textes zurechtzukommen. – Auch sonst gibt die Wiedergabe des Inschriftentextes Anlaß zu Kritik: vor allem werden falsche Namen (freilich meistens aufgrund früherer Editionen) restituiert. Die griechischen Wörter und Namen sind unerlaubt nachlässig wiedergegeben. Das Buch hat doch neben dem von Caillet seine Nützlichkeit, denn die zwei Autoren legen in der Auslegung Gewicht auf etwas verschiedene Gesichtspunkte (und Z. hat einen bei C. fehlenden Ort, Inzino/Val Trompia einbezogen). Wer sich der Schwächen des Buches bewußt ist, wird es mit Gewinn benutzen.

Heikki Solin

ANTONIO M. CORDA: *Le iscrizioni cristiane della Sardegna anteriori al VII secolo*. Studi di antichità cristiana 55. Città del Vaticano, Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia cristiana 1999. ISBN 88-85991-24-6. 408 pp., LVIII tavv. EUR 100.

Un volume molto benvenuto. All'introduzione, dove si parla tra l'altro della storia degli studi (non priva di avvenimenti di grande interesse per la cultura del '600 e '700), segue l'edizione stessa, con numerazione non continua, ma che comincia da capo per ognuna delle località presentate in ordine alfabetico, una prassi che non caldeggerei (ma che sembra essere venuta di moda, cf. ad es. il volume dello Zettler recensito in questo stessso volume). L'edizione delle singole iscrizioni è accompagnata da commentari esaurienti e necessari per la comprensione dei testi epigrafici (CAR060: C. ha frainteso il mio ragionamento, *Pascasius* non è semitico, ma cristiano). All'edizione tiene dietro un "quadro di sintesi", in cui si sofferma su onomastica, formulario, cariche ecclesiastiche, lingua, simboli e cronologia delle iscrizioni. Seguono gli utilissimi indici del tipo *key word in context*, prima del latino, poi del greco. Il volume finisce, dopo tavole di conguaglio, vari altri indici e bibliografia, con un completo corredo fotografico.

Con questo volume Corda ci ha regalato un utilissimo e ben fatto strumento per lo studio delle iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sardegna, che senz'altro può dirsi completo. Nessun accenno alla peculiare iscrizione pubblicata dal Ferrua, *Civ. Catt.* 118 (1967) I 357 (cf. *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage* II, 1998, 13 n. 32), e l'editore ha fatto bene ad escluderla, in quanto si tratta di un'epigrafe urbana. Per apprezzare meglio il volume, tornerò deo volente in altra sede sull'interpretazione delle iscrizioni in esso contenute.

Heikki Solin

Bölcske. Römische Inschriften und Funde. Herausgegeben von ÁDÁM SZABÓ und ENDRE TÓTH. Libelli Archaeologici, ser. nov. II. Ungarisches Nationalmuseum, Budapest 2003. ISSN 1589.9292. ISBN 963-9046-83-8. 476 S. EUR 65.

Aus dem Donaubett bei Bölcske (etwa 85 km südlich von Budapest) wurde 1986–1994 eine ansehnliche Zahl von römischen Inschriften geborgen, 39 Votivaltäre, 2 Grabaltäre und zahlreiche kleinere Grabstein- und Altarfragmente. In dem vorliegenden Band werden die Funde veröffentlicht. An der Arbeit haben namhafte ungarische Forscher teilgenommen. Es ist sehr lobenswert, daß dieser höchst wichtige Fund nach nicht allzu langer Zeit der Fachwelt in einer ausgezeichneten Publikation zur Verfügung gestellt worden ist. Mit großer Spannung liest man über die Entdeckungsgeschichte und die entsagungsvolle Arbeit der Taucher und anderer Mitarbeiter. Der eigentliche wissenschaftliche Beitrag des Bandes steht in der Edition und Interpretation der epigraphischen Funde, die – wie uns berichtet wird – in der Spätantike zum Donaubett bei Bölcske aus Aquincum, Campona uns aus anderen Orten geschleppt wurden.

Ich begnüge mich hier, ein paar Beobachtungen zu den Inschriftenfunden zu machen. Der eigentliche Katalog stammt aus der Hand von J. Beszédes, Zs. Mráv und E. Tóth und besteht aus der mit kurzen Kommentaren versehenen Edition von 49 Texten, von denen die meisten praktisch unveröffentlicht sind. Die Lesungen der oft schwer lesbaren Texte sind meistens vorzüglich. In 13 b (aus Aquincum, vom Jahre 284 n. Chr.), Zeile 10 lesen die Editoren den Namen *Aurel(ius) Cemes(us)*. Aber *Cemesus* ist kein Name. Ich frage mich, ob hier *Cleme(n)s* verstanden werden könnte. Von einem L sieht man freilich am Photo keine Spuren, auch nicht von einem evtl Nexus von L mit dem vorangehenden oder nachfolgenden Buchstaben. Also Steinmetzfehler, verursacht vielleicht von dem geringen zur Verfügung stehenden Raum? Wenn dem so ist, konnte der Steinmetz um so leichter N weglassen. *Clemes* stellt ja eine gut belegte Schreibweise dar, auch in der späteren Kaiserzeit. Sonst habe ich nur Quisquilien anzumelden: 7, Zeile 7 lies *trib(unicia)* statt *trib(uniciae)*, wenn *pot(estate)* aufgelöst wird. – 11 c, Zeile 3 *F(elicis)*, nicht *F(elici)*. – 16, Zeile 4 *sant-*, was man leicht als phonologisch bedingte Auslassung von *c* erklären kann. – 28 nach ihrer Gewohnheit verlieren die Editoren kein Wort Kommentar zum Inhalt, obwohl wenigstens der merkwürdige Name *Apolaneus*, den ich nicht verstehe (Entgleisung für *Apollonius*?) und das ebenfalls überraschende *instantem* ihre Aufmerksamkeit verdient hätten; und was ist die Rolle des Aelius Apolaneus bei der Errichtung des Steines? Überraschend ist endlich das Cognomen *Fabin(us)*, ansonsten nirgends belegt (aus dem Photo zu schließen, ist die Lesung nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben). – 40, Zeile 8–9 schreibe *Iul(ius) Galata*, nicht *Iul(ia)*, denn *Galata* ist Männername.

Auf S. 219–228 publiziert und interpretiert G. Alföldy mit gewohnter Meisterschaft die aufschlußreiche Inschrift eines Benefiziars (aus Campona, vom Jahre 191 n. Chr.), die uns unter anderem ein neues Cognomen, *Iuliacensis*, geschenkt hat: *T. Karinius Iuliacen[sis domo] Arelate ex provin[cia Nar]bon(ensi)*. Aus welchem Anlaß das Cognomen zugelegt wurde, bleibt Spekulationen überlassen; Alföldy erwägt die Möglichkeit, daß der Vater aus einer der Provinzen stammte, wo ein Ort Iuliacum lag, und dienstlich in die Gallia Narbonensis abkommandiert wurde, wo er sich in Arelate nach seiner Entlassung niederließ; zur Erinnerung an seine eigene Herkunft hätte er dem Sohn das Cognomen *Iuliacensis* verliehen. – A. Szabó behandelt noch gesondert die Dolichenus-Basis (Nr. 21 des Katalogs); E. Tóth den Zeitpunkt der Schlacht bei Abritus aufgrund von Nr. 8; Zs. Mráw erneut die "Palimpsestinschriften"; J. Beszédes die Steindenkmäler als Kunstwerke. Andere ebenfalls interessante Beiträge runden den Band ab, darunter eine Analyse der Zeugnisse von Offizieren und Soldaten der Hilfstruppen durch B. Lőrincz, der früher in dem Band die Ziegelstempelfunde publiziert.

Alles in allem ein sehr wichtiger Band, an dem auch äußerlich wenig zu beanstanden ist. Raum wurde nicht gespart. War es aber nötig, manche derselben Texte in verschiedenen Beiträgen in extenso wiederzugeben? – Der deutsche Ausdruck läßt stellenweise etwas zu wünschen übrig, und der Sinn kann gelegentlich dunkel bleiben (vertrautes Problem bei der Übersetzung wissenschaftlicher Texte).

Heikki Solin

JON HESK: *Deception and Democracy in Classical Athens*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. ISBN 0-521-64322-8. 336 pp. GBP 50.

The proverb according to which the journey is sometimes more interesting than the destination might be applied to this challenging and, in many ways, fascinating monograph. To sum up the epilogue, this study points out how concepts of true and false were not unequivocal or unchanging in literary representations of Athenian democracy. It becomes very clear, that although truth and honesty were desirable qualities in every branch of social life, it was equally self-evident that anyone could lie, and that everyone was aware of the fact that anyone could lie. This sad universal "truth" does not perhaps surprise the reader, but Hesk's way of exploring different aspects, genres and forms of deception and trickery is most rewarding, provided, however, that the reader has the patience to work through heavy structuralistic terminology and modern reference-literature. These make the reading-experience – in places – slow and wearisome for a reader who is not exactly familiar with all this.

The basic argument of the study, as expressed in the prologue, is that the idea of slandering rhetoric as a deceptive method of influencing people and general awareness of the concept of the "noble lie" in politics was not purely a Platonic anti-democratic invention (as suggested by Karl Popper), but rather emerged from the culture of "Athenian democracy" itself. H. states that it is not difficult to point out (and it has been pointed out, in fact) several passages in Greek literature where lying, cunning, the "μῆτις" are lauded. In addition, e.g., anthropological studies have shown that deception was used with general acceptance in the ancient Mediterranean as well as in other rural cultures. H., however, studies the representations and evaluations of deceit and wants to demonstrate that at least in "public space literature", lying and deceit were persistently described as negative qualities, in fact as qualities which were seen to be antithetical to Athenian identity itself. This does not exclude the fact that these terms could also be negotiable (as H. puts it) in certain contexts, and the author discusses these "discourses," too.

A sympathetic feature of this monograph is the exceptional openness of the author concerning the "agenda" and the "subjectivity" of his study. In addition to the author's own comment on this subject in the prologue, this can be seen in the structure of the book. Every chapter opens with a reference to more or less contemporary events involving questions of "honesty" and "deception". This gives a pleasant feeling of freshness to this study. My only complaint on this matter is that these reference cases do not always seem relevant. For instance, I would suggest that the Iran-Contra scandal has been wiped away at least from the minds of non-Anglo-American readers and been replaced with more recent war scandals. The author cannot, however, be blamed for not having been able to forecast the political weather of 2004, and the way he parallels the British presentation of England as an "embodiment of truth" as opposed to Germany during WW II with Athenian speakers' views about Athens and Sparta seems very felicitous. Through these "digressions," the reader is introduced to different levels of the concept of "deceit" in Athenian democracy during the classical period.

Chapters one and two discuss the concept of "deceiving the demos," the presentations of military trickery and attitudes towards cowardliness and honesty in selected passages of literature, mainly by Thucydides, Demosthenes, Euripides and Xenophon. The overall selection of classical literature in the study is well argued in the prologue: H. does not focus on the most obvious literature on deception (e.g. the *Encomium of Helen* of Gorgias or the *Wasps* and *Clouds* of Aristophanes). This is partly because these texts have been studied elsewhere, and partly because the author wants to offer us texts, which illustrate these questions in a more novel way.

The first chapter concentrates on the Athenian ideology of "democracy" and "self-image" and discusses how the Athenian legislation reflects a case where the people, the demos, were deceived by their leaders; the basic argument of the democratic system was that the demos could not make mistakes, it could only be misled. As H. points out, this is a complicated question since our sources for Athenian legislation from the classical period are scarce. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether an individual could really be charged with having deceived the demos, as Miltiades would seem to have been because of false promises after the battle of Marathon (Herodot. 6,136). However, it seems clear that, e.g., the *proklesis* procedure was seen as functioning as a sort prohibition against the possibility of deceiving the demos. There were probably also public curses spoken aloud in the meetings of the *ekklesia* and *boule* (parodied in Aristophanes *Thesm.* 335–351) and H. concludes that laws against "deceiving" the demos were symbolically important, inasmuch they could be interpreted as enforcing the idea of Athenian "openness" as opposed to Spartan "dishonesty".

The second chapter focuses on questions of military "trickery" and the problematics of deceiving enemies. In the beginning of the chapter, H. discusses the aetiology of the *Apaturia*-festival and its initiative function for Athenian young men being in the liminal space of the *ephebeia*, theory put forward by H. Vidal-Naquet. The story of the Theban Xanthus and of tricky Melanthus of Athens can be seen representing as the opposite of ephebic ideals (absolute honesty) and corresponding to the Spartan *krupteia* institution. "Trickery" belongs to the "otherness" and will be left behind by an initiation rite. H. takes a critical view of many points in Vidal-Naquet's argumentation, but also shows how well the myth could be read to support the idea of "the honest Athenian hoplite." This leads to an analysis of the Athenian self-image as "naturally" (φύσει) brave and honest as opposed to Spartan "otherness" with its inborn secretiveness, shrewdness and dishonesty combined with "taught/learned" military valour. This idealistic view of Athenian honesty can partly be attributed to the nature of hoplite war strategy, which was based on equally equipped soldiers on both sides fighting an open battle, but H. shows that it can be seen as being based deeper in the structure of Athenian democracy.

With time, war tactics changed and traditional hoplite warfare was proven not to be effective against the ambushes and sieges used by enemies. Consequently, it is not surprising to see how military deception can also be a "negotiable term" in Athenian public discussion, especially when it could be connected with self-sacrifice. However, H. wants to stress that military "trickery" was always seen as inferior to open conflict and a positive notion of deceit was allowed only when it was placed in within a discourse of relations, not opposed to open hoplite-fighting.

H. also discusses (pp. 107–22) the interesting question of why military deceit was seen so negatively. In the funerary speech of Pericles, Thucydides rejects deception completely. But, on the other hand, there may in fact be some positive aspects of "deception," if applied to enemies. For instance, in the second book of the *Republic*, Socrates contemplates when lying may be allowed. In short, lying is, according to Socrates, acceptable if meant to protect friends from harming themselves "in madness," or in storytelling, and in relations with enemies. Socrates' views thus seem to stand in contradiction with the "Periclean" ideology, in which military trickery is never admissible. H. points out that Plato's ideas combine well with ancient ethics, that is, love your friends and hurt your enemies. Plato also divided lying into two categories, "true lying" and "lying in words," of which the latter was, of course, less serious. However, deceit, according to the Athenian view, is the result of fear (gods, for example, never lie because they do not have to be afraid) and could not be admitted in official discourse. Although this chapter contains many interesting remarks, the ideological change from Homer (where military trickery is acceptable) to the Athenian view that deception is equivalent with the fear of enemy might have benefited from further discussion.

At the end of the chapter, H. analyses some texts related to military trickery and Xenophon's *Kurou paideia* receives the main attention. Xenophon tells us that Cyrus finds out how he had unconsciously learned how to deceive when necessary and this had happened in the form of learning to hunt. According to Xenophon, training in trickery was thus veiled because, in earlier times, boys were openly taught to deceive their friends, for good purposes, of course. This, however, led to the misuse of this knowledge and then open education in trickery was forbidden. According to H., this analysis of education by Xenophon, who is known to have been pro-Spartan, can be interpreted as questioning both Spartan education, which makes people animal-like and "banausic" (an expression which made me spend quite some time with dictionaries…) as well as Sophistic/"Socratic" teaching which seemed to lead to relativism of values.

Chapter 3 deals with the γένναιον ψεῦδος, the noble lie, a concept, which has been severely criticised as supporting oligarchic and totalitarian structures. As an introduction to the chapter, H. refers to theories of M. Foucault and M. Détienne, giving the latter full credit for his analysis of ἀλήθεια. H. discusses the opposing concepts ψευδῆ and ἀπάτη as reflected in Plato's *Republic*, in the oratory of Demosthenes, in the fragmentary Satyr play *Sisyphus* of disputed authorship and in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles.

In the Republic, in the myth concerning the metals, from which the concept derives, *gennaion pseudos* can be seen as a drastic but necessary method of maintaining order in the ideal society. H's analysis shows that a "noble lie" in Plato was understood as "pharmaceutical," that is, the purpose of it was to protect social rules. From H's discussion of the *Sisyphos* fragment, it becomes clear that opinions of gods and of religion as human inventions to control people were circulating widely among the 5th-century intellectuals. In the case of *Philoctetes*, H. points out that the Athenian audience might have seen Ulysses' cold and betraying behaviour as being a variation of the "noble lie". This third chapter is, to my mind, the book's most brilliant part with refreshing ideas and is also most pleasant to read, too.

The final two chapters concentrate on rhetoric and its relation to Sophistic. The starting point of the discussion is the idea of Demosthenes that because the basis of Athenian democracy was rhetoric, it was crucial that the spoken word could be expected to be "true." From this "logocentric culture" arise the problems and the anxiety which sophistic education and oratory caused in Athens.

In the beginning of chapter 4, H. discusses the modern political term "spin," which I understood as meaning to somehow misuse one's rhetoric skills in order to gain profit. H. parallels "spin" to sophistic practises and shows how complicated it is to distinguish the "spin" (or sophistry) from the "spin of the spin." as one could put it. The author analyses different methods the speakers used in order to alienate themselves from the reputation of being sophists and to try to make their opponents look as dishonest as possible. As in the case of military courage, inborn capability in oratory was seen as more "honest" than acquired skills in speaking. It was a common topos in rhetoric to accuse one's opponent of having practised or of using "sophistic" methods, as opposed to the speaker's own allegedly natural way of speaking. Rhetoric could thus be used to expose the "spin", i.e. the deceptiveness. This is what H. calls "the rhetoric of anti-rhetoric." The point is that orators themselves make rhetoric look suspicious, and so the author shows that this anti-rhetorical discourse was part of the rhetoric outside Plato's antidemocratic ideology.

Speeches of Demosthenes and his opponent Aeschines are studied in order to analyse these aspects in practise. H. takes passages of speeches of both to show their endless *agon* about natural and learned capability in speaking. It is argued, that in these battles of slanders, a speaker could, if necessary, admit to being a "δεινὸς λέγειν", or even a logographer, but the accusation of being σοφιστής is never to be conceded to as being correct. In addition, H. interestingly discusses passages in Demosthenes' and Aeschines' speeches in which a person's physiological habitus is deemed to betray dishonesty, the "physiognomic of deceit", as H. phrases it. Aeschines, a former actor himself, intends to deflect Demosthenes' aspersions on his gestural skills by accusing Demosthenes of being a mimetic liar. H. also discusses methods of using *topoi*, also to use *topoi* to unmask *topoi* and alleged lies behind them (deconstructing the commonplace): the speaker can anticipate the *topos* and turn it upside down, i.e. because X has nothing to say, he will say it is "commonly known". Overall, H. points out how speakers use different strategies to represent themselves as "masters of truth" and the opponents as "masters of lies". It is also amazing to see how far a speaker would go to use his rhetorical excellence only to conceal it.

H. draws an extremely complicated picture of rhetorical culture, and the reader herself had difficulties in detecting where the spin is, this being, I suppose, the meaning of the author. It becomes brilliantly clear in how many ways the rhetoric of well-written speeches could/should be interpreted.

This study is highly recommended to everyone who wishes to see different aspects behind the Athenian ideological image of democracy, reflecting both its merits and shortcomings. It is not always easy to follow the complicated argumentation and, in places, the text is somewhat cryptic, but all in all, the book rewards its reader with a feeling of discovering something new, this making the effort worthwhile.

Tiina Purola

The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic. Edited by HARRIET FLOWER. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004. ISBN 0-521-80794-8. XV, 405 pp. GBP 55.

Whereas there is certainly no shortage of works presenting the (political and military) history of the Roman Republic, or of studies devoted to various specific aspects of this period, the Republic is conspicuously less covered than the Empire when it comes to works offering broader insights. Therefore, the volume under review here is very welcome. This anthology by an international team of experts, edited by Harriet I. Flower, examines Roman history and civilization in the period 509-49 BC from a broad variety of perspectives. Here the usual surveys of political and military history, which of course are indispensable, are accompanied with overviews of various aspects of social, economic and cultural themes.

The fifteen contributions to the book, most of them fully annotated, are grouped into five parts. The first part, focusing on political and military history, includes discussions of the Early Republic, the republican constitution, the army and navy, and the crisis of the Republic, authored respectively by Stephen Oakley, Corey Brennan, David Potter and Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg. The second part, on Roman society, contains accounts dealing with family and household (Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp), women (Phyllis Culham), economy and law (Jean-Jacques Aubert) as well as religion (Jörg Rüpke). Rome's Empire is the theme of the third part, which features discussions of Roman interactions with some of the peoples that were eventually subdued by the Romans (not solely from the point of view of military history). The growth of Roman power in Italy, and the gradual political and cultural Romanization of the peninsula in the period 338-31 BC, is analyzed by Kathryn Lomas. The Punic Wars, and their significance, are discussed by John F. Lazenby. The establishment of Roman hegemony in the East after the Second Punic War, and Rome's dealings with the Greek World, are addressed by Erich S. Gruen. Part four is devoted to Roman culture. The themes covered are literature (Elaine Fantham), (visual) art in context (Ann L. Kuttner) as well as spectacle and political culture (Harriet I. Flower). Part five is an epilogue on the later political and ideological influence of the Roman Republic, an influence which, as is well known, extends into the present era. This contribution, by Mortimer N. S. Sellers, focuses on the French and American Revolutions.

At the end of the book, there is a timeline, an extensive thematic bibliography and a general index. The book contains a little more than thirty figures (photos in black and white, line drawings and a few maps).

The contributors are drawn from the *crème de la crème* of the field of republican studies, and this reviewer can only note that they provide the quality one is entitled to expect from them. Designed to be accessible to students and the general reader alike this book is warmly recommended to anyone interested in a vital, formative period of Roman history.

Kaj Sandberg

KLAUS BRINGMANN: *Geschichte der römischen Republik. Von den Anfängen bis Augustus*. C. H. Beck, München 2002. ISBN 3-406-49292-4. 463 pp. EUR 34.90.

This book is a remarkably brave attempt by a single individual to provide a synopsis of the historical evolution of a long and extraordinarily dynamic period in Roman history. The half millennium covered by the volume did not only witness Rome's development from a small village to a Mediterranean empire, but also a host of structural changes as to the internal development of the Roman state and society. These include complex social and economic developments as well as the evolution of the republican system itself and, indeed, the eventual disintegration of this political system. The focus of the book is firmly placed on political and military history, and Bringmann addresses other aspects only insofar as these are capable of contributing "zum Verständnis des historischen Prozesses" (p. 6). This conception of the dynamics of history may well be open to debate, but, given the complexity and sheer volume of relevant material (primary sources as well as scholarly works), it is certainly to the benefit of the whole presentation that the author has chosen a clear and well-defined focus. As so often, less is more.

The book is organized in five major sections, the contents of which will be briefly summarized here. In section I, "Rom und Italien" (pp. 9–82), B. examines the period from the beginnings to the inception of the third century BC. Here he discusses the foundation of the city of Rome (including its social and political institutions), the growth of Roman power in Italy down to the conclusion of the Samnite Wars, the constitution of the Classical Republic as well as the emergence of the *nobilitas*. In section II, "Rom und die Mittelmeerwelt" (pp. 83–154), which is essentially an account of the military history of Rome from the Pyrrhic War down to the late second century BC, the author makes a contribution to the ongoing discussion of the nature of Roman imperialism. Refuting the view that Rome's expansion during this period was due to a desire for territorial conquest, B. contends that this expansion should be seen as the product of a defensive grand strategy, which required conquest in order to provide protection for new territories.

In section III, "Die Krise der Republik und ihre Ursachen" (pp. 155–278), which examines the period from the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus to the domination of Sulla, B. turns to the profound changes Roman society underwent in the wake of the rapid expansion of the preceding period, changes deriving from the economic, social and political consequences of the expansion itself as well as from the increasing contacts with the Greek World. The author analyzes the Greek influences on Roman culture and religion, the impact of the adoption of a monetary economy, the transformation of agricultural production and landholding patterns and its consequences for the military recruitment system. He also deals with the reform attempts of the Gracchi, the struggle between Marius and Sulla and with the dictatorship of the latter.

In section IV, "Der Untergang der Republik" (pp. 279–394), B. provides an overview of the development between the domination of Sulla and the situation following the assassination of Caesar. In section V, "Augustus, Überwinder und Vollender der Republik", the author is concerned with the second triumvirate, the ascension of Octavian/Augustus and the political system (firmly rooted in republican institutions) established by the first emperor.

At the end of the book, there is an *Anhang*, a series of appendices including a chronological table, an index of places and names as well as a table of illustrations and maps. Most importantly, it also contains an appendix entitled "Hinweise zur Forschung und wissenschaftlichen Literatur" (pp. 435–448), which, in the form of an annotated bibliography, provides a very valuable overview of modern scholarship on the Republic. The book features throughout numerous excerpts from primary sources, which usually enhance the presentation, but it is very sparsely illustrated.

Bringmann's book certainly has much to commend it, providing as it does an accessible, well-informed and lucid single-volume analysis of an important period in Roman history. However, certain features greatly reduce its value, at least as an introduction to its subject. For instance, the lack of a systematic discussion of the evidentiary basis for republican history is highly regrettable; the occasional notes on primary sources in the abovementioned annotated bibliography (pp. 435 ff.) provide no remedy for this shortcoming. Altogether incomprehensible is the complete omission, in the body of the text, of references to works of modern scholarship. Again, the bibliography is by no means able to make up for the lack of a proper apparatus of notes, which would have been nothing short of essential. It is most important to stress that no modern account of the history of the Roman Republic can be conceived independently of the efforts of previous scholars, and that modern scholarship in this area is far from representing a uniform tradition. Nigh near every single statement that can be made with regard to the Early Republic is by necessity surrounded with controversy, and also the history of later periods abounds with hotly debated problems that divide scholars. It is clear from his account that B. is fully conversant with the scholarly literature on the Republic, but it would have been helpful for the reader if he had identified the main issues of contention and provided details as to the origin of the views he offers. The lack of references also frequently makes it unclear, at least for the general reader, whether the author is presenting original ideas or is merely recounting the findings of others.

Finally, I find it unfortunate that the author quite frequently presents highly contentious views as if they were well-established facts, without duly recognizing that they are in fact matters for debate. For instance, in the discussion of the founding of Rome and the date of the introduction of the Republic, where B. largely follows the revisionist chronology proposed long ago by Einar Gjerstad and Krister Hanell (whose names are not mentioned, even in the bibliography) it would have been appropriate to acknowledge that the traditional chronology still has its defenders (e.g. Timothy J. Cornell and Andrea Carandini, to name but a few). That the analysis of the primary sources entails severe difficulties, and that conflicting interpretations often co-exist, is, in my mind, one of the things that should be stressed in a modern account of Roman history.

Kaj Sandberg

HENRIK MOURITSEN: *Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001. ISBN 0-521-79100-6. VI, 164 pp. GBP 40.

This book on the nature of politics in the Late Roman Republic is a substantial contribution to an important scholarly debate that, with its current focus, has gone on now for two decades. The central issue of contention is the actual political role of the *populus Romanus*, as opposed to its formal constitutional position. This discussion was sparked by Fergus Millar, who in a seminal paper ("The Political Character of the Classical Roman Republic, 200–151 BC", *JRS* 74 [1984] 1–19), questioned the prevailing views of Roman politics, which are largely based on ideas first introduced by Matthias Gelzer in one of the most influential studies ever written on the Roman Republic (*Die Nobilität der römischen Republik*, Leipzig 1912). According to the Gelzerian model, the structures of political power in republican Rome are not found primarily in the political institutions, but embedded in the fabric of social bonds traversing Roman society. In this view, Roman politics was essentially a contest between various *factiones* within the *nobilitas*, as the extensive nominal powers of the people were effectively checked by systematic oligarchic control based on the *clientela* system. Millar and other exponents of democratic interpretations of the political system of republican Rome have argued that the popular vote was in fact the central element of the entire political process, assigning to the masses a truly decisive role in Roman politics. Mouritsen's book, which in terms of scope and focus appears as a direct reply to one of Millar's later studies, the monograph *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (Ann Arbor 1998), constitutes a systematic attack on democratic interpretations of this kind.

The book is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter ("Introduction: ideology and practice in Roman politics", pp. 1–17), providing an overview of the scholarly discussion, the author identifies the major points at issue and places the whole debate in a wider historiographical context. He argues that the recent surge of interest in the urban crowds reflects the return of political ideologies to the study of republican Rome. He perceives democratic readings of the Roman political system as products of an ideologically motivated desire to rehabilitate the *plebs*, and connects this desire to a likewise ideologically motivated general revaluation of the masses in history. In order to show that the Roman state during the Republic was firmly controlled by an aristocracy, M. sets out to demonstrate that one of the results of the modern debate, the social rehabilitation of the urban masses as a respectable working class (rather than idle parasites as they traditionally have been vilified), actually stands in the way of a political restoration. The author contends that political engagement, which in Rome was very time-consuming, and the daily struggle for survival were mutually exclusive commitments. This state of affairs, in his mind, effectively thwarts all modern efforts to present the masses as serious players in the political scene. He concedes that the picture of the people as a significant political agent, able to provide qualified opposition to the Senate, has support in Polybius' famous analysis of the Roman political system, but dismisses this piece of evidence on the ground that it owes more to abstract Greek political theory than to personal observation of actual political conditions.

Chapter two ("The scale of late republican politics", pp. 18–37) is concerned with the size and social composition of the typical 'political crowd'. In an effort to look past the *populus* as a mere constitutional concept, M. directs his attention to the citizens that actually turned up for political events. In order to corroborate his thesis that the political crowd in republican Rome consisted mainly of members of the propertied classes, the *boni*, rather than the working population, supposedly too busy with its struggle for subsistence (which took most of its time before the distributions of free grain commenced in 58 BC), he sets out to demonstrate that the physical limitations imposed by the political arenas themselves precluded the presence of large crowds. Examining the topographical evidence for the meeting places of the people (the Comitium, the Forum, and the Saepta in the Campus Martius), the literary evidence on attendance in the popular assemblies, and venturing some 'cautious guesswork' with regard to the voting procedure itself (including the counting of the votes), M. attempts to establish the maximum numbers possible of citizens convening in the various *comitia* and in the *contiones*. In what must be styled a drastic revision of previous similar attempts (notably by L. R. Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies*, Ann Arbor 1966 and R. MacMullen, "How Many Romans Voted?", *Athenaeum* 58 [1980] 454–457), he concludes that attendance in the legislative assemblies was extremely low, usually involving a mere 3000 citizens, and that even electoral assemblies rarely reached numbers in excess of 10 000. This situation, according to M., suited the political elite, who did nothing to encourage larger attendance by the lower classes, and a great deal to actually discourage it.

One of the author's central contentions is that the small scale of the political institutions formally representing the whole people in practice meant that they represented the wealthy few, who had more in common with the senatorial aristocracy than the unpropertied masses which made up the majority of the population. The political consequences of this kind of situation are examined thoroughly in chapters three to five, focusing respectively on *contiones* ("The *contio*", pp. 38–62), legislation ("Legislative assemblies", pp. 63–89) and elective assemblies ("Elections", pp. 90–127). M. stresses the well-known fact that the voting power of those poor citizens who actually showed up to vote was checked by the very structures of the popular assemblies, and by the corporate voting peculiar to them. The division of the citizenry by wealth and age into *centuriae*, which were the voting units in the *comitia centuriata,* and the uneven division of the people into the rural and urban *tribus*, which were the units of the tribal assemblies (M. distinguishes two tribal assemblies; cf. this issue of *Arctos*, pp. 151 ff.) gave the propertied classes the upper hand. However, M. repeatedly emphasizes that it was the widespread disinclination of the masses to exercise their political powers, by actually attending the popular assemblies, which made it possible for the *nobilitas* to control the political process before the Late Republic. It was only the emergence of *populares*, politicians courting the people for its support, and the discovery of the voting power of the masses that created the need to attempt to actually control the voting in the popular assemblies. Although the majority of the crowds living in the city were confined to the four *tribus urbanae*, the immigration of rural *tribules* (citizens registered in one of the 31 *tribus rusticae*) assigned an increasing voting power to the urban masses. It is in his analysis of how the control of the voting worked that M. presents his most original ideas. A recurring theme in these considerations is the political role of the *clientela*, or rather, the lack thereof. Deeming it very unlikely that a significant share of the poorest citizens were connected to individual families of the ruling aristocracy, the author rejects the

Gelzerian view that networks of long-established ties of patronage were the fundamental determinants of the political process. For instance, in his discussion of legislation, he observes that there is no evidence that senators opposing law proposals by *populares* rallied their clients to vote against such bills. Proposals of this kind were rather stopped by way of tribunician *intercessio*, *obnuntiatio* and other kinds of formal obstruction, or, in the last resort, through violence. Popular politicians, on their part, garnered their support principally by means of bribing of local leaders (of *vici*, *collegia*, and the like), and not with the aid of the *clientela* system.

In the concluding sixth chapter ("*Plebs* and politics", pp. 128–148) the author discusses the connection between politics and society in general with the aim of placing the issues raised in the previous chapters in their proper socio-economic context. At the end of the book, there is an appendix on the *lex Licinia de sodalitatibus* (pp. 149–151), an extensive bibliography (pp. 152–161) and a general index.

Though being on the whole well-argued and meticulously documented, the book suffers from a lack of empirical foundation for some of its central assertions. For instance, in my opinion, the author tries to make out too much of very hypothetical assumptions in his discussion of 'the scale' of late republican politics (pp. 18 ff.). The present reviewer can only note too much speculation when it comes to assessing the capacity of the various political arenas, the social composition of crowds participating in political events, the time needed for counting the votes, and the like; the 'cautious guesswork' ventured by M. sometimes seems to be everything but particularly cautious. Moreover, the argumentation occasionally suffers from a marked disrespect for the testimony of the primary sources. In my mind, ancient explicit testimonia are too often dismissed as notably lightly when they contradict what appears to be nothing but a priori assumptions. This, I think, applies to his dismissal of Plautus' vivid sketch of social types in the Forum (Curc. 455–482), which suggests that this public space was not at all, as M. would have us think, the exclusive reserve of the men of substance. This passage, which is clearly a crucial piece of evidence for the social composition of the urban crowds, is rejected on the ground that it constitutes "comic exaggeration" (p. 43). I also think that the author does not give Polybius the consideration he clearly deserves. Polybius' analysis of the Roman political system provides far too much specific information about specifically Roman conditions to be dismissed as a work of abstract political theory in the Greek tradition (pp. 5 ff.). However, none of these critical remarks should obscure the fact that the book represents one of the most important books on the Late Roman Republic that has been published in recent years. It addresses a host of hotly debated issues and provides a number of interesting original ideas that cannot be ignored.

Kaj Sandberg

BRIAN CAMPBELL: *Warfare and Society in Imperial Rome 31 BC – AD 280.* Warfare and History. Routledge, London 2002. ISBN 0-415-27881-3 (hb), 0-415-27882-2 (pb). XIV, 208 pp. GBP 60 (hb), GBP 18.99 (pb).

In the preface, the author defines his book as being aimed primarily at students of the ancient world and at the general reader. To write yet another book about war, society and the Roman army for an English-speaking audience, so laudably provided with them, is an endeavour that has to justify itself.

Professor Campbell aims to explain the nature of warfare and its impact on Roman society. Campbell divides his work into six parts to cover the different aspects of his topic. First, in a chapter entitled 'the origins of war', he seeks to find answers to the question why wars were fought during the Principate. He continues by painting a picture of recruiting patterns, the individual recruit and his motivation. In the chapter 'nature of war', he discusses Roman battle tactics and the battle experience of an individual soldier. Then he proceeds to examine the interplay of war and community and the various ways military presence influenced the, especially provincial, society. The last two chapters consider first how the emperors employed the making of war and the army in (internal) politics, which translates into a discussion of the precarious relationship between the army and the emperor. The last chapter then examines the way the emperors strove to influence public opinion through their military exploits and the way their military roles were presented to the public.

The work of Campbell is balanced and his writing both fluent and persuasive. True to the intention and scope of the work, he refrains from being carried away by the complexities of the topic. That being said, the chapter on the nature of war would have benefited from a bolder utilisation of the recent scholarship concerning the individual's experience of battle and the character of Roman battle.

All the parts blend into a coherent description of the nature of warfare during the Principate, of its causes and effects. It also does justice to the central role of the emperor while not forgetting those who fought in the wars of the emperor. The book provides an up-to-date introduction to this complicated and much discussed subject.

Joonas Sipilä

ANNALISA TORTORIELLO: *I Fasti consolari degli anni di Claudio. Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Anno CDI [= 151] (2004).* Classe di Scienze Morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie, Serie IX, volume XVII, fascicolo 3. 297 pp. (391–691). EUR 13.

This book has two aims. On the one hand, the author, a pupil of Giuseppe Camodeca, has collected the material pertaining to consuls, especially suffect consuls, of the said period and presents an analysis of the structure of the consular years under Claudius. On the other hand, the author studies the consuls themselves, their background, career, etc. These two subjects, the organization of the consular years and the consuls themselves, are closely interrelated since the background of a senator expecting to be promoted to the consulship has an influence on the nature and the date of his consulate. It is thus very good to find these two aspects studied in a single volume, especially as this has been done with remarkable competence.

The book mainly consists of two parts, one dealing with more general issues (Parte I, p. 413–450), and of a much longer one containing prosopographical notes on all the consuls, enumerated in alphabetical order; there are 80 consuls, to which some uncertain cases are added (Parte II, p. 453–625). To begin with this second part, each prosopographical "scheda" begins with an enumeration of the sources, including still unpublished ones (e.g., pp. 492, 520), pertaining to the consulate (but not including those otherwise illustrating the senator in question), which is followed by an analysis of the senator's career, origin (useful onomastic material also being referred to, e.g., 555 n. 530 on Salvid(i)eni), social position, etc. All this seems well informed, and the references to modern literature extend to quite recent items. The general impression is that of solid scholarship. As there have been, in recent years, very many publications of wax tablets mentioning Claudian consuls, we are introduced to quite a number of men with unfamiliar names; observe, e.g., Camerinus Antistius Vetus (no. 6), M. Furnius Augurinus (no. 28), Q. Futius Lusius Saturninus (no. 30), Sp. Oppius (no. 44; no doubt to be connected with a praetor of 44 BC of the same name).

As for the first part of the book, this begins with a chapter on the consular years themselves, from 41 to 54. If one compares the results with what one finds in Degrassi's *Fasti consolari* of 1952, one observes that there has been considerable progress (much of it due to the work of Professor Camodeca); for instance, in AD 47 Degrassi has only the two names, those of the two ordinarii, Claudius IIII and Vitellius III; this number has now grown (p. 421) to six. (Of course there remain consuls and consular pairs who cannot be attributed with certainty to a specific year; in the tables on p. 415ff. their names normally appear in italics.) Throughout, stress is laid on the establishment of the exact periods of the consulates within each year; much of interest is said on the general structure of the years (note AD 48 – on which see also 594 n. 737 – having a structure typical of the time of Tiberius, p. 421). This chapter is followed by others dealing, e.g., with the question of who became ordinary, and who only suffect consul, the consuls' social and geographical origins (note the three consuls whose origin cannot be determined on p. 434 n. 71; as for Cornelius Lupus, his name makes one think of Cisalpine Gaul or some such area), their careers (possibly a stay in Cilicia should be attributed to P. Anteius Rufus because of the existence of a P. Anteius Antiochus from Aigeai, see *PIR*^{2} A 730). However, the ordinary consulate in 49 of C. Pompeius Gallus still remains a mystery (p. 430f.)

Of the observations made by the author, I must mention that, according to her, the *s. c. Vellaeanum* (Ulp. *Dig*. 16, 1, 2, 1), with the consulate of M. Silanus and Vellaeus Tutor, cannot be dated to 46, but to either 50 or 54 (p. 519, cf. 583f.). The author also prefers to date the consuls Blandus and Pollio, attributed by some scholars to the time of Claudius, to AD 18 (p. 608f.); she also may be right in being skeptical about the Lucanian origin of the Statilii Tauri (p. 563; the evidence in fact seems weak).

There are some details about which I am not quite sure I can agree with the author: p. 400 (and elsewhere): I think that the consul of AD 28 was called Ap. Iunius Silanus, not "C. Appius Iunius Silanus" (see *Die römischen Vornamen* 417f.). – L. Calventius Vetus C. Carminius (p. 480 and elsewhere): this consul (of AD 51) is referred to by this nomenclature (with the extra "C.") in a wax tablet, but the second praenomen seems extremely awkward and so I very much prefer the evidence of the Lusitanian inscription in which the man is called simply *L. Calventius Vetus Carminius* (see *Adoptive Nomenclature* 75; I think the reading of the wax tablet is based on a mistake). – 524 n. 368: it is not altogether correct to say that the praenomen M. of Lurius Varus can also be established on the basis of the existence of "suo antenato M. Lurius". – 561 n. 561: there is something wrong with the text of *CIL* X 5076. – There are also some formulations which struck me as unhappy (e.g., p. 406, senators from Latium referred to as "Latini" – a term which makes me think of the earlier books of Livy; p. 502 n. 264, *Fuufius* is a "tipico caso di geminazione"). Moreover, I think that inscriptions in *AE* should be referred to by the *AE* number, not by the original publication (as on p. 544, n. 469).

To conclude: this book is based on very sound scholarship and will be of great service to students of the Claudian period and to those dealing with senators and consuls in general.

Olli Salomies

Museo e territorio. Atti della III giornata di studi, Velletri 7–8 marzo 2003. A cura di M. ANGLE & A. GERMANO. Comune di Velletri - Museo Civico Archeologico "Oreste Nardini". "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2004. ISBN 88-8265-281-5. XI, 220 pp. EUR 130.

Questa pubblicazione testimonia della volontà culturale di una città laziale con storia gloriosa fin dai tempi preromani. Essa ospita sia aggiornamenti sugli scavi e altre ricerche nel territorio dell'area veliterna e castellana, sia una interessante panoramica della politica museale svolta dai musei esistenti nella regione, con particolare riferimento alle più recenti problematiche sulla musealizzazione. Il contenuto è il seguente: dopo i necessari saluti (per fortuna brevi) e l'introduzione di Anna Germano, Direttrice del Museo Civico Archeologico "O. Nardini" di Velletri seguono i vari contributi che affrontano vari problemi: M. C. Mazzi, Un nuovo strumento per i musei (sulle opportunità a partire dalla recente legislazione); G. Pietrobono, La politica museale della Provincia di Roma; G. Cetorelli Schivo & M. Colcerasa, Disabilità e museo. Percorrenze culturali di emergenza (sull'attuale tema degli handicappati nei musei); AA.VV., Mostra permanente di paleontologia e preistoria dei Colli Albani. Il progetto; R. Sansone, Il Museo Diocesano di Velletri. Il nuovo allestimento; G. Cappelli, Il Museo Tuscolano a cento anni dalla nascita; A. Bedetti, Il Museo Civico di Marino. Istanze di conservazione e proposte per una migliore fruizione e valorizzazione; AA. VV., Il sito preistorico di Tenuta Federici; AA. VV., Scavi sul Monte dei Ferrari; C. Belardelli, La protostoria nella documentazione dei siti del Lazio. Velletri e il suo territorio; A. Guidi, L'importanza dei luoghi di culto nella formazione delle città medio-tirreniche; AA. VV., Ricerche nell'area dell'Artemisio; AA. VV., Il sarcofago con le imprese di Ercole; L. Attenni, Il tempio di Giunone Sospita [a Lanuvio]. Nuove considerazioni sulla fase tardoarcaica; L. Bologna, L'epigrafia come fonte storica per la storia di Velletri. Alcune epigrafi da scavi del territorio; C. Mengarelli, Monte Castellaccio, Analisi topografica e aspetti cronologici della fase medievale; AA. VV., Velitrae antiquissima Latii urbs.

Il volume contiene sia delle novità sia delle sintesi di carattere generale. Tenuto conto del pubblico presente al convegno e dei lettori del volume vorrei sottolineare un aspetto positivo; almeno a me piace questa caratteristica tipicamente italiana, l'intersecarsi cioè degli interessi di un colto pubblico cittadino con quelli di studiosi di interessi vari e vario livello. Tuttavia ho la sensazione che parecchi contributi ci avrebbero guadagnato da un approccio più approfondito. Debbo anche dire che l'alto prezzo del volume può spaventare i cittadini pur illuminati di Velletri e quelli di altre città limitrofe.

Non è qui il caso di discutere sul contenuto e fare osservazioni critiche. Dico solo che il contributo sull'epigrafia antica di Velletri poteva essere un poco più approfondito; proprio tenuto conto del livello dei lettori l'a. avrebbe potuto allargare la sua scelta di epigrafi con iscrizioni di grande interesse e importanza esistenti nel museo veliterno o anche in altri musei, soprattutto a Napoli e nei Vaticani, e renderle più accessibili al pubblico con spiegazioni più estese (anche le traduzioni dei testi epigrafici, ora relegate nelle note, avrebbero potuto figurare nel corpo del testo stesso). – Nella presentazione del Museo Diocesano di Velletri nessun accenno viene fatto alle iscrizioni paleocristiane, che pure non sono prive di un certo interesse.

Heikki Solin

RABUN TAYLOR: *Roman Builders: A Study in Architectural Process*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003. ISBN 0-521-00583-3. 303 pp. GBP 19.99 (pb).

Roman architecture is perhaps one of the most interesting and fascinating aspects of ancient Roman culture. The sheer mass and volume of the buildings such as the Colosseum or the Pantheon make the viewer ask "How was this possible 2000 years ago?" Many books have been written which describe the buildings, but fewer have concentrated on the building process and its requirements. One of the exceptions is Janet DeLaine's 1997 volume *The Baths of Caracalla: A Study in Design, Construction and Economics of Large-Scale Building Projects in Imperial Rome* (Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplement XX), which has perhaps been an inspiration – and an important source – for Taylor's book.

Instead of concentrating on a single building or on the general technological aspects of Roman building, Taylor seeks to map the process of building from the point of view of design: for example, what things had to be taken into consideration when designing the whole building process of the Pantheon? This theme, at least superficially, resembles the main idea of C. F. Giuliani's 1990 book *L'edilizia nell'antichità* (La Nuova Scuola Scientifica, Roma). However, Giuliani is more interested in the practical matters and general aspects of Roman building techniques, and so these two books complement each other in a very interesting and informative manner.

Taylor's book starts from the drawing table and proceeds to treat each aspect of the building from the foundations and drainage to the roofs and decorations. Each of the six main chapters features an actual example from a vast selection of Roman public buildings. The main featured buildings are the baths of Caracalla, the Colosseum, the Pantheon, and the temples of Baalbek, but many others are referred to as well. In the section treating complex armatures and roofing and vaulting, Taylor also seeks to present new interpretations concerning the building of the Colosseum and the Pantheon and is also quite convincing in his argumentation.

Taylor's text is clear and enjoyable to read and, in most cases, the content fulfills the back cover promise of its being the "first general-interest book " to address the way in which architectural ideas were carried out in practice. Especially in the lengthy discussion of the Colosseum and the Pantheon, Taylor slightly slips from the "general interest" towards specialist scholarship. Despite this perhaps understandable lapse, the generalizing tone is maintained well. The many photographs and drawings support the text in an excellent manner and further enlighten the reader on matters that are sometimes hard to grasp.

It is delightful that the studies of Roman architecture have proceeded so far that books like this can be published: from a description of buildings to interesting and sound interpretations of the whole building process. Despite its aim at being a general-interest work, Taylor's book should be obligatory reading for students and researchers of Roman buildings. In order to better understand the details, we have to know where they fit in the large-scale process.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Horti romani. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Roma, 4–6 maggio 1995. A cura di MADDALENA CIMA ed EUGENIO LA ROCCA. Bollettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma. Supplemento 6. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1998. ISBN 88-8265-021-9. 480 pp., ill. EUR 207.*

(Contents: A. Wallace-Hadrill, "*Horti* and hellenization", pp. 1–12; T. P. Wiseman, "A stroll on the rampart", pp. 13–32; M. Beard, "Imaginary *horti*: or up the garden path", pp. 23–32; J. H. D'Arms, "Between public and private: the *epulum publicum* and Caesar's *horti trans Tiberim*", pp. 33–43; E. Papi, "'*Domus est quae nulli villarum mearum cedat*' (Cic., *fam*. 6,18,5). Osservazioni sulle residenze del Palatino alla metà del I secolo a.C.", pp. 45–70; M. T. Boatwright, "Luxuriant gardens and estravagant women: the *horti* of Rome between Republic and Empire", pp. 71–82; C. Häuber, "'*Art as a weapon*' von Scipio Africanus *Maior* bis Lucullus. *Domus*, *horti* und Heiligtümer auf dem Esquilin", pp. 83–112; E. Talamo, "Gli *horti* di Sallustio a Porta Collina", pp. 113–170; G. Bevilacqua, "Graffiti gladiatori sui fregi a girali dagli horti Sallustiani", pp. 171–174; M. Moltesen, "The sculptures from the *horti* Sallustiani in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek", pp. 175–188; H. Broise & V. Jolivet, "Il giardino e l'acqua: l'esempio degli *horti* Luculliani", pp. 189–202; E. La Rocca, "Artisti rodii negli *horti* romani", pp. 203–274; C. Vorster,

* This review was originally written for Arctos 34 (2000), but due to editorial confusions is published in the current volume.

"Hellenistische Skulpturen in Rom zur Pflege 'antiker' Statuen in der Kaiserzeit", pp. 275–294; M. Bell, "Le stele greche dell'Esquilino e il cimitero di Mecenate", pp. 295–314; L. Touchette, "Two nikai with a trophy-two woman with a herm: public and private in roman copies of the Nike parapet", pp. 315–332; E. Champlin, "God and man in the golden house", pp. 333–344; E. M. Moormann, "'Vivere come un uomo'. L'uso dello spazio nella *Domus Aurea*", pp. 345–362; E. Salza Prina Ricotti, "Adriano: architettura del verde e dell'acqua", pp. 363–400; M. Verzár-Bass, "A proposito dei mausolei negli *horti* e nelle *villae*", pp. 401–424; M. Cima, "Gli *horti* Liciniani: una residenza imperiale della tarda antichità", pp. 425–452; C. Benocci, "La fortuna di villa Adriana a Tivoli e della cultura classica nel seicento: il caso della villa Doria Pamphilj a Roma", pp. 453–468.)

Roman garden paintings with their plants and birds enjoy a persistent *Nachleben* as popular illustrations of various publications and posters on the Roman world (I have referred to some earlier examples in *Arctos* 23 [1989], 223–224). Details of the garden paintings from Livia's villa at Prima Porta, now in the Palazzo Massimo in Rome, decorating the cover leaflet of the volume on Roman gardens titled *Horti romani* hence do really not surprise. They rather seem a kind of a "must", similarly as the pastiche of garden paintings covering another recent work on Roman gardens (L. Farrar, *Ancient Roman Gardens*, Sutton Publishing 1998). The latter cover shows another detail of the same paintings from Livia's villa, but blurred with two fragments of a later, probably Fourth Style garden painting of unknown provenance, now in the Milho Museum (Japan); the similarity of these latter paintings with Campanian paintings, especially with the garden paintings from the Casa della Venere in conchiglia (placed below the Milho Museum paintings in the unnumbered colourplates in Farrar) suggests their attribution to Campanian workshop.

The garden paintings from Livia's villa are among the largest, and probably also among the earliest known examples of the genre, because of which they enjoy their fame as an almost paradigmatic archetype, a sort of "mother of all the garden paintings". This definition suits also as a reference to their owner and her second husband, the key figures in transforming the Roman Republic into an Empire. These paintings are indeed from the centre of power, and particularly appropriate for the cover of the volume *Horti romani*, although garden paintings remain in a marginal role among the matters discussed in 21 articles dealing with the luxuriant gardens in and around Rome (including Villa Adriana), mainly during the late Republic and early Imperial time. The articles base on the papers given in an international conference in 1995, the idea of which goes back, according to the editor of the volume E. La Rocca (introduction on pp. v–vi), to the exhibition "Le tranquille dimore degli dei" organised by him nearly a decade earlier in 1986 on the sculptural decoration of luxurious gardens in Rome together with the other editor of this volume M. Cima.

The *Horti romani*, as well as the aforementioned *Ancient Roman Gardens*, which is an entirely different popularising attempt for an overview, are the most recent fruits of the interest on Roman gardens, which has flourished during the last two decades, in particular after the publishing of *The gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the villas destroyed by Vesuvius* by W. Jashemski (vol. I in 1979, and vol. II in 1993). In this occasion may be mentioned that the current interest on the study of Roman gardens is demonstrated by the fact that in November 1995, the same year as the *Horti romani* congress was arranged, the "Grand Old Lady" of Pompeian gardens Wilhelmina Jashemski arranged the conference concerning her project "The Gardens of the Roman Empire". Further evidence is the revised edition of the already classic, but still useful standard work on the subject, "Les jardins romains" (1943) by P. Grimal, which was published in 1984 as part of this flourishing as testified by the references to recent research added to footnotes. The cover of the recent Italian reprint of this work (*I giardini di Roma antica*, Garzanti 2000) is, certainly not by chance, decorated by a detail of the paintings from the Casa del Bracciale d'oro in Pompeii. These late Third Style paintings, found as fragments in 1979, and exposed to public in 1990 after a painstaking recomposing (published in various versions of the exhibition catalogue *Rediscovering Pompeii*), are by now probably the best known Pompeian garden paintings. Not without reason this being so far the most qualified Pompeian example of garden paintings, which constitutes a kind of "Pompeian rival" to, or rather a descendant of the Garden Room of Livia's villa with which it shows not only significant thematic, but also typological affinities.

These affinities are underlined by A. Wallace-Hadrill in his article "*Horti* and hellenization" (pp. 1–12, especially on pp. 6–10) as evidence of the direct links with Rome, and of its strong influence on Pompeii, the "provincial model", which he discusses as "…the most convenient test-case to judge the impact of metropolitan fashion on cities in close contact and easy reach of Rome" (p. 6). On the other hand Wallace-Hadrill rightly reminds that gardens and garden paintings in Pompeii may have had a "quite different significance, merely the resonance of the good life of the rich and powerful at Rome." (p. 11). The relation of Roman gardens and garden paintings is likely to be more complex than Wallace-Hadrill's notion, that both were meant to evoke the dream world of the Hellenistic *paradeisos*. Though this has been shown to be an important element in the general frame, it remains to be explained, why this seems to be contrasted by the fact that the majority of the flora and fauna in garden paintings show a much smaller number of "exotic" species than one might expect. In any case, Wallace-Hadrill's elegant overview of the most relevant questions concerning the ideology of the horti gives a good start for the volume *Horti romani* at the same time reminding of the provincial dimension. In the other contributions there are only a handful of sporadic references to Pompeii, or to garden paintings for that matter. The word "Roman" in the title of the book is hence to be read in its restricted sense, "Horti Romani" referring to the concentration on the *urbs* itself.

Despite the clear regional, and relatively clear thematic limits of the conference, the papers (listed above) cover a wide range of various questions to which it is difficult to do justice with generalizations necessary in a short review. It would have been interesting to have also the discussions of the conference printed, although the volume is sufficiently massive as such making their exclusion understandable. The major topographic issues are expressed in the titles of each contribution (listed above according to the list of contents on p. vii, which includes a minor editorial inaccuracy as the titles of the contributions by C. Häuber and C. Vorster do not distinguish the main title from the subtitle). Due to the nature of evidence preserved to us, the emphasis is mainly on the remains of sculptural decoration (Häuber, Moltesen, La Rocca, Vorster, Bell, Touchette, Benocci), topographic issues (Wiseman, Papi, Talamo, Champlin, Cima) and architectonic matters on the one hand (Moormann, Salza Prina Ricotti, Verzár-Bass), and on the ideological aspects (Wallace-Hadrill, Beard, D'Arms, Boatwright) on the other. It has to be underlined that most contributions deal with several or all of these aspects, as demonstrated by the three indices of museums and collections (pp. 469–470), names of places (pp. 471–475), and of names and notable things (pp. 477–480). Therefore the contributions seem not to allow sharp thematic divisions, which seems the main reason to their arrangement without any sections in a roughly chronological sequence according to their content. The first half of the articles discuss mainly late Republican time matters, the remaining half those of the early Imperial period. The index of names of places lists 34 different *horti* (on p. 473; cf. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* vol. 3 [1996], pp. 53–88, which lists 66 albeit partly overlapping titles under *horti*), most of which mentioned only once or twice, while the main interest is in the largest and most famous *horti*, namely the *horti Lamiani, horti Liciniani, horti Luculliani, horti Maecenatiani* and especially in the *horti Sallustiani*. As can be seen above from the list of contents the papers published are mainly "Anglo-Italian", about a half i.e. 11 of the total of 21 articles being in Italian (by eight Italians, two Frenchmen, an American, a Dutch), while 8 articles are in English (all by English speaking authors except for one Dane), and the remaining two articles in (and by) German(s).

The question raised by La Rocca in the aforementioned introduction of the volume is why the obsession of luxury in late Republican time overruns the earlier Republican ideal of austerity, and why did the elite of the late Republic begin to show their wealth also within the city, not only in the outside villas. As already stated, the aforementioned introductory contribution by Wallace-Hadrill gives a concise overview of some of the essential problems involved in the question on the ideology of the large luxurious *horti*. Particularly M. Beard's article on imaginary *horti* in literary sources contains many interesting observations from this point of view, as does M.T. Boatwright's article also basing on the role of gardens in the literary sources. Also many of the articles dealing with single works of art and / or with the topography of certain *horti* include many general questions, like the largest single contribution by La Rocca on the sculptures attributed to Rhodian artists, in which he deals e.g. with such famous statues as the Laocoon-group, and the so-called Toro Farnese. However, there is no summarizing conclusion, which obviously would have been a difficult and partly repetitive task given the relatively wide range of the articles. A limited review is neither the place for such an attempt to draw the relevant conclusions.

This very interesting collection of articles succeeds to show how many different aspects, and consequently also different approaches are necessary in an attempt to make an overview of the Roman gardens and their various functions. It would be surprising if this collection would not promote further studies to complete the picture for an overview, which remains to be done.

Antero Tammisto

Scavi del Palatino I*: l'area sud-occidentale del Palatino tra l'età protostorica el il IV secolo a.C., scavi e materiali della struttura ipogea sotto la cella del tempio della Vittoria.* A cura di PATRIZIO PENSABENE e STELLA FALZONE. Studi Miscellanei 32. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-119-3. XXXIII, 290 pp., 62 figs., 100 plates. EUR 233.

In the past couple of decades, the Palatine hill has been a stage for much archaeological activity. Many large-scale excavations have been conducted on its slopes and the project on the southwestern slope by 'La Sapienza' university of Rome is one of the longest and largest ones. This volume, edited by Patrizio Pensabene, director of the excavations, and Stella Falzone, also a major contributor to the volume, is just one of the numerous publications on the project, but at the same time, the first of the final publications of the materials. The earliest structures and materials in the area are, quite suitably, the subject of the book.

The volume is divided into two parts, the first presenting the structures and the building history of the area and the second the artifacts found in the excavations. The main subject in the first part is the 4th century BC underground structure found under the cella of the temple of Victoria, but it could also be called an inspiration for a re-evaluation of the results of the previous and current excavations concerning the archaic period and even earlier signs of activity in the area. The book begins with Pensabene's interpretative and synthetic chapter looking at the findings in the light of other similar finds and myths. Then the results of the excavation are presented. The last two chapters deal with protohistoric and archaic development of the area based on all available data.

The arrangement of the texts in the first part was, for me, the greatest problem in this very interesting and well-written book. The fact that Pensabene's interpretative chapter precedes the presentation of the actual archaeological findings was, at least for me, a little bit confusing. It was hard to grasp what Pensabene was actually trying to say because the materials he was interpreting in the light of other similar finds and myths were still unfamiliar. A more conventional approach, that of briefly presenting a general research history, then the materials from the trenches and the re-evaluation of all the evidence for the area might have required more editing and mixing of the tasks of the various writers, but for the reader, this solution would have been easier to follow.

The reassessment of the earlier evidence has long been needed and it is a useful contribution to the study of the Roman topography at its early stages. Successfully assembling the archaeological puzzle from earlier – and mostly poor – documents is always an admirable task. Claudia Angelelli and Stella Falzone have looked at the evidence concerning the huts – four in number according to the authors – and the possible burials before the 6th century BC. Paola Battistelli has studied the evidence for the developments from the 6th to the 4th centuries BC.

Almost half of the book is devoted to the study of the various types of pottery found in the excavation of the round hypogeum. The mid-Republican pottery is perhaps not the best-known aspect of Roman pottery studies so this comprehensive presentation will be valuable for many students of the period.

Despite the slightly confusing arrangement of text, this volume presents interesting and valuable information. The text is also supported by many drawings and photographs of good quality. All in all, a good addition to the many excavation reports from Rome.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

La via Appia. Iniziative e interventi per la conoscenza e la valorizzazione da Roma a Capua. A cura di L. QUILICI e S. QUILICI GIGLI. Atlante tematico di topografia antica - ATTA 11 (2002). "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2003. ISBN 88-8265-228-9. 174 pp. EUR 80.

Il volume accoglie gli Atti dell'incontro di studio sulla via Appia, tenutosi a Santa Maria Capua Vetere nella Seconda Università degli studi di Napoli il 3 giugno 2002 e pubblicato con un'encomiabile celerità. Eccone il contenuto: S. Quilici Gigli, Premessa. La via Appia: l'impegno per la grande strada del Mezzogiorno; A. Esch, La via Appia e la sua fortuna; I. Insolera, Qualche considerazione e qualche problema; AA. VV., La tutela della via Appia tra norme e aspettative; R. De Filippis, La tutela e la valorizzazione della via Appia nella legge della Regione Lazio; R. Paris, La via Appia nel territorio di Roma. Tutela e pianificazione; A. M. Reggiani, La via Appia: interventi di valorizzazione nel Lazio; L. Quilici, La valorizzazione della via Appia al valico di Itri; M. G. Ruggi d'Aragona - V. Sampaolo, L'Appia dal Garigliano al Volturno; C. Blasi, La via Appia: un complesso sistema integrato di archeologia e natura. Dunque una mescolanza di studi storico-archeologici con altri dedicati alla tutela e conservazione. Sotto questo rispetto il volume costituisce una specie di corollario ad altri volumi sull'Appia usciti in questi ultimi tempi (ad es. L. Quilici, *Via Appia*, 1989; *La via Appia*, a cura di S. Quilici Gigli, 1990; *Via Appia. Sulle ruine della magnificenza antica*, 1997). Per i lettori di questa rivista interessanti sono per es. le considerazioni di Esch sulla storia dell'Appia durante i secoli tra l'Antichità e il Medio Evo e i cambiamenti del suo percorso (un esempio classico è che nell'Alto Medio Evo si abbandonò il rettilineo all'altezza di Velletri e fece salire la strada nella città stessa). Né sono privi d'interesse i resoconti più 'archeologici' quali quello del Quilici e quello concernente la parte campana della strada.

Heikki Solin

ERNESTO DE MIRO: *Agrigento.* I. *I santuari urbani. L'area sacra tra il tempio di Zeus e Porta V.* Vol. 1: *Testo,* Vol 2: *Figure e tavole*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-8265-048-0. 354 pp., 133 figs, CLXV plates. EUR 380.

The Greek temples of Sicily have been the focus of much scholarly attention, both in the field and in many publications. The volume by Ernesto De Miro is a result of both kinds of work. De Miro himself has been active in Sicilian archaeology since the 1950s and has been responsible for many of the excavations featured in this book. The final initiative for making the book came from the excavations in 1990s which added the earlier information in a significant way and somehow required a fuller analysis of all available data. The book also marks the beginning in a series of publications on the archaeology of Agrigento.

The area in focus is situated west of the famous temple of Zeus and east of Gate V. It was already partially excavated and published in the 1930s by Pirro Marconi (*Agrigento arcaica. Il santuario delle divinità chtonie e il tempio detto di Vulcano*, Roma 1933). The excavations published here were begun in the 1950s and finished in 1995–1996. After Marconi's work, many questions still remained and all the later excavations have concentrated on answering them. One of the main objectives has been to acquire a better dating for the archaic temple found in the area and to study its relationship with the temple of Zeus. Other objectives were finding out more about the proposed indigenous and Greek common use of the area and the use of the area in the Hellenistic period. Naturally, many other questions were also answered by excavating in numerous places in the area.

The book is divided into two volumes, the first one features the text and catalogue of finds and the second one all plans, photographs, and drawings of artefacts. The text cannot really be described as an excavation report; rather it is a summary of all evidence as 40 years of excavation are presented, with conclusions, in a total of 40 pages (pp. 39–79)! The later trenches are featured in greater detail than the older ones, which is understandable as compiling information on old excavations is always difficult and the techniques were also different. Most of the text volume is taken up with a fairly detailed catalogue of finds covering all excavations and its commentary (pp. 97–324). In between the description of the site and the catalogue, there is a chapter on the history of the chthonic cult area featuring texts and epigraphic evidence for the divinities and cult practice, parallels for similar cults elsewhere, etc. up to the Roman period (pp. 81–96).

The texts are quite brief and synthetic, but mostly understandable and easy to use to find information on various aspects of the research. The internal logic in each subchapter is similar which makes reading them quite easy. The descriptions of the areas have been arranged according to buildings and larger topographical entities, which is logical, but understanding the position of the various areas would have been assisted by a composite plan with each entity more clearly marked and named. As it stands, the reader has to figure out for him/herself which is the building called lesche, where exactly is the border wall of the temenos, etc. The plans published are clear enough once the initial confusion has passed, but as they very often present only a small part of the whole area, they are sometimes difficult to grasp.

The find catalogue is arranged according to excavation campaigns by year and then by topograpgical entity or building, but not by trench. Various find categories are used and each find presented is given an individual, consecutive number, which they are mostly referred to by (except when they are sometimes referred to by the AG inventory numbers). The use of the catalogue is made easier by a compilation table at the end of the text volume which lists various find categories in relation to their provenance. Thus, the reader does not have to go through the entire catalogue to find the materials connected to certain areas. Despite this aid, it might have been worthwhile considering arranging the finds by the same topographical entities as the descriptions of the structures have been arranged.

The results of the research are quite interesting and answer many of the questions initially asked. Some of the trenches reached Neolithic layers almost directly below the Archaic layers. In the earlier excavations, a Bronze Age hearth was found. The protohistoric evidence for the use of the area is very sparse and it seems that the earlier hypothesis of common Greek and indigenous use of the site has to be abandoned. The temple has had at least three major building phases and its building has been now dated to ca. the middle of the 6th century BC. A sacred grove has also been proposed to have existed in the eastern part of the temenos. The temple building was probably already destroyed in 406 BC in an attack by Carthage. The area was used for chthonic cult purposes in the Hellenistic period, but without a temple. Instead, there was an L-shaped stoa and other cult buildings flanking a paved square with an altar. Outside the sacred precint, there was an urban habitation area with north-south streets and Greek-style houses with small sacred areas and squares. Some of the buildings excavated seem to be public, especially those close to the southern perimeter of the research area and the temple of Zeus in the southeast. But further north, there was also a clear habitation area.

This volume offers a concise look at what happened in one part of Agrakas over a very long period of time. As it is an excavation report, it also offers material for further study in aspects other than those which were the main questions asked of the material now.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Materiali veneti preromani e romani del santuario di Làgole di Calalzo al Museo di Pieve di Cadore. A cura di Giulia Fogolare – Giovanna Gambacurta. Collezioni e musei archeologici del Veneto 44. Collana diretta da Gustavo Traversari. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-7689-207-9. 403 pp. EUR 361,52.

Il presente volume prende in esame il ricco materiale archeologico proveniente dal santuario paleoveneto di Làgole, conservato nel Museo di Pieve di Cadore, in provincia di Belluno. Il lavoro, molto complesso ed estremamente vario nei suoi molteplici aspetti e interessi, ha richiesto tempi di ricerca lunghi e faticosi. Purtroppo la promotrice e curatrice del volume Giulia de' Fogolari è venuta a mancare nelle more della stampa. Eccone il contenuto: G. Fogolari, Làgole: storia delle scoperte; G. Gatto e E. Semenza, Cenni geologico-geomorfologici della zona attorno a Làgole; S. Pesavento Mattioli, Il santuario di Làgole nel contesto topografico del Cadore; G. Gorini, Le monete; A. Marinetti, Il venetico di Làgole; A. Tagliacozzo e P. F. Cassoli, Analisi dei resti ossei animali. Segue il catalogo dettagliato dei reperti (pp. 89–370). Già da questo prospetto si vede quanto sia ricca la problematica offerta dai reperti e quanto sia moltidisciplinare l'approccio al loro studio. Ai lettori di questa rivista interesserà particolarmente il contributo della Marinetti sul venetico della regione e la sua presentazione, nel catalogo, delle iscrizioni venetiche e latine (delle quali alcune possono essere caratterizzate come venetico-latine, ma ci si chiede se per es. n. 132 non possa essere definita come puramente latina). È vero che la maggioranza di queste iscrizioni è già stata pubblicata, ma non tutte sono ben note, come si vede dal fatto che quelle latine mancano ancora nell'ultimo supplemento del *CIL* I^2, benché la loro editio princeps risalga ad anni anteriori alla pubblicazione del supplemento (molte sono state addirittura pubblicate prima della morte di Attilio Degrassi, il principale editore del nuovo supplemento) (e non sono state inserite in *AE* 2001). – Un'unica osservazione di dettaglio: la lettura del n. 436 non può essere corretta. E poi ci si chiede che cosa voglia dire l'iscrizione B (l'etichetta è opistografa o dove stava B?). Interessante è il n. 422 b *Covos Sabinaios*. Il secondo elemento potrebbe essere un gentilizio (cf. *Sabineius*), ma che cos'è *Covos*?

Heikki Solin

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INDEX SCRIPTORUM

Fabio Caruso	caruso@yahoo.it
Thomas Gärtner	th-gaertner@gmx.de
Jorma Kaimio	jorma.kaimio@wsoy.fi
Mika Kajava	kajava@irfrome.org
Klaus Karttunen	klaus.karttunen@helsinki.fi
Peter Kruschwitz	kruschwitz@bbaw.de
Martti Leiwo	martti.leiwo@helsinki.fi
Pasi Loman	abxppl@nottingham.ac.uk
Anneli Luhtala	anneli.luhtala@helsinki.fi
Maria Niku	maniku@mail.student.oulu.fi
Jari Pakkanen	J.Pakkanen@rhul.ac.uk
Tiina Purola	tiina.purola@helsinki.fi
Ari Saastamoinen	ari.saastamoinen@helsinki.fi
Olli Salomies	olli.salomies@helsinki.fi
Kaj Sandberg	ksandber@abo.fi
Joonas Sipilä	joonas.sipila@helsinki.fi
Erkki Sironen	erkki.sironen@helsinki.fi
Heikki Solin	heikki.solin@helsinki.fi
Stanislaw Stabryla	stabryla@op.pl
Antero Tammisto	antero.tammisto@ide.inet.fi
Eeva-Maria Viitanen	eeva-maria.viitanen@helsinki.fi
David Woods	D.Woods@ucc.ie

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