

# ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

**VOL. XXXVII**

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**ARCTOS**

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**VOL. XXXVII**

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## ***ARCTOS* – Acta Philologica Fennica**

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MANIBUS

SAARA LILJA

PHILOLOGIAE CLASSICAE

IN UNIVERSITATE HELSINGIENSI PROFESSORI

(19 VII 1923 – 6 IV 2003)

MARJO LEHTINEN

PAPYROLOGIAE STUDIOSAE

(5 VI 1963 – 17 X 2003)

JAAKKO FRÖSÉN

PHILOLOGIAE GRAECAE  
IN UNIVERSITATE HELSINGIENSI PROFESSORI  
SEXAGENARIO  
9 I 2004



**NOTE ESEGETICHE E TESTUALI ALLA *DESCRIPTIO ORBIS*  
DI DIONISIO D'ALESSANDRIA (II)\***

EUGENIO AMATO

**1. D. P. 362–367<sup>1</sup>**

ἄγχι δὲ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Βρέντιοι ἄνδρες ἕασι,  
τοσσάτιον ναίοντες, ὅσον Λευκὴν ἐπὶ πέτρην.  
Κεῖθεν δ' ἐς βορρὴν Ζεφύρου παραφαίνεται ἄκρη·  
365 τῆδ' ὑπὸ Λοκροὶ ἕασιν, ὅσοι προτέροις ἐτέεσσιν  
ἦλθον ἐπ' Αὔσονίην, σφετέρης μιχθέντες ἀνάσσης,  
τῶν καὶ νῦν γένος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ προχοῆσιν ἼΑληκος.

Dopo un fugace cenno alle popolazioni dei Lucani e dei Bruzi, che abitano la parte finale dell'Appennino, fino al promontorio di Leucopetra (cf. Strab. 5,1,3; 6,1,7), il Periegeta si sofferma con maggiore interesse sulla città di Locri Epizefiri e la sua fondazione; aspetto questo che aveva destato l'attenzione di storici e geografi greci a partire da Eforo<sup>2</sup>, dando l'abbrivo ad

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\* La prima serie è apparsa in *Arctos* 36 (2002) 7–17.

<sup>1</sup> Stampo il testo edito da I. On. Tsavari, Διονυσίου Ἀλεξανδρέως Οἰκουμένης Περιήγησις κριτικὴ ἔκδοσις, Ioannina 1990, che ha sostituito l'edizione di C. Müller compresa nei suoi *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Parisiis 1861 (rist. Hildesheim 1990), II, 104–176.

<sup>2</sup> Per una ricostruzione delle complicate vicende della storia di Locri, in particolare sulla problematica della fondazione, mi limito a ricordare E. Pais, *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, Palermo-Torino 1894, 207–208; E. Ciaceri, *Storia della Magna Grecia*, Napoli 1928, I, 188–199; J. Bérard, *La Colonisation de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1957<sup>2</sup>, 199–202; A. Fiori, *Le città della Magna Grecia*, Roma 1965, 101–106; M. Napoli, *Civiltà della Magna Grecia*, Roma 1969, 203–211; G. Incorpora, *Locri Antica e Gerace*, Bologna 1980<sup>2</sup>; L. Costamagna – C. Sabbione, *Una città in Magna Grecia: Locri Epizefiri*, Reggio Calabria 1990. Di estremo interesse, inoltre, il commento al libro XII di Polibio a cura di P. Pédech, Polybe. *Histoires (Livre*

una probabile tradizione aneddótica che, in quanto tale, il poeta volentieri utilizza per la capacità insita di stimolare la curiosità del lettore, catalizzato, per così dire, dinanzi allo 'schermo' della finzione periegetica<sup>3</sup>.

Ed infatti, Dionisio, nel presentare gli abitanti della città, precisa ὅσοι προτέροις ἐτέεσσιν / ἦλθον ἐπ' Αὐσονίην, σφετέρης μιχθέντες ἀνάσσης. È questo uno di quei rari momenti in cui si avverte nell'opera dionisiana una presenza di *erga* femminili non mitici ma reali, accanto ad una presenza al maschile ben più massiccia<sup>4</sup>.

Se interroghiamo gli scolî *ad l.* (p. 445a, 30–35 Müller), ci troviamo dinanzi ad una notizia, simile a quella fornita dalle fonti antiche per i Parteni di Taranto, in cui si legge: οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ Λοκροὶ δοῦλοι ὄντες, ταῖς ἰδίαις δεσποίαις συνελθόντες, τῶν δεσποτῶν εἰς πόλεμον ἐξελθόντων, εἶτα ἀκούσαντες ὅτι οἱ δεσπότες αὐτῶν ἐπανέρχονται καὶ φοβηθέντες συνέφυγον ταῖς δεσποίαις εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ Λοκρίδος τῆς Ἐπικνημίδος.

Ora, che le donne locresi abbiano fondato Locri, come Dionisio testimonierebbe, è un dato che può essere comprovato storicamente, se si osserva, assieme a numerosi altri elementi, che le leggi della città erano custodite in età arcaica nel tempio di Atena<sup>5</sup>. Ebbene, proprio poiché in tempi remoti erano donne locresi, da cui discendeva la nobiltà epizefira, a servire nel tempio di Atena a Troia per espiare la colpa di Aiace Oileo, protettore degli Epizefiri, contro Cassandra (vedi Lycophr. 1157–1159), nulla esclude che anche nella Locri di Magnia Grecia le donne abbiano

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XII), Paris 1961, 70–90.

<sup>3</sup> Per uno studio d'insieme sul 'metodo' geografico di Dionisio ed i fini del suo poema, vedi P. Counillon, *Edition critique de la Périégèse de Denys*, thèse de 3e cycle, Université de Langue et Lettres de Grenoble III, 1983, 10–20 e C. Jacob, *La Description de la terre habitée de Dénys d'Alexandrie ou la leçon de géographie*, Paris 1990, *praes.* 41–44. Il fine poetico di Dionisio (anche in relazione all'uso dell'esametro) è ben sottolineato da D. Marcotte, *Le poème géographique de Dionysios, fils de Calliphon*, Lovanii 1990, 18–19, 27, il quale rimanda ottimamente a B. Effe, *Dichtung und Lehre. Untersuchungen zur Typologie des antiken Lehrgedichts*, München 1977, 187–194. Cf., inoltre, E. Pöhlmann, "Charakteristika des römischen Lehrgedichts", *ANRW I/3* (1973) 813–901: 868–869.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. Coccaro Andreou, "I molteplici livelli di lettura della *Periegesi della Terra abitata* di Dionisio d'Alessandria", in E. Amato, F. D'Avino, A. Esposito (a cura di), *Primum Legere. Annuario delle Attività della Delegazione della Valle del Sarno dell'A.I.C.C. I*, Salerno 2002, 105–133: 128.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Arist., F 553 (*ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1,170,3 Stählin) e 554,1 Gigon (*ap.* Ath. 264CD).

avuto il medesimo ruolo e, perciò, abbiano contribuito in maniera fondamentale alla fondazione della città<sup>6</sup>.

Ma, per rivenire al problema inizialmente accennato della fondazione di Locri e dell'eventuale fonte seguita da Dionisio, va sottolineato che se il Göthe, seguito dal Counillon, si esprime in maniera contorta a favore di Eforo, da cui deriverebbero al poeta tutte le informazioni relative alla sezione di versi dedicati alla descrizione dell'Italia (vv. 339–382)<sup>7</sup>, è pur vero che il testo dionisiano non offre alcun elemento decisivo che supporti tale conclusione.

Secondo Eforo (F 138a Jacoby), la fondazione della città calabra andrebbe, infatti, attribuita ai Locresi Opunzi, i quali inviarono propri coloni presso il promontorio Zefirio, dove si trovava una sorgente chiamata Locria; coloni che, a loro volta, si sarebbero trasferiti nell'attuale città con l'aiuto dei Siracusani. Tale tradizione ricorre in Virgilio (*Aen.* 3,399), Ovidio (*met.* 15,705) e Solino (2,10), dove vi è menzione dell'origine naricia degli Epizefiri<sup>8</sup>, ed in maniera più vaga in Pausania (3,19,12), che riferisce dell'aiuto richiesto dagli Epizefiri ad Aiace Oileo contro Crotona<sup>9</sup>.

Con essa contrasta la testimonianza di Strabone (6,1,7; cf. 9,4,9), il quale a tale tradizione oppone un'altra, di cui tace la fonte, che fa di Locri Epizefiri una colonia dei Locresi Ozoli, i quali, capeggiati da Evante, fondarono la nuova città della Magna Grecia, poco dopo la fondazione di Siracusa e di Crotona (fine VII sec. a.C.).

La notizia, pur priva di referenze d'autore, non è da considerare infondata, dal momento che entrambe le versioni sono attestate ugualmente

<sup>6</sup> Sull'intera problematica, vedi Pédech (n. 2) 72–74.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. Göthe, *De fontibus Dionysii Periegetae*, diss. inaug., Gottingae 1875, 27; Counillon (n. 2) 200. Invero, il Göthe prima considera, senza alcuna ragione probante, che Dionisio condivide qui la tradizione che vede nei Locresi Ozoli i fondatori di Locri Epizefiri – sarebbe, secondo lo studioso, l'unico luogo in cui il poeta si allontana da Eforo; poi, in base a Ps.-Sc. 316–317 conclude che Dionisio leggeva l'informazione nello stesso Eforo, il quale riportava le due differenti versioni relative alla fondazione della città della Magna Grecia.

<sup>8</sup> Narice, nella Locride orientale, era considerata la patria del locrese Aiace Oileo.

<sup>9</sup> Il culto di Aiace non è di per sé un argomento sufficiente per attestare l'origine opunzia di Locri Epizefiri, dal momento che tale culto si ritrova anche tra i Locresi Ozoli (vedi in part. L. Lerat, *Les Locriens de l'Ouest*, II, Paris 1952, 157–158 e R. Van Compernelle, "Gründung und frühe Gesetzgebung von Lokroi Epizephyrioi", *Xenia* 2 (1982) 21–39: 31).

nella Περίοδος γῆς dello Pseudo-Scimno (vv. 312–317), il quale, però, diversamente da Strabone, nel costatare per gli Epizefiri che ἔνιοι δὲ Λοκρῶν φασι τῶν ἐν Ὀζόλαις, condivide *tout court* la tesi "orientale" della sua fonte (Eforo).

Significativo, in tal senso, è quanto si legge in Plb. 12,5–12a (in part. 8,2), circa gli errori di Timeo sulle origini di Locri<sup>10</sup>. Lo storico di età ellenistica si fonda su un passo delle perdute Πολιτεῖαι di Aristotele (F 554,2 Gigon), dove è detto che la colonia di Locri "è stata fondata da schiavi fuggitivi, adulteri e mercanti di schiavi (τὴν ἀποικίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι δραπετῶν οἰκετῶν, μοιχῶν, ἀνδραποδιστῶν)", unitisi alle nobili padrone in assenza dei mariti impegnati nelle guerre contro Messene, per contrastare la tesi nobiliare di Timeo, secondo cui Locri sarebbe una fondazione di uomini liberi, legata alla madrepatria greca da un patto scritto, mentre la tradizione aristotelica sarebbe nient'altro che l'espressione di una volontà ateniese di screditare Locri, alleata della rivale Sparta. Tuttavia, Timeo non precisa – osserva giustamente Polibio – in quale delle due Locri fosse stato redatto tale patto; ciò fa pensare che si tratti di un'invenzione dello storico di Tauromenio. In ogni caso, Polibio sembra ammettere che sia Aristotele sia Timeo considerassero i Locresi Opunzi i fondatori di Locri Epizefiri<sup>11</sup>.

Come che sia, è evidente che nel testo dello scolio sopra riportato è condivisa la tradizione che fa capo ad Eforo a favore dell'origine "orientale" della città di Locri Epizefiri<sup>12</sup>: i Locresi Epicnemidi costituivano, infatti, una parte del territorio della cosiddetta Locri orientale, dove occupavano uno spazio di piccolissima importanza, di circa 165 chilometri quadrati, rispetto a quello dei Locresi Opunzi, che governavano sull'intera regione con un consiglio formato da cento famiglie oligarchiche con sede nella capitale

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<sup>10</sup> La storia è narrata anche da Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1,26,66.

<sup>11</sup> *Contra*, Pédech (n. 2) 72, il quale ritiene che i due autori abbiano implicitamente ammesso l'origine ozolia di Locri Epizefiri. L'orientamento degli studiosi, senza però considerare chiusa la questione, è comunque che la regione di provenienza dei coloni sia stata la Locride Opunzia, non escludendo una seppur limitata partecipazione di coloni della Locride Ozolia, e che nelle origini dei coloni siano da riscontrare, senza dubbio, elementi servili.

<sup>12</sup> Più cauto D. D. Greaves, *Dionysius Periegetes and the Hellenistic Poetic and Geographic Traditions*, Ph.D., Stanford University 1994, 44–45, per il quale "the assertion that Dionysius is obtaining his account of the Locrians from Ephorus is also not as well documented as we would like". È certo però che Dionisio non deriva da Timeo perché questi (F 12 Jacoby) critica fortemente la notizia.

Opunte<sup>13</sup>.

Di qui, ora, a voler sostenere che Dionisio dipendesse da Eforo il passaggio è incerto: il testo della *Descriptio* non fornisce, infatti, alcun elemento a favore di tale tesi e la notizia che i primi coloni della città furono schiavi fuggitivi unitisi alle proprie padrone non può suggerire nulla di più.

Una questione, su cui ho sorvolato, ma che ugualmente interessa i versi in esame, è rappresentata, poi, dall'uso al v. 362 dell'etnico Βρέντιοι per indicare le popolazioni dell'antico Bruzio in luogo di Βρέττιοι. La tradizione unanime, che non va affatto modificata, è contraddetta solo dal Vat. gr. 1910 (saec. XIII/XIV), il quale riporta in margine la grafia Βρέττιοι; nel caso, poi, del Marc. gr. Z 471 (saec. XII) la forma Βρέττιοι risulta da una correzione successiva<sup>14</sup>.

Per il Müller<sup>15</sup>, seguito più recentemente dal Greaves<sup>16</sup>, la forma dell'aggettivo sarebbe propria di Dionisio e rientrerebbe tra le innovazioni della lingua tarda, testimoniata com'è dal solo Esichio<sup>17</sup>.

In realtà, è probabile che la preferenza accordata da Dionisio alla forma Βρέντιοι su Βρέττιοι, più recente e di origine lucana secondo Timeo<sup>18</sup>, derivi da una fonte più antica, quale potrebbe essere Eforo. "La forme triangulaire qu'Ephore prêtait à l'Italie, qui rapprochait le Bruttium de Brindisi (Βρεντέσιον) nous laisse penser – commenta il Counillon<sup>19</sup> – que c'est à lui que Denys empruntait la graphie adoptée".

Si tratta nuovamente di un' ipotesi destinata a non trovar fondamento

<sup>13</sup> I Locresi orientali (οἱ ἠοῖοι) formavano nei tempi antichi un solo ed unico stato. Pare che soltanto più tardi, forse in età romana, i Locresi Opunzi e gli Epicnemidi si siano separati in due popoli distinti, mentre prima i nomi erano adoperati per indicare i Locresi orientali in contrapposizione agli occidentali od Ozoli, che traevano da loro l'origine. Per lo *status*, vedi D. Marcotte, *Géographes Grecs, I. Introduction générale – Ps.-Scymnos: Circuit de la Terre*, Paris 2000, 187–188.

<sup>14</sup> Varianti inferiori sono quelle del Vat. gr. 910 (c. 1300): Βρέττοι e del Vat. gr. 922 (saec. XIV), che in margine ha Βέττιοι. Nella *Periegesi* di Prisciano (v. 359) si legge: *Brettique*. Il v. 362 della *Descriptio* non è, comunque, citato da Stefano Bizantino, s.v. Βρεττία, come segnala la Tsavari nell'apparato dei *fontes*.

<sup>15</sup> Müller (n. 1) XXV.

<sup>16</sup> Greaves (n. 12) 158.

<sup>17</sup> Hsch. β 11 (I, p. 397, 16 Schmidt).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Strab. 6,1,4, il quale dipende da Timeo per il tramite di Artemidoro, e D. S. 16,15,1–2.

<sup>19</sup> Counillon (n. 3) 200.



sicuro. Se, infatti, per Strabone e Diodoro Siculo il nome Brettii verrebbe da Βρέττιοι, nel senso di ribelli (ἀποστάται) oppure di schiavi fuggitivi (δραπέται), in linea con una tradizione storiografica che vuole la popolazione dei Brettii formata originariamente di pastori al servizio dei Lucani, ai quali si ribellarono intorno al 357 a.C., vi è anche da dire che sempre secondo Strabone, il quale riprende forse un dato di Timeo trasmesso da Antioco, Βρεντέσιον (Βρέντιον per Stefano Bizantino<sup>20</sup>) rimanderebbe al nome messapico dato alla testa della cerva, animale sacro ad Artemide e Cibele, da cui il nome della città di Brindisi.

Potrebbe, allora, darsi che le due tradizioni, quella degli ἀποστάται o δραπέται e l'altra relativa alla κεφαλή τῆς ἐλάφου, non siano in contraddizione e Dionisio rimonti ad una fonte più antica impossibile da individuare. È innegabile, infatti, che "la coincidenza di questa connessione con l'interpretazione dell'etnico medesimo come "servi fuggiaschi" o "ribelli" richiama immediatamente certe tradizioni religiose che attuavano la consacrazione e il simultaneo affrancamento di servi rifugiatisi in santuari di Artemis (o di altri numi) mediante l'assimilazione dei fuggiaschi supplici agli animali sacri alla dea"<sup>21</sup>.

## 2. D. P. 368–374

Τοὺς δὲ μεθ' ἐξείης Μεταπόντιοι· ἐγγύθε δέ σφεων  
 ἱμερτὸν πτολίερθον ἐϋστεφάνοιο Κρότωνος,  
 370 ναίόμενον χαρίεντος ἐπ' Αἰσάρου προχοῆσιν,  
 ἔνθα κεν αἰπὺν ἴδιοιο Λακινιάδος δόμον Ἕρης.  
 Ἔστι δέ τοι κάκειθι, Διὸς μέγα χωσαμένοιο,  
 δειλαίη Σύβαρις, ναέτας στενάχουσα πεσόντας,  
 μηνάμενους ὑπὲρ αἴσαν ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ γεραέσσιν.

Dionisio, mostrando scarsa ἀκρίβεια geografica<sup>22</sup>, passa alla descrizione di

<sup>20</sup> St. Byz. s.v. Βρεντέσιον (p. 185, 16 Meineke).

<sup>21</sup> Così G. Pugliese Caratelli, "I Brettii", in Aa.Vv., *Magna Grecia*, II, Milano 1987, 281.

<sup>22</sup> Metaponto, infatti, che Dionisio pone tra Crotona e Locri, in pieno Bruttium, si trova presso Taranto. L'errore non è da attribuire, però, né alla tradizione manoscritta né tanto meno ad Eforo, poiché lo Ps.-Scimno (vv. 325–330), che da questi dipende, presenta le città nel loro ordine corretto. Sulla presentazione geografica dell'Italia in Dionisio, vedi

Sibari e Crotone. In entrambi i casi si tratta di colonie achee, fondata l'una presso il promontorio Lacinio, sulle correnti del fiume Esaro e dove era possibile contemplare il tempio di Era Lacinia<sup>23</sup>, l'altra in mezzo ai fiumi Crati e Sibari.

Il destino di quest'ultima è legato all'espansione di Crotone, che, a sèguito di una battaglia durata 70 giorni, non sappiamo se dopo una serie di combattimenti o un assedio<sup>24</sup>, riuscì a devastare il territorio dei Sibariti, i quali, nonostante avessero potuto opporre ai 100.000 avversari (cf. D. S. 12,9,5) un esercito di circa 300.000 uomini (cf. Strab. 6,1,13), vennero sconfitti a causa della loro fiacchezza e del modo di vivere lussuoso e tracotante<sup>25</sup>: ancora oggi, lamenta Dionisio, Sibari è lì *ναέτας στενάχουσα*

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Göthe (n. 7) 25: "Iberiam excipit Italiae descriptio (v. 339–382), in qua accurata diligentia quam maxime desideratur, inepta nimirum rerum dispositio ac gentium ordinis perturbatio bene Dionysio processit". Estremamente duro è anche il giudizio di G. Knaack: "Notevoli le incongruenze, gli scambi, gli equivoci, gli errori evidenti. Anche la scelta degli argomenti è piuttosto strana. Nella descrizione della Grecia, Atene non viene mai citata; lo è invece l'Ilisso. Molto confusa è la presentazione dell'Italia, la cui intera costa orientale non compare. [...] A ciò si aggiunge un certo numero di indicazioni errate o che, per lo meno, traggono in inganno, circa la posizione geografica dei vari luoghi, spesso presentata con molte imprecisioni. [...] Dionisio, dunque, non era all'altezza del suo compito. Sorprende, pertanto, che la sua opera, più volte riscritta ed aggiornata fino in età bizantina, sia servita come libro di testo nelle scuole!" (*RE*, V<sub>1</sub> (1903), s.v. "Dionysios" (nr. 94), 918–919). Certamente più calibrato il giudizio di F. Negri: "...compiacciamoci invece che sia sfuggito alle insidie degli anni il presente lavoro geografico, di cui per misurar il valore conviene spogliarsi delle moderne idee, e dimenticare tutte le notizie, che il giro di tanti secoli e la successiva esperienza di tanti uomini procacciarono a noi tardi nipoti. ... Pure non negheremo, ch'egli non avesse potuto disporre il suo soggetto con una economia più giusta, ed astenersi da certi salti talvolta importuni, e dar luogo al ragguaglio di certi paesi famosi, il cui nome con disgusto invano si cerca, ed all'opposto trascorrere più rapidamente su qualche altro men chiaro, od anche tacerlo; i quali difetti sono veramente suoi, non del secolo. Ma d'altra parte se tu guardi l'opera nel suo intero, tu la troverai fornita di tante parti lodevoli, che quelle sue poche macchie ti spariranno dagli occhi, e ti sarà forza chiamarla una delle migliori guide che ci restino per ravvisare in breve l'antica fisionomia dell'orbe terracqueo" (*Guida per lo mondo di Dionisio Periegete*, Venezia 1838, 21–24).

<sup>23</sup> Dal momento che il tempio era già decaduto al tempo di Strabone (6,1,11), è evidente che Dionisio fa capo ad una tradizione antica, probabilmente Eforo: vedi Counillon (n. 3) 201–202.

<sup>24</sup> Tale è il parere di T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford 1948, 364. Dubbi sono espressi da Zancani Montuoro (n. 28) 154.

<sup>25</sup> Nel mondo antico la ricchezza e la mollezza dei Sibariti, su cui informa bene Ath.

πεσόντας.

In particolare, il testo dionisiano cela un riferimento ai giochi istituiti dai Sibariti in concorrenza con i giochi Olimpici e in onore dell'Alfeo, che scatenarono l'ira di Zeus, faccendo nascere la guerra con i Crotoniati; di tale notizia, alla quale accenna anche lo Pseudo-Scimno (346–360), la fonte risulta essere nuovamente Eforo<sup>26</sup>.

Invece, Crotone, che aveva da sempre coltivato l'arte della guerra e l'atletica (cf. Strab. 6,1,12), viene definita da Dioniso con l'epiteto ἐϋστέφανος, proprio "a causa delle vittorie riportate di suoi abitanti: in effetti la maggior parte dei Crotoniati – commenta lo scoliaste –, dopo aver vinto, furono incoronati con corone sacre e celebrati negli agoni"<sup>27</sup>.

Sul modo della sconfitta finale, le fonti divergono<sup>28</sup>: se Strabone parla di uno straripamento del fiume Crati per opera dei Crotoniati, che sommerse la città, è il caso di sottolineare che gli scolî *ad l.* (p. 445, 8–12 Müller)

12,518C–522A, divenne proverbiale, così come la frugalità e la laboriosità di Crotone: cf., e.g., D. S. 12,9; Strab. 6,1,13; Quint. 3,7,23; Favorin. *fort.* 14; Apostol. 1,4; Zen. 3,42. Σύβαρις è sinonimo di lussuria, ad es., in Plu. *Crass.* 32,5 ed in Philostr. *VA* 4,27; συβαρίζω = "vivere alle sibarita" ritorna in Ar. *Pax* 344 ed Archyt. *ap.* Stob. 4,1,138. Su tale aspetto, vedi D. Del Corno, "L'immagine di Sibari nella tradizione classica", in *Sibari e la Sibaritide. Atti del trentaduesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto-Sibari, 7–12 ottobre 1992)*, Taranto 1993, 9–18; C. Ampolo, "La città dell'eccesso: per la storia di Sibari fino al 510 a.C.", *ibid.*, 213–254: 213–222. In generale, sul problema delle crisi cittadine in relazione alla τρυφή, vedi A. Passerini, "La τρυφή nella storiografia ellenistica", *SIFC* n.s. 11 (1934) 35–56: 51; U. Cozzoli, "La τρυφή nella interpretazione delle crisi politiche", in Aa.Vv., *Tra Grecia e Roma: temi antichi e metodologie moderne*, Roma 1980, 133–146: 143; C. Talamo, "Pitagora e la τρυφή", *RFIC* 115 (1987) 385–404.

<sup>26</sup> Il riferimento, tra le varie cause che portarono alla rovina di Sibari, è presente anche in Eraclide Pontico (F 49 Wehrli). Per converso, in Timeo (F 45 Jacoby) la fondazione dei nuovi giochi è attribuita ai Crotoniati. Sul problema, vedi da ultimo Marcotte (n. 13) 194.

<sup>27</sup> Non credo che con questo aggettivo potrebbe anche esservi un riferimento alle mura della città, come afferma Counillon (n. 2) 201, rimandando a v. 1006, dove Dionisio usa l'espressione ἐστεφάνωσεν per indicare le mura costruite da Semiramide.

<sup>28</sup> Per la ricostruzione delle vicende storiche, cf. P. Zancani Montuoro, "La fine di Sibari", *RAL* 35/3–4 (1980) 149–159; G. de Sensi Sestito, "Gli oligarchici sibariti, Telys e la vittoria crotoniate sul Traente", *Miscellanea di Studi storici* 3 (1983) 37–56; Ead., *La Calabria in età arcaica e classica. Storia – Economia – Società*, Roma 1984, 41–51; M. Giangiulo, *Ricerche su Crotone arcaica*, Pisa 1989, *passim*; vedi, inoltre, Fiori (n. 2) 146–148; Napoli (n. 2) 315–318; M. Lombardo, "Da Sibari a Thurii", in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (n. 25) 255–328: 264–277. Quanto alla cronologia, cf. V. Merante, "Sulla cronologia di Dorieo e su alcuni problemi connessi", *Historia* 19 (1970) 272–294.



riportano una notizia dal sapore piuttosto aneddótico: Ἀπόλοντο δὲ [*sc.* οἱ Συβαρίται] ὑπὸ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν, οἱ ἀύλησαντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἔθελξαν τοὺς ἵππους, πρὸς αὐλὸν διδασχθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀρχεῖσθαι, οἱ ὀρχούμενοι ἄρδην τοὺς αὐτῶν δεσπότης καταβαλόντες ἀπώλεσαν. Su di essa è evidentemente esemplificato il commento di Eustazio (p. 284, 3–18 Müller), che così scrive: Πολέμου γὰρ κροτητέντος αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Κροτωνιάταις, ρίπτουσι μὲν τὰ ὄπλα οἱ τῆς Κρότωνος, τύπανα δὲ ἀράρουσι καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ αὐλοὺς μεταχειρίζονται καὶ κρόταλα, καὶ ὅσα ἐκμαίνειν οἶδε πρὸς ὄρχησιν. Καὶ οἱ ἵπποι τοῦ φίλου βόμβου ἀκούσαντες βακχεύονται πρὸς ὄρχησιν, καὶ ἀκρατεῖς ἑαυτῶν γενόμενοι ἀποσεύονται τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, καὶ προχείρους ἐκτίθενται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς ὄλεθρον.

Entrambe le testimonianze, per quel che so, non sono mai neppure state segnalate dagli storici della Calabria antica, benché con esse, oltre ad avere la conferma, come mi accingo a riferire, di una tradizione aneddótica abbastanza problematica, emerge un particolare del tutto nuovo.

In effetti, ancora una volta nelle sue perdute Πολιτεῖαι, Aristotele (F 600,1 Gigon = Ath. 520CD), nel tracciare l'episodio della sconfitta dei Sibariti sul Traente per opera dei Crotoniati, raccoglie l'informazione bizzarra secondo la quale – a causa della propria τρυφή, che aveva spinto i Sibariti ad insegnare persino ai cavalli a danzare – il suono dei flauti proveniente da alcuni musicisti nascosti tra le fila della cavalleria avversaria fu alla base della sconfitta dei primi. Conclude Aristotele: καὶ ἅμα αὐλούντων ἀκούοντες οἱ ἵπποι οὐ μόνον ἐξωρχήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάτας ἔχοντες ἠὺτομόλησαν πρὸς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας.

A differenza di Aristotele, il quale sembra presupporre una defezione della cavalleria sibarita contro il regime del tiranno Telys, Eliano nella *Historia animalium* (16,23) lascia intendere che i cavalli dei Sibariti avrebbero piuttosto disarcionato i propri cavalieri: τοῦτο οὖν εἰδότες οἱ Κροτωνιάται (ἐπολέμου δὲ αὐτοῖς) σάλπιγγα μὲν καὶ ἦχον σύντονον καὶ παρακλητικὸν ἐς ὄπλα κατεσίγασαν, αὐλοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐλητὰς παραλαβόντες, ἐπεὶ ὁμοῦ ἦσαν καὶ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖτο ἤδη, ἐνέδοσαν ἐκεῖνοι τὸ μέλος τὸ ὀρχηστικόν, ὅπερ οὖν ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Συβαριτῶν ἵπποι, ὡς ἐν μέσοις ὄντες τοῖς συμποσίοις, ἀπεσεύσαντο μὲν τοὺς ἀναβάτας, ἐσκίρτων δὲ καὶ ἐχόρευον. Καὶ ταύτη τὴν τάξιν συνέχειαν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξωρχήσαντο.

Con Eliano concorda l'autore dei perduti *Cesti*, Giulio Africano, il

quale inserisce l'aneddoto sibarita nel capitolo dedicato al ταραξίππον. Alla fine della narrazione, l'Africano scrive: ... καὶ ἀνεμίγησαν ἀλλήλαις αἱ φάλαγγες, ὑπὸ σημείον ἓν, ἠύλησαν οἱ πάντες· συνήθους δὲ ἤχου ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἵπποι ὡσπερ ὄικοι ἐδεδιδάχατο, ἀποσεισάμενοι τοὺς ἀναβάτας, ὑποχωροῦντο πάντες. In aggiunta, però, l'autore giudeo evidenzia: Τότε οὖν οἱ ἱππῶται ἐάλωσαν κείμενοι καὶ οἱ ἵπποι ἐλήφθησαν ὀρχούμενοι, ἀνατησάντων αὐτοὺς συνήθων μελῶν (*Cesti* 1,11, p. 141, 1–15 Vieillefond = Arist., F 600,2 Gigon).

Come si vede, dunque, ci troviamo dinanzi ad almeno tre differenti conclusioni, dal momento che se Aristotele parla di una semplice defezione, che consentì ai Crotoniati di avere la meglio sull'esercito numericamente superiore dei Sibariti, la testimonianza solidale di Eliano, Giulio Africano, lo Scoliate a Dionisio Periegeta ed Eustazio lascia concludere a favore di un disarcionamento dei cavalieri da parte dei propri cavalli<sup>29</sup>. Ma, mentre lo storico di Preneste non commenta le conseguenze di questo atto, l'Africano parla di una cattura sia degli *equites* che degli animali, laddove il testo dello scolio bizantino lascia intendere che furono gli stessi cavalli ad eliminare fisicamente i propri padroni una volta che questi caddero a terra. Eustazio, per parte sua, si limita ad una considerazione più generale, che cioè il disarcionamento dei cavalieri facilitò la distruzione da parte del nemico dell'esercito sibarita.

Tutte queste divergenze presuppongono diverse tradizioni storiografiche oppure sono semplicemente il frutto dell'interpretazione della tarda aneddotta?

La seconda ipotesi ha di gran lunga la preferenza, anche perché, come ha scritto opportunamente Paola Zancani Montuoro, oltre al dato certo del salvataggio di persone e beni mentre la città sibarita era minacciata, tanto da

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<sup>29</sup> Per la datazione del *corpus* scoliastico, vedi I. On. Tsavari, *Histoire du texte de la Description de la terre de Denys le Périègète*, Ioannina 1990, 37–41, dove si avanza l'ipotesi che esso sia stato messo su a partire dalla fine del IV sec. d.C. Le testimonianze di Eliano e Giulio Africano potrebbero, allora, avere valore di *terminus post quem*, se si riuscisse a dimostrare la dipendenza dello scolio da una delle due fonti. Nessun dato significativo si può, tuttavia, ricavare in tal senso. Rilevo unicamente che laddove in Eliano si legge: δεδιδαγμένοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἵπποι παρὰ τὸν τῆς εὐωχίας καιρὸν ὀρχεῖσθαι πρὸ αὐλόν, evidentemente esemplificato sul testo aristotelico quale ci è fornito da Ateneo (εἰς τηλικούτων δ' ἦσαν τρυφῆς ἐληλακότες ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὰς εὐωχίας τοὺς ἵππους ἐθίσαι πρὸς αὐλὸν ὀρχεῖσθαι), lo Scoliate scrive: ... πρὸς αὐλὸν διδαχθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀρχεῖσθαι.

far disperare della possibilità di qualsiasi salvezza, in evidente contrasto con la rapida e definitiva soluzione della guerra presupposta dalla notizia della danza dei cavalli, vi è sicuramente che Aristotele "avrà riferito quel che si diceva ai suoi tempi" e che, dunque, la notizia non era altro che "un leggendario *logos* derivato dalla notoria specialità dei Sibariti di addestrare i cavalli a sfilare nelle parate militari e nelle feste, seguendo un apposito ritmo musicale"<sup>30</sup>.

Certo, però, va osservato che se la versione dell'aneddoto quale è riportato dallo scoliaste di Dionisio e da Eustazio, conformemente alla notizia dello straripamento del fiume Crati voluto dai Crotoniati per eliminare qualsiasi traccia dei nemici<sup>31</sup>, rientra in quel filone storiografico della eliminazione totale di Sibari, il *testimonium* fornito dai *Cesti* lascia, comunque, aperto uno spiraglio di luce sulla possibilità di una distruzione del popolo sibarita, che non dovette essere di massa.

Ma questo, credo, viene dall'interpretazione personale dell'autore giudeo, che in generale amava sottolineare nel corso della sua opera la propria originalità<sup>32</sup>. Tra i fini della *Descriptio orbis* di Dionisio, per converso, vi è anche quello di attirare l'attenzione dei lettori, indugiando su particolari mitici e aneddotici, tali da rendere più avventuroso ed affascinante un giro del mondo abitato vissuto dal sereno e tranquillo rifugio del 'tavolino'. E i versi del poeta, in cui si lamenta la triste fine di Sibari la quale ἔστι δέ τοι κάκειῖθι ... ναέτας στενάχουσα πεσόντας, non possono che riflettere tale estetica.

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. Zancani Montuoro (n. 28) 155, la quale ricorda come in Max. Tyr. 37,4 vi sia menzione di ἀλλήματα συβαριτικά e di ὀρχήσεις συβαριτικάί. Tuttavia, l'ipotesi che l'aneddoto rientrasse tra i famosi λόγοι συβαριτικοί, una cui raccolta è in J. S. Callaway, *Sybaris*, Baltimore 1950, 107–109 e di cui vi è traccia in Ar. *V.* 1260; Mnesim. F 6 Kassel-Austin; Ael. *VH* 14,20, non sembra essere suffragata dall'informazione fornita dallo scolio aristofaneo alle *Vespe*, da dove si comprende che tali storie avessero per soggetto, a differenza delle favole esopiche, uomini e non animali. Non mancarono, invero, nell'antichità raccolte moraleggianti di Συβάρεια ἀποφθήγματα (cf. Epich. F 215 Kaibel = 192 Olivieri) o racconti paremiografici (cf. Theon *Prog.* 3 = *Rhet. Gr.* II, 73 Spengel).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Hdt. 5,45.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. J.-R. Vieillefond, *Les "Cestes" de Julius Africanus. Étude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaires*, Firenze-Paris 1970, 60.

## 3. D. P. 461–466

Τὴν δὲ μετ' Αἰόλου εἰσὶ περίδρομοι εἰν ἄλι νῆσοι,  
 Αἰόλου Ἴπποτάδαο, φιλοξείνου βασιλῆος,  
 Αἰόλου, ὅς θηητὰ μετ' ἀνδράσιν ἔλλαχε δῶρα,  
 κοιρανίην ἀνέμων κλονεόντων ἰσταμένων τε.  
 465 Ἐπτὰ δέ τοι ταί γ' εἰσιν, ἐπώνυμοι ἀνδράσι Πλωταί,  
 οὔνεκα μέσσον ἔχουσι περίπλοον ἀμφιελικτόν.

Nel trascorrere dalla descrizione della terraferma alle isole italiche (vv. 457–476), lo spazio maggiore della *Descriptio* è ritagliato per le Eolie e la Sicilia, cui Dionisio dedica rispettivamente i vv. 461–466 e 467–476 (a v. 458 vi è solo una rapida menzione della Sardegna, definita εὐρυτάτη<sup>33</sup>).

I versi qui riportati, per i quali con la Tsavari andrà sottolineata certamente la ripresa callimachea (*h.* 4,196) e apolloniana (4,564) della *iunctura* εἰν ἄλι νῆσοι (si aggiunge ora Posidipp. *ep.* 19,14 Austin–Bastianini), nascondono una questione non peregrina e cioè la definizione delle Eolie come isole "Galleggianti" (Πλωταί, v. 465): "Hinc igitur profectus Dionysius – afferma il Müller con riferimento a Hdt. 2,156 – nescio quem auctorem secutus, septem Aeoli insulas, quas posterior aetas agnovit, Πλωτὰς vocari dicit"<sup>34</sup>.

Nell'antichità con l'appellativo "Plote" erano state indicate, invero, le isole Strofadi da Apollonio Rodio (2,285 e 297), il quale, tracciando l'*aition* del loro nome nell'ambito dell'episodio delle Arpie, propone l'identificazione Plote = Strofadi presente in Ferecide (3 F 28 Jacoby) ed in Antimaco di Colofone (F 60 Wyss), dove, tuttavia, le "Galleggianti" erano localizzate nel mare di Sicilia. Lo stesso Apollonio in 4,924 chiamerà, invece, Πλαγταί (cioè le "Cozzanti") le isole Eolie<sup>35</sup>. Da dove, allora, Dionisio deriva l'appellativo Πλωταί per le isole in questione?

<sup>33</sup> La Sardegna era, infatti, considerata a partire da Timeo la più grande isola del mar Mediterraneo: cf. Strab. 5,2,7.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Müller (n. 1) 131. Analogo giudizio esprime G. Bernhardt, *Dionysius Periegetes Graece et Latine cum vetustis commentariis et interpretationibus*, II, Lipsiae 1828, 644: "Unde igitur Dionysium putabimus tam inauditam doctrinam derivasse? Is vero nequit dubitari quin suum commentum ex Od. κ. 3. arripuerit interpretatione temeraria".

<sup>35</sup> Col termine "Plancte" Omero (*Od.* 12,61; 23,237) designava Scilla e Cariddi, in Sicilia, mentre Arriano (*Eux.* 25) lo userà per le Simplegadi, nel Ponto Eusino.

Due elementi essenziali mi inducono a ritenere che il Periegeta abbia seguito qui una tradizione omerica attestata in *Od.* 10,1ss.<sup>36</sup>: da un lato la dimensione umana che avvolge la figura di Eolo, dall'altro proprio l'appellativo "Plote" dato da Dionisio alle Eolie.

In effetti, nella *Periegesi* (vv. 461ss.), Eolo viene colto in tutta la sua umanità, quando Dionisio afferma che era figlio di Ippote (Ἰπποτάδαο), che era un re ospitale (φιλοξείνου βασιλῆος)<sup>37</sup>, e che ebbe il dono tra gli uomini (μετ' ἀνδράσιν) di divenire giudice dei venti. Omero, per parte sua, nel narrare l'arrivo di Odisseo all'isola di Eolo, sottolinea l'umanità dell'esistenza del dio, custode dei venti, immaginando che egli stesso sia un re che, come altri, gode dei privilegi degli dèi, che il suo palazzo sorga in una città, e che discenda da un uomo greco dal nome Ippote.

Inoltre (dato non meno importante), Omero afferma che Eolo abita su un'isola galleggiante (πλωτῆ ἐνὶ νήσῳ, v. 3): Eolia, tale è il nome dell'isola, è localizzata in Occidente, come si può dedurre dai vv. 25–29, dal momento che il vento dell'ovest conduce la flotta di Odisseo all'isola di Itaca in soli nove giorni.

A questo dato bisogna aggiungere un altro elemento: come abbiamo detto, Dionisio nella sua *Periegesi* (vv. 463–464) afferma che Eolo ebbe in sorte, unico tra i mortali, il dono divino di poter custodire i venti, sia di sollevarli che di arrestarli (κοιρανίην ἀνέμων κλονεόντων θ' ἰσταμένων τε)<sup>38</sup>. Come non vedere in questa rappresentazione una ripresa dell'omerico κείνον (sc. Αἴολον) γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε κρονίων, / ἡμὲν παυέμεναι ἢ δ' ὀρνύμεν ὄν κ' ἔθελησι (*Od.* 10,21–22)?

Dionisio, diversamente da Omero, sa, però, che le isole Eolie sono sette<sup>39</sup> (l'autore non ne elenca i nomi), e che esse sono dette "Plote" οὐνεκα μέσσον ἔχουσι περίπλοον ἀμφιέλικτον.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Eust., p. 304, 16–30 Müller.

<sup>37</sup> L'aggettivo φιλόξεινος potrebbe adombrare una dotta allusione ad Odisseo, che da Omero è definito varie volte in tal modo (cf., e.g., *Od.* 6,121; 8,576; 9,176). Non a caso l'eroe omerico giunge nelle sue peripezie fino in Sicilia, nella terra dei Lotofagi e dei Ciclopi, prima (canto IX), e, quindi, nel paese di Eolo e dei Lestrigoni (canto X): cf. Counillon (n. 2) 213.

<sup>38</sup> Sul potere di Eolo che dal Vulcano di Strongile era capace di prevedere tre giorni in anticipo i venti che spiravano, vedi Plin. *NH* 3,9.

<sup>39</sup> Lipari, Iera, Strongile, Didime, Ericusa, Fenicusa, Eponitre: cf. Strab. 6,2,10–11.



4. Ov. *Trist.* 1,2,75–80

75     *Non ego divitias avidus sine fine parandi*  
           *latum mutandis mercibus aequor aro:*  
*nec peto, quas quondam petii studiosus, Athenas,*  
           *oppida non Asiae, non loca visa prius,*  
*non ut Alexandri claram delatus ad urbem*  
80           *delicias videam, Nile iocose, tuas.*

I versi, nei quali è stato da un lato intravisto un aspetto del pensiero religioso romano, da sempre ostile al commercio sui mari e all'avidità di ricchezze (vv. 75–76)<sup>40</sup>, dall'altro un riferimento alla fama di Alessandria d'Egitto divenuta per i Romani meta turistica di primo ordine (vv. 77–80)<sup>41</sup>, nascondono, mi sembra, una chiara allusione ad Esiodo, sfuggita non solo agli studiosi di Ovidio, ma anche al nutrito apparato di *loci similes* di Alois Rzach<sup>42</sup> e all'inventario supplementare di echi e imitazioni greche e romane di Esiodo steso da M. L. West<sup>43</sup>.

Se, infatti, non si può non evocare in senso generico Hes. *Op.* 236–237 (οὐδ' ἐπὶ νηῶν / νίσονται [*sc.* ἰθυδίκαι ἄνδρες], καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα) a sostegno del fatto che "già nel mondo greco la navigazione è considerata una pazzia, indegna degli uomini giusti" (N. F. Berrino)<sup>44</sup>, è innegabile, credo, che qui Ovidio tenga presente piuttosto *Op.*

<sup>40</sup> N. F. Berrino in A. Luisi – N. F. B., *Culpa Silenda. Le elegie dell'error ovidiano*, Bari 2002, 125, la quale rinvia a Hor. *carm.* 1,3,9. 23–24, in cui la navigazione viene presentata come un'attività degna di individui *truces et impii*, ed a Plin. *NH* 19,6 (*nulla exsecratio sufficit contra inventorem ... cui satis non fuit hominem in terra mori, nisi perire et insepultus*), dove è chiaramente colpito il πρῶτος εὐρετής dell'imbarcazione.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. G. Luck, P. Ovidius Naso. *Tristia*, II. *Kommentar*, Heidelberg 1977, 32–33, il quale sottolinea opportunamente nel contesto come "*Delicias und iocose deuten auf sexuelle Abenteuer*".

<sup>42</sup> *Hesiodi carmina*, rec. A. Rzach, Lipsiae 1902.

<sup>43</sup> M. L. West, "Echoes and imitations of the Hesiodic Poems", *Philologus* 113 (1969) 1–9. La fortuna di Esiodo è stata oggetto di uno degli *Entretiens* della Fondation Hardt (*Hésiode et son influence*, Vandoeuvres-Genève 1962), nel quale, per il mondo latino, si segnalano i contributi di A. La Penna ("Esiodo nella cultura e nella poesia di Virgilio", 213–252) e di P. Grimal ("Tibulle et Hésiode", 253–262); per Ovidio, cf., invece, L. P. Wilkinson, "Greek influence on the poetry of Ovid", in Aa.Vv., *L'influence grecque sur la poésie latine de Catulle à Ovide*, Vandoeuvres-Genève 1953, 223–243.

<sup>44</sup> Invero, l'intera sezione degli *Erga* dedicata ai precetti sulla navigazione (vv. 618–694)

634, laddove, nel dare i consigli al fratello Perse sulla navigazione, Esiodo scrive:

καὶ τότε νῆα θοὴν ἄλαδ' ἐλκέμεν, ἐν δέ τε φόρτον  
 ἄρμενον ἐντύνασθαι, ἴν' οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄρηαι,  
 ὡς περ ἐμός τε πατήρ καὶ σός, μέγα νήπιε Πέρση,  
 πλωίζεσκ' ἐν νηυσί, βίου κεχρημένος ἐσθλοῦ

L'espressione ἴν' οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄρηαι, ma soprattutto il costrutto participiale βίου κεχρημένος ἐσθλοῦ sono certamente rievocati nelle parole *Non ego divitias avidus sine fine parandi* del primo verso, dove la contrapposizione al modello esiodeo dell'uomo, rappresentato dal padre del poeta ascreo, che si sospinge per il periglioso e tempestoso mare per fuggire la povertà dell'eolia Cuma, mette in risalto da un lato il dolore del poeta augusteo nel lasciare a Roma prosperità e benessere, anche economico<sup>45</sup>, dall'altro la durezza dell'imposizione della pena dell'esilio, cui le divinità si accaniscono in mare. Risalta, in particolare, nella ripresa ovidiana, la resa del participio greco in funzione aggettivale κεχρημένος ("bramoso", "desideroso"), che nell'*Exemplar* assume un valore neutro, se non addirittura positivo, con *avidus*. Ugualmente, se il padre di Esiodo è spinto alla ricerca di un βίος ἐσθλός il che può valere tanto per "esistenza agiata"<sup>46</sup> quanto più modestamente per una "vita onesta", cioè onestamente vissuta, in Ovidio prende il sopravvento l'interpretazione esclusivamente "materialistica" sottesa nel modello greco, per sottolineare maggiormente dinanzi agli occhi del lettore romano, nemico dell'avidità di ricchezze, l'ingiustizia della punizione divina per mare.

Ancora, nei vv. 646–948 delle *Opere* di Esiodo, dove viene nuovamente affermata l'imprudenza dell'animo di chi si dedica alla navigazione per il commercio, giustificato nel caso si tratti di sfuggire ai debiti (εὖτ' ἂν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν / βούληται χρέα τε προφυγεῖν καὶ λιμὸν ἀτερπέα, / δείξω δὴ τοι μέτρα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης), è da vedere il modello germinale per il v. 76 di Ovidio, nel

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è introdotta significativamente dall'espressione ναυτιλίη δυσπέμφελος (v. 618: εἰ δέ σε ναυτιλίας δυσπεμφέλου ἴμερος αἰρεῖ).

<sup>45</sup> Sulla posizione assai agiata del padre di Ovidio, *eques illustris*, cf. *Trist.* 4,19,29 e 35.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Hom. *Od.* 11,21, dove τὰ ἐσθλά sono "le ricchezze"; vedi, inoltre, *Il.* 24,381; *Od.* 2.312; *Pi. P.* 8,73.

quale il poeta afferma che il suo tragitto marittimo non è dettato neppure da esigenze commerciali (*Non ... latum mutandis mercibus aequor aro*).

Le reminiscenze ovidiane non si arrestano, tuttavia, al solo modello esiodeo. Credo, infatti, che alla base dei versi in esame potrebbero esservi anche le *Argonautiche* di Apollonio Rodio, nel punto in cui il poeta ellenistico si sofferma sulla ragione del viaggio in mare verso Orcomeno dei figli di Frisso (2,1093–1096):

Υἱῆες Φρίξοιο μετὰ πτόλον Ὀρχομενοῖο  
 ἐξ Αἴης ἐνέοντο παρ' Αἰήταο Κυταίου,  
 1095 Κολχίδα νῆ' ἐπιβάντες, ἴν' ἄσπετον ὄλβον ἄρωνται  
 πατρός· ὁ γὰρ θνήσκων ἐπετείλατο τήνδε κέλευθον.

È il v. 75 ad essere nuovamente richiamato in causa per il suo evidente addentellato con le parole ἴν' ἄσπετον ὄλβον ἄρωνται. L'allusione, che possiamo definire contrastiva, oltre ad essere un omaggio al *pater* dell'epica ellenistica in linea con le tendenze estetiche della poesia augustea<sup>47</sup>, assume un colore particolare nel nuovo contesto latino.

Laddove gli eroi greci sono costretti (cf. v. 1127: ... ἦ [sc. νηί] ἐνι πείρομεν οἶδμα κατὰ χρέος ἐμβεβαῶτες) ad affrontare i rischi del mare per prendere possesso delle immense ricchezze di Atamante, il che li porterà comunque ad approdare sull'isola dove saranno accolti benevolmente da Giasone, Ovidio è costretto, in un processo inverso, ad abbandonare per volere dell'imperatore la ricca capitale in direzione della mèta ultima del suo esilio, dove troverà la morte in mezzo a gente semibarbara. Se, dunque, in un certo qual senso la funesta tempesta che investe i "legni dell'infelicissima nave" (v. 1126) di Argo e dei suoi fratelli trova pieno riscatto nell'incontro con il figlio di Esone, il penoso viaggio in mare di Ovidio non solo, in un'ottica esiodea, appare tanto più deprecabile quanto meno il poeta brama ricchezze, bensì aggiunge al danno dell'abbandono della patria e del distacco dalla propria famiglia la beffa del destino di un piccolo paese del Mar Nero,

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<sup>47</sup> Sulla fortuna di Apollonio Rodio in età augustea, mi limito a segnalare i recenti contributi di D. P. Nelis, "Apollonius Rhodius and the Tradition of Latin epic poetry", in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, G. C. Wakker (edd.), *Apollonius Rhodius*, Leuven 2000, 85–103; Id., "Apollonius Rhodius and Virgil", in Th. D. Papanghelis – A. Rengakos (edd.), *A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius*, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001, 237–259 e di E. J. Kenney, "Est deus in nobis...: Medea meets her Maker", *ibid.*, 261–283.



da cui Ovidio non farà mai più rientro.

In realtà, ciò che mi preme sottolineare è che, se è indubbio che Ovidio in questo passaggio dei *Tristia* tiene presente, combinandoli, Esiodo ed Apollonio Rodio, lui stesso sarà poi rievocato da Dionisio il Periegeta nei vv. 707–714 della *Descriptio orbis*:

Ῥεῖα δέ τοι καὶ τήνδε καταγράψαιμι θάλασσαν,  
 Οὐ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπάνευθε πόρους, οὐ νηὶ περήσας·  
 οὐ γάρ μοι βίος ἐστὶ μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν,  
 710 οὐδέ μοι ἐμπορὴ πατρώϊος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Γάγγην  
 ἔρχομαι, οἷά περ ἄλλοι, Ἐρυθραίου διὰ πόντου,  
 ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες, ἴν' ἄσπετον ὄλβον ἔλονται,  
 οὐδέ μὲν Ὑρκανίοις ἐπιμίσγομαι, οὐδ' ἑρεείνω  
 Καυκασίας κνημίδας Ἐρυθραίων Ἀριηνῶν·

Come ho avuto modo di segnalare nelle precedente serie di note<sup>48</sup>, nel *locus* dionisiano (in part. la prima parte del v. 705 ed il secondo emistichio del v. 707) si adombra una sapiente allusione, funzionalizzata al contesto in cui essa è inserita, proprio ai due *exempla* greci finora discussi.

Ora, se l'esegesi del passo ovidiano che propongo coglie nel buon segno, nulla impedisce di vedere un riferimento da parte di Dionisio al suo predecessore latino a conferma sia della ricchezza e della complessità dell'*imitatio* di questo poema innodico-didascalico Vedi E. Amato, "Per la cronologia di Dionisio il Periegeta", di prossima pubblicazione<sup>49</sup>, sia, dato non meno rilevante, della cronologia decisamente post-augustea del suo autore<sup>50</sup>.

Rispetto ai modelli rappresentati da Esiodo ed Apollonio Rodio, Ovidio fornisce in più al Periegeta il quadro generale delle possibili attrattive fornite agli uomini dal viaggio in mare: il commercio (*mutandis mercibus* ~ ἐμπορῆ), la possibilità di far fortuna in luoghi remoti (*oppida*

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Amato (n. \*) 9–11. Per distrazione nel titolo della prima nota di lettura (e solo lì) indicavo i vv. 702–712 in luogo di 707–714.

<sup>49</sup> Vedi sull'argomento la bibliografia citata in Amato (n. \*) 8–9, nn. 3 e 10.

<sup>50</sup> Al parere unanimemente accolto di collocare il poeta in età adrianea, anche alla luce dell'acrostico dei vv. 513–532, si è di recente opposta H. White, "On the Date of Dionysius Periegetes", *Orpheus* n.s. 22/1–2 (2001) 288–290, che avanza una cronologia più alta (a cavallo tra Augusto e Tiberio). Contro tale ipotesi.

*non Asiae* ~ οὐδ' ἐπὶ Γάγγην ἔρχομαι)<sup>51</sup>, il gusto, eventualmente non disgiunto dallo spregio del pericolo dell'ignoto, di visitare luoghi mai visti prima (*non loca visa prius* ~ οὐδέ μὲν Ὑρκανίοις ἐπιμίσγομαι, οὐδ' ἐρεείνω Καυκασίας κνημίδας Ἐρυθραίων Ἀριηνῶν)<sup>52</sup>.

L'effetto che il precedente del viaggio ovidiano ha sul lettore di Dionisio diviene così quello di dissuaderlo dalla visione autoptica di paesi e città dell'ecumene, affidando la propria curiosità alla soddisfazione di un viaggio virtuale in cui l'autore fa da guida nel sereno e affidabile mare del sapere libresco delle Muse.

**Postilla.** Nella precedente serie di note dichiaravo (Amato [n. \*] 16 n. 32) di non aver potuto prendere visione del contributo di R. Kassel, "Antimachos in der Vita Chisiana des Dionysios Periegetes", in C. Schaeublin (hsg.), *Catalepton. Festschrift für Bernhard Wyss zum 80. Geburtstag*, Basel 1985, 69–76 (= R. K., *Kleine Schriften*, hsg. von H.-G. Nesselrath, Berlin-New York 1991, 403–411). Solo ora posso affermare con soddisfazione che anche il Kassel, come me, stampa col codice Chigiano *δολοφρονηθέντος*, in luogo dell'errato *δολοφρονηθέντος*, dato senza ulteriori chiarimenti dal Colonna (*BollClass* n.s. 5 [1957] 9–12). Tuttavia, nell'apparato del Kassel non è segnalata la divergenza dal predecessore né viene data ragione di tale scelta nel commento. Quanto, poi, all'emendamento *Λουκούλλου* proposto dal Colonna in luogo del trådito *λουκτούλου*, per cui io proponevo *Λεντούλου*, l'editore preferisce stampare tra *crucis* l'intero passo (τὴν † κηρυνάϊων † ἦτταν † λουκτούλου †), limitandosi unicamente a segnalare in apparato la proposta del Rühl (*RhM* 29 [1874] 81–87): Πάρθων (vel Παρθυαίων) ... Λουκίου τοῦ Κράσσου. Che, però, debba leggersi *Λεντούλου* va ribadito nuovamente: alla bibliografia da me citata in precedenza (Amato [n. \*] 16 n. 33) si aggiunga: M. Bénabou, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation*, Paris 1976, 62–64 e A. Gutsfeld, *Römische Herrschaft und einheimischer Widerstand in Nordafrika. Militärische Auseinandersetzungen Roms mit den Nomaden*, Stuttgart 1989, 32–33.

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<sup>51</sup> Sia le città d'Asia che le regioni bagnate dal fiume Gange erano notorie per la loro prosperità: vedi i *loci* riportati da Luck (n. 41) 33 e Counillon (n. 2) 245.

<sup>52</sup> L'asprezza e la selvaticità della regione asiatica dell'Ircania, abitata da popolazioni quali i Tapiri, i Mardi, i Cadusi e i Geli, era resa ancora più dura dal costume barbaro, invalso tra alcune tribù, di far divorare i cadaveri dalle fiere (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1,45).

# VELIA, QUIRINALE, PINCIO: NOTE SU PROPRIETARI DI *DOMUS* E SU *PLUMBARII*\*

CHRISTER BRUUN

Il progetto di presentare una riedizione delle fistule conservate nei Musei Vaticani e nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana insieme a una introduzione generale sullo studio delle fistule bollate da parte di chi scrive ha dato occasione a un riesame di varie questioni connesse con l'esegesi di queste fonti epigrafiche.

## 1. La Velia: un indirizzo mancante

Nel 1941 Carlo Pietrangeli presentò al mondo scientifico una ventina circa di nuovi bolli fistulari. Per la maggior parte si trattava di iscrizioni non provenienti da scavi condotti da lui stesso, e quindi non fa meraviglia che alcuni dati possano essere completati. Il bollo

[---]iae C. f. Novatillae<sup>1</sup>

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\* Il presente lavoro rappresenta un primo risultato di varie ricerche in corso sulle fistule romane, in seguito al progetto di pubblicare le fistule acquarie dei Musei Vaticani e quelle nella collezione della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ringrazio il Direttore dei Musei Vaticani dott. F. Buranelli e il dott. G. Filippi, Conservatore della raccolta epigrafica e il dott. M. Buonocore, scriptor Latinus della BAV per la loro gentilezza e disponibilità. Inoltre sono grato a M. Kajava, K. Korhonen, H. Solin e S. Örmä per numerosi utili consigli e a D. Nonnis e L. Nardini per aver migliorato il mio italiano; per errori e sviste sono il solo responsabile. Il lavoro è stato reso possibile grazie ad una borsa di studio concessa dal Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, che si vuole ricordare con profonda gratitudine. – *LTUR* = *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae* I–VI (a c. di E.M. Steinby), Roma 1993–2000.

<sup>1</sup> C. Pietrangeli, "Supplementi al *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* II", *BCAR* 69 (1941) 167–192, in partic. 191 n. 31. Così anche W. Eck, "Domus: [-]ia Novatilla", *LTUR* II,

fu quindi presentato senza provenienza. In realtà questo bollo fu trovato nel 1932 durante i grandi scavi per la costruzione di Via dei Fori Imperiali, come risulta dagli appunti di A.M. Colini, pubblicati di recente. Nel quaderno di Colini, a p. 145, si legge "Presso il colosso di Nerone (24.III)", mentre la pagina 146 presenta tre bolli fistulari, appunto quello citato sopra, ma anche i bolli PLA T NEPOT e M PLA T NEPOT; infine il quaderno fa riferimento a un'altra fistula che "ha una lunga iscrizione di lettere strette e lunghe su due righe ma non si decifra"<sup>2</sup>. Probabilmente questa iscrizione illeggibile conteneva il nome di un imperatore, perché con rare eccezioni solo i bolli imperiali corrispondono alla descrizione<sup>3</sup>, ma altro non si può dire in proposito. Invece i tre bolli trovati insieme richiedono qualche commento.

Il secondo bollo, di cui furono ritrovati due esemplari quasi identici, fu dal Pietrangeli letto come *A. Plat(orii) Nepot(is)*, e lo studioso diede il luogo di ritrovamento in un modo piuttosto generale come "Da Via dell'Impero" (l'odierna Via dei Fori Imperiali)<sup>4</sup>. Nel *Lexicon Topographicum* le coordinate topografiche sono poi infatti date come "an der Via dei Fori Imperiali", mentre A. Platorius Nepos fu identificato o con il console del 119 d.C. o con quello del 160 d.C. (tutti e due suffetti)<sup>5</sup>.

I due bolli appaiono nello stesso contesto negli appunti di Colini, e ci si chiede se fecero addirittura parte dello stesso condotto. Stabilire se questo sia vero oppure no non è una mera curiosità, dato che nella ricerca è comune

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145 "nicht näher lokalisiert". La donna è finora rimasta senza identificazione; il cognome Novatilla è molto raro nel ceto senatorio, v. M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (I<sup>er</sup> -II<sup>e</sup> siècles)* I–II, Lovanii 1987, 64 n. 50 (Annia) Novatilla; e inoltre *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 110 Faminia Novatilla.

<sup>2</sup> A.M. Colini, *Appunti degli scavi di Roma I. Quaderni I bis, II bis, III, IV*, Roma 1998, 96 per tutto questo. A dir il vero, questo studioso presentò il bollo della donna nella forma [-]ae C. f. Novatillae; forse il Pietrangeli poté eseguire una perizia più dettagliata della fistula. Bisogna però ribadire che ci sono errori di lettura nell'articolo del 1941, come ho potuto verificare grazie a una visita (nel 1990) all'Antiquario Comunale del Celio; per i dettagli, v. C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki 1991, 82 nota 28.

<sup>3</sup> Si veda *CIL XV 7278–7344 passim*; questi bolli e altri sono citati *verbatim* in Bruun, (cit. a nota 2) 213–44.

<sup>4</sup> Pietrangeli (cit. a nota 1) 191 n. 33.

<sup>5</sup> W. Eck, "Domus: A. Platorius Nepos", *LTUR* II, 1995, 158. Notiamo che il Colini non aveva letto il prenome di Platorius Nepos nello stesso modo; sembra che egli ipotizzasse la presenza di una M.

considerare come una coppia di coniugi i casi dove su una fistula il nome di un uomo è accompagnato da quello di una donna<sup>6</sup>. Le misure date da Pietrangeli (*loc. cit.*) sembrano non creare problemi, dato che il "diametro verticale" della fistula della donna viene dato come m. 0,095, e quello di Platorius Nepos come m. 0,10. In verità però il solo diametro massimo non basta per stabilire se i condotti sono dello stesso calibro; ci vuole anche la misura del diametro "minimo" preso trasversalmente<sup>7</sup>.

In ogni caso per Novatilla e Platorius Nepos mi asterrò dal suggerire l'esistenza di un matrimonio fra di loro per le seguenti ragioni. Primo, mancano prove che i bolli comparissero sullo stesso condotto, e, secondo, non ci sono altri indizi che le due persone avessero mai formato una coppia di coniugi. Anche la forma dei nomi nei due bolli è abbastanza diversa, e sembra poco probabile che li avesse fabbricati lo stesso plumbario: il nome di Platorius è abbreviato, un fatto abbastanza raro nel contesto dei bolli menzionanti senatori, mentre il nome di Novatilla evidentemente fu scritto al completo, inclusa la filiazione. Fino a prova contraria, sembra più opportuno ritenere che si tratti di due condotti separati.

Infine è il caso di completare i relativi lemmata del *LTUR* dando come nuovo riferimento topografico sia per Novatilla che per Platorius Nepos: "fistule trovate nello sgombero della Velia per la costruzione della Via dei Fori Imperiali".

Questa formulazione è intenzionalmente abbastanza generale e senza elemento cronologico, dato che la topografia della Velia nel periodo imperiale è una questione complessa, e ulteriori ragionamenti in questa sede non possono essere che preliminari e ipotetici. Sicuramente le fistule furono ritrovate in una zona circoscritta dalla base del Colosso di Nerone, il lato del

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<sup>6</sup> Questa proposta fu avanzata da G. Barbieri, "Ostia — fistole acquarie inedite o completate", *NSA* 1953, 151–89, in partic. 156 s.; l'ipotesi è stata accettata senza discussione ad esempio per Carminia Liviana Diotima, v. W. Eck, "Domus: Carminia Liviana Diotima", *LTUR* II (1995) 77; Raepsaet-Charlier (cit. a nota 1) 182–83 n. 190 (contro i sensati ammonimenti di E. Groag, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1362: "plane incertum").

<sup>7</sup> "Tutti i tubi antichi di piombo hanno una sezione dal profilo ... simile a quella di una pera", non una sezione a forma di un cerchio, così giustamente L. Jacono, "La misura delle antiche fistole plumbee", *Riv. di Studi Pompeiani* 1 (1934–35) 102–115, in partic. 102. Da questo fatto nasce la necessità di prendere le due misure del diametro massimo e minimo; il metodo viene spiegato da Jacono, *art. cit.* A seconda di quanto sia schiacciata o compressa, una fistula di portata più piccola può mostrare lo stesso diametro massimo di una più grande.



Tempio di Venere e Roma, la Basilica Nova, il Forum Pacis e le pendici delle *Carinae* (fig. 1)<sup>8</sup>. Ci si chiede ora, in quale periodo dell'epoca imperiale si possano trovare abitazioni senatoriali in questo luogo. Aggiungerei subito una precisazione: ci conviene cercare una, o forse due, *domus* prima, o piuttosto dopo la Domus Aurea di Nerone?

Non esiste uno studio complessivo della Velia in età imperiale<sup>9</sup>, anche se varie parti hanno attratto l'attenzione degli studiosi; bisogna quindi cercare di formarsi un quadro unitario basandosi su elementi vari, senza poter colmare tutti i varchi<sup>10</sup>. Purtroppo, negli studi consultati non ho trovato alcuna menzione delle fistule che qui ci interessano<sup>11</sup>. Per quanto riguarda l'edilizia privata, una ricca *domus* è stata identificata nell'area generale delineata sopra, ma si trova nella zona più settentrionale, quella più distante dal Colosseo per intenderci (nell'area del Pio Istituto Rivaldi). Qui

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<sup>8</sup> Già il foglio 138, con la data 11.III 1932 riguarda "l'angolo del tempio di V(enere) e R(oma)", e poi i fogli 143–154 del Quaderno I bis di Colini riguardano tutti questa zona, come si può vedere da annotazioni e didascalie, v. Colini (cit. a nota 2) 93 e 95–103: p. 143 "Via del Tempio della Pace", p. 144 zona limitata dalla Via del T. della Pace, p. 145 "Presso il Colosso di Nerone" (datazione 24.III), p. 146 le nostre fistule, p. 147 "Iscrizioni tarde trovate presso la Bas. di Mas.", p. 148 "Criptoportici", p. 149 "Presso il Colosso di Nerone", p. 150 cont. del tema precedente, con pianta, p. 151 "Basilica di Costantino", p. 152 "pianta schematica della zona di Via dell'Impero", p. 153 "Scavo presso il Colosseo", p. 154 inventario di vari ritrovamenti.

<sup>9</sup> F. Coarelli, "Velia", *LTUR V* (1999) 109–12 tratta i limiti del colle e i santuari, ma non discute della situazione generale in epoca imperiale. D. Palombi, *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino. Velia Carinae Fagutal. Storia urbana di tre quartieri di Roma antica*, Roma 1997 contiene molto materiale utile, in particolare cartografico, ma non tratta l'edilizia privata, v. in partic. 38–44 per la zona che qui interessa.

<sup>10</sup> Si veda ad es. G. Gatti, "Velia", *BCAR* 90 (1985) 314–20 (planimetrie); A. Cassatella, "Il tratto orientale della Via Sacra", *Roma archeologia nel centro I* (LSA 6.1), Roma 1985, 99–105; S. Panella, "Scavo nella platea del Tempio di Venere e Roma", *ibid.*, 106–12; G. Pisano Sartorio, "Compitum Acilium", *LTUR I* (1993) 314–15; A. Cassatella e C. Panella, vari contributi sulla Domus Aurea, *LTUR II* (1995) 49–55; Palombi (cit. a nota 9) 39–43; A. Cassatella, "Venus et Roma, aedes, templum", *LTUR V* (1999) 121–23; e soprattutto vari contributi in C. Panella (a c. di), *Meta Sudans I*, Roma 1996 (con altra bibliografia recente) e anche le note seguenti.

<sup>11</sup> Bisogna sottolineare che negli scritti pubblicati dal Colini non ho trovato alcun riferimento alle nostre fistule bollate, v. A.M. Colini, in A. Munoz, *Via dei Monti e Via del Mare*<sup>2</sup>, Roma 1932, 14–35; A.M. Colini, "Scoperte tra il Foro della Pace e l'Anfiteatro", *BCAR* 61 (1933) 79–87; idem, "Compitum Acilii", *BCAR* 78 (1961–62) 147–57; idem, "Considerazioni su la Velia da Nerone in poi", *Città e architettura nella Roma Imperiale* (ARID Suppl. 10), Roma 1983, 129–45.

le prime strutture archeologiche sono databili al I secolo d.C.; è stata identificata anche una fase severiana, mentre il materiale epigrafico si riferisce a personaggi del IV secolo. Possibilmente le strutture più antiche erano state inglobate nella Domus Aurea, oppure si trovavano al limite del palazzo neroniano<sup>12</sup>. Altre *domus* nella zona non sono note<sup>13</sup>.

A giudicare dal contesto in cui appare la notizia sulle fistule nel quaderno di Colini, la loro scoperta comunque non sarebbe da localizzare nella zona del Pio Ist. Rivaldi<sup>14</sup>, ma piuttosto più vicino al Colosseo, e probabilmente in connessione con una strada lastricata che sale lungo il lato nordest del Tempio di Roma e Venere. Un disegno mostra anche una fontana in questa zona<sup>15</sup>. Se questa struttura si adatta a una *domus* è però difficile dirlo, in particolare dopo la costruzione della Domus Aurea (anche se il palazzo probabilmente non fu mai portato a termine). Varie ragioni fanno in ogni caso preferire una data posteriore a quella della Domus Aurea: le fistule sono apparse all'inizio degli sbancamenti, e quindi dovrebbero appartenere a una data più recente, e inoltre i due Platorii Nepotes indicati da Eck come possibili proprietari sono del secondo secolo d.C. Infine, se la situazione topografica intorno al Colosseo e alle fondazioni del tempio adrianeo difficilmente sembra poter concedere spazio ad abitazioni private

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<sup>12</sup> G. Pisani Sartorio, "Una *domus* sotto il giardino del Pio Istituto Rivaldi sulla Velia", *Città e architettura* (cit. a nota 11) 147–68; F. Guidobaldi, "Domus: Attius Insteius Tertullus", *LTUR* II (1995) 186–87.

<sup>13</sup> Pisani Sartorio (cit. a nota 12) 163 con nota 35: "la destinazione residenziale della Velia ci è nota dalle fonti letterarie per le numerose citazioni di abitazioni di personaggi famosi", ma si tratta di personaggi d'epoca repubblicana, oppure di notizie non attendibili, v. *LTUR* II (1995) 34 (Gordiano I, "fiktive Angaben"), 67 (Balbinus, in realtà *in Carinis*), e E. Rodríguez Almeida, "Domus: C. Iulius Proculus", *LTUR* II (1995) 122–23: la *domus* è situata lontano dalla Velia. Tracce di alcune *domus* (anche con fistule) — ma sembrano di età repubblicana, — sono presentate da G. Schingo, "Indice topografico delle strutture anteriori all'incendio del 64 d.C. rinvenute nella valle del Colosseo e nelle sue adiacenze", in Panella (a c. di), (cit. a nota 10) 145–58, in partic. 146, 151.

<sup>14</sup> Più tardi nello stesso anno si trovano copiose note riguardanti gli scavi nell'area del Pio Ist. Rivaldi (v. il Quaderno III (1 aprile – maggio 1932) in Colini (cit. a nota 2) 211–62), quindi sembra che verso la metà di marzo 1932 i lavori non fossero ancora cominciati sul serio in quel sito.

<sup>15</sup> Colini (cit. a nota 2) 149. Già all'inizio di febbraio Colini, *op. cit.*, 72, aveva però segnalato, scavando il Tempio di Venere e Roma, che "il muro di selce era traversato da un tubo di piombo"; cf. p. 73–75 per una vasca sul luogo.

(ma cosa sappiamo della zona durante i Flavi e Traiano?), un'altra spiegazione potrebbe essere che gli edifici serviti dai condotti finirono o sotto il tempio di Venere e Roma, o sotto la Basilica di Massenzio.

## 2. Indirizzi erronei alle radici del Quirinale (*corrigenda* al *LTUR*)

Parecchie fistule bollate furono trovate alle radici del Quirinale durante gli ultimi decenni dell'800, in un periodo in cui grandi progetti urbanistici sconvolsero molte parti della nuova capitale d'Italia. Non tutti i progetti furono però realizzati nel modo in cui erano inizialmente stati concepiti, e non tutti furono longevi. Per la maggior parte delle fistule trovate lungo l'attuale Via IV Novembre l'informazione nel *Lexicon Topographicum* riflette la situazione alla pubblicazione della *Forma Urbis Romae* di Lanciani (1893–1900) e del fascicolo 2.1 del *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* del 1899, e le coordinate topografiche devono causare non pochi grattacapi agli utenti del *LTUR*<sup>16</sup>.

I lavori edilizi che portarono alla luce la maggior parte di queste fistule furono fatti per costruire un nuovo teatro drammatico, ovvero, come viene anche chiamato in documenti contemporanei, il Teatro (Drammatico) Nazionale<sup>17</sup>. Un progetto vicino, in termini topografici, durante gli ultimi decenni dell'800, era la costruzione di una strada larga e dritta nella valle fra

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<sup>16</sup> Ammetto volentieri che la situazione mi era sfuggita quando scrissi la recensione al *LTUR* II, v. C. Bruun, "A city of temples and squares, emperors, horses and houses", *JRA* 10 (1997) 389–398. Mi sono reso conto della situazione lavorando sul bollo di Severus e Celer (*CIL* XV 7393), su cui spero presto di poter pubblicare un piccolo saggio, nel quale mostrerò che a essere nominati nel bollo sono i famosi *magistri et machinatores* di Nerone (*Tac. ann.* 15.42). In L. Chioffi, "Sulle case delle élites a Roma e dintorni. Supplemento al *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*", *BCAR* 100 (1999) 37–52, in partic. 44 è riprodotto un particolare di una pianta della zona del 1576. A p. 45 nota 43 l'autrice tacitamente corregge alcuni errori di cui sotto. Fra gli utenti del *LTUR* recenti si deve sicuramente includere G. De Kleijn, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. City Area, Water, and Population*, Amsterdam 2001, la quale presenta elenchi di tutti i nomi sulle fistule romane con i luoghi dei ritrovamenti. Per i personaggi trattati sotto, ella parzialmente ripete gli indirizzi antiquati del *LTUR*, ma le sue piante (p. 197, 205, 213) indicano il luogo giusto, essendo basate sulla tav. 22 della *Forma Urbis* di Lanciani (sotto a nota 19).

<sup>17</sup> Sul Teatro Drammatico Nazionale, costruito nel 1888, si veda A. Negro, *Rione II — Trevi II* (Guide rionali di Roma), Roma 1985, 84 e 89 (fotografia della facciata).



il Quirinale e il Viminale: Via Nazionale. In un primo tempo, si intendeva continuare la strada oltre l'odierno Largo Magnanapoli, almeno fino a Piazza Sciarra e addirittura fino al Pantheon<sup>18</sup>. Il progetto, in forma modificata, era all'ordine del giorno ancora quando Lanciani pubblicò la sua *Forma Urbis Romae*, come si può vedere dal testo in blu (indicante un progetto urbanistico) nella pianta n. 22 della *FUR*: qui Via Nazionale continua fino a Piazza Venezia (fig. 2)<sup>19</sup>. Invece sappiamo oggi che Via Nazionale non fu mai continuata oltre Largo Magnanapoli, e la strada che scende fino a Piazza Venezia, compiendo due curve di 90 gradi, è Via IV Novembre.

La stessa tavola n. 22 della *Forma Urbis* mostra, nel luogo dove oggi si trova il palazzo dell'INAIL (l'Istituto Nazionale per l'Assicurazione contro gli Infortuni sul Lavoro, al numero civico 143), la scritta "Teatro drammatico". Questo teatro però non rimase a lungo in questo luogo (l'edificio fu demolito alla fine degli anni '20 del secolo scorso)<sup>20</sup> e oggi il Teatro Nazionale è situato in Piazza Viminale (all'angolo con Via del Viminale e Via Agostino de Pretis), sul colle onomino, in un edificio costruito negli anni 1924–25<sup>21</sup>. Perciò parlare, dopo il 1929, del Teatro Nazionale di Roma come situato ai pendici del Quirinale non può non creare perplessità. L'inquadramento topografico delle seguenti voci del *LTUR* deve quindi essere corretto:

— Domus: Antonia. Il *Lexicon* indica il luogo di ritrovamento della fistula (sulla quale sono citati anche due altre persone, di nome Celer e Severus, v. sotto) come "beim Teatro Nazionale am Fuße des Quirinals"<sup>22</sup>. Palesemente

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<sup>18</sup> I. Insolera, *Le città nella storia d'Italia. Roma*, Roma – Bari 1981, 368–69 (pianta del piano regolatore del 1873), 378. Il toponimo "Piazza Sciarra" non esiste più; secondo A.J.C. Hare, *Walks in Rome I*, London 1897, 50–52 così fu chiamato un tratto della Via del Corso tra la Via delle Muratte e il Palazzo Sciarra.

<sup>19</sup> R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Roma 1893–1901 (ristampa Roma 1990).

<sup>20</sup> Sulle vicende del sito, v. Negro (cit. a nota 17) 84; per chi guarda da Piazza Venezia, il sito si trova a sinistra della Libreria Tombolini, per intenderci (sperando che questo riferimento topografico abbia ancora vita lunga). Si veda anche Touring Club Italiano (a c. di), *Guida d'Italia. Roma*<sup>9</sup>, Milano 1999, 187 (la celebre "Guida rossa"). Il palazzo dell'INAIL fu costruito negli anni 1928–34, v. V. Fontana, "Armando Brasini e la scuola romana", in G. Spagnesi (a c. di), *L'Architettura delle trasformazioni urbane 1890–1940* (Atti XXIV Congresso Storia dell'architettura Roma 1991), Roma 1992, 271–79, in partic. 276.

<sup>21</sup> "Guida Rossa", cit. n. 20, 183.

<sup>22</sup> *LTUR* II (1995) 33.

la menzione del Teatro Nazionale crea problemi agli studiosi moderni; il Dressel (*CIL* XV 7393) usò l'espressione "ad radices Quirinalis *al teatro Nazionale*", ma le coordinate moderne sono "il sito del palazzo dell'INAIL e il n. civico 143 di Via IV Novembre".

— Domus: [-]lius Celer. Il nome appare sulla stessa fistula sulla quale è nominata Antonia.

— Domus: L. Cornelius Pusio. La localizzazione della sua *domus* è data come "auf dem Quirinal unter dem Palazzo Campanari an der Via Nazionale"<sup>23</sup>, rispecchiando fedelmente quanto risulta dal *FUR*, tavola n. 22 di Lanciani. Invece l'indirizzo del palazzo, sotto il quale le scoperte furono fatte, sono i nn. civici 145–151 di Via IV Novembre; il toponimo "palazzo Campanari", poi, oggi è poco rilevante<sup>24</sup>.

— Domus: Iulius Hierax. Dalla voce del *LTUR* risulta che la fistula fu scoperta "am Südabhang des Quirinals zusammen mit antiken Mauern zwischen dem Palazzo Campanari und der Villa Colonna"<sup>25</sup>. Gli stessi commenti come per Cornelius Pusio valgono anche qui; quindi il luogo della scoperta dovrebbe piuttosto essere defintito come il sito o l'immediata vicinanza del palazzo dell'INAIL, il n. civico 143 di Via IV Novembre.

— Domus: Iulius Pompeius Rusonianus. Secondo il *LTUR* la fistula fu trovata "in der Via Nazionale zwischen dem Palazzo Campanari und der Villa Colonna"<sup>26</sup>. Coordinate topografiche come per le due *domus* precedenti.

— Domus: Narcissus. Fistule con il nome di Narcissus Aug. lib. sono state trovate in due luoghi; già nel '600 sotto la chiesa di S. Ignazio, e verso la fine dell'800 in un luogo con cui abbiamo ormai acquistato familiarità. Invece il *LTUR* localizza la scoperta come "am Fuß des Quirinals beim Teatro Eliseo an der Via Nazionale"<sup>27</sup>. Che il Teatro Eliseo, che infatti si trova in Via Nazionale (n. civico 183)<sup>28</sup> non c'entri in questo contesto risulta chiaramente dai resoconti che Guglielmo Gatti e L. Borsari diedero dei

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<sup>23</sup> *LTUR* II (1995) 88.

<sup>24</sup> Il "palazzo Campanari" non appare né nella "Guida rossa", cit. n. 20, né nella sostanziale lista di palazzi romani in Insolera, cit. n. 8, 456–58. Per l'unica menzione che ho trovato vedi Negro (cit. a nota 17) 84.

<sup>25</sup> *LTUR* II (1995) 121.

<sup>26</sup> *LTUR* II (1995) 122.

<sup>27</sup> *LTUR* II (1995) 143.

<sup>28</sup> Si veda la "Guida rossa", cit. n. 20, 185.

ritrovamenti nella zona dell'odierna Via IV Novembre<sup>29</sup>. Le coordinate sono ancora una volta il sito o l'immediata vicinanza del palazzo dell'INAIL, il n. civico 143 di Via IV Novembre

— Domus: Cn. Sergius Craterus. Il personaggio appare sulla stessa fistula di Iulius Hierax<sup>30</sup>.

— Domus: [-]lius Severus. Il personaggio appare insieme ad Antonia e [-]lius Celer.

Quindi tutte le fistule qui trattate vengono dalla stessa zona, anche se la fistula di Antonia, Celer e Severus per qualche ragione non fu mai presentata né nel *Bollettino Comunale*, né in *Notizie degli Scavi*, ma fu il Dressel nel *CIL XV* ad essere il primo a farne menzione. A questa informazione bisogna ancora aggiungere quanto rilevato da Rosanna Friggeri in altro luogo nel *LTUR II* (in una voce dove ella correttamente stabilisce l'ubicazione topografica), vale a dire il fatto che altri tre bolli con nomi al genitivo, finora rimasti inediti ma conservati nel Museo Nazionale Romano, sono noti da alcune fistule ritrovate sullo stesso luogo nel 1929 in occasione della demolizione del Teatro Drammatico Nazionale<sup>31</sup>. La quantità di fistule con nomi diversi trovate alle pendici SO del Quirinale è quindi notevole, ma probabilmente, come suggerito da Friggeri, sul luogo si trovava un *castellum* di divisione e i condotti erano diretti in varie direzioni. Su questo ci sarebbe ancora da indagare<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> G. Gatti, "Fistole acquarie letterate", *BCAR* 15 (1887) 8–12, in partic. 10 no. 1686; G. Gatti – L. Borsari, *NSA* 1887, 15–23, in partic. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Si noti a proposito la descrizione data dallo scopritore della fistula, R. Lanciani, *L'antica Roma* (prefazione di A. Cederna, trad. di E. Staderini dall'inglese *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, 1888), Roma – Bari 1981, 239: "Di queste opere ... io ne ricorderò una sola, una deliziosa tazza, o bacino, di una fontana, squisitamente scolpita in un unico blocco di nero antico. La tazza di un metro e mezzo di diametro, è scanalata tutto intorno, il bordo è ornato con dodici bellissime teste di leone in pieno rilievo, attraverso la cui bocca l'acqua cade in graziosi getti dentro il bacino sottostante. Questa casa e tutti i suoi artistici tesori appartennero ad un personaggio piuttosto oscuro, un liberto, chiamato Cneo Sergio Crater. ... L'iscrizione del tubo scoperto nella casa sopra descritta, ci dice: CNSERGCRATER ... ". Questa informazione non fu presa in considerazione né dal *CIL*, né dal *LTUR*.

<sup>31</sup> R. Friggeri, *LTUR II* (1995) 74 s.v. "Domus: Caesius Cinna"; cf. "Domus: L. Laecanius Bassus", "Domus: P. Petronius Turpilianus".

<sup>32</sup> Da F. Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica*, Roma 1997, 151–52 è stato proposto, con buoni argomenti, che la Fons Cati si trovasse sul luogo. Da parte dell'ing. Leonardo Lombardi è in corso un progetto per studiare le vene d'acqua

### 3. Novità su Roius Hilario, un *plumbarius* di Roma attivo sul Pincio e al Circo Massimo

Una notizia allucinante riguardante il primo *curator aquarum* dell'antica Roma, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, è sfuggita a tutti coloro che si sono occupati dell'amministrazione degli acquedotti di Roma antica<sup>33</sup>. Wilhelm von Sydow, nell'*Archäologischer Anzeiger* del 1973, e Klaus Parlasca, nelle *Römische Mitteilungen* del 1985, trattarono alcuni aspetti degli scavi recenti sotto la Bibliotheca Hertziana, accennando alla scoperta sul Pincio di una fistula bollata che avrebbe menzionato Valerius Messalla Corvinus, *curator aquarum* di Roma dall'11 a.C. fino alla sua morte intorno all'8 d.C.<sup>34</sup>. Il testo però non fu citato verbatim, e un controllo della fonte dimostra che altri studiosi hanno fatto bene a non includere "la fistula di Valerius Messalla Corvinus" nei loro trattamenti della *cura aquarum* di Roma antica. I due studiosi si servirono della tesi di Gert Kaster, che aveva studiato i risultati degli scavi in dettaglio e aveva anche scoperto un nome bollato su una fistula. Le parole, a dir il vero abbastanza chiare, con cui Kaster descrive le funzioni di questo personaggio, hanno poi dato origine all'equivoco<sup>35</sup>. In verità nessun bollo fistulario di Valerius Messalla è stato scoperto, e neanche, come vedremo, un bollo di un suo funzionario (come invece suggerì Kaster, v. nota 35).

Intanto è importante verificare il testo stesso del bollo. Da Kaster esso viene data come

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sotto il palazzo dell'INAIL.

<sup>33</sup> Anch'io avrei dovuto trattare il caso in Bruun (cit. a nota 2) ma non ne conoscevo la scoperta, al pari di quasi tutti gli studiosi. Che poi l'informazione si sia rivelata falsa e irrilevante, come vedremo di seguito, è semplicemente stato un caso fortunato ...

<sup>34</sup> L'errore appare per la prima volta in W. v. Sydow, "Archäologische Funde und Forschungen im Bereich der Soprintendenza Rom 1957–1973", *AA* 88 (1973) 521–647, in partic. 558: "Auf den Bleirohren befinden sich Stempel des Val. Messala Corvinus"; K. Parlasca, "Wandmosaik eines Nymphäums unter der Bibliotheca Hertziana", *MDAIR* 95 (1988) 159–86, in partic. 163. Sul personaggio si veda Bruun (cit. a nota 2) 153–54.

<sup>35</sup> G. Kaster, "*Die Gärten des Lucullus*". *Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Bebauung des Pincio-Hügels*, Diss. Fak. für Bauwesen, TU München 1973/74, 18: "Der Stempel nennt offenbar den Namen eines Wasserbeamten, der im Auftrag des damaligen Wasserkurators, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, die Wasserleitungen am Südwest-Abhang des Pincio und des Palatin verlegen ließ." (Il lavoro di Kaster che ho consultato nella biblioteca dell'American Academy in Rome è forse un'abbreviazione della tesi originale, dato che contiene solo una trentina di pagine.)

## HIL A RIONIS

e il testo è riprodotto in un disegno dello stesso autore (fig. 3)<sup>36</sup>. Bisogna comunque notare che l'inizio del bollo non è visibile nel disegno; in realtà si legge solo *[Hi]l a rionis*. A giudicare dal disegno il bollo poteva aver contenuto ancora più lettere nella parte perduta, per esempio un nome gentilizio. Un'altra osservazione da fare — che sarà di grande importanza — è il fatto che nel disegno del bollo ci sono spazi vuoti fra le lettere L e A, come anche fra l'A e la R.

Kaster mise il personaggio nel bollo in rapporto con un altro Hilario noto da una fistula sul Palatino (più precisamente: dalle vicinanze del Palatino), il che fu una felice osservazione, mentre non è condivibile la sua conclusione che costui abbia agito sotto il comando di Valerius Messalla, quindi come funzionario nell'ambito della *cura aquarum*.

L'altra fistula a cui faceva riferimento Kaster fu così presentata dal Dressel nel *CIL XV 7522: ROI · HIL A RIONIS* (fig. 4). Non c'è il minimo dubbio che abbiamo a che fare con la medesima persona. L'identità viene dimostrata dal fatto che addirittura lo stesso stampo è stato adoperato per ambedue i testi, e sono gli spazi vuoti segnalati sopra a provare questo stato di cose senza alcuna ambiguità.

Prima di includere questo bollo nella nostra trattazione, vogliamo aggiungere le altre notizie che si hanno intorno alla sua scoperta, che ebbe luogo nel 1877. Secondo una descrizione della scoperta — la versione a cui diede fiducia Dressel — la fistula fu ritrovata congiunta con un'altra fistula, a sua volta recante il bollo *Rubelliae Bassae* (*CIL XV 7524*)<sup>37</sup>. Anche se

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<sup>36</sup> Kaster, cit. nota 35, 24 con Abb. 6. La figura è riprodotta da Parlasca (cit. a nota 34) 161 Abb. 2. Il bollo è citato in questo modo anche da H. Broise & V. Jolivet, "Il giardino e l'acqua: l'esempio degli *Horti Lucullani*", in M. Cima – E. La Rocca (a c. di), *Horti Romani*, Roma 1998, 189–202, in partic. 198, i quali a quanto sappia sono stati i primi a correggere l'errore di von Sydow e Parlasca a proposito della "fistula di Messalla Corvinus".

<sup>37</sup> L'unico che tratta della scoperta è Rodolfo Lanciani, ma purtroppo egli presenta resoconti in parte divergenti fra loro, come si vedrà: R. Lanciani, "Miscellanea epigrafica", *BCAR* 5 (1877) 5–58, 161–83, in partic. 180 nn. 170–71: "Fistula acquaria [recante il bollo di Rubellia Bassa] ... misura nel diametro maggiore met. 0.09 nel minore met. 0,08. ... Al condotto ... era innestato un altro più piccolo della misura del diametro maggiore met. 0.052, e nel minore di met. 0.04. L'iscrizione dice ROI HILARIONIS"; idem, *NSA* 1877, 204: "furono trovati due condotti di piombo: il maggiore ha un diametro trasversale di met. 0.10, e reca l'iscrizione RVBELLIAE BASSAE: il minore



quindi il numero preciso dei tubi plumbei, come anche i loro diametri, non si possono stabilire senza qualche ambiguità, il luogo della scoperta fu senza dubbio la Via dei Cerchi, la strada che corre fra il Palatino e il Circo Massimo, e precisamente "dicontra il n. civ(ico) 45". Mentre il tubo con il nome di Rubellia Bassa sembra che fosse posto nella direzione della via, il tubo di Roius Hilario "si dipartiva ad angolo retto verso il Palatino"<sup>38</sup>. Da questa informazione però non si può certo dedurre che il condotto abbia servito qualche edificio sul Palatino stesso, come si è ipotizzato anche di recente<sup>39</sup>. L'odierna Via dei Cerchi corre a un livello molto al di sotto del Palatino, e inoltre lo scopritore Lanciani ci informa che le due fistule congiunte furono trovate a 11 metri di profondità sotto il piano moderno, con il tubo di Rubellia Bassa sotto il crepidine di una strada antica<sup>40</sup>.

Più importante ancora è stabilire dove si trovi il n. civico 45, cosa che nessuno studio topografico-prosopografico ha finora ritenuto necessario fare. Sta di fatto che oggi Via dei Cerchi n. 45 non affianca affatto il Circo Massimo, ma si trova oltre l'incrocio con la Via di S. Teodoro, scendendo giù verso il Tevere. Opposto al n. civico 45 di Via dei Cerchi c'è il grande palazzo che oggi ospita l'Anagrafe elettorale, gli Uffici dell'annona, e altri uffici del Comune. Mi sembra molto probabile che pure nel 1877 la numerazione di Via dei Cerchi fosse la stessa. Una pianta del 1878 mostra che a quel epoca la via aveva lo stesso percorso di oggi, con una parte oltre

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[quello di Roius Hilario] sembra volgere verso il Palatino." Infine, si legge in R. Lanciani, *Le acque e gli acquedotti di Roma antica*, Roma 1975 (rist. anast. del grosso lavoro sulla *cura aquarum* dal 1880), 447 nn. 159–60: "tubo di m. 0.18 di diametro [quella di Rubella Bassa] ... Parallellamente correva altro tubo anepigrafo di m. 0.14 di diametro. Dall'una o dall'altra si dipartiva ad angolo retto verso il Palatino un condotto minore con l'epigrafe (a) ROI HIL A RIONIS ...". S. Platner – Th. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1929, 188–89 preferiscono la versione presentata da Lanciani nel 1880, vale a dire che la fistula bollata da Roius Hilario si fosse staccata da un altro condotto, non da quello di Rubellia Bassa. Doveva evidentemente suscitare qualche perplessità la prospettiva di trovare Roius Hilario e Rubellia Bassa come co-proprietari di un sistema idrico, anche perché Rubellia Bassa da loro viene datata al II sec. d.C.

<sup>38</sup> Lanciani (cit. a nota 37 [1880]), 447 n. 159; così anche Dressel nel *CIL* XV 7522, 7524.

<sup>39</sup> *LTUR* II (1995) 171; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> R 116 Rubellia Bassa "eam domum possedissee fortasse in colle Palatini non procul a domo Roi Hilarionis concluditur a fistula aquaria" (K. Wachtel).

<sup>40</sup> Lanciani, locc. (citt. a nota 37 [tutti e tre]).

Via di S. Teodoro, e sicuramente allora come oggi i numeri crescevano salendo dal Tevere<sup>41</sup>. I due tubi trovati sotto la Via dei Cerchi non potevano, quindi, in nessun modo servire le strutture del Palatino<sup>42</sup>, essendo essi palesemente situati su un livello troppo basso. Invece le loro destinazioni si trovano nelle vicinanze dei *carceres* del Circo Massimo.

Ora, cosa si può dire sulla funzione di Roius Hilario? La scoperta fatta sul Pincio getta nuova luce pure sulla funzione che egli ha svolto al Circo Massimo. Non ci sono i presupposti per assumere una carica ufficiale nella *cura aquarum*<sup>43</sup>. Invece il testo del bollo, con il nome al genitivo, ha condizionato gli studiosi a considerare Hilario come il proprietario di una *domus*<sup>44</sup>. Varie considerazioni aggiunte alla scoperta sul Pincio mi sembrano ora definitivamente escludere tale interpretazione. Come si vedrà, il genitivo non può, nel caso di Roius Hilario, avere il significato (*aqua*) *illius*; il testo dev'essere invece letto (*opus*) *illius* o in modo simile — abbiamo, cioè, a che fare con il *plumbarius* che fabbricò il condotto.

La spiegazione che Roius Hilario fosse un *plumbarius* è infatti l'unica soluzione per spiegare la sua apparizione su un tubo trovato *in situ* nella nicchia del ninfeo pinciano. Le possibilità di interpretare un nome su una fistula romana sono limitate: dell'impossibilità che Hilario abbia svolto un ruolo nella *cura aquarum* abbiamo già detto (nota 43 sopra). Perciò le alternative da considerare qui sono<sup>45</sup>: o che egli sia il proprietario dell'acqua e quindi delle costruzioni servite dal condotto, o il fabbricatore del condotto.

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<sup>41</sup> Si veda A.P. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* III, Roma 1962, pianta CCXIV, tav. 539 (una pianta edita dalla Libreria Spithöver). Inoltre gli edifici lungo Via dei Cerchi sotto le pendici del Palatino sono pochi, sia oggi che nella pianta del 1878. L'unico punto interrogativo è rappresentato dal fatto che Lanciani (cit. a nota 19) tavv. 28, 29 e 35 non segnala alcun scavo del 1877 lungo Via dei Cerchi, ma la sua opera non è infallibile.

<sup>42</sup> L'espressione usata da Lanciani (sopra nota 37) "verso il Palatino" voleva naturalmente solo indicare la direzione, non la presunta destinazione!

<sup>43</sup> Bruun (cit. a nota 2) *passim* per il contesto in cui si riscontrano amministratori imperiali nei bolli fistulari (quasi sempre usando la formula *sub cura*).

<sup>44</sup> *LTUR* II (1995) 171; W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* II, Basel – Berlin 1998, 272; per qualche ragione la fistula del Pincio non fu comunque inclusa nella trattazione di Eck. Platner – Ashby (cit. a nota 37) 188–89; L.R. Richardson jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 1992, 134.

<sup>45</sup> Non è qui il caso di pensare a un atto di evergetismo, come invece, in particolare fuori Roma, qualche volta è il caso quando si trova un nome al genitivo su una fistula serviente una struttura pubblica.

Non mi risulta che qualcuno abbia mai suggerito che il nostro (Roius) Hilario, altrimenti totalmente sconosciuto, fosse stato, per un certo periodo, il proprietario del lussuoso ninfeo sul Pincio<sup>46</sup>, per non parlare degli *horti* ed altri edifici di cui il ninfeo faceva parte<sup>47</sup>. Bisogna ribadire, per quelli che non hanno sufficiente familiarità con la situazione topografica, che sul Pincio abbiamo a che fare con alcune delle più stravaganti costruzioni architettoniche della tarda Repubblica e del primo impero a Roma, anche se le tracce visibili oggi sul terreno sono inesistenti<sup>48</sup>.

Gli scavi recenti hanno identificato quattro fasi costruttive che si sono susseguite ad intervalli abbastanza brevi, e che si possono connettere con quanto noto sui proprietari degli Horti Lucullani. Il primo proprietario e il creatore del contesto fu il famoso L. Licinius Lucullus negli anni 50 a.C. La seconda fase si colloca in epoca augustea, e per questa fase si è suggerito il console Valerius Messalla Corvinus come nuovo proprietario, mentre la terza fase, alla quale appartiene il tubo di Roius Hilario, viene datata da Parlasca ai primi anni del regno di Tiberio. Nella quarta fase, sotto Claudio ma prima del 47 d.C., conosciamo di nuovo il proprietario, il potente console D. Valerius Asiaticus (cf. Tac. *ann.* 11,1 *pariterque hortis inhians* [scil. *Messalina*], *quos ille a Lucullo coeptos insigni magnificentia extollibat*). Dopo la sua morte fu l'imperatrice Messalina a impadronirsi degli orti ma anche lei perse la vita nel giro di un anno<sup>49</sup>.

Anche se non tutti i proprietari del luogo ci sono noti, non credo che la proposta di considerare Roius Hilario come signore degli orti pinciani intorno agli anni venti d.C. troverebbe molta accoglienza fra gli studiosi. Sembrerebbe sicuramente assurdo inserire un "nessuno" come lui nella lista comprendente Licinius Lucullus, Valerius Messalla Corvinus, Valerius Asiaticus e la stessa Messalina.

Roius Hilario infatti è un vero "esempio di oscurità" (ma egli non

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<sup>46</sup> Come abbiamo visto, il Kaster (cit. a nota 35) considera Hilario come un addetto alla *cura aquarum*, il Parlasca (cit. a nota 34) non lo considera affatto; Eck, locc. citt. a nota 44, non prende il bollo in considerazione.

<sup>47</sup> Gli studiosi che ne hanno trattato considerano il ninfeo parte degli *Horti Lucullani*, v. Kaster (cit. a nota 35) (il titolo dell'opera!); Parlasca (cit. a nota 34) 163–64 (la cronologia è messa in sincronia con quella degli *Horti*).

<sup>48</sup> Si vedano Broise – Jolivet (cit. a nota 36); *idem*, "Horti Lucullani", *LTUR* III (1996) 67–70.

<sup>49</sup> Parlasca (cit. a nota 34) 163. H. Broise – V. Jolivet, "Horti: Valerius Messalla Corvinus", *LTUR* III (1996) 86–87.



rappresenta il solo caso in cui i bolli su fistule di piombo ci mostrano una realtà diversa da quella offerta dalle altre fonti<sup>50</sup>). La *gens Roia* è rappresentata nella *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* da due sole persone, ma loro appartengono al III secolo d.C. e sono menzionati in iscrizioni africane<sup>51</sup>. Con la *gens Roia* attestata nell'urbe nei primi decenni del I secolo d.C. questa famiglia africana non ha quindi niente a che fare. A Roma stessa nel *CIL VI* compaiono soltanto tre membri della *gens*: C. Roius C. l. Eros e la moglie Roia C. l. Erotis (9104), e Q. Roius Menophilus, membro della *tribus Succusana iunior* nel 70 d.C. (200 I,98).

Anche il cognome del plumbario Roius Hilario indica una posizione sociale modesta, e avrebbe ben potuto far nascere, già in precedenza, qualche sospetto riguardante il suo vero ruolo svolto in connessione con i condotti trovati al Circo Massimo (da tempo chi scrive suggerisce di mettere a fuoco i molti nomi al genitivo sulle fistule romane che decisamente non hanno un "carattere aristocratico". Alcuni di essi potrebbero essere proprietari di basso rango non di una *domus* ma di *balnea* o di qualche manifattura, ma sicuramente altri in realtà sono plumbari)<sup>52</sup>. Sfogliando il recente utilissimo studio degli "Sklavennamen" di Roma, ci si rende conto che *Hilarus* (248 attestazioni), *Hilara* (143 attestazioni) e *Hilario* (32 casi) sono nomi di schiavi (e ovviamente di liberti) *par excellence*, e *Hilarus* da solo si piazza al quarto posto fra i nomi servili più comuni di Roma antica<sup>53</sup>. Nomi di questo ceppo non si trovano nei ceti più alti prima del terzo

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<sup>50</sup> Un altro esempio viene da Ostia, dove membri della *gens Ostiensis*, ovviamente discendenti da liberti della città, sono poco visibili nella vita economica, tranne, come rilevato dalle fistule, nella manifattura di oggetti di piombo. Chi scrive ha in corso un lavoro che vuole studiare le implicazioni di questo fatto.

<sup>51</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> R75 Roia Titinia (A. Strobach); evidentemente suo padre fu C. Roius Petronianus che per primo si elevò al rango equestre (*equo publico ornatus*, *CIL VIII* 16559); così già M. Corbier in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio II*, Roma 1982, 738.

<sup>52</sup> Bruun (cit. a nota 2) 77–95; idem (cit. a nota 16) 396–98; idem, "Senatorial owners of what?", *JRA* 13 (2000) 498–506, in partic. 502–05, e altrove ancora.

<sup>53</sup> H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen. Ein Namenbuch*, Stuttgart 1996, I 71–76; ibid., III 680 per la statistica dei nomi più frequenti. Si può anche aggiungere che il ceppo è ben rappresentato fra quelli che incontestabilmente furono *plumbarii* a Roma. Fra i circa 290 produttori di fistule, *Hilarus* si trova per due persone (*CIL XV* 7343, 7605; *Epigraphica* 1951, 29 n. 76) mentre *Hilario* appare una volta, nel nome di un certo L. Popillius Hilario (*CIL XV* 7659), sul quale sono emersi ultimamente nuovi dati, v. Bruun (cit. a nota 2) 317. Ovviamente, queste occorrenze del nome *Hilarus/Hilario* fra i *plumbarii* non prova niente per quanto riguarda la funzione di Roius Hilario.

secolo<sup>54</sup>. Come allora si potrebbe immaginare un (Roius) Hilario come proprietario anche solo del ninfeo, per non parlare — se esso fece parte della villa di Lucullo, come pensano gli studiosi — di tutto l'insieme degli Horti Lucullani?

Per quanto riguarda Roius Hilario e lo studio dei produttori di piombo a Roma possiamo quindi aggiungere il suo nome alla lista dei *plumbarii* antichi, rilevando anche che egli si inserisce subito fra coloro che sono noti da almeno due lavori condotti a Roma<sup>55</sup>, nel suo caso, al Circo Massimo dalla parte dei *carceres* e sul Pincio. Vale anche la pena ripetere che il suo caso rappresenta uno dei migliori esempi di come il genitivo in una fistula possa essere interpretato (*opus*) *illius* (o similmente).

In questo contesto occorre anche menzionare un altro personaggio, noto solo da una fistula acquaria: Roius Auctus. Anche in *CIL* XV 7521 troviamo il genitivo: *Roi Aucti*, e anche qui la ricerca lo ha considerato come proprietario dell'acqua e di una *domus*<sup>56</sup>. Il luogo di ritrovamento non è noto, e quindi per il momento non è possibile sviluppare un argomento simile a quello condotto qui per Roius Hilario. Ma per me non ci sono dubbi che anche Roius Auctus fu in realtà un *plumbarius*, un *homo obscuro loco natus* per cui non è pensabile che fosse stato onorato dall'imperatore con il privilegio di un condotto privato.

Riguardo alla datazione, Roius Hilario appartiene palesemente alla prima metà del primo secolo d.C., e deve essere la scoperta *in situ* sul Pincio a fornire la chiave per definire una data *a quo* (mentre la datazione della fistula del Circo Massimo è basata su varie ipotesi prosopografiche, facilmente riorganizzabili, come vedremo). I lavori idrici e la sua fistula appartengono alla terza fase del ninfeo studiato da Kaster e Parlasca, e la sua presenza dovrebbe quindi essere anteriore ai lavori eseguiti nella quarta fase per Valerius Asiaticus (morto nel 47). Parlasca suggerì una datazione ai primi anni tiberiani per la terza fase, ma era chiaramente vincolato dalla sua opinione che una fistula di Valerius Messalla Corvinus facesse parte dei lavori di quel periodo. Forse si potrebbe invece raggiungere un consenso per

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<sup>54</sup> Si vedano *PIR*<sup>2</sup> s.v. Hilario, Hilarus e i riferimenti ivi; nessun senatore è citato fra i portatori di nomi di questo ceppo da I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 260–61.

<sup>55</sup> Bruun (cit. a nota 2) 340 nota 9 (ormai da aggiornare).

<sup>56</sup> *LTUR* II (1995) 171. Non fu invece incluso né da Platner – Ashby (cit. a nota 37) né da Richardson (cit. a nota 44).

una datazione agli anni venti d.C.

#### 4. La datazione di Rubellia Bassa (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> R 116)

Occorre infine vedere come questa datazione possa essere integrata con la visione che la ricerca si è fatta di Rubellia Bassa, il cui nome appare sul tubo che *forse* era congiunto con quello di Roius Hilario al Circo Massimo<sup>57</sup>. Un elaborato stemma in un recente fascicolo della *PIR*<sup>2</sup> presenta come ipotesi preferita Rubellia Bassa come la figlia di un certo (C.?) Rubellius Blandus, *cos. suff.* ca. 40/45<sup>58</sup>. Questa figlia difficilmente potrebbe essere nata prima del 20 d.C. circa, e quindi ella non potrebbe essere citata su una fistula plumbea degli anni venti (infatti i due condotti di Roius Hilario sono probabilmente abbastanza coevi, a causa dell'utilizzo dello stesso stampo). Perciò questa genealogia è incongruente con quanto esposto sopra.

Ma l'unica fonte di cui disponiamo, *CIL* XIV 2610 = *ILS* 952, ci informa solo dell'esistenza di una Rubellia Bassa, *[Blan]di filia, (uxor) Octavi Laenatis*, e *avia* di Sergius Octavius Laenas Pontianus, l'autore dell'iscrizione. Di Sergius Octavius Laenas si sa che fu console nel 131 d.C., mentre un suo antenato, C. Octavius Laenas, ricoprì la stessa carica nel 33 d.C. Wachtel nella *PIR* preferisce considerare il marito di Rubellia Bassa come un figlio omonimo (e altrimenti ignoto) del console del 33, poiché sulla sola base delle persone a noi note, sarebbe difficile spiegare il lungo intervallo, cento anni, fra il consolato del nonno (33 d.C.) e quello del nipote (133 d.C.).

Penso che basti toccare solo uno dei presupposti su cui si basa il grosso albero genealogico della *PIR*. Se evitiamo di prendere l'espressione *avia* usata da Sergius Octavius Laenas Pontianus alla lettera, e la interpretiamo in senso generico "antenata", il problema si risolve. È ben noto che la parola *avus* ha anche questo significato generale<sup>59</sup>; non vedo

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<sup>57</sup> Nel caso si potesse dimostrare che le fistule erano separate (v. nota 37), non ci sarebbe bisogno del seguente argomento. Il valore dell'argomento prosopografico comunque non dipende da come erano locate le fistule.

<sup>58</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> VII.1 (1999), stemma 11 fra le pp. 82–83. In modo simile anche Raepsaet-Charlier (cit. a nota 1) 536–37 n. 667; v. anche nota 60 sotto.

<sup>59</sup> *OLD*, s.v. *avus* 2. "An ancestor, forefather"; *TLL* I 1609–12, s.v. *avus*, in part. 1611 "latiore sensu".

perché questo non possa essere il caso anche per il femminile (non conosco un caso analogo, ma la parola *avia* appare comunque molto meno spesso nelle fonti; a causa della maggior importanza degli antenati maschili nella società romana).

Guardando bene l'iscrizione *CIL XIV 2610* ci rendiamo conto che si tratta di un'iscrizione onoraria proprio per Rubellia Bassa (probabilmente accompagnata da una rappresentazione della medesima). All'autore Sergius Octavius non importava presentare un albero genealogico completo, l'intenzione era di conferire onore a se stesso strumentalizzando la sua famiglia, per cui due altri famosi personaggi, e solo loro, vengono citati in connessione con Rubellia Bassa: il grande Blandus, che molto probabilmente non è diverso dal console del 18 d.C., e il marito Octavius Laenas, che fu console e poi *curator aquarum* nel 34–38 d.C. (di altre cariche non abbiamo notizie). In questa ottica sembra molto meno plausibile che qui si abbia a che fare con un altrimenti poco conosciuto (e forse inesistente) figlio (omonimo) del grande Blandus e con un figlio (sconosciuto ed omonimo) del console e *princeps civitatis* (Frontin. *aq.* 1 sui *curatores aquarum*) Octavius Laenas<sup>60</sup>. Se in relazione a Rubellius Blandus console del 18 d.C. assumiamo la nascita della figlia Rubellia Bassa circa quindici-vent'anni prima, essa può benissimo essere la proprietaria di un condotto idrico negli anni venti, avendo probabilmente approfittato dell'aiuto del padre nel procurarsi questo privilegio<sup>61</sup>.

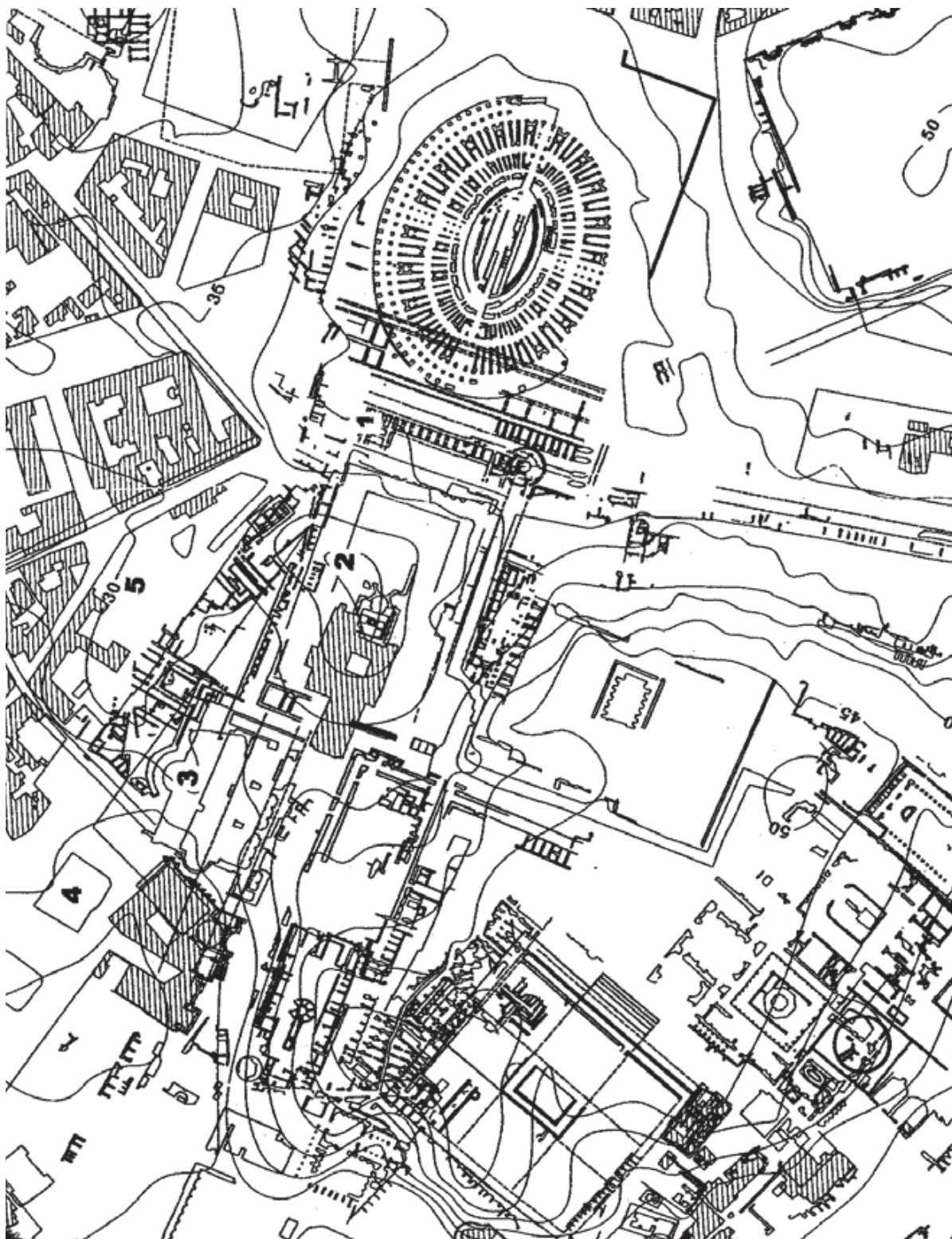
*University of Toronto*

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<sup>60</sup> Per i personaggi qui citati e i loro parenti, si veda *PIR*<sup>2</sup> O 41–46 e R 106–116, sempre di K. Wachtel.

<sup>61</sup> Una discussione di tutti i dati di tutte le persone coinvolte nell'albero genealogico della *PIR* non è possibile in questa sede. Si potrebbe notare che per M. Torelli, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II, Roma 1982, 190–91 la ulteriore generazione ipotizzata dalla *PIR* non è da considerarsi necessaria.





**Fig. 1.** L'area coinvolta nello sgombero della Velia nel 1932: 1. Il colosso di Nerone; 2. Tempio di Venere e Roma; 3. Basilica di Massenzio; 4. *Forum Pacis*; 5. le *Carinae* (sulla base della pianta nella fig. 152 in C. Panella, a c. di, *Meta Sudans I*, Roma 1996, elaborata da G. Schingo e M. Fano).

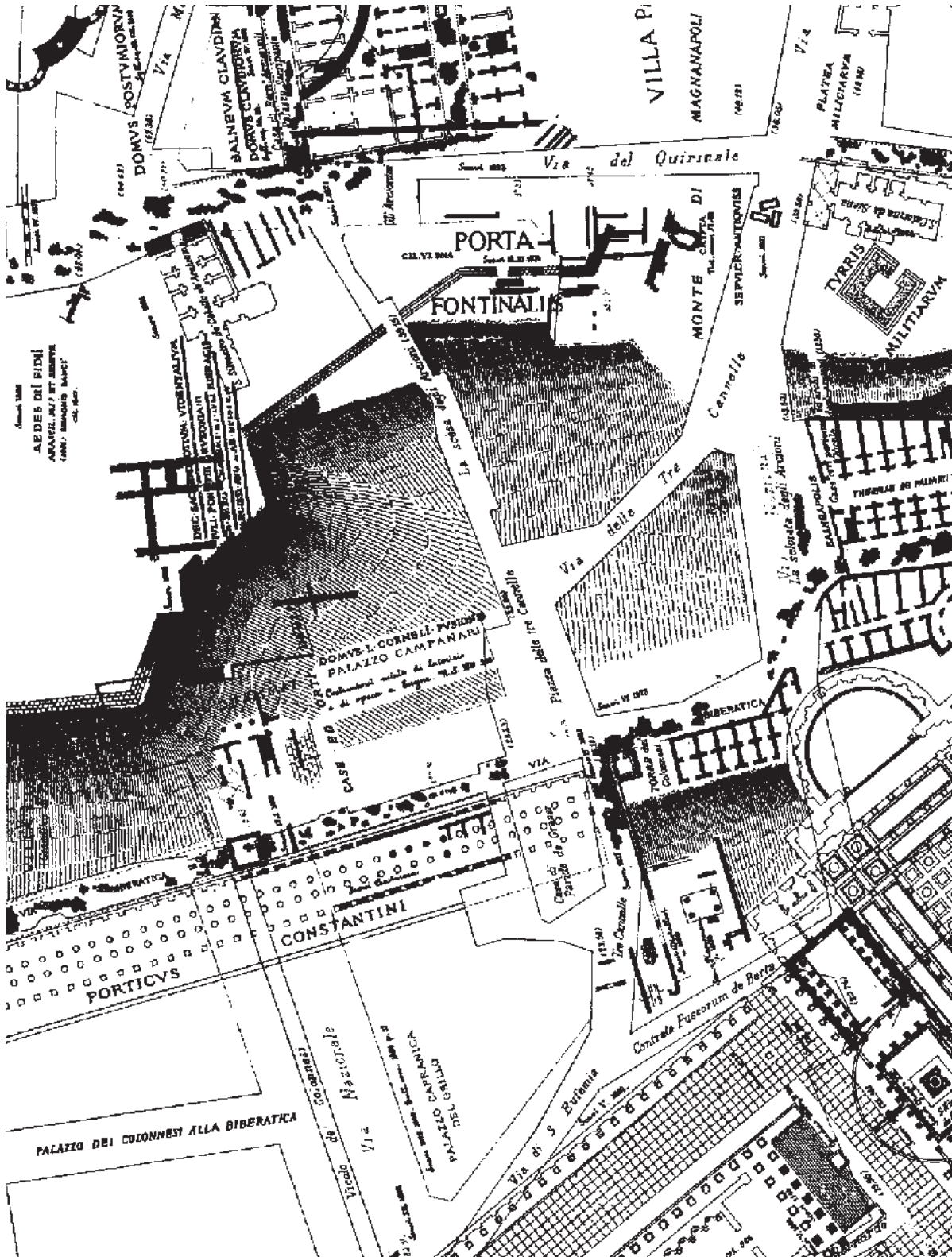


Fig. 2. Il Quirinale e l'odierna Via IV Novembre nella tav. 22 della *Forma Urbis* di Lanciani (cit. a nota 19).



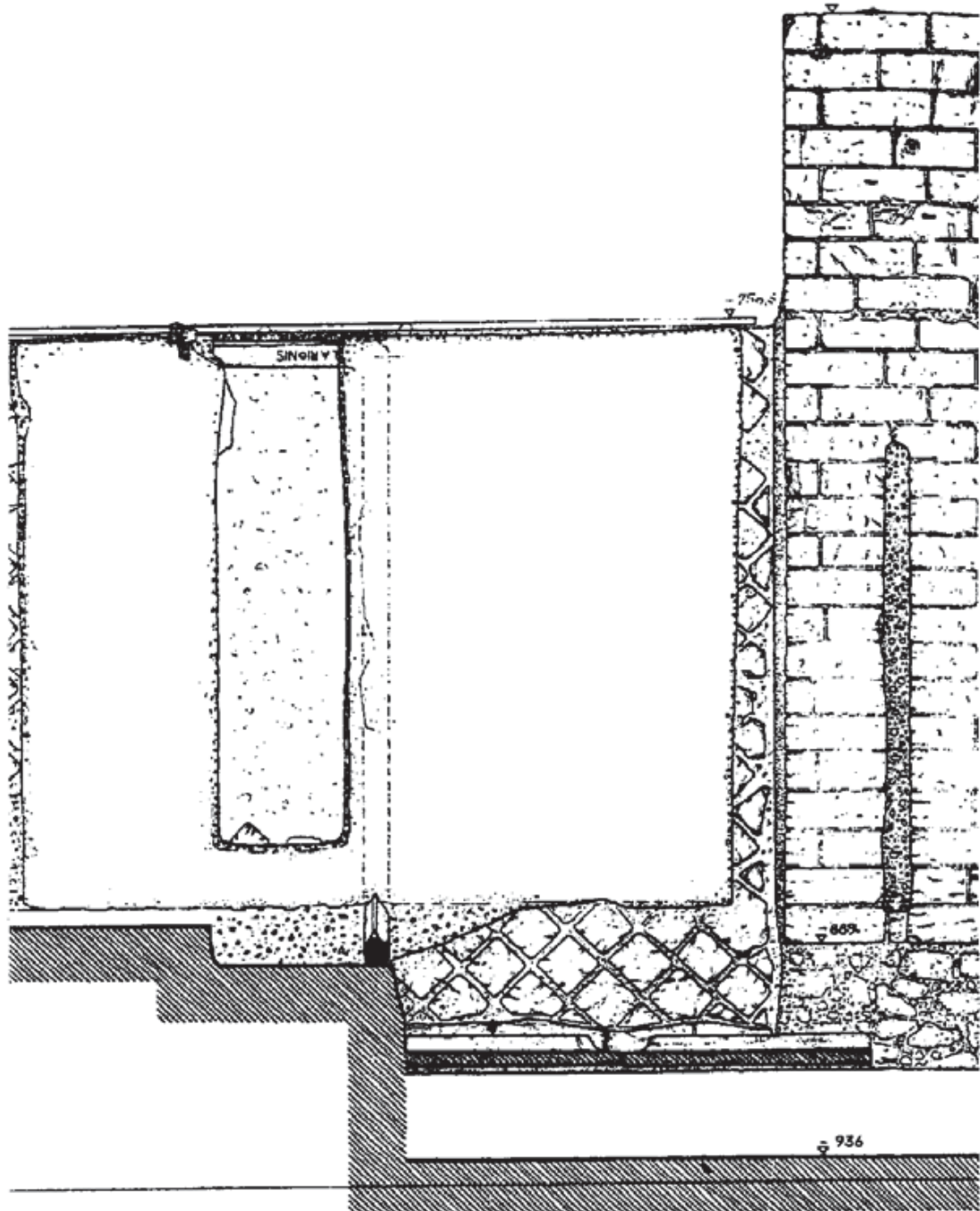


Abb. 6

Nische 1 und Nische 2

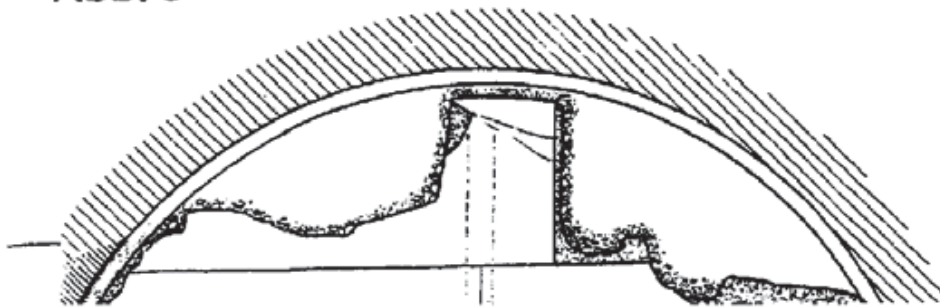


Fig. 3. Nicchia del ninfeo sotto Palazzo Zuccari con il bollo della fistula. Si legge [-]L A RIONIS; il testo è capovolto (particolare da Kaster [cit. a nota 35] Abb. 6; cf. Parlasca, cit. a nota 34, 161).

**7522** rep. a. 1877 in via *de' Cerchi* *dicontra il n. civ. 45* una cum fistula n. 7524 a qua *si dipartiva ad angolo retto verso il Palatino* SYLL.; est moduli medii (diam. 0,052 et 0,04 BVLL.) [repos. urb., 3 ex. sign. n. 19. 60 133].

ROI · HIL A RIONIS

Descripsi. Ed. Lanciani in *Bull. arch. comunale* 1877 p. 180, *Not. d. scavi* 1877 p. 204, syll. n. 160.

De aetate cf. praecedentem.

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Fig. 4. Il bollo di Roius Hilario pubblicato da Heinrich Dressel in *CIL* XV 7522.

**LE PHOTOPHORE AUTOPHORE**  
**(ou le clin d'oeil malicieux d'un maître potier italien de l'époque  
augustéenne)**

LAURENT CHRZANOVSKI

Nous avons choisi de présenter ici une lampe à l'iconographie très particulière, puisqu'elle est en quelque sorte *autophore*, portant sur son médaillon la représentation d'une lampe.

Cet artefact<sup>1</sup>, acheté en Italie, fut donné au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève<sup>2</sup> en avril 1911.

Il s'agit d'une lampe de type Loeschcke I, dans l'une de ses premières sous-variantes<sup>3</sup> (avec canal ouvert entre le médaillon et le bec), produite par un atelier italien (très probablement d'Italie centrale) à la fin du Ier siècle av. J.-C. ou au plus tard durant la première décennie du Ier siècle ap. J.-C.

Son médaillon est décoré d'une lampe du même type, mais agrémentée par une anse plastique en forme de croissant lunaire. On remarquera un autre clin d'oeil de l'artisan, à savoir que le trou de remplissage de la lampe elle-même devient, par superposition, le trou de remplissage de sa représentation. Le propriétaire pouvait ainsi avoir l'illusion de remplir les deux lampes – l'une réelle, l'autre virtuelle – en même temps.

Cette iconographie, rarissime, ne trouve à notre connaissance qu'un

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<sup>1</sup> Inv. N. 005814 (dépôt Le Corbusier, section Lampes, caisse 38) ; argile beige jaunâtre, engobe brun à brun foncé ; dimensions: l:9,44 ; L:6,80 ; h:2,96 ; ø:4,88 ; le disque est très concave, tout comme l'épaule, ornée de cinq rigoles circulaires concentriques qui se rejoignent à la hauteur du bec pour entourer le petit canal quasi triangulaire; la base est plate, définie par un bourrelet circulaire en relief et par deux rigoles circulaires concentriques; au centre, on observe un trait en relief.

<sup>2</sup> Nous tenons à remercier M. Jacques Chamay, conservateur responsable des collections archéologiques du Musée d'art et d'histoire, de nous avoir confié l'étude du luminaire antique du Musée.

<sup>3</sup> Loeschcke type IA ; Leibundgut type III ; Bailey type A1.

seul parallèle publié, à savoir une lampe découverte à Vindonissa<sup>4</sup>. Le motif y est identique, mais la lampe elle-même est d'un type plus tardif (Loeschcke IV), produit durant le dernier quart du I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.

Nous sommes ici en présence d'un bel exemple de la créativité des ateliers italiens de l'époque augustéenne, ceux-là même qui ont inventé les lampes à médaillon, les premières à être ornées de motifs iconographiques en tous genres (ce qui constitue une véritable révolution dans l'histoire du luminaire).

Ce sont eux, en effet, qui vont élaborer la plus grande partie du vaste registre des motifs iconographiques destinés à orner les médaillons des lampes. Ces représentations, de la plus simple à la plus raffinée, seront ensuite reproduites sans interruption jusqu'au quatrième siècle ap. J.-C., et ce par tous les ateliers de l'Empire.

Parmi celles-ci, les images de simples objets de la vie quotidienne sont assez marginales. On soulignera cependant les motifs de l'urne cinéraire et du vase de jardin, devenus très populaires<sup>5</sup>. Le luminaire, à l'exception du motif qui nous intéresse aujourd'hui, est presque exclusivement représenté sous forme de torches allumées, manipulées le plus souvent par des petits amours, ou plus rarement par des danseuses.

Toujours à l'exception de notre motif, il faudra attendre l'antiquité tardive pour voir la lampe (et sa flamme) célébrée sur elle-même et pour elle-même, et ce dans le cadre de la symbolique religieuse judéo-chrétienne<sup>6</sup>, portée par les lampes palestiniennes en forme de pantoufle, très populaires au Moyen-Orient durant les VI<sup>ème</sup>, VII<sup>ème</sup> et VIII<sup>ème</sup> siècles. Cependant, il ne s'agira plus de représentations iconographiques, mais de florilèges épigraphiques en langue grecque<sup>7</sup>.

Mais si l'on revient à notre lampe, il faut bien se garder d'une interprétation à connotation fortement religieuse. Bien au contraire, la

<sup>4</sup> S. Loeschcke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa*, Zürich 1919, n. 461, p. 211 et pl. XVII.

<sup>5</sup> Le simple vase ventru à deux anses se retrouve sur toutes sortes de lampes à médaillon, du I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C. au V<sup>ème</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. ; il sera même repris par les céramistes tunisiens pour décorer les lampes africaines tardives, du V<sup>ème</sup> au VII<sup>ème</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.

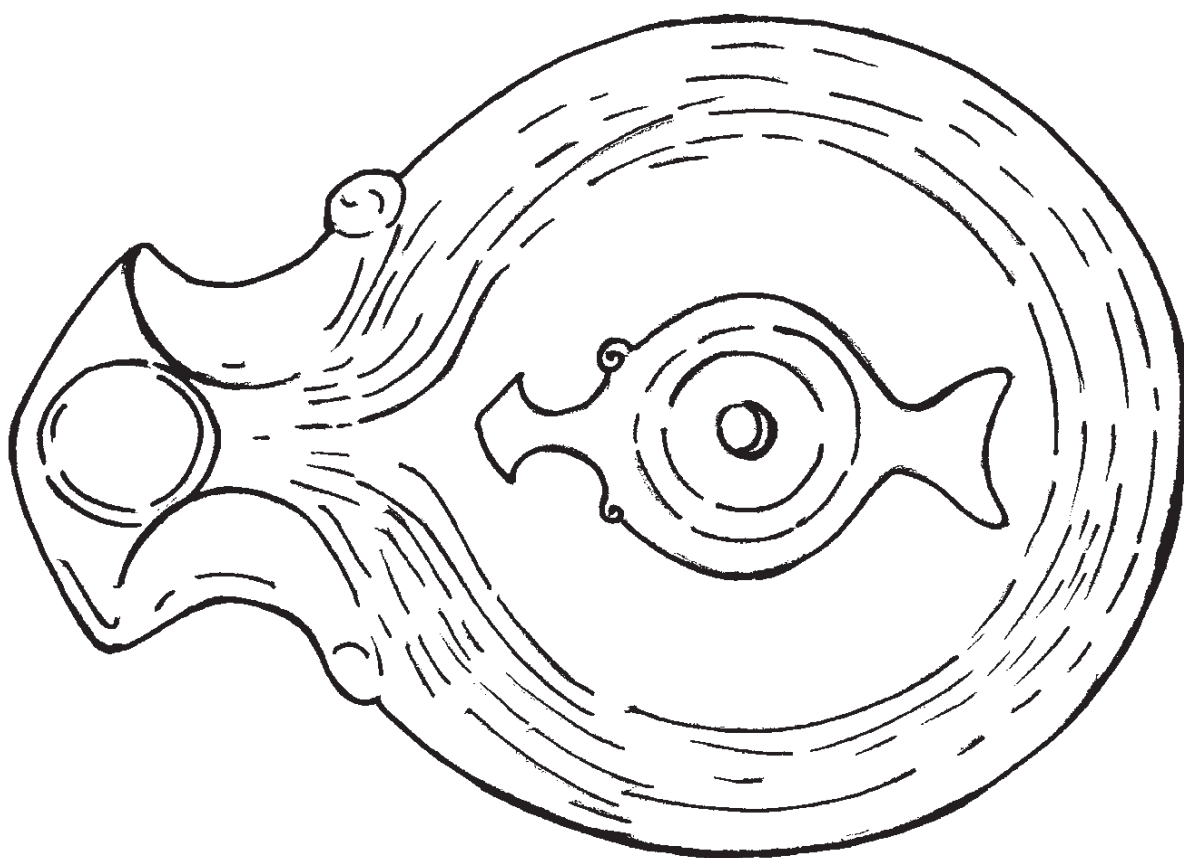
<sup>6</sup> La lampe devient l'un des objets les plus importants pour le culte aussi bien que pour la vie quotidienne du bon croyant, qu'elle représente symboliquement ("Tous les hommes, en effet, sont semblables à des lampes". Saint Augustin, *Homélie* 23,3).

<sup>7</sup> Pour tous les exemples palestiniens, cf. S. Loffreda, *Lucerne bizantine in Terra Santa con iscrizioni in Greco*, Jérusalem 1989 et S. Loffreda, *Luce e vita nelle antiche lucerne cristiane della Terra Santa*, Jérusalem 1995.

trouvaille artistique des 'deux lampes en une' s'adapte parfaitement à un achat emprunt d'ironie, qui pouvait être destiné tout aussi bien à la vie quotidienne (pour l'utilisation personnelle ou pour offrir<sup>8</sup>) qu'à une utilisation votive ou funéraire.

Nous terminerons notre étude en mentionnant que le motif iconographique de la lampe seule apparaît sporadiquement sur d'autres supports, comme par exemple les mosaïques<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Rappelons que les lampes étaient très fréquemment offertes à des amis ou à des proches, l'exemple le plus frappant étant celui des lampes contemporaines dites "de nouvel-an", cadeau privilégié pour cette célébration (cf. G. Heres, "Römische Neujahrgeschenke", *Forschungen und Berichte. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* 14, 1972, 182-193).

<sup>9</sup> Celles-ci firent l'objet d'une récente conférence "Lucerne in incognito. L'immagine delle lucerne in pavimentazioni musive inedite", présentée par M. David à l'occasion du 1er congrès international d'étude sur le luminaire antique (Nyon-Genève 29.IX – 4.X.2003).





## **OBSERVATIONS ON THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AT JABAL HAROUN NEAR PETRA, JORDAN**

ZBIGNIEW T. FIEMA

The Finnish Jabal Haroun Project, the first large-scale Finnish archaeological project in the Near East, has entered its concluding phase of activities. Launched in 1997 by Prof. Jaakko Frösén as its director, and sponsored by the Academy of Finland and the University of Helsinki, the Project is designed as an interdisciplinary investigation at Jabal an-Nabi Haroun (the mountain of the Prophet Aaron), ca. 5 km SW of Petra in southern Jordan.<sup>1</sup> According to the Jewish, Christian and Muslim traditions, the mountain is considered to be the place of burial of Moses' brother Aaron. Currently, the peak of the mountain is occupied by the 14th-century Muslim shrine with a sarcophagus believed to contain Aaron's remains. However, it is an extensive, ruined architectural complex located at ca 1270 m asl., on a plateau of the mountain, ca 70 m below and ca 150 m to the west of the peak, which is the focus of the FJHP investigations. Byzantine historical sources related to Jabal Haroun, while pointing to the sanctity of the mountain, are generally scarce. Several accounts concerning the monastic presence there are preserved from the Crusader period.<sup>2</sup> But the information provided by the Petra Papyri, discovered in 1993, is the most relevant here. Papyrus Petra inv. 6 (Papyrus Petra Daniel C. and Nancy E. Gamber) dated to June 15, A.D. 573, mentions "the House of our Lord the Saint High-Priest Aaron" outside of the city of Petra.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The research on the subject of this article has been carried out within the framework of the Research Center "Ancient and Medieval Greek Documents, Archives and Libraries" at the University of Helsinki, which is part of the "Centres of Excellence in Research" program of the Academy of Finland.

<sup>2</sup> G. L. Peterman and R. Schick, "The Monastery of Saint Aaron," *ADAJ* 40 (1996) 473–480.

<sup>3</sup> J. Frösén and Z. T. Fiema, "The Petra Papyri", *ACOR Newsletter* 6.2 (1994) 1–3.

The combination of this information with the aforementioned religious tradition associated with Jabal Haroun, and the results of the early exploration in the area, would strongly suggest that the architectural remains on the high plateau, which were otherwise recognized as remains of a monastic complex, can indeed be identified as the Monastery of Saint Aaron. However, the ultimate confirmation of this hypothesis could come only through the archaeological excavations of the ruined complex. During the past six fieldwork seasons (1998–2003), a large basilican church and a chapel, and some auxiliary structures and rooms were exposed. The research on the data and finds provided by the fieldwork indicates that the complex, in addition to its monastic function, had most probably also served as a pilgrimage center dedicated to the veneration of St. Aaron. This monastic-pilgrimage center appears to have existed between the later 5th and the 8th century A.D., if not later.<sup>4</sup>

### **Description and Analysis**

The site, which measures ca 62 m N-S x 48 m E-W, is an irregular quadrangle the extent of which is marked by the back walls of the structures. The central location is occupied by the church and a chapel which face an irregular court with a rock-cut cistern on the western side, and a series of rooms surrounding a courtyard on the northern side. This northern part of the complex most probably served as a pilgrims' hostel. The southern side of the complex consists of as yet unexcavated rooms and spaces which seem to have flanked the main entrance to the monastery. The western side of the

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<sup>4</sup> For the results, see the yearly reports: J. Frösén et al., "The Finnish Jabal Haroun Project Report on the 1997 Season", *ADAJ* 42 (1998) 483–502; J. Frösén et al., "The 1998 Finnish Jabal Harûn Project. A Preliminary Report", *ADAJ* 43 (1999) 369–410; J. Frösén et al., "The 1999 Finnish Jabal Harûn Project: A Preliminary Report", *ADAJ* 44 (2000) 395–424; J. Frösén et al., "The 2000 Finnish Jabal Harûn Project: Preliminary Report", *ADAJ* 45 (2001), 351–76; J. Frösén et al., "The 2001 Finnish Jabal Harûn Project: Preliminary Report" *ADAJ* 46 (2002), 391–407. Other major publications include: Jaakko Frösén and Z. T. Fiema (eds.), *Petra – A City Forgotten and Rediscovered*, Helsinki 2002, A volume associated with the exhibition organized by the Amos Anderson Museum, Helsinki, Finland, and Z.T. Fiema, "The Byzantine Monastic/Pilgrimage Center of St. Aaron near Petra, Jordan", in G. Claudio Bottini, L. Di Segni and L. Daniel Chrupcala (eds.) *One Land – Many Cultures. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Stanislaw Loffreda OFM*, Jerusalem 2003, 343–358

monastery is occupied by the large multi-roomed structure which seems to date to the Nabataean-Roman periods, and which was apparently later incorporated into the monastery.

Although the relative chronology of particular structures at the site is well established, and significant chronological indicators (ceramics, lamps, and glass) were found in well-stratified deposits, an overall chronological sequence is currently available only for the church and the chapel which form one, relatively self-contained unit. On the other hand, the datable ceramic material from the church is mixed and thus largely meaningless, except for the material recovered in soundings under the undisturbed floors. Therefore, a better understanding of the history and phases of the existence of the Jabal Haroun church will largely depend on the architectural, decorative and structural parallels. As such, whenever appropriate, comparison is made here with the Byzantine church of the Virgin Mary at Petra, excavated by the American Center of Oriental Research in 1992–97, and published in 2001.<sup>5</sup> That church seems to be the closest parallel to the monastic church at Jabal Haroun.

#### Phase I (later 5th–early 6th centuries A.D.)

The early church was a tripartite, monoapsidal basilica, internally measuring ca. 22.6 m (max.) x 13.6 m, with seven columns in each of the two rows. When compared with the size of the Petra church, dated to the later 5th century A.D., which is internally ca. 23.21 m. long and ca. 15.35 m. wide,<sup>6</sup> the Jabal Haroun church is of close dimensions. Therefore, the ratio of the inner length to inner width, being 3 : 2 for the Petra church, is also comparable for the Jabal Haroun church. This length to width ratio is relatively typical of earlier churches in Palestine (4th–5th century), characterized by long and narrow aisles.<sup>7</sup> The later 5th century date for the

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<sup>5</sup> Z. T. Fiema, Ch. Kanellopoulos, T. Waliszewski and R. Schick, *The Petra Church*, Amman 2001.

<sup>6</sup> Z. T. Fiema, "Reconstructing Culture History of the Petra Church: Data and Phasing," in Z. T. Fiema, Ch. Kanellopoulos, T. Waliszewski, and R. Schick, *The Petra Church* Amman 2001.

<sup>7</sup> J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine*, London 1941, 54, 61; R. H. Smith, and L. P. Day, *Pella of the Decapolis. Vol 2.*, Wooster 1989, 84. See also A. Negev, "The Churches of the Central Negev – An Archaeological Survey", *RB* 81 (1974) 400–11. The monoapsidal type in Syria is generally dated to the fifth century, see H.C. Butler in E.

Jabal Haroun church is also supported by the ceramic material, not later than the mid-5th century, recovered from the inner fill of the main walls of the church.

The apse, ca. 5.2 m long at the chord, was flanked by two pastophoria, similar to those of the Petra church in its early phase (IV). A marble floor was laid out throughout the church. The early, marble-clad, rectangular bema was unusually narrow but fully contained within the nave, as in the Petra church.<sup>8</sup> The apse had a two-tiered synthronon installation that shows affinities with the five-tiered synthronon of the Petra church. The clearly preserved remains of the bishop's throne in the Jabal Haroun church were accessed by the steps centrally superimposed on the synthronon tiers. However, while the Jabal Haroun synthronon is clearly an original installation, and not added later, as in the Petra church, the throne appears to have been added later (*infra*). The one-to-three tier synthronon types are generally better attested before the 6th century – an observation which also supports the 5th-century date for the Jabal Haroun church.

This date is also supported by other evidence. Notably, the Jabal Haroun church might have been preceded by a simple narthex in this phase. Admittedly, the churches of the 4th–5th-century date are usually associated with an atrium rather than a narthex. But it was suggested that a narthex, probably evolved from an eastern portico, appears in the ecclesiastical architecture only around the mid-5th century, and often together with an atrium.<sup>9</sup> Although at Jabal Haroun the term atrium is not fully considered technically suitable for the existent forecourt with the cistern, that space nevertheless could have functioned as an integral open-air part of the complex. Thus, the mid-late 5th-century date would again well suit the early church at Jabal Haroun which features the narthex and a preceding court. Significantly, a similar arrangement existed in the early church at Petra (Phase IV).

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Baldwin Smith (ed.), *Early Churches in Syria. Fourth to Seventh Centuries. Part One. History*, Princeton 1929, 48–82.

<sup>8</sup> Generally, the type of bema does not constitute any significant chronological marker (R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, *Die Kirchen von Sobota und die Dreiapsidenkirchen des Nahen Ostens*, Wiesbaden 1982, 149, 151.

<sup>9</sup> R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Baltimore 1965, 117; A. Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land*, Bonn 1970, 199–200.

Apparently, the chapel was built at the same time as the early church, and sharing the wall between them. The eastern end featured an apse flanked on both sides by high cupboards or cabinets with three shelves. The extant appearance of this area of the chapel seems to be associated with the succeeding phases. Only the remains of a marble floor and fragments of wall plaster still attached to the lower parts of the apse's wall, all found in the sounding in the apse, can be safely associated with Phase I. In the western part of the chapel, a roughly octagonal pit was chiselled out of the bedrock and the cruciform baptismal font with the masonry-built upper part was installed and further integrated with the bedrock using mortar. The font is small in size: ca. 0.92 m (N-S) x 0.89 m (E-W) at the opening, and no more than 0.6 m deep. The font belongs to the cruciform type which is usually masonry-built and generally earlier in date than the monolithic fonts.<sup>10</sup> A close parallel is the large, canopied cruciform font in the baptistery of the Petra church, dated to the later 5th century A.D. Cruciform fonts were popular in southern Palestine and especially in the Negev, e.g., in the East Church at Mamfisis, the North Church at Oboda/'Avdat, and the North and South Churches at Sobata/Shivta; the first two were masonry-built.<sup>11</sup>

#### Phase II (later 6th century A.D.)

It appears that a disaster, probably of a seismic nature, ended the Phase I occupation in the entire complex. The church was restored but also subdivided by a wall into the eastern and the western parts. The former, internally ca. 13 m (max.) long, retained its ecclesiastical function but most of the columns were removed. Only two columns were retained (representing each initial row of columns in Phase I). These were now carrying long (ca. 4.5m) E-W arches supporting the roof of the reduced-in-length church of Phase II. Although the bema must have lost most of its

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<sup>10</sup> M. Ben-Pechat, "The Paleochristian Baptismal Fonts in the Holy Land: Formal and Functional Study", *LA* 39 (1989), 173–4; "Baptism and Monasticism in the Holy Land: Archaeological and Literary Evidence", in G. C. Bottini, L. di Segni and E. Alliata (eds.), *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land. New Discoveries*, Jerusalem 1990, 510; M. Piccirillo, "I Battisteri Bizantini di Giordania", in V. Janeiro (ed.), *Noscere Sancta Miscellanea in Memoria di Agostino Amore OFM (+1982). Volume primo: Storia della Chiesa, Archeologia, Arte. I*, Roma 1985, 355.

<sup>11</sup> Ben-Pechat (note 10) "The Paleochristian", fig 1; Rosenthal-Heginbottom (note 8) 174–200 (baptisteries in the Negev).



marble furnishing, it seems that its form was largely retained. Inside the apse, a *thronos* was inserted in the middle of the synthronon.

Inside the southern pastophorion, a sandstone floor was laid out. Close to the northern wall, a large, underground space covered by slabs was discovered but found empty. The size of that space (1.30 m long, 0.9 m wide, 0.55 m high) appears small for a tomb, but an ossuary might be conceivable. East of the "tomb," is another enigmatic, complex installation. It includes a rectangular enclosure made of sandstone slabs with a round hole (diameter 0.16 m) giving access to a pithos-like container under the floor level, and a stela-like construction made of sandstone and marble fragments, set upright in the middle of the enclosure. The pithos-container was constructed of five separate carved blocks of stone. The contents of the container gave no indication of what was stored there (liquid?), but an ecclesiastic function seems possible.

The western part of the original church, ca. 9 m long, was turned into an open court (atrium) with two original E-W rows of columns supplemented by the eastern row running N-S. No evidence for a western row of columns has been detected so far, thus the atrium must have had two porticoes located opposite each other, and probably one on the eastern side. Initially, the old marble floor was presumably in use. But later (Phase III?), that floor was partially removed and replaced by the new (extant) floor which consisted of irregular sandstone slabs supplemented by broken marble pieces. This floor, laid out ca. 0.2–0.25 m above the level of the marble floor, is markedly sloping westward to facilitate the channelling of rainwater out of the atrium, and toward the cistern.

During Phase I, some kind of an entrance porch should have preceded the church proper, being then followed further west by the courtyard with the cistern. In Phase II, a formal porch was erected – an enclosed space with a portico of four columns in the front – which now preceded the atrium. The mosaic floor in the porch featured an almost symmetrical arrangement of designs on both sides of the central door to the atrium, including armed humans and wild animals. Notably, hunting scenes are common in the mosaics of the 6th century, e.g., the mosaics at the Hippolytus Hall (6th century),<sup>12</sup> or at the Old Diakonikon-Baptistery in the Memorial of Moses on Mt. Nebo (A.D. 530).<sup>13</sup> The central medallion of the Jabal Haroun

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<sup>12</sup> M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan*, Amman 1993, 23–24; 58–59.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 135, 146.



mosaic – a complex geometric design of interlacing squares and ribbons – is strikingly similar to the central panel of the narthex mosaic in the church at Gharandal, tentatively dated to the 6th century.<sup>14</sup> However, except for the bordering chevron pattern, the geometric design in the center, and the occasional fragments of human or animal bodies, the designs are not preserved since the mosaic was heavily altered by later, iconoclastic activities.

Some changes also occurred in the chapel. The original western wall of the chapel seems to have suffered a destruction. A new wall was constructed further east, reducing the length of the chapel by ca. 3 m. It seems that the baptismal font was still functional during this phase. A new marble floor was laid out in the apse and in the area of a new transversal bema located in front of it. The altar table was probably still a portable, or so-called "four-legged" installation.

### Phase III (7th century A.D.?)

It is less certain whether Phase II was also ended by a disaster but this remains a distinct possibility. Resulting changes were major; in the church they included the functional replacement of the columns (although still retaining them *in situ*) as structural supports with free-standing pillars supporting E-W arches. Simultaneously, N-S arches, supported by the pilasters, spanned the spaces of the nave and side aisles. Throughout this phase, changes and modifications took place in the bema area. The bema itself was raised and laterally enclosed by two "counter-like" low walls, somewhat similar to those in the Petra church in Phase V, or in the sanctuary of the monastic church at Deir 'Ain Abata.<sup>15</sup> On the left (northern) side of the bema, a stepped and plastered structure was constructed, fully integrated with the wall enclosing the bema. This structure must have supported the ambo.

During the same phase, the early baptismal font in the western part of the chapel was abandoned and backfilled. Instead, a new, also cruciform and

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<sup>14</sup> N. Ricklefs, "The Church Mosaics", in A. Walmsley "The Church at Arindela (Gharandal) of Palaestina Tertia", *LA* 47 (1997), 501–3, fig.5.

<sup>15</sup> For Petra, see Fiema (note 6); for Deir 'Ain Abata, see, K. D. Politis, "The 1992 Season of Excavations and the 1993 Season of Restorations at Deir 'Ain 'Abata", *ADAJ* 37 (1993) 507, fig. 6.

masonry-built font was erected at the left (northern) side of the bema. The font is well preserved and it also includes an integrated container between two of the arms of the cross. On the bema, a large altar masonry base or pedestal was erected. The structure is hollow inside, having a small compartment (0.54 m x 0.45 m x 0.65 m) with the opening towards the apse. The marble fragment of an inscription, which reads APΩN, was found in front of the pedestal. The fragment could have belonged to an edge of an altar table placed on top of the pedestal. The small compartment inside the masonry pedestal might have served as a depository of reliquaries which would be easily accessible and available for display on various occasions. This would be generally consistent with the practices observed in *Palaestina I, II and III* and *Arabia* during the Byzantine period.<sup>16</sup> Although in this particular case, the reliquary would not be located in a shaft or fosse under the structure of the altar on the bema,<sup>17</sup> but rather under the altar table, such cases are also known.<sup>18</sup> The appearance of the fixed altar (as opposed to portable or four-legged installations) in Phase III is also consistent with the chronological observations. The fixed altars appear relatively late, i.e., at the end of the 6th century and generally later.<sup>19</sup>

#### Phase IV (8th century A.D. and later?)

The changes related to this phase might have originated in response to another destruction. It is also possible, however, that these were simple but solid measures to further reinforce the structure of the church against potential earthquakes. Accordingly, the spaces between the free-standing

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<sup>16</sup> P. Donceel-Voûte, "La mise en scène de la liturgie au Proche Orient IVe–IXe s.: les provinces liturgiques", in R. F. Taft (ed.), *The Christian East, Its Institutions & Its Thought*, Roma 1996, 328.

<sup>17</sup> As at Umm al Rasas, see E. Alliata, "I reliquiari e altri elementi architettonici", in M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (eds.), *Umm al-Rasas-Mayfa'ah I. Gli scavi del Complesso di Santo Stefano*, Jerusalem 1994, 312–14; and A. Michel, "Le installazioni liturgiche", in M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (eds.), *Umm al-Rasas-Mayfa'ah, I*, Jerusalem 1994, 117, 119, note 15.

<sup>18</sup> A. Michel, "The Liturgical Installations", in M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (eds.), *Mount Nebo. New Archaeological Excavations 1967–1997*, Jerusalem 1998, 394.

<sup>19</sup> N. Duval, "L'architecture chrétienne et les pratiques liturgiques en Jordanie en rapport avec la Palestine", in K. Painter (ed.), *Churches Built in Ancient Times. Recent Studies in Early Christian Archaeology*, London 1994, 170, 203.

pillars were walled up and pilasters built (or rebuilt) against these pillars and against the main northern and southern walls of the church. In the southern aisle, two columns were used instead of the pilasters. Secondary walls built directly on the pavements of the northern pastophorion and in the area in front of the narthex may belong to this or later phases. Notably, such barriers and partitions are well known from other Palestinian churches in the Umayyad period (mid-7th-mid-8th centuries A.D.).<sup>20</sup>

A massive buttress was built on the atrium's side against the wall that partitioned the early church in Phase II. The buttress, built as a wall-enclosed space filled with layers of debris, stones and reused material (including column drums), is currently ca. 2.18 m wide and ca. 2 m high. It stands directly on the upper (extant) floor of the atrium.

Probably during that period (or earlier), the damage had been inflicted upon the mosaic floor. The iconoclasts had removed not only almost all tesserae forming faces but also main parts of human and animal bodies, and replaced them with plain large-size tesserae, in the manner of a careful obliteration rather than a wanton destruction. This damage relates to the images of animals and ordinary people, in opposition to the 8th century Byzantine iconoclasm that specifically targeted sacred images. This kind of deliberate damage, which nevertheless preserves the mosaic in its entirety, is generally dated to the 8th century (late Umayyad-early Abbasid period), and is known from other churches in Jordan and Palestine as well as from the Jewish synagogues in the region.<sup>21</sup> Particularly notable, deliberate but not complete damage can be observed at the Church of the Lions in Umm ar-Rasas.<sup>22</sup> The evidence of careful mosaic obliteration, as at Jabal Haroun, should indicate that in the 8th century the church would have been still

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<sup>20</sup> E.g., the church of St. Mary at Rihab and the Upper Church at Quweisma. See, M. Piccirillo, "The Umayyad Churches of Jordan", *ADAJ* 28 (1984) 338. For similar installations in the church of St. John the Baptist (#95) at Khirbet as-Samra, see J-P. Humbert and A. Desreumaux, "Huit campagnes de fouilles au Khirbat es-Samra (1981–1989)", *Revue biblique* 97 (1990) 261. See also partitioning walls built in the nave and the aisles at the Anchor Church (the Abbasid phase) at Tiberias, which effectively divided the interior into several rooms or compartments (Y. Hirschfeld, "The Anchor Church at the Summit of Mt. Berenice, Tiberias", *Biblical Archaeologist* 57/3 (1994) 126, 132.

<sup>21</sup> Piccirillo (note 12) 42.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

functioning in the ecclesiastical capacity.<sup>23</sup>

### Later Phases

It is uncertain which parts of the entire structure still retained their ecclesiastical function during the later phases of the complex's existence. Structural integrity of the building is also not supported as the apse's semidome seems to have collapsed by then if not earlier. The evidence of the collection of marble fragments, glass and stone tesserae, and glass shards is noteworthy. Dumps or collection points of such material have been found in the south pastophorion, in the ruined apse of the church, in the cupboards in the chapel, in various places in the atrium, and in other places in the excavated parts of the complex. Some spaces within the church and the atrium were temporarily or casually occupied during later periods, a fact exemplified by ashy spots, fireplaces and the abundance of bones (primarily fish) in strata above the original marble floor. Finally, substantial stone tumbles, either reflecting natural decay and deterioration of structural parts or subsequent seismic-related destructions, had definitely terminated the occupation in the church area.

### Comparative Observations

On the basis of his work in central Jordan, M. Piccirillo has distinguished two main periods of ecclesiastical building activities. In the 5th and in the beginning of the 6th century, the construction concentrated on fulfilling the practical liturgical purposes. In the second half of the 6th century, new luxurious building projects and the beautification of older churches seem to have taken place.<sup>24</sup> Chronologically, these two periods would roughly correspond to Phases IV –VI at the Petra church, and Phases I and II of the monastic church at Jabal Haroun.

Undoubtedly, the comparisons between the Petra church and the Jabal Haroun church are not only based on purely chronological distinction, superficial observations, and the geographical proximity of both places.

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>24</sup> M. Piccirillo, "Rural Settlements in Byzantine Jordan", In Adnan Hadidi (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan II*, Amman 1985, 261.

There are some striking similarities between both churches which do not seem to be accidental. The dimensions of both churches, the manner of construction and initial decorations are largely comparable, which may imply the involvement of the same team of architects and builders. Perhaps this hypothesis may also explain the initial monoapsidal form of both churches, the presence of a narthex but the lack of a well-developed and confined atrium, the cruciform baptismal fonts, etc. Even in the later phases of existence (Phases VI-VII, IX of the Petra church and Phases IV and later at Jabal Haroun), when the ecclesiastical function of both edifices was considerably reduced or poorly attested, certain cultural phenomena are equally attested. These include the construction of simple, partitioning walls, or the evidence for collection of still useful material (mosaic tesserae, glass).

There, however, the comparisons end and some substantial differences occur in the history of both churches. The most important seems to be the overall function. While the Church of the Virgin Mary at Petra might have been a metropolitan church of *Palaestina Tertia*, the church at Jabal Haroun must have retained its monastic-pilgrimage function until the end of its active existence. The difference in the time-span of the ecclesiastical existence is also considerable. The Petra church may not have survived long beyond the end of the 6th century due to the disastrous fire and the subsequent ecclesiastical abandonment. As such, the early 8th-century iconoclasm did not leave its destructive mark on the superb floor mosaics of that church. On the other hand, the Jabal Haroun church appears to have continued long after the end of the 6th century, albeit in a gradually reduced and seemingly impoverished form.

Particularly instructive is to compare the transition between Phases IV and V of the Petra church and Phases I and II of the church at Jabal Haroun, which temporally may probably be assigned to early through mid-6th century A.D. There is no evidence for a destruction of the early church (Phase IV) at Petra. If reflecting on the two periods distinguished by M. Piccirillo (*supra*), the Church of the Virgin Mary had indeed experienced a considerable spatial expansion, architectural re-definition, and it benefitted from a sumptuous, although often careless and somewhat haphazard redecoration program. On the other hand, the Church of St. Aaron had experienced a destruction at the end of Phase I. While the function of the church and the chapel was possibly somewhat redefined, the reconstruction



resulted in a substantial contraction of the church's size (and of the chapel) and only a modest, pragmatic redecoration, primarily exemplified by the mosaic floor in the narthex.

At any rate, both churches experienced substantial remodelling at the beginning of Phases V (Petra church) and II and III (Jabal Haroun church), whether or not prompted by a prior destruction. But the Petra church was transformed into a triapsidal church while the Jabal Haroun church retained its original form. The transformation from mono- to triapsidal form, i.e., the installation of apses in places formerly occupied by the pastophoria, is generally dated to the early through mid-6th century. On the basis of the examples from the neighboring Negev, that change was postulated to have been linked to the re-emphasis on the cult of Martyrs and Saints,<sup>25</sup> and the associated liturgical changes (such as the introduction of the rite of the Great Procession and Prothesis) which affected overall architectural arrangements and the location of the reliquaries.<sup>26</sup> An alternative view concentrates on the variations in the organization of the sanctuaries and in the deposition of the relics in triapsidal churches, and a resulting uncertainty and difficulty in associating an architectural form—mono- or triapsidal—with particulars of the specific cult and liturgical requirements.<sup>27</sup> The emergence of or the transformation into the triapsidal basilicas was also associated with a purely aesthetic purpose, and the form itself derived from classical architecture.<sup>28</sup> It is certainly necessary, however, to distinguish between churches which were initially monoapsidal and underwent the transformation, and the new triapsidal churches which feature substantially changed, square-like proportions (wider but shorter) and which first appear in the later 6th century.

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<sup>25</sup> For an exhaustive bibliography on the cult of Martyrs and Saints in Palestine, see Sh. Margalit, "The Bi-Apsidal Churches in Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Cyprus", *LA* 40 (1990) 321–334 and note 6.

<sup>26</sup> See extensive discussions by A. Negev, "The Cathedral of Elusa and the New Typology and Chronology of the Byzantine Churches in the Negev", *LA* 39 (1989) 129–142; Sh. Margalit, "On the Transformation of the Mono-Apsidal Churches with Two Pastophoria into Tri-Apsidal Churches", *LA* 39 (1989) 143–164; Duval (note 19); and Y. Tsafir, *Excavations at Rehovot-in-the-Negev. Vol I: The Northern Church, QEDEM* 25, Jerusalem 1988, 47–49, the latter on the impact of the rite of Prothesis on triapsidal churches in the Negev.

<sup>27</sup> Rosenthal-Heginbottom (note 8) 223–230, 233.

<sup>28</sup> A. M. Schneider, "Südjüdische Kirchen", *ZDPV* 61 (1938) 108.



In this context, it is worthwhile to review the changes in the form and function of the Jabal Haroun church and the chapel in Phase II, followed by further structural changes (support system) in Phase III. Wall I divides the original church into the western part (atrium) and the eastern part, the latter being a wide but shorter church proper. Initially, it was thought that this reduction in size associated with the non-transformation into the triapsidal form should specifically be related to the lack of proper financing for the total rebuilding of the church, i.e., the execution of some kind of cheap reconstruction design. This argument is still at least partially tenable. After all, the Phase II church at Jabal Haroun is not only smaller in size but also seemingly deprived of much of its marble furnishing. Destroyed or damaged marble chancel screens and posts were apparently not replaced, while their broken fragments were used as a fill in Wall I, or as replacements in the damaged marble floor. Overall, the Phase II church does not impress with wealthy furnishing and decoration, as does the Petra church in Phase V. However, the somewhat simplified and depleted of costly marble decoration appearance of the church in Phase II, should not entirely relate to a substantial impoverishment of the monastic community at Jabal Haroun.

Attention should be directed to the re-emphasis on the cult of Saints and Martyrs, evidenced in the 6th century. The installation of the new bema in front of the apse of the chapel at Jabal Haroun in Phase II, and the construction of a large masonry-built altar pedestal in Phase III, seem to indicate a redefining of the function of the chapel. Perhaps that redefinition remained in relation to a church or a chapel on the summit of Jabal Haroun, recorded by Wiegand at the beginning of the 20th century,<sup>29</sup> but no longer surviving. It is not possible to establish its construction date but equally nothing prevents that upper church from being considered coexistent with the early monastery. If the upper church originally housed important relics, such as Aaron's, its possible damage or destruction at the end of Phase I or Phase II could have caused the translation of the relics down to the rebuilt chapel of the monastery. The substantial altar pedestal, empty inside, would best accommodate relics. As such, the chapel, at least in Phase III (if not earlier), would have become a memorial chapel. Notably, the construction of the new baptismal font in Phase III indicates that the baptismal function and

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<sup>29</sup> Th. Wiegand, *Sinai* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos, Heft 1), Berlin 1920, 136–45.

practices there were not abandoned altogether. Rather, by their proximity to the bema and the altar, they seem to become even more liturgically interrelated.

Such changes would then have made it unnecessary to transform the Jabal Haroun church into a triapsidal edifice. The cult at Jabal Haroun was overwhelmingly oriented around Aaron. If his relics were now housed in a chapel, which was an integral part of the ecclesiastical building of the monastery, that made the church a memorial edifice as well, without a compelling need to display or venerate any other holy relics in there. Although the potential presence of other relics in the ecclesiastical complex at Jabal Haroun cannot be totally excluded either but there would have been no liturgical need to transform the church's pastophoria into side apses to accommodate such relics. Thus the northern pastophorion had retained its original function also in Phase II, probably as a sacristy.

However, some less understood changes had occurred in the southern pastophorion. An enigmatic installation briefly described above should date to Phase II, but its function is unclear. Notably, during the 2000 season, small fragments of monochrome (red on white) painted plaster with Greek writing were found adjacent to the walls in this room. The Greek letters revealed a fragment of Psalm 91 (no. 90 in the Septuagint).<sup>30</sup> The text may allegorically refer to the famous plague of the Justinianic period, which began in A.D. 541–2, and affected large areas of the Near East and Europe. Although there are no extant sources indicating the occurrence of the plague in Petra, it is possible that during that time someone quoted the psalm, writing it as a prayer on the wall inside the church, perhaps seeking a measure of comfort in its pronouncements. On the other hand, a less dramatic explanation would relate the text to the new function of the pastophorion, perhaps that of a funerary chapel for the inhabitants of the monastery. In such case, the installation in the southern pastophorion may, perhaps, be interpreted as an ossuarium.

Finally, returning to the partitioning of the church at the beginning of

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<sup>30</sup> Psalm 91: 4–7: "He will cover you with his feathers, and under his wings you will find refuge; his faithfulness will be your shield and rampart. You will not fear the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that stalks in the darkness, nor the plague that destroys at midday. A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand, but it will not come near you." For detailed description see J. Frösén, "The FJHP: Epigraphic Finds", in *Petra – A City Forgotten and Rediscovered* (note 4), 181–88.

Phase II, this change does not need to be viewed as a reduction of the church in size, resulting solely from its prior destruction and the subsequent lack of funds for a proper reconstruction to its original form. In fact, by this partitioning, the church complex received a well-defined atrium which would better serve the needs of the pilgrims than the poorly defined Phase I atrium located around the central cistern. Furthermore, the shorter yet wide church would better fulfill the architectural design related to the newly introduced rites of the Great Procession and Prothesis. In its form, the Jabal Haroun church of Phase II much resembled new basilican churches built in the later 6th century, which, while featuring 3 apses, were also characterized by more square-like proportions.

The interpretive observations offered above will necessarily remain as preliminary hypotheses, probably even after the end of the fieldwork. Nevertheless they offer some new insights into the history of the Jabal Haroun church, while integrating this structure into a larger framework of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Byzantine East.

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## INSCRIPTIONS AT AUCTION

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While it is widely attested by epigraphical and archaeological findings that honorific and other statues as well as the inscriptions on their bases were frequently re-used in the ancient world, there is much less explicit evidence for why this happened. Nonetheless one may assume that, in different times and places, the lack of suitable material, the fashion to be honoured with a statue, and the so-called *damnatio memoriae* (which is not an ancient term), were among the obvious reasons why statues and epigraphical materials were recycled.<sup>1</sup> But if one wishes to ask what the process was like that led to the re-use of a given slab or of a certain statue, there is very little evidence to work with, since usually nothing is known about the related procedures. This is understandable in the case of private persons who may have simply seized the monuments of others without leaving any record of why a monument had been taken over (warnings against such illegal acts of robbery are well documented in ancient inscriptions). But one is often equally perplexed in the case of public inscriptions (other than those automatically rededicated to emperors in the aftermath of the complete and systematic erasure by the order of the Roman Senate of the name of their predecessors). In ancient cities, who chose what inscriptions were to be re-engraved and how was this choice made?

There would have been various practices, though I would assume that if a public decree was passed in someone's honour, and for some reason an older statue with base was to be re-used, the dedicating civic body was responsible for finding an apposite object. In practice, however, the citizens

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<sup>1</sup> General remarks in M. Kajava, in: *Acta Colloquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.–6. Sept. 1991 habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 201 ff. A useful account of *damnatio memoriae* in epigraphy, and the various strategies involved, is provided by H. I. Flower, in: E. R. Varner (ed.), *From Caligula to Constantine. Tyranny & Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, Atlanta 2000, 58 ff.



or the city council would have delegated such issues to an administrator who was to oversee the installation of the statue. If not a public official, this man was a colleague, relative, or friend of the honorand. Names of such specially appointed agents are frequently registered in inscriptions (cf. *curante, curam agente, ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως*, etc.). Though formally charged with the erection of statues, the administrator must also have been familiar with the recycling of them – and with the re-use of inscriptions. Being the administrator probably often meant being involved in these activities.

Other civic groups such as associations, collegia, etc., or cultic organizations, would also have made a common decision, following which the matter was passed into the hands of a competent member within the body. However, the official approval for the statue and its location in a public place would have been in the hands of the civic administration. The same also largely concerns privately erected statues appearing in public space. Therefore, if in general the location of a public statue had to be confirmed by the community (cf. e.g. the formula *locus datus decurionum decreto*),<sup>2</sup> it seems logical that matters concerning erasure and the re-use of existing statues were also administered by civic authorities.<sup>3</sup> The practical arrangements, however, were carried out by specially appointed agents.

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<sup>2</sup> An instructive case is *CIG* 3657 from Cyzicus (early to mid-first century B.C.): δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ δεδοκιμάσθαι τε τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἐξεῖναι αὐταῖς ἀναθεῖναι καθάπερ ἀξιοῦσιν, referring to a request by a group of female religious officials for permission to set up a statue of a priestess (another inscription, *Ath.Mitt.* 7 [1882] 151 ff., concerns the location of a *pinaks* for the same priestess: δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ δεδοκιμάσθαι τε τὸν πίνακα καὶ συνκεχωρηῆσθαι αὐτῷ τὸν τόπον καθάπερ ἀξιοῖ). It was a general practice in antiquity that the use of public space for statues required public consent: for the Greek world, see R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Amsterdam 1996, 179 n. 132 (also 187 n. 160). For some interesting Latin inscriptions concerning the approval by the *ordo* for the location of statues, cf. *ILS* 5498 (Baetica), 5499 (Africa), 6148 (Ostia), 6334 (Puteoli), 6912 (Baetica). There are many other examples. Monuments erected on private property, *ex votos* in temples, etc. constitute a different category. However, permissions are sometimes recorded for monuments set up within the premises of associations or on property controlled by special authorities: *ILS* 1064 and 5095 (Narbo): *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) IIIIIviror(um)*; 4176 (Ostia): a *pontifex Volcani et aedium sacrarum* grants permission to erect a statue of a boy *in campo Matris deum*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ILS* 5486 (Barcino): a statue base was renovated *permittente ordine Barcinonensium*.



On the other hand, it is well known that the honorands themselves frequently paid for their own monuments and so it would have also been in their interest to be involved in the choice of the statue and its location (just as we know that the text of an honorific inscription could be composed by the person honoured). Sometimes the honorand was only given the right to choose a suitable place.<sup>4</sup> One could imagine that, if old statues of great heroes were available in a Greek city, the future honorand might well have made it clear in advance that one of them was his preference. Whoever paid, this was a cheap alternative, including only the act of erasing a previous inscription (if there was one) and that of inscribing a new text. But in all such cases, if the statue was to stand in a public place, its location, and presumably its type as well, would have been formally approved by public consent. This also concerns the recycling of statues for Roman emperors, though it was normal that the Roman authorities, and the emperor himself, were consulted in advance. If interested, they might find reason to intervene.<sup>5</sup>

Not only private inscriptions include prohibitions against the re-use of statues and of the related texts. A number of public documents also refer to punishment for those who removed statues or remodified inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> However, since such punitive prescriptions are relatively rare in the extant epigraphic record, they would have been inscribed on stone only occasionally when the dedicant(s) especially wished to protect the monument from destruction and exploitation. Nonetheless, the impression is that these acts were generally considered illegal, even impious (in the case

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<sup>4</sup> *ILS* 6271 (Ferentinum): ...*senat(us) statuam publice ponend(am) in foro, ubi ipse vellet, censuere* (the base of the statue is preserved: *CIL* X 5852); *IGR* IV 574 (Aezani, letter from the Athenians): ἐν τε τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πατρίδι ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐν ᾧ ἂν βούληται τόπωι καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν; *I. Iasos* 248, 34–35: ἐν οἷς ἂν βούλητα[ι] τόποις ἰρο[ίς] ἢ δημοσίοις.

<sup>5</sup> T. Pékary, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft*, Berlin 1985, 38 ff. (Imperial statues and recycling), 44 f. (location confirmed by *ordo, boule*, etc.). Roman control and interventions (by the emperor or governors): *ibid.* 147; S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, 70 f., 173 f.

<sup>6</sup> Examples from the Greek world in A. Wilhelm, in: *Festschr. O. Benndorf*, Vienna 1898, 243 ff. = *Kleine Schriften* II:2, Leipzig 1984, 161 ff.; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 109 ff. The normal terms for removing and re-inscribing were μετατιθέναι (or μεταίρειν, etc.) and μετεπιγραφεῖν. The latter is also a common legal term in papyri (with the noun μετεπιγραφή 'transfer [by registration of title], conveyance').

of cult statues in particular), as is also attested by the resentment of some ancient writers. In fact, the illegal label assigned to the re-use of statues and statue bases might be one of the reasons why the administrative procedures related to the practice are so little known. The practice itself prevailed in many places but, as something contrary to moral rules, it was not recorded anywhere in the official records. It was normal to state in inscriptions that a statue had been voted to someone, but the same inscriptions do not reveal if the statue had previously represented someone else. Significantly, inscriptions sometimes do provide information about the cost of a statue, its material, and other details, which may imply that the statue was a new product. Likewise, only epigraphic expertise can tell that a new inscription has been engraved over an erased one. The takeover of an earlier inscription was never recorded in the new text. If some information about such cases was sometimes registered in civic or other proceedings, it may have been written on vulnerable and unstable materials (white boards, waxed tablets, etc.) which rarely survive.

However, there is at least one public document which throws light on the methodology of recycling. A long decree (of 150 lines) from the acropolis of Lindos on Rhodes, dating to A.D. 22, shows that the Lindians were in financial difficulties and that they needed money for the upkeep of cultic activities, sacrifices, festivals, etc.<sup>7</sup> In order to preserve both the honour of their gods and the welfare of the community (lines 3–5: συμφέρον δέ ἐστι Λινδ[ίοι]ς κ[α]ὶ τὰ[ς τῶ]ν θεῶν τειμὰς καὶ τὸ τοῦ [κ]οινοῦ πρέπον διαφυλά[σσει]σθαι), the Lindians decided to create a fund (*parakatatheke*) sacred to Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus, controlled by the priest of Athana, and probably deposited in the temple of the two gods. Private persons were asked to donate money through a public subscription, officials and cultic personnel were supposed to contribute in various ways, and there were other measures, too. For example, it is stated in lines 18–30 that the *epistatai*, the supreme magistrates of the city, were to elect a mixed commission of five members who, after various preventive controls, were

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<sup>7</sup> *I. Lindos* 419 (now in Copenhagen) = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*, Paris 1962, 153 ff. No. 90 = L. Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, Geneva – Quebec 1992, 121 ff. No. 41; cf. also D. Morelli, *I culti in Rodi* (SCO 8), Pisa 1959, 85 f. n. 3. For the underlying situation, and the objectives of the decree, see now B. Dignas, *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford 2002, 94 f.

charged with selling the objects of bronze and iron that were preserved in the local *nakoreion*. The income was to be handed over to the *parakata-theke*.<sup>8</sup>

The text reveals that the decree was passed in Panamos, the tenth month of the year, and that the *epistatai* in question were those designated for the subsequent year (A.D. 23). Among them was also the proposer of the motion, Hippias, son of Hippias (lines 1, 4, 53). These magistrates were given a further task, as is revealed by the measure recorded in lines 30–44:<sup>9</sup>

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἀνδριάντες

[τ]ινές ἐντι ἐν τῷ ἀναβ[ά]σει καὶ αὐτῶ τῶ ἄκρα ἀνεπίγραφοι καὶ ἄσαμοι, συνφέρων δέ [ἐ]στι καὶ τούτους ἡμῖν ἐπιστάμους ἐπιγρ[α]-  
[φ]ὰν ἔχοντας ὅτι θεο(ῖ)ς ἀνάκεινται, δεδόχθαι Λινδίοις· κῶ τοῦδε  
35 [τ]οῦ ψᾶ τοὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιστάται μ[ισθ]ωσάντων ἑκάστου ἀνδριάντος τὰν  
[ἐ]πιγραφὰν, διαχειρο[τονησ]άντων Λινδίων, εἰ δεῖ τοῦ εὐρίσ-  
κοντος κατακυροῦ[ν ἢ μ]ή, καὶ [εἶ κ]α [δ]όξη τοῦ εὐρίσκοντος κα-  
[τ]ακυροῦν, τὸ πεσὸν ἀργύριον [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ[τ]ων, καταβαλόμε-  
[ν]οι λ[όγ]ον, π[ό]σου ἐ[κ]ά[σ]το[υ ἀ] ἐπιγραφ[ᾶ ἀπε]δόθ[η], παραδόντω ἱερὸν  
[ἦ]μ[ε]ιν εἰς πα[ρ]ακα[τ]α[θ]ήκαν τῆς Ἀ[θ]άνας τ[ᾶ]ς Λινδίας καὶ τ[οῦ]  
40 [Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέ]ως· [τοὶ δὲ] ὠνησά[μ]ε[ν]οι τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς μὴ  
[ἐ]χόντων ἐξουσίαν ἀπ[ε]νε[ν]κεῖ[ν] ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἀνδριάν[τας]  
[τ]ρόπῳ μὴδ' ἐνὶ μὴδὲ παρευρέσει μὴδεμιᾷ ἢ ἔνοχοι ἐόντ[ω]  
[ἀ]σεβεί[α]· ποιησάμενοι δὲ τὰν αἴτησιν ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν]  
[μετενεκ]εῖν ἅ κα συνχωρήσωσι διὰ τῆς αἰτήσιος Λίν[δ]ιοι.

And since there are some statues along the ascent and on the top itself, which are without inscription and undistinguished, it is expedient that these too shall be distinguished, bearing inscriptions (saying) that they are dedicated to gods, it was voted by the Lindians: when this decree has been sanctioned, the same *epistatai* shall lease out the inscription of each statue, the Lindians deciding by vote whether the winning bid should be confirmed or not, and if it will be decided that the winning bid should be confirmed, they (*epistatai*), after having made an account of the rate for which the inscription of each statue has been ceded, shall

<sup>8</sup> According to P. Debord, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine*, Leiden 1982, 212, the Roman administration would have been actively involved in the Lindian efforts to improve the financial situation. Perhaps indeed the Romans played a role, and probably they would have formally sanctioned the measures, though in the decree there are no explicit indications to that effect.

<sup>9</sup> Line 37 is given by Sokolowski as follows: ...κα/[τ]ακυροῦν τὸ πεσὸν ἀργύριον, [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ[τ]ων καταβαλόμε/[ν]οι... However, the comma should be moved after τοῦ[τ]ων, cf. lines 48/49: τὸ μὲν πεσὸν ἀργύριον / [ἀ]πὸ τούτου εἶδους παραδόντω... (cf. also D. H. 20,17: τὸ πεσὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἀργύριον). – Punctuation marks are not given in *I. Lindos*, and this passage is not published in Migeotte (l. c.).

hand over the money accrued from these to be sacred to the fund of Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus. Those who have purchased the inscriptions shall not have the permission in any wise nor under any pretext to remove statues from the top; otherwise they shall be liable to be accused of impiety. But if they make a request, they shall have the permission to change (statues) according to what the Lindians agree on account of the request.

That this case refers to a competitive auction may be inferred from the use of τὸ εὐρισκόν which (together with τὸ εὐρόν) is a normal term for auction price, or the winning bid. But what was being knocked down at the auction? Inscriptions of statues (ἀνδριάντες) which are ἀνεπίγραφοι and ἄσαμοι, or rather, the permission to inscribe on the bases of such statues. *Andrias*, the generic Greek term for 'statue', was often used for life-size, honorific statues, though even a divine statue could be an *andrias*. In fact, considering that it was normal for cultic and votive statues of deities to be without inscription, one may assume that the Lindian *andriantes* also included some belonging to this category. What about *asamoi* then? It has been proposed that the adjective here also refers to painted inscriptions which were difficult to read because the colour had evanesced.<sup>10</sup> This is conceivable, and such things surely happened, but in the present context I think *asamos* is better understood as referring to the undistinguished character of the statues: they were inscribed but had become obscure either because they were very old or because no one knew any longer whom they represented. I know only one further case where *andriantes* (or any statues) are characterized by the adjective *asemos*. Significantly, this case recurs in the Rhodian Oration by Dio of Prusa, which is mainly directed against the local habit of recycling old statues (for this city speech, see below). As an excuse for their course of action, the Rhodians pleaded that they never re-used well-known statues (γνώριμοι ἀνδριάντες) nor those which someone knows whose they are. What they admitted to having made use of were some statues that were *asemoi* and very old.<sup>11</sup> It follows logically that such statues were not *gnorimoi* but insignificant and obscure, and that nobody knew to whom they had been originally set up.

Thus it may well be that among the Lindian *andriantes* there were not

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<sup>10</sup> H. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern*, Rome 1969, 101 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Or.* 31,74: ὡς ἄρα οὐδενὸς ἄπτονται τῶν γνωρίμων ἀνδριάντων οὐδὲ οὐς ἐπίσταταί τις ὧν εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀσήμοις τισὶ καὶ σφόδρα παλαιοῖς καταχρῶνται.

only votive statues without inscription but also honorific ones with inscribed bases. The latter, however, were *asamoi* to the extent that they could – and should – be made *episamoi*.<sup>12</sup> This adjective obviously refers to the anepigraphic material as well, since all the statues would now become distinguished, whether by engraving on an anepigraphic base or by replacing an older text with a new one. As a pious justification for the measure, it is added (in line 33) that the new inscriptions will declare that the statues are sacred to gods. This was a realistic aim, and well in accordance with the common Greek practice of consecrating *anathemata* to gods. Among such offerings there were not only *ex votos* of various deities<sup>13</sup> but also honorific or other statues of individuals with the addition of the name of the receiving god(s) in the dative, the simple *theois* being often enough.<sup>14</sup> However, the clause ὅτι θεοῖς ἀνάκεινται does not show that those who purchased the inscriptions were bound to consecrate the related statues to the gods. Whether some felt obliged to do so is another matter.

According to the measure, the same *epistatai*, i.e., those who were already charged with selling the objects in the *nakoreion*, were to organize a competitive auction. As far as I can see, all the comments on this passage take it as a public auction where permissions to inscribe were sold for the highest bid offered. However, the verb μισθοῦσθαι (line 34) clearly points to an act of leasing (μίσθωσις). There is plenty of evidence for leasing in antiquity, and the procedures involved, and it is well known that the lessees could be determined by auction.<sup>15</sup> But while we are well informed about leases of landed property, or of buildings, mines, etc., the leasing of the right

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Hld. 5,5,1: ἀγάλμασιν ἐπισήμοις ἔρμαῖς τε, etc. (referring to watchwords inscribed on distinguished statues, herms, etc.).

<sup>13</sup> Like the other major Greek sanctuaries, the temple of the Lindian Athana was known for visiting gods, numerous votive offerings of many other deities being attested there from early times: B. Alroth, in: *Anathema. Atti del convegno internazionale* (Scienze dell'antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia 3–4 [1989–1990]), Rome 1991, 307 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. a Rhodian decree from the third century B.C. (Sokolowski, *LSCG Suppl.* 107), listing regulations about the placement of "*andriantes* and other *anathemata*" within the temenos of Asclepius. For the development over centuries of the habit of dedicating statues of individuals to deities, see P. Veyne, *Latomus* 21 (1962) 84 ff. Many of the Lindian *anathemata* represented priests of Athena: van Bremen (n. 2) 177.

<sup>15</sup> Useful discussion, with bibliography, in M. Langdon, "Public Auctions in Ancient Athens", in: R. Osborne – S. Hornblower (eds), *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis*, Oxford 1994, 253–265.



to inscribe a statue base would be a singular instance. In this context, how could one imagine a lease which normally implied regular payments of rent within a predetermined term? And for how long a term might an inscription be leased out? Would ten or twenty years be enough, or was the contract made for the life of the lessee? Were the annual rates subject to inflation adjustments?

Such questions are unnecessary, for in the present case one could hardly think of a lease with regular income to the lessor because having an inscription engraved was not long-term productive activity in the same sense as land-leasing or mine-working were. Therefore, even if this case is introduced as a *misthosis*, in reality it would have resembled a sale with a payment once and for all. One may note that Greek leasing documents sometimes speak of 'purchase' (πρᾶσις, ὠνεῖσθαι, etc.) because of the special character of the contract, including a substantial advance payment.<sup>16</sup> It may not be a coincidence that in line 40 of the Lindian decree the winning bidders are styled τοὶ ὠνησάμενοι. Moreover, it also seems relevant that the measure concerning the *andriantes* was among those which were intended to yield profit only for the year to come (A.D. 23).<sup>17</sup> This would not be compatible with a long-term lease.

But if the Lindian agreements were not real leases, as far as their contents are involved, being very much like sales, why should they be characterized by the verb μισθοῦσθαι? Perhaps because inscriptions were not conceived of as saleable objects in the same sense as portable utensils were, like those of bronze and iron preserved in the *nakoreion*.<sup>18</sup> These the purchaser could take with him, while the statue bases were to remain in their previous position. Moreover, everybody knew that after some time the same inscriptions would be subject to possible re-use again. Should this happen, a purchaser might legally claim that his or her right of property had been violated. But if the inscriptions were leased out, the lessees would have the use and enjoyment of them until, for whatever reason, the bases were

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<sup>16</sup> D. Behrend, *Attische Pachturkunden. Ein Beitrag zur Beschreibung der μίσθωσις nach den griechischen Inschriften*, Munich 1970, 47, 60, 69 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Migeotte (n. 7) 124.

<sup>18</sup> The verb used for the selling of these objects is ἀποδίδοσθαι (line 26: καὶ ἀποδ]όσθω α[ὕ]τὰ...). Though it is sometimes also used for 'letting out for hire', the information provided by lines 143/144 of the decree is unmistakable: ἐκπωλὰν / τῶν χαλκωμάτων.



assigned to new recipients. One might compare the *misthosis* of the Lindian inscriptions to the modern leasing out of advertising space (and time) in various public places, and even television.

The role of the Lindians themselves is interesting as they decided whether the results of the auction should be ratified or not. This was useful because if the winning bid was considered too low, it could simply be rejected. But the popular vote could be preventive in another way too: if the highest bidder seemed inappropriate to the people, they had the chance to vote against. Perhaps indeed some bids were voted down because the question of who had an honorific statue on the Acropolis would have been a delicate one. The dignity and rank of the bidder had to accord with the location and style of the statue. In any case, the popular participation recalls what Aristotle wrote in his *Athenaion Politeia* (47,2) about the leasing, most probably by auction,<sup>19</sup> of mine-working and tax-collecting: "to whomsoever the Boule chooses by vote, they (*poletai*) ratify (the leased mines...)" (καὶ κυροῦσιν, ὅτῳ ἂν ἡ βουλὴ χειροτονήσῃ). The terminology of the Lindian decree is very similar (lines 35–36), and just as in Athens the *poletai* who were responsible for the leasing would ratify the vote of the Council, one may assume that the vote of the Lindians was formally confirmed by the *epistatai* who had launched the auction. By the way, if the conduct at the Lindian assembly was similar to the Rhodian one, the voting was performed with dignity, by a mere nod.<sup>20</sup>

Unfortunately, just as no lists of private subscribers to the Lindian fund are preserved, nothing is known about how much money was collected at the auction. Much would have depended on the auctioned items and the interest of the participants. A Heracles αὐτῷ τῷ ἄκρῳ (31) might have aroused considerable passion, while the starting bid for, say, a local notable ἐν τῷ ἀναβάσει (31) was probably lower. Many recycled inscriptions are preserved on the Lindian Acropolis but it is impossible to know whether some could be connected with this decree.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> As pointed out by Langdon (n. 15), 259, 261, against the view of Klaus Hallof.

<sup>20</sup> Aristid. *Or.* 24, 56.

<sup>21</sup> Chr. Blinkenberg, the editor of *I. Lindos*, suggested that a number of statue bases from the Acropolis could be related to the decree (Nos. 556–558 of his edition [*"I<sup>er</sup> s. P."*], cf. *I. Lindos* vol. II, p. 896 n. 1). In these cases, after the erasure of the original text, the name ΛΙΝΔΙΟΙ would have been added above the erased inscription. However, this would mean that some statues had been purchased by the city itself. This sounds

Even though the inscriptions were probably purchased because of the statues they supported, and also because of their location, the official objects of the whole affair were the inscriptions, and so it is logical that the lessees could not make claims to the statues. Moreover, removing them from the Acropolis would be an impious act. This would accord with the notion that some of them probably represented gods. But it does not exclude the possibility that some were honorific *anathemata* since the removal of any statues from the sacred area of the Acropolis might have been taken as a profanation. However, the Lindians were not that rigid since, if someone preferred to exchange one statue for another,<sup>22</sup> they might allow this upon request.<sup>23</sup> It would be interesting to know if, and why, any statues were replaced by others. If a bidder wished to switch the inscription on a statue so as to be honoured himself, the style and type of the *andrias* would have been of minor import because everybody knew that *andriantes* (unlike, presumably, the *eikones*) did not necessarily aim at likeness. Growing tired of one's statue over time seems a less plausible motive than a bidder's premeditated decision to change it immediately after purchase, whatever the reason for this may have been.

The Lindian decree is one of those cases where a historian is entitled to say that what is related by an ancient author is nicely illustrated by an epigraphic discovery. Since the above-mentioned Rhodian speech (No. 31) by Dio of Prusa is an attack against the uncontrolled re-use of ancient statues by the Rhodian people.<sup>24</sup> The speech, probably delivered to the Rhodian assembly under Trajan's reign,<sup>25</sup> provides a most elaborate display

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somewhat peculiar, though anyone could bid, of course.

<sup>22</sup> Blinkenberg restored the infinitive ἀπενενκεῖν in lines 41 and 44. This may be correct in line 41, also because the verb is followed by ἐκ τᾶς ἄκρας. However, in the other case one might rather think of [μετενενκ]εῖν, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 111. Like μετατιθέναι, this verb suggests 'exchanging' the statue for another. On the other hand, it may rather be that one of the verbs recurs in both lines because repetitive style is characteristic of ancient decrees and proceedings.

<sup>23</sup> A similar case is known from *I. Hierapolis* 27: statues dedicated by an individual should not be removed without public agreement (εἰ μὴ συγχωρηθεῖη [ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος μο[υ]). For the need for public approval in matters concerning statues, see above at n. 2.

<sup>24</sup> C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1978, 26 ff.

<sup>25</sup> The speech was earlier dated to Vespasian's time, but cf. H. Sidebottom, *Historia* 41

of the author's arguments for his cause. By far the longest among the extant speeches of Dio, it produces an exhaustive mass of considerations for and against the main thesis, so that some readers (including me) may find it tiresome and too repetitive. However, Dio's exposition is full of interesting details, some of which are directly relevant to the present case. Apart from the discussion of *asemos* (above), for example, Dio reports the local version of the origin and development of the ignoble practice (31,141):<sup>26</sup>

they tell us that this practice began with the statues that were broken and not even standing on their pedestals; it was these that the chief magistrates (*strategoî*) used after repairing them and in a way making them altogether different; then the next step was that those which were well preserved but bore no inscriptions were inscribed; and at last came the taking of some statues which did have inscriptions on them, provided they were very old.

Or, when referring to statues on sacred land, he states (31,87):

For you Rhodians are perfectly aware that, while the whole city is sacred, yet you will find that many of the statues which stand within your very sanctuaries have been subjected to this indignity. For it so happened that these are very ancient; and whenever one of your chief magistrates wants to flatter any person, he is always eager, carrying out the idea that you are giving the honour, to have him set up in bronze in the finest possible place.

One of the main points in Dio's speech is that, though they are cultivated and prosperous, and their city is the last true stronghold of Hellenism, the Rhodians nevertheless show little respect for their glorious past. By shamelessly destroying the statues of their ancient benefactors, under the plea of saving expenses, or for other reasons, the Rhodians in fact betray themselves. However, though described by Dio as typically Rhodian, this practice is well known all over the ancient world, being attested not only by recycled inscriptions but also by various literary sources besides Dio Chrysostom (Cassius Dio, Cicero, Diogenes of Laertes, Favorinus, Pausanias, Philo, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch).<sup>27</sup> In the Greek East, with the expansion of Roman rule, numerous old statues went to Roman individuals,

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(1992) 407 ff.; S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250*, Oxford 1996, 428 f.; G. Salmeri, in: S. Swain (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom. Politics, Letters, and Philosophy*, Oxford 2000, 77 n. 115, 82 n. 140.

<sup>26</sup> Translations of this and the next passage are by J. W. Cohoon (Loeb ed. 1940).

<sup>27</sup> Some of these are discussed by W. Kendrick Pritchett, *Pausanias Periegetes I*, Amsterdam 1998, 87 ff.

generals, office-holders, and others. Many of the Romans residing or travelling in the Greek East were anxious to be honoured with statues there, no matter whether new or ancient. According to Dio, the Rhodians also pointed out that many of the visitors honoured were Romans (e.g., 31,43). Some, however, refused, like Cicero who loved Athens and wanted a monument of his own there but hated the altering of inscriptions on statues:

Equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo. Volo esse aliquod monumentum, odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum (Att. 6,1,26).

To conclude, the "leasing out" of inscriptions described in the Lindian decree from A.D. 22 shows a very specific, and lucrative, way of managing the re-use of inscriptions and statues. The case seems unique, though the possibility exists that similar procedures were known elsewhere, too.<sup>28</sup> However, the Lindians of the early Empire were no novices in the art of collecting money. An early and illustrious pioneer, Cleobulus, one of the Seven Sages, came from their city. He was credited the invention of a peculiar ceremony, "Playing the Swallow" (χελιδονίζειν), during which little boys went about singing a Swallow-Song at the annual return of the birds in the month of Badromios. According to Theognis, who described the practice in the Second Book of his *Rhodian Festivals*, this institution resulted from the need to collect money during hard times. In the course of the ritual, the citizens were supposed to make donations. The position of those who refused grew worse, as emerges from the lyrics of the song:

If you give us something – otherwise, we won't let you be. We'll carry off your front door, or the lintel over it, or the goodwife sitting within. She's a little thing, we can easily lift her. So if you give us anything, make it something big!<sup>29</sup>

Fortunately, such menaces were unnecessary during the crisis of A.D. 22. But what would be the case if some auctioned inscriptions were not bid upon?

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<sup>28</sup> Though nothing points to an auction, there is something similar in *IGLS* IV 1261 (Laodicea ad mare in Syria): erecting a statue within a temenos involved payment of a fee (lines 22–25).

<sup>29</sup> Ath. 8,360 c (*FrGrH* III 526), transl. C. B. Gulick (Loeb ed. [1930], vol. 4, p. 131). For the verb χελιδονίζειν, and similar expressions, see my remarks in *Arctos* 33 (1999) 50.

# BOTH AND ALL TOGETHER?

## The meaning of ἀμφότεροι

MARTTI LEIWO

### 1. Introduction

The standard meaning of ἀμφότεροι is 'both' but a semantic extension 'all (together)' is also recorded in dictionaries in three different contexts: 1) The Acts of the Apostles and Diod. Sic. 1.75.1–2, 2) Papyri, and 3) Byzantine chronicles.<sup>1</sup> The alleged semantic expansion is the centre of attention in this paper. I will argue that the meaning 'all (together)' is not a genuine semantic derivation as has been suggested (see below) but due to 1) hypercorrect use, 2) non-native speakers' misunderstanding of Greek epistolary formulas, and, 3) generally, grouping of pairs totally in line with the basic meaning 'both'. To start with, we can immediately put aside the passage of Diodorus. There is nothing strange in it, and it has nothing to do with the extended meaning.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This article has been carried out within the framework of the project Interaction between the Greek and the Roman World funded by the Academy of Finland. Martti Nyman, Hilla Halla-aho and Marja Vierros have read an earlier version of this article, and I am very grateful for their comments. *LSJ*, s.v. ἀμφότεροι; W. Bauer, *Griechisch–deutsches Wörterbuch zur den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*. 6. ed. herausg. von K. Aland und B. Aland, Berlin – New York 1988, s.v.; E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Cambridge, Harvard 1914, s.v. Ε. Κριαράς, *Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημόδου γραμματείας 1100–1669*, τόμος Β, Θεσσαλονίκη 1971, s.v. See also E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II, 2, Berlin – Leipzig 1934, 93–94, and especially note 2. This meaning may be understood, e.g., in *P. Lond.* II, 336, 13, 221 = *Chrest. Mitt.* 174.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus discusses the questions of justice and punishment in Egypt: ...ἡγούμενοι τὰς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀποφάσεις μεγίστην ῥοπήν τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ φέρειν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρω. δηλὸν γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τῶν μὲν παρανομούντων κολαζομένων, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων βοηθείας τυγχανόντων, ἀρίστη διόρθωσις ἔσται τῶν ἀμαρτωμάτων (Diod. Sic. 1.75.1–2). This is a clear example of the normal use of the word: in both ways, i.e.



First, I present some new data from Greek ostraca of Mons Claudianus where ἀμφοτέροι refers to more than two, then I give an overview and analysis of the suggested parallels up until the Medieval Greek. Finally, before conclusions I give some instances of the modern usage.

## 2. Letters in Mons Claudianus

The Roman quarry and fortress at Mons Claudianus, Egypt, has furnished us with ca. 6000 written ostraca datable mostly between Trajan and Antoninus Pius.<sup>3</sup> The majority of the ostraca is in Greek, but there are a few Latin ones as well. The ostraca published so far reveal many linguistically interesting issues, but here I will only deal with a peculiar use of the word ἀμφοτέροι. The word is used 16 times in the private letters published in *O.Claud.* I-II, which form my data, of which 10 have the meaning 'all'. The meaning 'both' is clear in *O.Claud.* 230 (Dioskoros), 238 (Eponykhos), 267 (anonym) and 280 (Herakleides and Dionysios). Two letters are fragmentary: 234 (Dioskoros) and 263 (anonym) so that the exact meaning cannot be clarified. The meaning 'all' is found in 7 (= 6 + 1 uncertain but probable) instances of Dioskoros, and also in 237 (Didymos), 260 (Maximus) and 272 (Patrepabathes), i.e. 10 instances.

As can be seen the word is not much attested in the data (16 attestations – out of which 13 can be classified as regards their exact lexical meaning – from 416 documents<sup>4</sup>), but it is used most of all by a modest vegetable farmer called Dioskoros in his correspondence (*O. Claud.* II

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offenders against the law should be punished and the injured parties should be afforded compensation and assistance. So Bauer, cit., πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα 'für alles, in jeder Hinsicht', is incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> The ostraca have been published in *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina* I, 1–190 (DFIFAO XXIX, 1992), (eds.) J. Bingen, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, W. Cockle, H. Cuvigny, L. Rubinstein, W. Van Rengen, and II, 191–416 (DFIFAO XXXII, 1997), (eds.) J. Bingen, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, W. Cockle, H. Cuvigny, F. Kayser, W. Van Rengen, and III, 417–600 (DFIFAO XXXV) 2000 (ed.) H. Cuvigny. I have discussed the ostraca material also in a paper "Substandard Greek. Remarks from Mons Claudianus" in N. Kennel-J. Tomlinson (eds.), *Ancient Greece at the Turn of the Millenium: Recent Work and Future Perspectives. Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens* (forthcoming).

<sup>4</sup> Naturally the word can manifest itself only in a suitable semantic context.



224–242). Dioskoros wrote letters concerned with small-scale transporting of vegetables. His letters are nearly all addressed to the same three persons, called Drakon, Eremesis and Ammonianos. The last one presumably was *curator praesidii* of Mons Claudianus.<sup>5</sup>

The salutary formula of Dioskoros is very idiomatic (all numbers refer to *O. Claud.*):

(225) Διόσκορος Δράκων καὶ Ερεμησις καὶ Ἀμμωνιανὸς κουράτωρ ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς φιλτάτοις πολλὰ χαίρειν).

(226) Διόσκορος Δράκων καὶ Ερ[εμησις] καὶ Ἀμμωνιανὸς κουράτωρ κ[αὶ] Πετοσῆρις καὶ Πανίσκος ἀμφοτέροι[ς] τοῖς φιλτάτοις πολλὰ χαίρειν).

(227)<sup>6</sup> Διόσκορος Δράκων καὶ Ερεμησις καὶ Ἀμμωνιανῶ τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις φιλτάτοις πολλὰ χαίρειν.

(228) Διόσκορος Δράκων καὶ Ερεμησις καὶ Ἀμμωνιανὸς κουράτ(ωρ)<sup>7</sup> ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς φιλτάτοις πολλὰ χαίρειν).

(229) Διόσκορος Δράκων καὶ Ερεμη[σις] καὶ Ἀμμωνιανὸς ἀμφοτέροι[ς τοῖς] φιλτάτοις πολλὰ χαίρειν).

(232) [Διόσκορος Δράκων] καὶ Ερεμ(η)σις καὶ Ἀμ[μωνιανὸς κουράτωρ]ος<sup>8</sup> τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις φιλ[τάτοις ? ? πλε]ῖστα χαίρειν.

(233) [Ἀμμω]νιαν[ὸς καὶ Πετοσῆ]ρις καὶ Πανίσκος ἀ[μφο]τέροις τοῖς φιλτάτοις κ[αὶ τιμι]ωτάτοις πολλὰ χαίρειν[ι].

The reference of ἀμφοτέροις is in all cases clearly three or more recipients.

In addition, in (230) Διόσκορος Ἀμ[μωνιανῶ καὶ] Σουροῦτι ἀμφο[τέροις χαίρειν] the reference is customary 'both' and in a fragmentary 233 ἀ[μφο]τέροις τοῖς φιλτάτοις κ[αὶ τιμι]ωτάτοις the number of recipients is unknown. Before suggesting any explanations some comments on Greek-Egyptian language contact will give useful context to these letters.

As we can see from the salutary formulas Dioskoros inflects recipients' name – as far as we can say – only once (Ἀμμωνιανῶ, 227),

<sup>5</sup> Bülow-Jacobsen, *O. Claud.* II, 43.

<sup>6</sup> The ostrakon is reused. The letter of Dioskoros has been written on the previous text of which some lines can be seen.

<sup>7</sup> The editor gives κουράτ(ορι) but the inflection is improbable.

<sup>8</sup> The completion κουράτωρ]ος is not plausible, as Dioskoros does not usually inflect this word, and even if he inflected it, the genitive would be strange here. Dioskoros was not so arbitrary in his opening formulas that this kind of form would be expected. Maybe another name should be read, e.g. καὶ Πανίσκ]ος, or the name Ammonianos is slightly extended.

which strongly implies that he was a native Egyptian speaker who used Greek as his second language (=L2). The uncertainty in inflecting names was typical of Egyptian speakers (see below). This Egyptian interaction is, in my view, very important when studying a) the use and b) the lexical meaning of ἀμφοτέροι in this context.

Greek ostraca and papyri show clearly that personal names were often left uninflected in certain documents, and there is much variation in the noun declension as a whole.<sup>9</sup> The reason of this frequent and systematic linguistic idiosyncrasy is the contact of Egyptian and Greek. Quite often imperfect learning and/or language attitude play a role in interference process. In case of language shift the shifting group may create both permanent changes and ephemeral variation in the language they are shifting to, i.e. target language (TL). Obviously some Egyptian speakers really shifted to Greek while others did not remaining more or less monolingual.<sup>10</sup> However, some amount of bilingualism certainly existed that was enough to create interference and cross-overs from Egyptian to Greek. There may have been lack of sufficient access to Greek in some remote Egyptian villages, if Greek was seldom spoken, but it is also conceivable that L2 users consciously or unconsciously used characteristics that are not typical among L1, i.e. Greek, speakers. Universally taken this kind of situation is common enough, and may result to a variety where L2 learners carry over some

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<sup>9</sup> See P.W. Pestman, "Egizi sotto dominazioni straniere" in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall'Ellenismo all'età araba. Atti del colloquio internazionale, Bologna 31 agosto – 2 settembre 1987*, Bologna 1989, 150–152. See also P. Fewster, "Bilingualism in Egypt", in J. N. Adams, M. Janse and S. Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and the Written Word*. Oxford 2002, 238–241; M. Leiwo, "Scribes and Language variation", in L. Pietilä-Castrén – M. Vesterinen (eds.) *Grapta Poikila. Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens VIII*, Helsinki 2003, 1–11 with references to further reading.

<sup>10</sup> On the extent and quality of bilingualism in Roman Egypt, see Fewster, 2002, especially 241–245. I, for my part, have a slightly more positive view on common Egyptians' ability to use Greek, since there seems to be quite frequent interaction showing overcross from Egyptian to Greek starting from the 2nd cent. BC, cf. the language of Hermias, M. Vierros, "Everything is Relative. The Relative Clause Constructions of an Egyptian Scribe Writing Greek" in *Grapta Poikila*, cit., 13–23. If Greek in Egypt has extensive morphosyntactic interference, it has to have been widely used by the Egyptian speakers. However, this is a problematic issue, and needs detailed linguistic analysis of Greek morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies in Egypt from the Egyptian point of view. Only after such analysis we can tell the amount of interference.

features of their own native language, especially marked features, into their version of the TL. Moreover, if the shifting group is not integrated into the original TL-speaking community, this may create an amalgam, TL<sub>3</sub>, of the two varieties, that are TL<sub>1</sub>, which is the original native speakers' variety, and TL<sub>2</sub>, which is the variety of the shifting group.<sup>11</sup> What we cannot say at this moment, is how extensive this kind of amalgam was in Egypt. It is, however, possible that the use of ἀμφοτέροι sheds some small amount of light to this extensive question, if the outlines of my suggestion concerning its use are at all plausible.

In Egyptian one of the most marked features compared to Greek is the lack of noun inflection, i.e. there are no grammatical cases. Egyptians, who were not masters of Greek grammar, had difficulties, or were careless, with the Greek noun declension because Egyptian nouns had no cases.<sup>12</sup> Nor did Egyptian scribes who had a good command of Greek always follow strict rules, although there seems to have been various commonly used idioms and conventions.<sup>13</sup> The indifference in using case endings has even some sociolinguistic reasons, as in draft documents more variation can be found than in official ones. There may, however, have been various psycholinguistic factors functioning in the writer's mind as well, for instance a feeling that some words have to be inflected more carefully than others.<sup>14</sup> In any case, if the Egyptian name was not integrated in the Greek morphology, i.e. it was not Hellenized, it was not even possible to add case endings to it. We can be confident in arguing that the contact of Greek and Egyptian had a considerable effect on the Greek variety written by miscellaneous Egyptian scribes or any writers, and their native language has to be taken into account when providing an accurate description of all Greek varieties in Egypt.<sup>15</sup> After this short excursion to the theoretical background

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<sup>11</sup> S.G. Thomason, *Language Contact. An Introduction*. Edinburg 2001, 74–75.

<sup>12</sup> Leiwo (above n. 9 and above n. 3). As regards the inflection of Egyptian and Hellenized names, see P.W. Pestman (above n. 9) 150–152; Fewster (above n. 9) 239–241. For the theoretical background, see Thomason (above n. 11, 66–71; 74–76).

<sup>13</sup> See P.W. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*, Leuven 1993, § 25; F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods II, Morphology*, Milano 1981, 57–61; 72–74; 78–79 lists the variation in declension of some names without commenting on the reasons.

<sup>14</sup> Leiwo (above n. 9, 8–10).

<sup>15</sup> On interference in the formation of relative clauses during the 2nd cent. BC, see M.

of contact-induced change and variation, we turn back to our sources.

Other examples from the Mons Claudianus data containing ἀμφοτέροι are as follows. A standardlike morphosyntax can be seen in the salutary formula of two letters. The addressees of a letter of Didymos are the same as those of Dioskoros:

(237) Δίδυμος Δράκωνει καὶ Ερημησις καὶ Ἀμωνιανῶι ἀμφοτέροις πολλὰ χαίρειν).

Didymos leaves only the name Ερημησις uninflected, even if it seemingly has the Greek nominative ending *-is*. But the name is not, perhaps, properly Hellenized, and is therefore left uninflected. This is not at all strange, since uninflected foreign nouns are common and well tolerated in many inflecting languages, whereas borrowed verbs are generally adapted into the morphology of the target language, because their syntactic weight is greater.<sup>16</sup>

A letter of Maximus contains ἀμφοτέροις connected with 5 names which all are inflected in the dative:

(260) Μάξιμος Ἀλεξᾶτι καὶ Ὀρσενούφι καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ καὶ Μαρίνῳ καὶ Λέοντι ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

All the above examples from Mons Claudianus share, thus, the same idiom ἀμφοτέροις (mostly together with τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς or τοῖς φιλτάτοις) always inflected in the dative plural.<sup>17</sup> It is conceivable that the visual, and perhaps even phonetic, representation of this idiom has led to a transfixed use without proper understanding of the grammatical form of the noun as in *O. Claud.* 267 where the word should be in the nominative ἀμφοτέροι. I will come back to this question below:

(267) Νωρβανὸς καὶ Ἡρακ[λείδης (?) ἀμφο]τέροις Ταυρίνῳ πλεῖστα χαίρειν. πρὸ μὲν παντὸς εὐχ[όμεθα σε ἰσχύειν (?)] καὶ ὑγιαίνειν...

Norbanus, who had a good Latin name, seems to have been more

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Vierros (above n. 10, 13–23).

<sup>16</sup> W.U. Dressler, "What is the Core of Morphology", in J. Niemi, T. Odlin and J. Heikkinen (eds.), *Language Contact, Variation and Change* (Studies in Languages 32), Joensuu 1998, 26.

<sup>17</sup> The use of φιλτάτοις as an epithet becomes popular from the last half of the 2nd century onwards. The formula is usually, e.g., Ἀπολλώνιος στρατηγ[ὸ]ς Ἀπολλωνοπολίτου Ἑπτακωμίας Διδύμῳ καὶ Ἡρακλείῳ ἐπισκέπταις τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ τοῖς φιλτάτοις χαίρειν (*P. Brem.* 3, AD 2nd cent.).

familiar with Latin than Greek since he used a Latin salutary idiom translated into Greek in 268 (cf. also the letter of a Τιτιοῖς, O. *Claud.* 283). Norbanus is a L2 user in this context which explains the syntactic lapse ἀμφο]τέροις pro ἀμφοτέροι in 267 above (the reading ἀμφο]τέροις is more than probable), and it shows at the same time how this word was almost transfixed to the dative plural in this context.<sup>18</sup> Even 268 has a shaky syntax. The formula goes as follows:

(268) Νωρβανὸς Ταυρίνω τῷ ἀδελφῷ πλείστα χαίριν καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖ ὑγιένων καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ὑγιένω καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῆς κυρίας Ἰσιδος ... (= *ego quoque valeo*).<sup>19</sup>

In addition, I would like to cite what seems to be an excellent example of case confusion:

(280) Ἡρακλείδῃ καὶ Διονυσίῳ Πανίσκος καὶ Ἑρμίνος τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις πολλὰ χαίρειν. τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶμεν παρὰ τῆ Τύχῃ τοῦ πραισιδίου. ἔγραψες ἡμεῖν τότε ὅτι "ἔπεμψα διπλοκέραμον ὕδωρ". οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν εἰ μὴ μικρὸν κέραμον. κόμισεν τὸ σφυρίδιον ἃ ἔπεμψες ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν χεσμάτων ἵνα, ἐὰν εὕρῃς εὐκαιρίαν, πάλιν πέμψω ἡμεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. τὰ νῦν οὐπω γέγονεν τὰ λάχανα. μὴ ἀμελήσῃς περὶ τῶ(ν) δεμαχίων ἵνα ἀγοράσῃς. ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, προσφιλέστατοι.

'Herakleides and Dionysios to Paniskos and Herminos both, many greetings. We pray on your behalf to the Tykhe of the *praesidium*. You wrote to us then that "I sent double jar of water". He did not give us but a small jar. Receive the basket of excrement (?) which you sent to us, and send it back to us from him (?), if you find an opportunity. At the time, the vegetables are not yet ripened. Don't forget to buy the slices (of fish). We hope you are well, dearest.' (My translation)

In spite of the seemingly correct syntax in the salutary formula – the

<sup>18</sup> As the case for the addressee, the dative is typical in many structures as well as in the opening formulas, see e.g. *BGU* 1, 237, 7–9, 88–81 BC; *BGU* 4, 1102, 30–35, 13 BC; *BGU* 8, 1811, 1–3, 8/7 BC, see also, e.g., *P. Amh.* 111, 10, AD 132: καὶ Τεσενούφι ὡς (ἐτῶν) 25 οὐλὴ μετόπῳ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν καὶ Στ[ο]τήτει ὡς (ἐτῶν) 21 ἀσήμῳ ἀμφοτέροις Ὡρου τοῦ Πανεφρύ[μ]μεως. This practise lead to misunderstandings, e.g., *P. Fam. Tebt.* 24, 5, AD 124 (there are two almost identical copies of the same text. I have combined them): [Εὐάγγελον Πάτρωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ]ν τὸν καὶ Οὐαλέριον καὶ [Λυσίμαχον ἀμφοτέρους Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Ἀρποκρατίωνα καὶ] Ἀκουσίλαον ἀμφοτέροις (= ἀμφοτέρους) [Λεωνίδου ...].

<sup>19</sup> I have found only one nearly identical idiom in Greek in a letter sent from Rome to Egypt (*BGU* 1, 27 = *Chrest. Wilck.* 445 2nd/3rd cent.): [Εἰρηναῖος Ἀπολιναρίῳ τῷ] [φιλάτῳ] ἀδε[λ]φ[ῶ] πολ[λ]ὰ χαίρει[ν]. καὶ διὰ π[α]ντὸς εὐχομαί σε ὑγιένει(ν) καὶ ἐ[γὼ] αὐτὸς ὑγιένω. Latin interference seems clear in both cases.



dative Ἡρακλείδῃ καὶ Διονυσίῳ and the nominative Πανίσκος καὶ Ἑρμῖνος – the word order and the context together with *O.Claud.* 279, where the address is clear, all show that the recipients are Paniskos and Herminos, and the senders Herakleides and Dionysios.<sup>20</sup> This is further confirmed by the word order, as τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις agrees better with Paniskos and Herminos than with the other two names. I have not found parallels where the head and τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις were discontinuous in such a way that another pair of names would have been placed between the head and its attribute.

Although there are two recipients, they are later addressed in the second singular which is quite a common practice in these letters (e.g. 227; 228; 238 etc.). However, the senders refer to themselves in plural, although it is common to use singular even in that case, as the actual writer often considers himself the head of the personal pronoun. The confusion of cases in the salutary formula may, of course, be just a lapse, but it is fairly certain that the writer was an Egyptian. Further evidence to this is the ignorance of the antecedent of the relative pronoun (l. 10 ὅ pro ὅ) and the confusion of voiced and voiceless dentals even in script (δεμαχίων pro τεμαχίων).<sup>21</sup>

The letter of a Patrempabathes (272) shares the above mentioned characteristics, and it is clearly written by a person whose native language was Egyptian. His name is Egyptian, too, and it has not been recorded earlier.<sup>22</sup> The use of ἀμφοτερο is extraordinary and gives little credit to the writer's Greek skills (I understand the editor's stressing ἀμφοτέρο as if it were ἀμφοτέρο(ις), but the word is whole, and the place of the stress is odd as it is. The word should be left unstressed):

(272) Πατρεμπαβάθης / τῶ[ις] τρισὶ Βησαρίων καὶ / [...]εμων καὶ Ἑρμῖνος / ἀμφοτερο χαίρειν...

It seems that there are three recipients, but their names are not inflected. The beginning of the 2nd line is very worn, but -ισι is clear. The editor reads the numeral 'three' which, if it really is a number, is correctly put in the dative, although its use is somewhat strange. However, there are

<sup>20</sup> See also Bingen, *O. Claud.* II, 113–114.

<sup>21</sup> On relative clauses, see Vierros (above n. 9). On the interchange of voiced/voiceless stops, see G. Horrocks, *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers*, London – New York 1997, 62.

<sup>22</sup> J. Bingen (above n. 20) 102.



examples of numerals used in this way.<sup>23</sup> The conjecture τεισὶ gives the impression that there were three persons who had the same father (cf. *P.Fam.Tebt.* 44, see note 23), though this is surely not the intention of the writer. But there is no doubt that by ἀμφοτερο all the recipients are meant.

Should we then, on the basis of all above, draw a conclusion that the word ἀμφοτέροι has been subject to a semantic derivation which has expanded its meaning to 'all'? This conclusion seems to have been made by some philologists (see note 1 and below). Let us have a closer look at the other data.

### 3. *Acts of the Apostles*

J.B. Bury suggested already at the end of the 19th century that the word really expanded its meaning from 'both' to 'all', and after his articles in the *Classical Review* and *Byzantinische Zeitung*, the assumed semantic derivation has been generally approved.<sup>24</sup> According to Bury, the change was, however, late, starting from the 10th century at the earliest, in spite of some examples in the *Acts of the Apostles*.<sup>25</sup> These instances together with some papyrological data are, however, worth of some discussion.

It is generally considered that the *Acts* were written in ca. 80–90, perhaps in Rome.<sup>26</sup> The writer writes good and rather old-fashioned Greek. The passage 19.14–16 of the *Acts* refers to the seven sons of Skeuas the ἀρχιερεύς who were attacked by a man possessed by an evil spirit. The commonly approved text has κατακυριεύσας ἀμφοτέρων ἴσχυσε (=τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρόν) κατ'αὐτῶν. The *Vulgata* follows the Greek text and has here *et dominatus amborum, invaluit contra eos*. There are, however,

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., *P.Fam.Tebt.* 44, AD 188–9: ἀντίγρα(φον) ἀναφορίου. Οὐαλερίῳ [τ]ῷ καὶ Φιλαντινόῳ καὶ Φιλαντινόῳ τῷ καὶ Ἡρώδῃ ἀ[μφοτέροις Φιλαντι]νόου τοῦ καὶ Νιλάμμωνος καὶ Ἡρακλεία καὶ Διδύμη καὶ Φιλοσεράπιδι τοῖς τρισὶ Λυσιμάχου τοῦ [καὶ Διδύμου Ἀντινοε]ῖσι παρὰ Πισάϊτος Διογᾶ ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Κερκεσοῦχω[ν] Ὠρους Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδ[ο]ς.

<sup>24</sup> J.B. Bury, "Ἀμφοτέροι in Later Greek", *CR* 11 (1897) 393–395; Eb. Nestle, "Ἀμφοτέροι = alle mit einander", *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 47 (1900) 1467–1468, and again J.B. Bury, "Ἀμφοτέροι for πάντες", *ByzZ* 11 (1902) 111. Cf. A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *O. Claud.* II, 44; Bingen (above n. 20) 260, note 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Act. Ap.* 19.14–16 and 23.8.

<sup>26</sup> I wish to express my warmest thanks to Ismo Dunderberg for this information.

some variants in the manuscripts which may originally be interpolations to the text, and even ἀμφοτέρων has sometimes been substituted by the standard αὐτῶν.<sup>27</sup> It is difficult to explain the meaning otherwise than 'all' or 'each'. However, the next passage has πᾶσιν: τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο γνωστὸν πᾶσιν Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλησι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι τὴν Ἔφεσον. The difference is that in the first case there is a set of sons, seven in number, who were attacked by the man each in turn. Even if a man was possessed by an evil spirit, he could hardly attack seven men together. The other passage simply tells that all Jews and Greeks in Ephesus heard of this incident.

The second passage, *Act.* 23.8, refers to three entities: Σαδδουκαῖοι γὰρ λέγουσιν μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν μήτε ἄγγελον μήτε πνεῦμα, Φαρισαῖοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσιν τὰ ἀμφοτέρα. *Vulgata* has *Pharisei autem utraque confitentur*. Later in this passage the holy spirit and angels are made a pair because both were capable of linguistic communication, λαλεῖν: εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ἢ ἄγγελος (*Act.* 23.9). It does not change, however, the fact that τὰ ἀμφοτέρα refers to three. The crucial question is, where did this use of ἀμφοτέροι come from? I suggest that its origin lies in the formulaic legal language, where the difference between "x and y = ἀμφοτέροι" and "x or y = ἐκάτεροι" was sometimes confused. This confusion takes place, for instance, in an idiom used to confirm the repayment of a loan.<sup>28</sup> The normal formula "x shall have the right of execution upon y together or singly or upon which ever x pleases..." can be seen in *P. Amh.* 2, 49, 6–9 (108 BC):

καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω Φιλουμένῃ ἐκ τε τῶν δεδανεισμένων ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ ἐκάστου καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἂν αἰρήται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς πάντων, ...

Sometimes this idiom was longer, which may have helped the confusion, cf. *P. Grenf.* 1, 18, 25–27 (131 BC):

ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω Ἀπολλωνία[ι] ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν δεδανεισμένων, καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξ οὗ εἰαν (= ἂν) αἰρήται, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς πάντων, ...

When confusion happened, the result was, in a way, opaque, as in *P. Rein.* 16, 32–34 (109 BC):

<sup>27</sup> At least two MS (Ω [Athos, VIII–IX saec.] and *Sura Vulgata* [V saec.] have *eorum omnium* and the 1893 version of the British Biblical Society has αὐτῶν.

<sup>28</sup> Mayser (above n. 1) 94.

ἡ δὲ [πρ]ᾶξις ἔστω Διονυσίῳ τοῦ δανείου ἐκ τε αὐτῶν Διονυσίου καὶ [Σα]ραπίδος τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ παρ' οὗ ἄν αὐτῶν νοήται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς πάντων, ...

The conclusion we may draw from this is that legal language has influenced the writer of the *Acts*. In both cases the word is used in a meaning 'each (in turn)' which, in my opinion, is a hypercorrect use of ἀμφοτέροι. It originates from the writer's confusion between the words ἐκάτεροι and ἀμφοτέροι and from his tendency to write in a high register which has overcross from the legal language. The use is clearly idiolectic and exceptional, since there seem to be no parallels in the *NT* or elsewhere.

The development in the other papyrological material is different, but I argue that even there the reason lies in a formulaic language, but the confusion between both and all (together) was strengthened by misunderstanding and imperfect learning. Some later papyri show clearly the path to this confusion.

#### 4. Path to Confusion

The word is generally used in the opening lines of letters or in receipts and contracts where usually two or more persons are mentioned. The most common type is "X to A and B, both this or that", cf. *BGU* 8, 1811, 8/7 BC:

[Εὐ]ρύλοχος Ξείνωι καὶ [Ἄρ]τεμιδώρωι ἀμφοτέροις Σατύρου καὶ [τ]αῖς τούτων γυναιξὶ καὶ [τ]έκνοις...

'Eurylokhos to Xeinos and Artemidoros, both sons of Satyros, and to their wives and children...'

This formula could be modified to the following type (*O.Petr.* 22, AD 2):

Πανίσκ(ος) Ἰσιδώρ(ου) Νικάνωρι καὶ Πετεασμῆφι ἀμφοτέροις χ(αίρειν).

'Paniskos, son of Isidoros, to Nikanor and Peteasmephis both, greetings.'

A typical opening formula is also of the form "A and B, both of the position..., to X". This goes, for example, as follows (*P. Sakaon* 15, date AD 308):

Αὐρήλιοι Πτολεμ[αῖος] βουλ(ευτῆς) καὶ Παννεῦς ἀγορ(ανομήσας) ἀμφοτέροι ἐπιμ[ελ](ηται) κριθῆς Αὐρηλίῳ Παησιῶ ἀπὸ κώμ[ῆς] Θεαδελφίας χαίρειν.

'The Aurelii Ptolemaios, councillor, and Panneus, formerly agoranomos, both supervisors from the collection of barley. To Aurelius Paësios, from the village of Theadelphia, greeting.'<sup>29</sup>

Here the reference is unambiguous. Aurelius Ptolemaios and Aurelius Panneus are referred to with the word ἀμφότεροι in its original meaning 'both'.

However, sometimes the syntax is not so transparent. See the following (*P. Sakaon* 12, date AD 298, l. 6-9):

Αὐ[ρ]ήλιοι Ἡρωνεῖνος, καὶ Φιλάδελφος καὶ Ἀθανάσιος, ἀμφότεροι ἐξηγ(ητεύσαντες) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας), καὶ Σερηνίων γυμν(ασιαρχήσας), δεκά(πρωτοί) ς-η/ το(παρχίας Θεμίστου μερίδος).

'Aurelii Heroninos, Philadelphos also called Athanasios, both formerly exegetai of Alexandria, and Serenion, formerly gymnasiarch, dekaprotoi of the 6th-8th toparchy of the Themistos division'.

The syntax is here more opaque, since the other person had a double name Φιλάδελφος (ὁ) καὶ Ἀθανάσιος. Double names were very common in Egypt, and the article was sometimes omitted like here. The signatures at the end of the papyrus show without any doubts that this interpretation is correct. However, at a quick glance or due to a careless attitude, this kind of pair was easily misunderstood<sup>30</sup> and the following discontinuous syntax increased the confusion even more (*P. Sakaon* 11, date AD 296 or 297 [the chronology has little importance, as here I am not giving a linear development but the reasons for the confusion]):

Αὐρήλιοι Ἡρωνίνοσ, καὶ Ἀθανάσιος καὶ Φιλάδελφος, καὶ Σερηνίων, ἀμφότεροι ἐξηγ(ητεύσαντες) Ἀλεξανδρίας, δεκάπρωτοι ς καὶ η τοπαρχείας Θεμίστου μερίδος.

'Aurelii Heroninos, Athanasios also called Philadelphos, and Serenion, both formerly exegetai of Alexandria, dekaprotoi of the 6th-and-8th toparchy of the Themistos division.'

The signatures show that all three persons were *dekaprotoi* but only

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<sup>29</sup> Translations by the editor.

<sup>30</sup> This has happened in the 4th edition of Bauer's *Dictionary* (above n. 1), and hence transferred to the English version of that dictionary by W. Arndt – W. Gingrich, *A Greek – English Dictionary of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, s.v. ἀμφότεροι, where in *P. Gen.* 69.4. the word is given as an example of the meaning 'all', but it refers correctly to two not four persons.

Heroninos and Philadelphos had been *exegetai* of Alexandria. Nevertheless, the word order is not transparent, and, therefore, a non-native Greek speaker can easily analyse the clause so that ἀμφοτέροι has all three persons as its head. This is made very clear in an, perhaps, even more Egyptian social context (P. Gen. 67, 3-5, date AD 382):

ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Ἀυρήλιοι Ἀμμωνιανὸς Πεκυσ[ί]ου καὶ Ἀ[σ]άεις Ἀτρη<sup>31</sup> καὶ Ἀπφοῦς Μάυρου καὶ Πουὰρ Ἀτίων[ο]ς ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ κόμης Φιλαδελφίας τοῦ Ἀρσιν[ο]ίτου νομοῦ.

'Aurelii Ammonianos son of Pekysios and Asaeis son of Hatres and Apfus son of Mauros and Pouar son of Ation, all from the village Philadelphia of the Arsinoite nome, agree (the following).' (My translation)

Here there are four persons, all of which seem to have an Egyptian background. They were illiterate, see 1.18–20: Ἀυρήλιος Κλαμάσιος γραμματ[ί]ον ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γραμμάτων μὴ ἰδόντων.

The scribe was, as far as I can judge, an Egyptian who shows the already familiar difficulties with the Greek cases writing ἀμφοτέρων pro ἀμφοτέροι. In my opinion it is evident that the scribe did not know the exact meaning of the word, but used it as an element in the formula referring to all parts of the contract. Thus I suggest that it was this kind of context that gave birth to the use of ἀμφοτέροι with reference to more than two. As we have seen above the Mons Claudianus ostraca show clearly that this confusion existed already in the turn of the first and second century. It seems also that some writers favoured formulas which they have learnt well even if they were not correct. Thus, the most of the Mons Claudianus examples showing this confusion come from Dioskoros. Next I discuss some later instances which have been considered to bear evidence for the change of meaning.

## 5. Byzantine and Modern use

Bury very plausibly showed that the majority of the Byzantine examples, where ἀμφοτέροι seems to mean 'all', have the original meaning of the word 'both'. He emphasised that phrases with ἀμφοτέροι had to do with grouping

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<sup>31</sup> The name is *Htr* 'twin' which is transliterated in Greek as Ἀθρε, Ἀθρης, Ἀθρηης, Ἀτρηης, gen. Ἀτρητος (usually), *Demotisches Namenbuch*, E. Lüddeckens & alii (eds.), Wiesbaden 1980–2000, Band I, Lief. 12, s.v.



of two different entities together, thus being in line with the normal use of the word.<sup>32</sup> But he also found a couple of examples where the original meaning seemed to have changed. These had to do with arithmetics. The passage which he cites contains calculations of the naval and military budget titled Διὰ τοῦ προχρέου where wages of officials are listed and summed up.<sup>33</sup> The sum is declared using an idiom γινόμενα ἀμφοτέρα. Bury suggested that the semantic expansion might have been the result of a reanalysis of this arithmetic idiom used in addition: γι(γ)νόμμενα ἀμφοτέρα which meant 'together' or 'total' or our '='.

Arithmetic addition was more difficult with the Greek numbers than with our 10 as there was no zero and the numbers totalled as many as 27. The method of teaching children to add seems to have been grouping into pairs, e.g., (((a+b)+c)+d)+e. As a result of this, ἀμφοτέρα was, in fact, correct, as it referred to the last pair, d+e.<sup>34</sup>

It is, indeed, true that this kind of semantic derivation from technical to a more general one sometimes happens – there are numerous examples in the modern languages. I believe, however, that it has not happened in this case, even if Bury argued so. Let us have some further evidence.

It is, in a way, surprising that the new *Lexikon der byzantinischen Gräzität*, fasc. 1 has not included the word ἀμφοτέροι among the entries.<sup>35</sup> All the entries which have this stem are combined words with ἀμφοτερο- as their first part. They all have a meaning referring to 'both' or 'double' or 'two'.<sup>36</sup> This is solid evidence against a general and widely used semantic change.

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<sup>32</sup> Bury (above n. 24) 394–5.

<sup>33</sup> Constantine Porph. *De cer.* 656, lines 11, 15, and 17, (ed.) Bonn. J.J. Reiske's 1829–30 Bonn edition is still the only full edition of Constantine Porphyrogenetus' *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*.

<sup>34</sup> Bury (above n. 24) 395. General information for teaching arithmetics, e.g. S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome*, 1977, 180–181; E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen*, Leipzig/Berlin 1914, 29–31; P. Collant, "A l'école avec les petits grecs" *CE* 11 (1936) 489–507; H. Maehler, "Die griechische Schule in Ptolemäischen Ägypten", in E. van't Dack, P. van Dessel and W van Gucht (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium. Leuven, 24–26 May, 1982* (Studia Hellenistica 27), 1983, 191–203.

<sup>35</sup> *Lexikon der byzantinischen Gräzität*. 1. fasc. Erstellt von E. Trapp, Wien 1994.

<sup>36</sup> Ssvv. ἀμφοτερίζω, ἀμφοτερόγλωσσοσ, ἀμφοτεροδεξίωσις, ἀμφοτεροπρόσωπος, ἀμφοτερόφθαλμος.

Bury argued that some examples from the medieval Greek literature show, however, that the meaning 'all' was possible at that time. I would like to suggest, though, that even there the grouping into pairs is the most common reason for the use of the word. Bury suggested that in *Digenis Akritas* there are some clear examples of the change from 'both' to 'all'. As evidence he cited *Dig. Akr.* II 244: καὶ ἀμφότεροι παρευθὺς εἰς τὸν γαμβρὸν εἰσῆλθον... 'and they (both) went at once to the brother-in-law' (my translation).<sup>37</sup> But this example does not show that there had been a change of meaning. In fact, even here we have the original meaning: a kind of pair consisting of the sister and her brothers who both went to the brother-in-law, i.e. sister's husband (cf. II 221 where the confused girl first goes to her brothers having her hair loose and tangled). In another occasion, where only the brothers are referred to, the text has another pronoun: σὲ γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἔχομεν ψυχὴν καὶ θυμηδίαν (II 240).

In other passages where a pair is not a possible interpretation, we also find the normal ὅλοι: καὶ ὅλοι σας ἀνατρέχετε ἀπέσω εἰς <τὸ> ποτάμιν (1720) 'and run all of you to the river away from here' and καὶ ὡσὰν τὰ εἶδετε, ἀγοῦροι μου, <εὐθὺς> ἐφύγετε ὅλοι (1723) 'and when you see that, my sons, escape all at once' (my translations).<sup>38</sup> The speaker does not include himself in his command.

In his *Lexicon of Medieval Greek* Emmanuil Kriaras gives the entry ἀμφότεροι the meaning 'ὅλοι μαζί'.<sup>39</sup> He gives various examples, which, after a close analysis, all turn out to include some sort of grouping into pairs. In the *Chronicle of Morea* the word is seldom used, but we find a couple of instances which give more light to its later use. Consider, for example *Chron. Mor.* H 2832 and H 4279:<sup>40</sup>

βουλή ἅς ἔχωμε ἀμφότεροι μὲ τί τρόπον καὶ στράταν  
νὰ πολεμήσωμεν καὶ αὐτὰ νὰ τὰ ἔχωμεν κερδίσει.

'Let us take counsel together as to the manner and campaign  
with which we should fight to win them  
(= the castles of Nauplion and Monemvasia) as well.'

<sup>37</sup> *Digenis Akritas, Poema anonimo bizantino a cura di P. Odorico*, Firenze 1995.

<sup>38</sup> *Dighenis Akritis, Versione dell'Estorial, a cura di F. Rizzo Nervo*, Messina 1996.

<sup>39</sup> E. Κριαράς, *Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας 1100-1669*, τόμος Β, Θεσσαλονίκη 1971, s.v.

<sup>40</sup> H = codex Hauniensis.

τοῦ καθενὸς ἐδώκασιν πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν ὅπου εἶχεν,  
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκλέξασιν ἀμφοτέροί τους ὅλοι  
ὡς ἄνθρωπον τιμιώτερον καὶ φρονιμώτερόν τους,  
κ' ἐποίησαν τὸν πατέρα μου ὡς ἀρχηγὸν εἰς ὅλους.

'each was given according to his rank,  
and afterwards all of them together elected  
my father, as the most honest and prudent man among them,  
and made him commander over all'.<sup>41</sup>

The interpretation of the first example is clear enough. Again there is a pair, I and you, as the speaker separates himself from the others, as is explicitly mentioned in H 2830: καὶ οὕτως εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς. They had to keep a meeting to decide together what measures they should take for capturing the two castles.

The other example is more complex and the text is different in P,<sup>42</sup> where we read ἀμφοτέροι οἱ πάντες. In any case, in H, there is a contrast between ἀμφοτέροι and ὅλοι which suggests that there is also a difference in semantics. The syntax of the clause is clumsy. If the text is correct as it is preserved in H, the words ἀμφοτέροι and ὅλοι are in agreement, but τους is strange. It seems to be a possessive pronoun with the preceding word as its head as in Modern Greek (e.g. τα παιδιά τους 'their children'). A gloss translation could be 'both of them all' being really 'all of them together' = ὅλοι μαζί in modern Greek, which must be what is meant. It seems that the word ἀμφοτέροι as opposed with ὅλοι also had a meaning that the lords all decided as if in pairs, one after another. This is further confirmed by the consecutive clause at the end of the sentence: ὡς ἀρχηγὸν εἰς ὅλους. He became the lord of them all, it is not a sequential process anymore. As a conclusion of this semantic analysis, I take one more example from the *Chronicle of Morea* (H 147-8):

εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον καιρὸν, εἰς τὸ ἔμπα τοῦ Ἀπριλίου,  
ἀμφοτέροι νὰ ἐσμίξουσιν, ν' ἀπέλθουν στὴν Συρίαν.

'In the following year, at the beginning of April,  
they would come together, to go to Syria.'

This example includes grouping again. There are two groups, the

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<sup>41</sup> Translation by H.E. Lurier, *Crusaders and Conquerors. The Chronicle of Morea*, New York – London 1964.

<sup>42</sup> P = codex Parisiensis.

Count of Champagne and the other captains, who had earlier decided 'that they would go, each to his own lands, to make ready for the expedition' (H145-6). One after another they would then come together (including the Count of Champagne) in the springtime to go to Syria.

From the above examples the semantic difference between ὅλοι, πάντες and ἀμφότεροι can be seen. The last is always used in connection with some group consisting at least two different parties whereas the other two do not share this function. It should be remarked, ultimately, that the word ἀμφότεροι is not used anymore in standard Demotic Greek, where 'both' is 'και οι δύο'. The word is still used in learned language, and its meaning is exclusively 'both'.<sup>43</sup> It is used in various contexts. There is a fresh example of its use in an article, where the writer favours other learned expressions as well:

Η εμμονή όμως σε μια φολκλόρ εκδοχή του δράματος της ιστορίας καταδίκασε σε αποτυχία δημιουργούς σαν την πολύτιμη Λυδία Κονιόρδου ή την ευαίσθητη Σαβίνα Γιαννάτου (αμφότερες έκαναν ντουέτο με τον Γιώργο Νταλάρα, ...).<sup>44</sup>

'...both sang a duet with Giorgos Dalaras'.

It can also be used in literary Greek translations:

... ένα οχυρό που διεκδίκησαν Βρετανοί και Γάλλοι, ώσπου, αφού εξαντλήθηκαν αμφότεροι, έπεσε στα χέρια των Αμερικανών.<sup>45</sup>

'... a fort fought over by the British and French until wearing them out, it fell into the hands of the Americans' (English original).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> See Γ.Δ. Μπαμπινιώτης, Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής γλώσσας, 2. ed. Athens 2002, s.v. ἀμφότεροι· το αμφότεροι δηλώνει μονολεκτικά ό,τι δηλώνεται περιφραστικά στις φράσεις 'και οι δύο / και ο ένας και ο άλλος μαζί'.

<sup>44</sup> Μ. Στεφανίδης, ΓΙΑΛΙΝΟ ΜΑΤΙ. Η κατάρα της Αθηνάς in ON OFF, Κυριακάτικη, ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΤΥΠΙΑ, 1.6.2003, 54.

<sup>45</sup> J. Eugenides, Middlesex 2003. Greek translation by Άννα Παπασταύρου, 119–120. I am grateful to Reetta Ihalainen for showing me these instances.

<sup>46</sup> J. Eugenides, Middlesex, paperback ed. 2003, 79. The Greek translation means literally 'as they both exhausted their strength'.

## 6. Conclusions

The above examples show that ἀμφότεροι did not undergo a real semantic change from 'both' to 'altogether', but obviously its function became more obscure than the original narrow use attested in the Greek literature up until Late Antiquity. Its use in legal language created a confusion between 'both = x and y' and 'each of two = x or y'. This meant that the meaning 'each (in turn)' gained some ground, at least idiolectically. The writer of the *Acts of the Apostles* seems to have used the word hypercorrectly as he aimed at a high register, but his way of using the word did not become popular, nor did it effect permanent change.

Formulaic use also created semantic confusion which originated in a non-native speech community. In letters and contracts ἀμφότεροι came to be used as a typical part of the opening clause, and sometimes its reference was ambiguous. Therefore, the semantic extension was due to a misunderstanding of the Greek idioms. The Mons Claudianus letters are an early example of L2 user's confusion in using Greek epistolary idioms. The multicultural context of these letters is obvious creating thus interference which had effect on the Greek variety in question.

I have argued that the use of ἀμφότεροι in the meaning 'all' has a very narrow papyrological context of imperfect learning and carelessness. The morphosyntax of the letters and other documents, where the word is used in this meaning, shows many traces of imperfect learning. Interference from Egyptian can be seen also in the form of careless use of Greek case-endings. The writers of the documents were obviously familiar with Greek epistolary and, at least some, legal idioms, but their full understanding of the meaning of these idioms was defective. In the letters of Mons Claudianus the phrase ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς φιλτάτοις/ἀδελφοῖς is a typical greeting formula which was attached politely to the names of the recipients without proper understanding of its original meaning. It was mainly used idiolectally, as the majority of the attestations comes from the letters of Dioskoros, who has many other morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies as well.

Medieval use confirms that in normal use the word was always connected to some sort of grouping into pairs, and in modern Greek the word belongs to a learned language, and its meaning is always 'both'. The expanding of the meaning of ἀμφότεροι is, thus, sociolinguistic: it is an example of hypercorrect use as regards the writer of the *Acts of the Apostles*,



and an example of imperfect learning as regards the *Mons Claudianus* and other documentary material, but it did not have permanent results which would have effected a semantic change.

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## ISIS UND IHRE NORDISCHEN SCHWESTERN\*

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Bei Werken über "Die Römer in Deutschland" wird neben den einheimischen und traditionellen römischen Gottheiten immer auch auf die orientalischen Kulte als dem einfachen Provinzialen sinnspendende Mysterien hingewiesen. Neben Mithras und Kybele erregt dabei der Isiskult besonderes Interesse. "Der Isiskult war gekennzeichnet durch Meditation und strenge ethische Grundsätze"<sup>1</sup> bemerkt T. Bechert, H.G. Horn weist vor allem auf seinen mystischen Charakter hin.<sup>2</sup> Beides lässt sich in diesem Bereich anhand der Bodenfunde sicher nur begrenzt belegen. Interessant ist aber meines Erachtens die Frage, wie Isis in den nördlichen Provinzen in den allgemeinen kultischen Kontext integriert ist. Aufmerksamkeit verdient diese Frage nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil immer wieder versucht worden ist, die *interpretatio* der Isis zu geben und zu verstehen. Auslöser für die vielfältigen Betrachtungen um Isis im Norden war sicher des Tacitus Bemerkung in der *Germania pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat* (*Germ.* 9,1). Hinzu kommt, dass Isis als weibliche Gottheit mit starken mütterlichen und fruchtbarkeitsbezogenen Eigenschaften vor allem im niedergermanischen Raum Anklang finden konnte. Dass sich in der *Colonia Claudia Arae Agrippinensium* eine – zugegebenermaßen bisher in keinem Zusammenhang mit Isis stehende – Reihe von Weihungen an die *matres Suebae* findet, macht die Frage noch interessanter, zumal schnell der Fall der norischen Isis Noreia in den Sinn kommt. Der in Mainz gefundene Isis- und Magna Mater-Tempel – als solcher wird er zumindest in den Medien bezeichnet<sup>3</sup> – gibt

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<sup>1</sup> T. Bechert, *Römisches Germanien zwischen Rhein und Maas (= Ger II inf.)*, München 1982, 233.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen*, hg. von H.G. Horn, Stuttgart 1987, 282.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.isis-mainz.de/>

weitere Impulse. Jedenfalls scheint es lohnenswert, sich die Isisverehrung in den nordwestlichen Provinzen unter dem Blick auf einheimische Verehrungshorizonte hin anzuschauen und sich zu fragen, ob es möglicherweise Querverbindungen gibt, ob eine gemeinsame Verehrung oder ein verbundenes Nebeneinander vorliegt, wie es etwa für Kybele und die Matronae Vacallinae in Pesch vorgeschlagen werden konnte.<sup>4</sup>

Über Kultgeschehen und den Mysteriencharakter rund um Isis, und zwar die "römische Isis"<sup>5</sup> sind wir durch Apuleius' Beschreibungen der Zeremonien in Kenchreai (*met.* 11) recht gut informiert.<sup>6</sup> Auch die von ihm beschriebenen Attribute und Kultgegenstände lassen sich an vielen anderen Orten des Imperiums archäologisch nachweisen. In Frankfurt-Heddernheim, um im germanischen Bereich zu bleiben, ist z.B. der sechseitige Stiel eines Bronzesistrums mit Inschrift gefunden worden,<sup>7</sup> in Köln der Deckel einer Cista mystica.<sup>8</sup>

Sobald man jedoch hier ihre Verehrung an konkreten Stellen durch konkrete Personen genauer fassen will, schwankt der Boden unter den Füßen. Auf literarischer Ebene erwähnen zwar eine ganze Reihe römischer Autoren Isis, nehmen auch Stellung für oder gegen sie, aber immer steht Isis in Rom selber im Mittelpunkt sei es als Objekt besonderer Verehrung, wozu etwa Tibull (1,3,9-14 ff.) sich bekennt, sei es als unrömisch abgelehnt wie bei Properz (2, 33a) oder schon 100 Jahre später Juvenal (*sat.* 6,522-531 und 3,62 ff.) .<sup>9</sup> Über Isis im Norden aber spricht ausschließlich Tacitus an der bereits erwähnten Stelle der Germania. Schon H. Schaaffhausen weist im Jahr 1883 auf die umstrittene Frage hin, ob Isis tatsächlich die ägyptisch-römische Isis sei oder ob Tacitus lediglich "einen ihm geläufigen Namen zur

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<sup>4</sup> U.-M. Liertz, "Kybele bei den Matronae Vacallinae? Eine Fallstudie aus der Germania Inferior", *Arctos* 36 (2002) 31–40.

<sup>5</sup> Zur "Romanisierung" der Isis vgl. Fr. Solmsen, *Isis among the Greeks and Romans*, Harvard 1979.

<sup>6</sup> Zuletzt ausführlich U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, *Kulträume im römischen Alltag. Das Isisbuch des Apuleius und der Ort von Religion im kaiserzeitlichen Rom* (PAWB 2), Stuttgart 2000.

<sup>7</sup> G. Grimm, *Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im römischen Deutschland* (EPRO 12), Leiden 1969, Nr. 84. Hier auch Hinweise auf weitere Sistra im germanischen Raum.

<sup>8</sup> A.a.O. Nr. 34 A. Die Zuordnung zum Isis-Kult ist nicht eindeutig, aber sehr wahrscheinlich.

<sup>9</sup> Eingehend erörtert bei Fr. Solmsen (Anm. 5), 67 ff.

Bezeichnung einer deutschen Gottheit" gebraucht.<sup>10</sup> Er selbst hält sie für ägyptisch – und seine durchaus sachlichen Begründungen spiegeln sicher auch den Zeitgeist Deutschlands am Ende des 19. Jh. wieder – aber er geht genauso auch auf die Argumente der "germanischen" Interpretation ein, etwa im Bezug auf die germanische Vorliebe für Muttergottheiten, den ebenfalls von Tacitus erwähnten Nerthus-Kult und die im 17. Jh. entdeckten Nehalennia-Altäre bei Domburg. Selbst die inhaltliche Parallele zu Isis-Noreia wird erwähnt.<sup>11</sup> Die grundlegende Fragestellung hat sich in den 120 Jahren seit dem Erscheinen des Aufsatzes nicht wesentlich verändert, wenn auch die Stellungnahmen für die eine oder andere Auffassung vorsichtiger geworden sind und die Forschung viele Einzelaspekte hat erhellen können. So bezeichnet Leclant<sup>12</sup> in den achtziger Jahren die "Identifikation der Isis mit einer autochtonen Göttin" als Hypothese, die sich aber zumindest ikonographisch nicht belegen lasse, Polomé<sup>13</sup> spricht von einer möglichen "sekundären" Verbindung der Isis mit Nehalennia und steht der Beziehung zu Nerthus eher skeptisch gegenüber, mahnt aber bzgl. Noreia unter Rücksicht auf Tacitus besondere Aufmerksamkeit an. Grimm<sup>14</sup> schließlich meint, Isis könne Nehalennia sein, plädiert aber eher für Nerthus und weist vor allem daraufhin, dass Isis-Verehrung erst seit Mitte des 2. Jh. nachweisbar sei und Tacitus daher die eigentliche Isis noch nicht habe antreffen können. Hier wiederum setzt M. Haase<sup>15</sup> an: Nach der Konfrontation des von Tacitus erwähnten *signum in modum liburnae figuratum* mit anderweitig überlieferten schiffsförmigen Gegenständen im Isis-Kult kommt sie zu dem Ergebnis, dass das Taciteische *signum* dem *cymbium* des Apuleius entspräche und damit als archäologischer Hinweis auf den eigentlichen Isis-Kult aufgefasst werden könne. In Folge davon

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<sup>10</sup> H. Schaaffhausen, "Ueber den römischen Isis-Dienst am Rhein", *BJ* 76 (1883) 31–62, hier 48.

<sup>11</sup> A.a.O. 44 und 46 ff. Nerthus bei Tac. *Germ.* 40, 2–4.

<sup>12</sup> Z.B. J. Leclant, "Isis. Déesse universelle et divinité locale, dans le monde gréco-romain", *BCH* suppl. 16 (1986) 351.

<sup>13</sup> E. Polomé, "Die Religion der Sueben", in G. Neumann, H. Seemann (hg.), *Beiträge zum Verständnis der Germania des Tacitus II*, Göttingen 1992, 180 f.

<sup>14</sup> Grimm (Anm. 7), 100.

<sup>15</sup> M. Haase, "Signum in modum liburnae figuratum (Tacitus, Germania 9, 1). Überlegungen zum Beginn des Isis-Kultes in Germanien", in (hg) W. Spickermann in Verbindung mit H. Cancik u. J. Rüpke, *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms*, Tübingen 2001, 317–338, insbes. 334.



könne aufgrund der Tacitusstelle der Beginn des Isis-Kultes in Germanien um wenigstens fünfzig Jahre vorverlegt werden. Der *interpretatio*-Gedanke ist für sie somit nicht mehr relevant.

Offensichtlich spielt bei der Einschätzung dieser Frage – und genauso offensichtlich wird sie als solche gestellt – der eigene Ausgangspunkt eine große Rolle: Für den Ethnologen, der den Suebenbegriff des Tacitus ins Zentrum setzt und von dort ausgehend beobachtet, ergeben sich andere Schwerpunkte als für den Religionswissenschaftler oder für den Philologen, der seine Kenntnis der Arbeitsweise und Kompositionstechnik des Tacitus zugrunde legt. Der Mysterienkultforscher wiederum sieht dieselben archäologischen und epigraphischen Zeugnisse unter einer anderen Perspektive als der Spezialist in einheimischen Kulturen. Sicher sind alle diese Ansätze gerechtfertigt und lobenswert. Ich frage mich jedoch, ob wir nicht zu befriedigenderen Ergebnissen kämen, wenn wir die Fragestellung ändern. Sie sollte nicht lauten: "Ist die von Tacitus genannte Isis tatsächlich Isis oder ist es eine *Interpretatio*? Und wie war dann der eigentliche Isiskult in Germanien?" Im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung sollte vielmehr ein Vergleich der Quellen und daraus zu folgernden Gegebenheiten einheimischer und importierter Kulte, in unserem Fall Isis, stehen. Daraus kann unser Verständnis der Entwicklung des Neben-, Mit- und vielleicht "In"-einanders dieser verschiedenen und doch ähnlichen Göttinnen große Gewinne ziehen und damit auch unsere Einsicht in die Gedankenwelt der jeweiligen Verehrer. Ein solcher Versuch soll hier unternommen werden, wohl bewußt der Zufälligkeit des auf uns gekommenen epigraphisch-archäologischen Materials und der damit und mit der geringen Zahl verbundenen Gefahren. Dennoch lohnt sich meines Erachtens das Unternehmen. Dieser Versuch soll auf zweifache Weise angegangen werden: Zum einen kann uns eine numerische Übersicht über dieses Material im gallisch-keltisch-germanischem Raum Anhaltspunkte geben. Zum anderen sollten aber auch einige neuralgische geographische Punkte genauer unter die Lupe genommen werden, um mögliche Einzelheiten aufzuhellen oder gegebenenfalls zu widerlegen.

Für die numerische Übersicht über das Vorkommen von Isis in den beiden germanischen und den drei gallischen Provinzen und in Britannia sowie vor allem als Vergleichspunkt Virunum, die Hauptstadt Noricums wurden sowohl verschiedene Datenbanken<sup>16</sup> als auch die entsprechenden

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<sup>16</sup> Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby ([www.rz.uni-frankfurt.de/~clauss/](http://www.rz.uni-frankfurt.de/~clauss/)) und

Corpora<sup>17</sup> herangezogen. Für Germania Inferior wird außerdem zwischen Funden aus der CCAA und dem Rest der Provinz unterschieden und für Noricum stehen die Zahlen für Virunum gesondert. Notwendigerweise vereinfachend mag die Aufteilung in die Kategorien "Isis epigraphisch", "Isis archäologisch" und "bezogene einheimische Zeugnisse" scheinen. Was ist gemeint? "Isis epigraphisch" fasst alle die Zeugnisse zusammen, in denen Isis in einer Inschrift genannt ist, hierunter werden auch solche eingeordnet, die außerdem noch eine bildliche Darstellung haben. Unter "Isis archäologisch" wiederum sind solche Zeugnisse gerechnet, die anepigraphisch von Isiskult zeugen: Dazu zählen einfache Terrakotten genauso wie ein Isistempel. Die in der ersten Kategorie gezählten Steine werden, auch wenn sie Abbildungen haben, nicht noch einmal gerechnet. Ebenfalls wird hier auch der oben erwähnte *sistrum*-Stiel eingeordnet. Aufgrund der insgesamt ziemlich geringen Anzahl wird an dieser Stelle nicht weiter differenziert. Die letzte Kategorie nun nimmt solche Belege auf, die entweder eine explizite Verbindung herstellen wie im Falle von Isis-Noreia oder die etwa aufgrund der Tacitusaussage möglich wären, also die *matres Suebae*, *Nerthus* und *Nehalennia*.

	Ger Inf		Ger Sup.	Bel	Lug	Aq	Brit	Noricum	
	CCAA	sonst						Virunum	(sonst)
Isis epigr.	10 <sup>18</sup>	1 <sup>19</sup>	2 <sup>20</sup>	1 <sup>21</sup>	3 <sup>22</sup>	0 <sup>23</sup>	2 <sup>24</sup>	4 <sup>25</sup>	1 <sup>26</sup>

Epigraphischen Datenbank Heidelberg ([www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/](http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/)). Zitiert werden nur die jeweiligen Hauptbelege, doppelte Aufnahmen in den Datenbanken wurden korrigiert.

<sup>17</sup> Insbesondere Grimm, Anm.7; E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* (EPRO 40), Leiden 1974; Haase, Aum. 15, 337 mit einer Tabelle über Weihinschriften an Isis aus den germanischen Provinzen.

<sup>18</sup> HD 019734 = Grimm 18 = Haase 9; HD 017772 = *AE* 1990, 729 = Haase 2; HD 017775 = *AE* 1990, 730 = Haase 3; *AE* 1999, 1097; *CIL* XIII 8190 = Grimm 14 = Haase 5; Grimm 14 a = Haase 6 = *BRGK* 58 (1977), 175; *CIL* XIII 8191 = Grimm 15 = Haase 7; HD 018954 = Grimm 16 = Haase 1; Grimm 17 = Haase 8; Haase 4 = *KJ* 20 (1987) 83–109, Nr.6. Diese Inschrift ist nicht in die *AE* aufgenommen und mir nur indirekt durch Haase zugänglich.

<sup>19</sup> *CIL* XIII 1337\* = Haase 10. Die Inschrift wird mittlerweile für echt gehalten (Vidman, Stolte, Haase).

<sup>20</sup> *CIL* XIII 5233 = Haase 11. Grimm 112 = Haase 12: Es handelt sich um eine Weihung an *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Conservatori, ceteris diis deabusque et genio* mit einer Darstellung von Isis und Sarapis und der Beischrift *Isis* bzw. *Sarapis*.

Isis archäol.	9 Bronze- statuetten, 3 Intaglio, 1 Lampe <sup>27</sup>	3 Bronze- statuetten <sup>28</sup>	10 <sup>29</sup> + Tempel in Mainz (?)	3 <sup>30</sup>			2 <sup>31</sup> + Tempel in London	2+ <sup>32</sup>
bezogene einheim.	5 <sup>33</sup>	Nehalennia <sup>34</sup>					5 <sup>35</sup> + (2 <sup>36</sup> )	(1 <sup>37</sup> ) + 5 <sup>38</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *CIL* XIII 3461.

<sup>22</sup> *CIL* XIII 1737; *CIL* XIII 1738; *CIL* XIII 153.

<sup>23</sup> Die Suche in den Datenbasen und in den Bänden des *ILA* ergab keine Belege für Isiskult.

<sup>24</sup> HD 012207 = *Britannia* 7 (1976) 378, Nr. 2: Es handelt sich um eine Bauinschrift eines Isistempels; *RIB* II 2503.127: Isistempel als Ortsangabe.

<sup>25</sup> Ausschließlich Isis: *AE* 1956, 44 = *ILLPRON* 614; *AE* 1990, 778. Isis Noreia: *CIL* III 4809 = *ILLPRON* 151. Noreia Isis: HD 014591 = *CIL* III 4810 = *ILLPRON* 648.

<sup>26</sup> Isis Noreia: HD 17885 = *AE* 1954, 44 = *ILLPRON* 1181.

<sup>27</sup> Grimm: Bronzestatuetten: 23, 23A, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 30A; Intaglios: 31, 32, 32A; Lampe: 57 A. Bei allen ist Köln als Fundort wahrscheinlich, aber bei einigen nicht sicher.

<sup>28</sup> B. Stolte, "Religiöse Verhältnisse in Niedergermanien", *ANRW* II 18.1 (1986), 608 weist auf 3 Bronzestatuetten aus Voorburg und Umgebung hin. Hier auch genauere Angaben.

<sup>29</sup> Grimm: Statuetten Bronze: 83, 92, 108, 115, 118, anderes Material: 106, 109, 123, 124; Sistrumgriff: *CIL* XIII 7378 = Grimm 84; möglicher Isistempel in Mainz. Von den Kleinfunden stammen übrigens 4 aus dem Raum Mainz Frankfurt.

<sup>30</sup> Grimm 144A (Statuette), 146 (Kopf einer Statue), 147 (Mosaik).

<sup>31</sup> *RIB* II 2503.127 Hinweis auf 2 Gemmen als Kultbeleg.

<sup>32</sup> L. Vidman, "Der ägyptische Kult in den Donauprovinzen", *ANRW* II 18.2 (1989) 980 erwähnt außer einigen Isisterrakotten und Bronzekleinfunden in anderen Teilen der Provinz, eine Gemme vom Magdalensberg und eine Statue aus den Thermen von Virunum. Vgl. auch H. Kenner, "Die Götterwelt der Austria Romana", *ANRW* II 18.2 (1989) 880 f.

<sup>33</sup> Matres Suebae: B. und H. Galsterer, *ES* 13 (1983) 6; *AE* 1998, 963 = *KJ* 31 (1998) 493; *CIL* XIII 8224 = B. und H. Galsterer, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln* (Wissenschaftliche Kataloge des Römisch-germanischen Museums Köln) (im folgenden als *RSK*), Köln 1975, 100; *CIL* XIII 8225 = *RSK* 108, *CIL* XIII 8497 = *RSK* 107.

<sup>34</sup> Die über 300 Inschriften aus Domburg und in Colijnsplaat leicht zugänglich in: P. Stuart und J. Bogaers (hg.), *Nehalennia. Römische Steindenkmäler aus der Oosterschelde bei Colijnsplaat*, Leiden 2001.

<sup>35</sup> HD 023964 = *AE* 1933, 129; *CIL* III 4806 = *ILLPRON* 150; *CIL* III 4807 = *ILLPRON* 147; *CIL* III 4808 = *ILLPRON* 379; *CIL* III 14363 = *ILLPRON* 148 = HD 014585.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. Anm. 25: Isis Noreia: *CIL* III 4809 = *ILLPRON* 151; Noreia Isis: HD 014591 =

Schon ein flüchtiger Blick auf die Ziffern zeigt, dass sich als Schwerpunkte in erster Linie die großen städtischen Zentren, Colonia Claudia Arae Agrippinensium und Virunum herausstellen. Ein weiteres Zentrum lässt sich sicher in Mainz fassen, wenn auch die Publikation der Funde und damit eine eingehendere Untersuchungsmöglichkeit abzuwarten sind.<sup>39</sup> Gleichzeitig zeigen uns die Fundsituationen in Londinium und Mainz, dass der inschriftlich praktisch nicht belegte Kult durch seine Tempel eigentlich am sichersten fundamentiert ist. Die bisher einzige Steininschrift aus Obergermanien wiederum belegt einen archäologisch noch nicht nachweisbaren Tempel bei Aquae Helvetiorum (Baden). Häufig ist schon darauf hingewiesen worden, dass Kleinfunde zu beweglich seien und zu leicht aus anderen als aus Kultgründen erworben wurden, sei es als Modeerscheinung in der Dekoration oder als Souvenir.<sup>40</sup> Dieses Argument trifft aber vor allem auf die zivilisierten, städtischen Bereiche zu. So scheint es nicht allzu überzeugend, dass die beiden Londoner Gemmen als direkter und dazu abgesehen vom Tempel einziger Kultbeleg herangezogen werden. Andererseits sollte man jedoch auch nicht alles ohne weiteres als profan abwerten. Es gibt heute praktisch keine Möglichkeit den ideellen Wert, den sein Besitzer einem Gegenstand beimaß, festzustellen, es sei denn er trägt eine explizite Weihung oder sein primärer Fundort legt eine entsprechende Deutung nahe. Wenn allerdings in einem wenig romanisierten, ländlichen Gebiet mehrere Belege vorliegen, kann die Waagschale sich möglicherweise eher zum kultischen hin senken.

Stolte, der übrigens zur Frage der *interpretatio* der Isis keinerlei Stellung nimmt, weist darauf hin, dass alle vier nicht im Kölner Umfeld gefundenen Zeugnisse der Germania Inferior aus dem selben Gebiet um

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*CIL* III 4810 = *ILLPRON* 648.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. Anm. 26: Isis Noreia: HD 17885=AE 1954, 44 = *ILLPRON* 1181.

<sup>38</sup> *CIL* III 5123 = *ILLPRON* 1934; *CIL* III 5188 = *ILLPRON* 1649; *CIL* III 5193 = *ILLPRON* 1655; *CIL* III 5300 = *ILLPRON* 1761; *CIL* III 5613 = *CIL* III 11781.

<sup>39</sup> Vor allem schriftliche Befunde wären natürlich von enormer Bedeutung. Über <http://www.isis-mainz.de/> und <http://www.roemisches-mainz.de/> lässt sich jedoch nur eruieren, dass sich Fluchtäfelchen bzw. Bleitäfelchen gefunden haben.

<sup>40</sup> L. Vidman, "Träger des Isis- und Serapiskultes in den römischen Provinzen", *Eirene* 5 (1966) 107–116, merkt an, dass Tempel und Kultgemeinden auf einen bleibenden Charakter und einen vor allem von der einheimischen Bevölkerung getragenen Kult hinweisen.

Voorburg stammen.<sup>41</sup> Leider erlauben die drei Bronzestatuetten keine weiteren Hinweise, und die einzige Inschrift führt *Isis frugifera* zusammen mit sieben weiteren römischen Gottheiten an. Sie ist von einem Centurio der in Bonn stationierten, aber vielfach zu Bauarbeiten im Norden der Provinz eingesetzten *legio I Minervia* dediziert. Dass in dem selben Gebiet auch die Nehalennia-Verehrung zuhause ist, lässt keinerlei Rückschlüsse auf eine Verknüpfung zu. Im Nehalennia-Heiligtum bei Colijnsplaat findet sich jedenfalls kein Hinweis auf irgendeine Verbindung zwischen Nehalennia und Isis. E. Cramer-Peeters<sup>42</sup> möchte auf einem, dem ihrem Aufsatz beigefügten Foto zufolge typischen Matronenstein in der sehr schlecht erhaltenen Inschrift die Götternamen *Freija*, *Isis* und *Imunis* (= *Nehalennia*) erkennen. Es wäre damit der erste Stein, auf dem die drei abgebildeten Matronen mit drei verschiedenen Götternamen identifiziert würden. Vielmehr ist wohl damit zu rechnen, dass es sich tatsächlich, wie auch sonst angenommen um einen Nehalenniastein handelt mit der Inschrift *Neihalenninis* im Plural<sup>43</sup> oder aber wie auf einem Stein in Colijnsplaat<sup>44</sup>, wo offensichtlich das halbfertige Produkt einer Steinhauerei mit einem nicht zur Abbildung der drei Matronen passenden singularischen Text versehen wurde.

Konkrete ikonographische Vergleiche lassen sich aus Mangel an Isisdarstellungen für diese Region auch nicht heranziehen. Die andere nördliche "Kandidatin" Nerthus ist inschriftlich und archäologisch nicht belegt. Das von Tacitus beschriebene Nerthus-Zeremoniell<sup>45</sup> lässt sich jedoch auch auf einigen Darstellungen des Nehalenniakultes feststellen.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Stolte a.a.O. 608, fügt hinzu: "Damit will natürlich nicht gesagt sein, dass es in Voorburg oder irgendwo in der Umgebung einen Isis-Tempel gegeben habe".

<sup>42</sup> E. Cramer-Peeters, "Frija – Isis – Nehalennia", *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 3 (1972) 15–24. Es handelt sich um *CIL* XIII 8798.

<sup>43</sup> So z.B. Hondius-Crone, *The Temple of Nehalennia at Domburg*, Amsterdam 1955, Nr.16.

<sup>44</sup> Stuart und Bogaers (Anm. 34), A 71 mit Tafel 51.

<sup>45</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 40, 2–3.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. U.-M. Liertz, "Los dioses indígenas ¿dónde están en la literatura Romana?", in: *Urbs Aeterna. Actas y colaboraciones del coloquio internacional "Roma entre la literatura y la historia." Homenaje a la prof. Carmen Castillo*, Pamplona 2003, 553–562, bes. 559). *CIL* XIII 8779–8802 und É. Ésperandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine* IX, Paris 1925 (Nachdruck Farnborough 1966), nr. 6639–6640, 6643–6660 weist auf Bedeutung des *velum* hin. In Colijnsplaat 15 Altäre mit



Die den drei Göttinnen gemeinsamen Merkmale wie z.B. Prozessionen, Verbindung mit Schifffahrt und Handel<sup>47</sup> erlauben uns lediglich zu behaupten, dass eine gemeinsame, parallele oder einander ersetzende Verehrung aufgrund dieser Indizien nicht auszuschließen ist, aber handgreifliche Belege für die eine oder andere Variante der Verbindung Isis-Nerthus-Nehalennia haben wir leider nicht.

Auch die wenigen Zeugnisse aus den gallischen Provinzen helfen uns nicht viel weiter: Die Inschriften selber geben keinerlei Hinweis auf einen Nexus mit Einheimischem, und die archäologischen Belege zeugen eher vom Luxus in weltlichen Gebäuden, nämlich einer Villa und den Barbarathermen in Trier.

Es ist an der Zeit einen näheren Blick auf die Situation in der Colonia Claudia Arae Agrippinensium zu werfen. Schon aufgrund der Anzahl der Belege ist zu hoffen, dass sich hier Hinweise finden, die das Verhältnis zwischen Isis und einheimischen Göttinnen aufhellen können. Unter den inschriftlichen Zeugnissen für Isis haben wir zunächst einen unveröffentlichten Tonkrug mit der Weihung *Isidi*<sup>48</sup> und ein Tonrädchen, möglicherweise Teil eines Spielzeugs mit derselben Weihung. Letzteres fügt außerdem die Namen von zwei Männern, wahrscheinlich Arbeiter der Keramikwerkstatt eines Regillus hinzu.<sup>49</sup> Beide Gegenstände sowie auch eine Tonlampe mit der Darstellung von Isis, Anubis und Harpokrates<sup>50</sup> zeigen, dass Isis im alltäglichen Leben auch ärmerer Leute zuhause war. Die Kölner Intaglios<sup>51</sup> wiederum weisen auf eine wohlhabendere Schicht. Die Abbildungen der Isis entsprechen ägyptischen bzw. ägyptisierenden Vorbildern. Einen anderen Eindruck hinterlassen dagegen die Inschriften und Abbildungen in Stein: Vier von ihnen stammen aus St. Gereon, was oft zu der Vermutung geführt hat, dass sich an dieser Stelle ein Isis-Tempel befunden habe. In allen vier Fällen handelt es sich um Weihungen

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*velum* vgl. Stuart und Bogaers, (Anm. 34) S. 25 mit weiteren Hinweisen.

<sup>47</sup> Vgl. bzgl. Isis Egelhaaf-Gaiser (Anm.6), u.a. 212.

<sup>48</sup> Grimm 17 = Haase 8 = Riese 2841.

<sup>49</sup> *AE* 1999, 1097 = B. Galsterer, "Eine neue Weihung an Isis aus Köln", *KJ* 32 (1999) 301–03: *Isidi / [Lu]canus / Regilli (servus) / Superbus*. Die Inschrift ist vor dem Brennen in den noch nassen Ton geritzt worden und reiht sich in die Kölner Terrakotta-Produktion ein. Eine Werkstatt des Regillus ist bisher noch nicht bekannt, a.a.O. 302.

<sup>50</sup> Grimm, 57 A.

<sup>51</sup> Grimm, 31, 32, 32A.



ausschließlich an Isis. Es lohnt sich die Inschriften genauer anzusehen:

*AE* 1990, 729: *Is[i]d[i] / sacru[m]. / Iulia A[ff]/leugi / f(ilia) [---] / [---] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

*AE* 1990, 730: *Isidi / Valeria / Afleugi / f(ilia) Hansuia. / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

*BRGK* 40 (1959) 208= Grimm 16:

*Isidi / Myrio/nymo / [At?]tius / [Firm?]us / [ex] voto / suscepto / s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

Haase 4 = *KJ* 20 (1987) 83-109, Nr. 6:<sup>52</sup> (Kalksteinaltar mit thronender Isis)

*Dea Isis*

Der Vater der beiden Frauen trägt einen ausgesprochen germanischen Namen, auch das Cognomen von Valeria war bisher nicht bekannt. Ob der Verehrer der Isis Myrionymus, ein auch sonst verbreitetes Epithet<sup>53</sup>, wirklich Attius Firmus hieß, sei dahingestellt, wichtig aber ist, dass er seinen Akt durch den Dekurionenrat ratifizieren ließ. Galsterer erkennt auf der Oberfläche Dübellocher, welche auf eine nun verlorene Statue hinweisen könnten.<sup>54</sup> Bemerkenswert scheint mir die Tatsache, dass in zwei von vier Inschriften die Zusätze *sacrum* bzw. *dea* auftauchen. Diese Zusätze, die insbesondere in Germania Inferior im Gegensatz zu anderen Provinzen erstaunlich häufig auftreten, sind oft als Zeichen für einen einheimischen Bezug aufgefasst worden.<sup>55</sup> Auch hier könnten sie durchaus eine Klarstellung von Seiten der Stifter bedeuten, wobei diese Tatsache selbst zumindest den Verdacht erregt, dass eine solche Klarstellung nötig war, weil Missverständnisse über die jeweils gemeinte Gottheit möglich wären. In diesem Fall aber wäre mit irgendeiner Form der *interpretatio* der Isis zu rechnen, sie wäre eben nicht eindeutig entweder die römisch-ägyptische Isis oder eine

<sup>52</sup> Zitiert nach Haase, S. 337, Nr. 4. Die Inschrift ist nicht in die *AE* aufgenommen. Die Erstpublikation mit einer möglichen Abbildung war mir nicht zugänglich.

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. Grimm S. 136.

<sup>54</sup> *RSK* 44.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Diis deabusque sacrum. Formulaire votif et datation dans les Trois Gaules et les Deux Germanies – Gallia Romana I*, Paris 1993, insbes. 16 f. Sie verwirft die Idee der *interpretatio* durch *deus/dea*, m.E. nicht ganz begründet.

unter diesem Namen bekannte einheimische Göttin. Interessanterweise lautet die Beschreibung des *dea Isis*-Steines: Kalksteinaltar mit thronender Isis. Sicher ist darunter eine ähnliche Darstellung und Position zu verstehen wie auf einem auch aus Köln stammenden Stein mit der Basisinschrift *Isidi invict(a)e*.<sup>56</sup> Grimm stellt in seinem Katalog lange Überlegungen zu dieser außergewöhnlichen Darstellungsweise der Isis an, ohne jedoch auf die naheliegendste Lösung zu kommen: Es handelt sich um einen Typus, mit dem germanisch-keltische Göttinnen in der Regel dargestellt werden und zwar sowohl einzahlige als auch dreizahlige. Schon ein Durchblättern des Nehalennia-Tafelbandes reicht, um die prinzipiellen Übereinstimmungen in der frontal thronenden Haltung feststellen zu können.<sup>57</sup> Die Kölner Bronze-*statuetten* dagegen entsprechen geläufigen ägyptischen und hellenistischen Typen. Eine Bronzeansata mit der Weihung eines *Q. Fufius Rignedus sacerdos an Isis augusta* unterstreicht die völlige Eingebundenheit in das alltägliche, provinzielle Kultumfeld in der Kaiserzeit, welches eigene Überzeugungen mit Loyalitätsäußerungen gegenüber Kaiser und Staat nahtlos zu vereinen versteht. Als Ergebnis könnte hier zunächst festgehalten werden, dass die Kölner Belege für Isis zumindest Anhaltspunkte geben, die eine Verknüpfung und Einbindung in lokale Kulthorizonte als möglich erweisen. Eindeutige Belege für eine konkrete Verknüpfung mit einer oder mehreren einheimischen Göttinnen gibt es jedoch nicht.

Viel weniger Aufschluss über Isis ist selbstverständlich aus den Weihungen an die *matres Suebae* zu erwarten. Wenn man Tacitus wörtlich nimmt und Sueben in der Inferior sucht, stößt man auf fünf Weihungen an *matres Suebae*<sup>58</sup> und logisch zunächst naheliegend wäre ebendiese Lösung: Einheimische bzw. stammeigene Muttergottheiten würden sich als "Rückübersetzung" geradezu anbieten. Da freilich für die einheimischen Stifter keinerlei Notwendigkeit besteht, ihre Göttin(nen) in irgendeiner Weise mit Tacitus' Isisbemerkung in Verbindung zu bringen, lässt sich dies natürlich nicht verifizieren. Wohl aber muss hinzugefügt werden, dass diese

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<sup>56</sup> *CIL* XIII 8190 = Grimm 14.

<sup>57</sup> Stuart und Bogaers, (Anm. 34). Allerdings sitzen auf den Nehalennia- und Matronensteinen die Göttinnen normalerweise in einer Nische, während es sich bei der vorliegenden Isis um eine Statue handelt. Vgl. auch G. Schauerte, "Darstellungen mütterlicher Gottheiten in den römischen Nordwestprovinzen", *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten* (Beihefte *BJ* 44, 1987), 61 ff.

<sup>58</sup> Vgl. Anm. 33.

Steine auf römische Weise in Latein mit römischem Formular ca. 100 Jahre nach Tacitus wie so viele andere Weihungen an einheimische Gottheiten errichtet wurden. Diese zeitliche Dimension – Votivinschriften in diesem Gebiet finden sich fast ausschließlich aus dem Zeitraum von ca. 150 – 250 n.Chr. –, sowie die an vielen Tempelplätzen feststellbare Kontinuität von Kult vor und nach diesem Zeitraum sollten zur Vorsicht vor vorschnellen Urteilen mahnen.<sup>59</sup> *Matres Suebae* wurden vermutlich ebenso wie etwa *matronae* lange vor Tacitus verehrt und Isis ebenso wie andere römisch-orientalische Götter wurden im Laufe der Jahrzehnte in den einheimischen Götterhimmel integriert und boten gleichzeitig Modelle für seine "Anthropomorphisierung". Dass daraus ein durchaus facettenreiches Bild entstehen konnte, ist recht einleuchtend am Beispiel Noreia und Isis zu sehen.

Im südöstlichen Raum von Noricum wurden an mehreren Stellen Tempel und Weihungen gefunden, die eine im folgenden kurz anzureißende Verknüpfung der offensichtlich einheimischen Landes-/Stammesgöttin Noreia mit Isis nahelegen. Ohne auf die gesamte, recht komplexe Frage einzugehen,<sup>60</sup> mag ein Blick darauf, wie die Göttin(nen) bezeichnet wird, genügen. In den Inschriften lassen sich folgende Gruppen unterscheiden:

### 1. Kombinationen von Isis und Noreia

Isis Noreia	Frauenberg / Solva (AE 1954, 98 = HD17885 = ILLPRON 1181)
Isis Noreia	Hohenstein / Virunum (CIL III 4809 = ILLPRON 151)
Noreia Isis	Ulrichsberg / Virunum (HD014591)

### 2. Isis alleine

Isis augusta	Toeltschach / Virunum (AE 1956, 44 = ILLPRON 614)
dea Isis Myrionyma	Zollfeld / Virunum (AE 1990, 778)

### 3. Noreia alleine

Noreia augusta	Hohenstein / Virunum (AE 1933, 129 = HD023964 = ILLPRON 149)
Noreia augusta	Hohenstein / Virunum (CIL III, 4806 = ILLPRON 150)
Noreia augusta	Hohenstein / Virunum (CIL III 4807 (p 1813) = ILLPRON 147)
Noreia aug.	Hohenstein / Virunum (CIL III 14363 = ILLPRON 148 = HD014585)
Noreia	Pulst / Virunum (CIL III 4808 = ILLPRON 00379)
Noreia augusta	Trojane / Atrans (CIL III 5123 = ILLPRON 01934)
Noreia augusta	Weihmoerting (CIL III 5613 = CIL III 11781)

<sup>59</sup> Vgl. U.-M. Liertz (Anm. 4).

<sup>60</sup> Eine ausführliche Darstellung bei Kenner (Anm. 32), 876–894.

## 4. Noreia mit andern Göttern

IOM + Celeia + Noreia	Celje / Celeia (CIL III 5188 = ILLPRON 01649)
Mars, Hercules, Victoria, Noreia	Celje / Celeia (CIL III 5193 = ILLPRON 01655)
? Aug. + Noreia regina + Britannia	Cresnjevec (CIL III 5300 = ILLPRON 01761)

Im Vordergrund der Verehrung steht also zunächst einmal Noreia, aber auch hier handelt es sich um eine in einen völlig römischen Kontext eingebettete Noreia, was etwa in der Loyalitätsäußerung *augusta* zum Ausdruck kommt. Zahlenmäßig gering, mit nur zwei Inschriften, ist Isis "pur" vertreten, was sich auch in der spärlichen Zahl von Kleinfunden bestätigt. Die eine der beiden, datiert in das Jahr 221 n.Chr. von einem *sacerdos* fügt das isische Epithet *myrionyma* hinzu, fühlt aber offensichtlich auch die Notwendigkeit, diese vielleicht doch nicht so allgemein bekannte Göttin mit dem Titel *dea* einzuführen.<sup>61</sup> Drei Inschriften stellen beide Namen, *Isis* und *Noreia*, nebeneinander und zwar in unterschiedlicher Ordnung. Fassten ihre Verehrer das zweite Wort als eine Art Attribut auf, im Sinne von Noreia, die auch Charakteristika der Isis umfasst, bzw. umgekehrt? Auch die Statue aus den Thermen von Virunum verbindet beide Elemente, indem sie in keltischer Tracht gekleidet und mit einer kleinen Schlange als Zeichen der Isis geschmückt ist.<sup>62</sup> Dem Wirkungskreis beider Gottheiten gemeinsam ist sicher das Füllhorn.

Was für Schlussfolgerungen ergeben sich für das Verhältnis von Isis und Noreia, und mutatis mutandis andere einheimische Göttinnen? Die Zeugnisse sprechen meines Erachtens von einer losen Verknüpfung, einem freundschaftlichen Nebeneinander und Miteinander, bei dem sich bisweilen die Bezeichnungen auch vermischen und dadurch die individuellen Grenzen verwischt werden. Es könnte dies als Hinweis darauf aufgefasst werden, dass der keltische Verehrer vor allem bestimmte Funktionen und Zuständigkeiten im Blick hatte und vielleicht auch in römischer Zeit in seinem Verhältnis zu Göttern nicht in anthropomorphen Formen und damit an Individuen mit konkreten Namen dachte, sondern sich in einer Palette von göttlichen Kräften bewegte.<sup>63</sup> Im Laufe der Romanisierung fand er auch

<sup>61</sup> AE 1990, 778: *Deae [Isidi] / Myrio[nymae] / C(aius) Ann(ius) Spe[ctatus] / sacerdos ex] / vis{s}u re[stituit] / [Gr]ato et Se[leuco] / co(n)s(ulibus).*

<sup>62</sup> Vgl. Kenner (Anm. 32), 881 und Vidman (Anm. 32), 980.

<sup>63</sup> Kenner (Anm.32), 882 ff. deduziert daher zu Recht die Charakterzüge der Noreia aus verknüpften römischen Göttinnen, außer Isis insbes. Kybele, Fortuna, Minerva und Victoria.

unter den durch den Filter Roms kommenden Göttern entsprechende "nützliche" Gottheiten, die daher mit in den eigenen Verehrungshorizont aufgenommen wurden. Dass dabei die Mysterienkulte im Vergleich zu den offiziellen römischen Göttern besonders anziehend waren, versteht sich fast von selbst. Die Notwendigkeit einer *interpretatio* ergibt sich damit andererseits vor allem für die römische Seite, denn Tacitus und seine Kollegen und vielleicht auch der heutige Betrachter denkt in Formen, in welchen Individuen und Persönlichkeiten klar von einander unterschieden werden. Isis besaß jedenfalls, wie auch die Mater magna, Charakteristika, welche ihre Integration in den kultischen Kontext der nördlichen Provinzen förderten. Funde wie der Tempel in Mainz können in der Zukunft sicher zur weiteren Erhellung dieser Fragen beitragen.

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## A PIECE OF DIONYSIAN HILARITY

LEENA PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN

In Graeco-Roman art Dionysos' followers, his *thiasos*, are always easily recognized through their ebullient characterization and stylistic features. Although popular in earlier Greek art across all media, depictions of Dionysos' companions became one of the most successful branches of Hellenistic and later sculpture.<sup>1</sup> A marble head of one such young satyr has ended up even in Finland, although it arrived only in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is, of course, no longer in its original context but rather a result of smart collecting by a sophisticated traveller.

It was a member of the Thesleff family, who according to the family's oral tradition acquired the marble head, nicknamed "the Boy". Unfortunately, any further knowledge of its acquisition, in the form of e.g. a note in a diary, was lost during the wars of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and thus, the exact purchaser remains unidentified. At least three members of the Thesleff family had an opportunity to purchase the marble head during their travels. The estate owner, Councillor of State Fredrik Wilhelm Thesleff (1824-1893) travelled extensively in Europe in the 1850s and the 1860s. One of his five sons, the city medical officer of Vyborg, Theodor Thesleff (1854-1899) honeymooned in Italy in 1890. Finally, another son, the engineer Wilhelm Thesleff (1852-1912), spent significant periods in Germany and might have bought it there as an import.<sup>2</sup>

### Description

The marble head is 14.2 cm in height. It is carved from a fine-grained white

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<sup>1</sup> R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, London 1991, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Personal communication from the present owner Prof. Holger Thesleff in May 2002.



marble, now covered with yellowish-grey patina. Delicate brown vein-like remnants on the left cheek and back of the head probably result from roots in the soil where it had lain. The surface is quite worn and weathered: the proper right side even more so than the left. The head is deliberately cut off immediately below the heavy chin. The ears and nose are broken. The front of the head is rounded, yet the sides and back are quite angular. The result is a certain blockiness, as if the trapezoidal form of the marble block is still present and the head has not fully freed itself (Fig. 1).

The crown of the head is slightly flattened with the hair rendered as long, simplified strands in lower relief. The hair is short and held back from the face by a wreath of ivy leaves (στέφανος κίσσινος) and bound with a fillet tied in a stylized Herculean knot at the base of the skull.<sup>3</sup> Due to the worn condition of the surface, it is difficult to discern the number of leaves on the wreath at the right temple, but we can assume it was symmetrical to the reflected pairs of leaves at the left temple. Above the forehead the wreath ends with two ivy fruits, of which only the right one is preserved. The right berry cluster, however, has worn into one large mass with a drilled center. The face is broadly oval and fleshy. The eyes are softly modelled but framed by distinctly carved upper and lower eyelids. The nose did not project far from the surface of the face as only the very tip is broken. The narrow lips are parted revealing teeth behind. It is possible that portions of the lips have worn reducing their appearance. The chin is also modelled and fleshy (Figs. 2–3).

This is the face of a young satyr expressing his ecstatic state with a half-opened mouth and wide-open eyes staring straight ahead. The expression is emphasized by both the glimpse of the teeth and the heavily outlined eyes.<sup>4</sup> His Dionysian identity is further supported by the wreath.<sup>5</sup> The ivy-leaf wreath worn here belongs most often to members of Dionysos' sacred band. It appears in sculpture, for instance, on many of the copies of

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<sup>3</sup> The use of the Herculean knot, a double knot, dates back to the archaic *kouroi*.

<sup>4</sup> The same basic facial features are to be seen e.g. in E. Simon, "Silenoi", *LIMC* 8 (1997) Pls 197b and 1999 (with beard), both dated to the first century AD.

<sup>5</sup> Wreaths of pine, ivy and vine-leaves are mentioned e.g. in the description of a Dionysiac procession in Alexandria in the first half of the third century BC, in the times of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus by Callixeinus of Rhodes and transmitted by Athenaeus (5, 197–198).

the Lysippean old Silen with baby Dionysus.<sup>6</sup> The ivy-leaves may be arranged upwards or downwards, and closely or widely set. This identification along with technical features and general character of the head allow for a reconstruction of its chronology and may elucidate its original setting.

### Chronology and Setting

To our modern eyes, it may look like the head is grimacing, but it is the face of a laughing satyr. The motif of a laughing satyr, often with the upper teeth showing, is quite common in Hellenistic and Roman art.<sup>7</sup> The laughing yet brutish countenance is a sign of Dionysian *hilaritas*, the happy laugh of the carefree, yet ignoble.<sup>8</sup> We may assume that the smile reflects the activity in which the satyr was once involved. The head is broken from a body, but satyr sculptures are seldom presented alone as they are by nature sociable creatures. The marble head may well have belonged to a *nobile symplegma* composed of two separate statues in the round and, according to Pliny, originating in the third century Pergamum.<sup>9</sup> A young satyr with a mischievous smile was a production of the second century BC, and has been associated with a female figure to form an open group, known as "The Invitation to the Dance".<sup>10</sup>

The grinning faces of young satyrs are also known from other group

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<sup>6</sup> See P. Moreno, "Sileno e Dioniso infante ad Atene", in *Lisippo – l'arte e la fortuna*, exhibition catalogue, Milano 1995, 252–255, and *ibid.* M. Bonanno Aravantinos, "Sileno con Dioniso infante", 380–381.

<sup>7</sup> A. Costantini, "Satiro e ninfa", in *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi. Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell'antico*, Venezia 1992, 168–172.

<sup>8</sup> Smith (above n. 1) 129.

<sup>9</sup> According to Plin. *nat.* 36,24 by the Younger Cephisodotus, a son of Praxiteles.

<sup>10</sup> W. Klein, *Vom antiken Rokoko*, Wien 1921, 45–47, fig. 14, p. 58. J. Charbonneau – R. Martin – F. Villard, *La Grecia ellenistica (330–50 a.C.)*, Milano 1971 (orig. fr. 1970), 315–316. Costantini (above n. 7), 168, 172. The dancing satyr, known since the fifth century BC and in a recent example from the bronze statue discovered in 1998 in Canale di Sicilia, does not smile. See P. Moreno, "Satiro di Prassitele", in *Il satiro danzante*, exhibition catalogue, Roma 2003, 104–107. This kind of ecstatic dancing seems to be connected most often to a backwards thrown head and a serious countenance.

compositions, such as the "Satyr and Hermaphrodite",<sup>11</sup> as well as from individual sculptures that have lost their partners and thus, narrative contexts. Well-known examples include the famous "Fauno Rosso", now in Rome but originally from Hadrian's villa,<sup>12</sup> a head of a satyr, the so-called "Fauno con Macchia" in Munich,<sup>13</sup> and a third in Princeton.<sup>14</sup> These are, however, not easy to date.<sup>15</sup>

Throughout the Hellenistic age, the bestial features of satyrs diminished to discreet. What was left of the animal in them was usually limited to a certain hairiness and prominent goat ears.<sup>16</sup> In our case, nothing much can be said about the ears, as they are fragmentary and partly hidden beneath the wreath. The hair does not follow the Hellenistic convention of curly coiffures. Rather, the low-relief wavy hair most resembles the gently undulating short locks of the Julio-Claudian portrait style.

Dionysian sculptures usually represented the beneficent side of the god's power. They reflected the joy and happiness that the god could disperse with the simple pleasures of song and dance.<sup>17</sup> As early as the second century BC, such subjects were much appreciated in luxurious Roman villa gardens to create an ideal Hellenistic countryside, often reflected in the villas's wall-paintings.<sup>18</sup> The demand for copies of Dionysian statuary in Italy and throughout the Mediterranean must have been great, and there was often no intention or even need to make

<sup>11</sup> As a parody of the Laocoon-group satyrs were presented also fighting snakes, or else, anguiped giants. See, C. Vorster, "Die satyriskoi im Konservatorenpalast an der Porta San Lorenzo", in *Hellenistische Gruppen, Gedenkschrift für Andreas Linfert*, Mainz 1999, 267–294. Also S. Settis, *Laocoonte: Fama e stile*, Roma 1999, 20–21.

<sup>12</sup> Capitoline Museum nr. 657 in Rome. W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom II*, Tübingen 1963, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 1420.

<sup>13</sup> Glyptothek nr. 222.

<sup>14</sup> B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.*, Bristol 1990, 321–324, Pls 160 a–b, without the wreath. A list of the known satyr heads in A. Balil, *Zephyrus* 32–33 (1981) 230–231.

<sup>15</sup> Ridgway I (above n.14) 312.

<sup>16</sup> Smith (above n. 1) 129.

<sup>17</sup> Smith (above n. 1) 127. To the light-hearted satyr may also refer the Herculean knot, see A. Nicgorski, *The Iconography of the Herakles Knot and the Herakles-Knot Hairstyle of Apollo and Aphrodite*, Chapel Hill 1995, 278.

<sup>18</sup> Charbonneaux (above n. 10) 315–316. P. Grimal, *I giardini di Roma antica*, Milano 1990 (orig. fr. 1984), 322–326.

recognizable replicas. Subjects and motifs could be copied, adapted and recast in endless decorative variations, especially among the small-scale figures,<sup>19</sup> such as our satyr head.

The surface of our marble head is quite worn, and since the root scars appear over the wear, then this must be an indication that a great deal occurred in its original location. It must have been located outdoors and have been exposed to the elements, especially water. Satyrs had a connection with springs and were used as fountain sculpture as early as the early Hellenistic period.<sup>20</sup> Since our head is well-finished on the back, it is unlikely that it appeared in a fountain niche which would result in a frontal view.<sup>21</sup> Instead, it is more likely that our satyr stood with a companion in a free-standing, unprotected place in the garden.

Technical aspects also help define the head's chronological limits. The hair is carved primarily with the chisel, and the drill is used only for the ivy-berry and ear canals. The limited use of the drill points to a date no later than the first century AD,<sup>22</sup> after which the drill becomes the carving device of choice. There is also no visible<sup>23</sup> plastic rendering of the iris and pupil of the eye. This custom was introduced into portraiture and other types of marble sculpture in the reign of Hadrian replacing the flat eye defined with paint.<sup>24</sup>

As there are no ancient literary descriptions of Dionysian sculptures, and so many are without archaeological provenance, we depend on the statues themselves to reveal their meaning and context. The motif persisted throughout a wide chronological period, but the sum of stylistic, technical and ideological characteristics give our satyr a voice. If our reading of the satyr head is correct in chronology and context, then he was likely a

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<sup>19</sup> Smith (above n. 1) 128–129. J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Late Classical Period*, London 1995, 75.

<sup>20</sup> One example of a smiling small-scale satyr from a fountain is, e.g., a bronze statuette from the Casa del Centenario in Pompei from the first century AD, in *Storie da un'eruzione. Pompei Ercolano Oplontis*, Milano 2003, 118, fig. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture III: The Styles of ca. 100–31 B.C.*, Madison 2002, 91. A single view point would date it to the years 100–70 BC, see Ridgway II, *The Styles of ca. 200–100 B.C.*, Madison 2000, 288.

<sup>22</sup> S. Ensoli, "Testa di Sileno", in *Lisippo. L'arte e la fortuna*, (above n. 5) 382, 6.13.1, the satyr head from the Capitoline, inv. 271.

<sup>23</sup> Taking for granted that it has not worn out with other details.

<sup>24</sup> D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, Yale 1992, 238.

protagonist of a group composition for a villa garden and may date to the early Imperial period.

### **Finnish Antiquarianism**

Three events may have affected Finnish private antiquarianism and an interest in ancient statues in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: In 1843 university students, probably on the initiative of the Associate Professor of Greek and Roman Literature, N. A. Gyldén, began a public fundraising to acquire a collection of plaster casts of ancient sculpture for the University of Helsinki, thus following the fashion of other European universities. During the next forty years a collection of more than seventy copies was acquired from Paris, Florence, Munich and Berlin and opened to the general public in 1880s.<sup>25</sup> At the University the founding of the Classical Philological Society in 1879 enlivened the philological curriculum<sup>26</sup> and may have interested culturally-minded people outside university circles in classical culture. Similarly, 1893 saw the foundation of the National Museum in Helsinki, and the discussion of its holdings and mission certainly encompassed the importance of the classical tradition in the visual arts.

The Roman tradition of enhancing one's home with ancient sculptures to express one's intellectual interest and knowledge in antiquity was revived during the Renaissance and re-invigorated during the neo-classical period. The satyr head in Helsinki is evidence of the same enthusiasm. "The Boy", however, also has emotional value as an heirloom. It is, furthermore, one of the very few known examples of ancient statuary in Finland.<sup>27</sup> For practical

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<sup>25</sup> R. Nikula, The history and background of the cast collection at the University of Helsinki (in Finnish), *Helsingin yliopiston taidehistorian laitoksen julkaisuja* 1 (1974) 65–114. P. Aalto, *Classical Studies in Finland 1828–1918*, Helsinki 1980, 147. L. Pietilä-Castrén, "Classical Reflections and Collecting in Finland", *Rivista di archeologia* 24 (2000) 132–133.

<sup>26</sup> Aalto (above n. 27) 186.

<sup>27</sup> Not more than five – excluding the statuettes – heads are known to exist in Finland, the satyr head under discussion being the only one so far published. By chance the only complete full-size statue in Finland is a copy of another satyr. See, L. Pietilä-Castrén, "A Copy of the Praxitelian *Anapauomenos* in Finland", *Arctos* 26 (1992) 97–104, and L. Pietilä-Castrén, "Upplyst samlande", in *Antiquitas Borea* (Acta Universitatis Ouluensis B 48), Oulu 2002, 108–115.



reasons it was, of course, much easier to bring from abroad just the head rather than the entire statue. To acquire a half-grinning satyr head was quite a courageous choice.\*

*Finnish Institute at Athens*



**Figure 1.**

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\* I am indebted to Prof. Holger Thesleff for his generous cooperation, to Ms Tiina Tuukkanen for the photographs, to Ms Hanna Maukonen for technical help and to Dr. Kathleen M. Lynch for constructive comments and language revision.





**Figure 2.**



**Figure 3.**

## A NOTE ON THE PTOLEMAIC ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων\*

ERJA SALMENKIVI

The highly bureaucratic administration of Ptolemaic Egypt has been a fruitful source for a vast amount of modern scholarly research. Even single officeholders, not to mention offices, have been studied in various articles<sup>1</sup> and monographs.<sup>2</sup> J. Frösén has studied the role of the ἐπίπλοοι in connection with the transport of grain in an earlier volume of this journal,<sup>3</sup>

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The information on the Ptolemaic ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is collected in *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (=PPT), vol. I, *L'administration civile et financière* (Studia Hellenistica 6), Lovanii 1950, vol. VIII, *Addenda et corrigenda aux volumes I et II* (Studia Hellenistica 21), Lovanii 1975, now also available at <http://prospptol.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/index.html>.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., M. R. Falivene, "Government, Management, Literacy. Aspects of Ptolemaic Administration in the Early Hellenistic Period", *Anc. Soc.* 22 (1991) 203–227, L. Mooren, "On the Jurisdiction of the Nome Strategoi in Ptolemaic Egypt", *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* III, Napoli 1984, 1217–1225, J. D. Thomas, "Aspects of the Ptolemaic Civil Service: The Dioiketes and the Nomarch", *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 17.-19. September 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz 1978, 187–194, just to mention a few of the articles that will be referred to in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* III (Münch. Beitr. 36), München 1952, J. F. Oates, *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus* (BASP Suppl. 8), Atlanta 1995, S. Strassi, *Le funzioni degli ὑπηρέται nell'Egitto greco e romano* (Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften 3), Heidelberg 1997, J. D. Thomas, *The epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt 1: The Ptolemaic epistrategos* (Pap. Colon. 6), Köln 1975, A. Verhoogt, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. The Doings and Dealings of a Village Scribe in the Late Ptolemaic Period (120–110 B.C.)* (Pap. Lugd.Bat. 29), Leiden – New York – Köln 1998.

<sup>3</sup> J. Frösén, "Le transport du blé et le rôle des ἐπίπλοοι", *Arctos* 12 (1978) 5–17.

and my aim is to comment briefly on the role of the official called ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in Ptolemaic Egypt.

It is easily detectable from the title (ὁ) ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, '(the one) in charge of the revenues', that the duties of this officeholder were mainly concerned with state income in general. The responsibilities included the income from the royal land and its arrears, tax collection, and state monopolies, as well as supervising distribution of both money and grain from the state to the soldiers as salary. All these duties are very similar to those of an *epimeletes*, whose role has recently been studied by B. McGing.<sup>4</sup> McGing has noted that "towards the end of the 2nd century BC the *epimeletes* disappears from the scene, his importance having diminished from about the mid part of the century, as the role of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων expanded."<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, M. R. Falivene writes that "in the case of the οἰκονόμος, this official appears to have been superseded by the στρατηγός in his newly acquired capacity of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων."<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, F. Preisigke suggested almost a century ago that in the first half of the first century BC, the nome ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων equalled the νομάρχης.<sup>7</sup> All these observations suggest that the function of the Ptolemaic ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is far from clear. There seems to be a consensus about the fact that the person acting as ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was usually the nome *strategos* and this is also easily detectable from the surviving papyrological evidence. But was the office of an ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων ever considered to be an independent one among the highest officials at the nome level of the administration?

H. Bengtson<sup>8</sup> has suggested that the first officials called ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων are Protarkhos and Ptolemaios who were both called ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα in the 180s BC (*BGU* III 992, 2-3, and *P.Haun.* I 11, 5). ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is also restored in *P.Lond.* II 227, 5-6 as the title of Ptolemaios who was possibly the nome *strategos* of the Pathyrites before 169/168 BC. All these three officials worked in Upper Egypt where the special status of the Thebaid is commonly acknowledged and the restoration of *P.Lond.* II 227 is, to my mind, quite uncertain. Thus, it seems that the first

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<sup>4</sup> "Illegal salt in the Lycopolite nome. Appendix: The Ptolemaic Epimeletes", *APF* 48/1 (2002) 51–64.

<sup>5</sup> Note 4 above, 52.

<sup>6</sup> Falivene (see note 1 above), 222.

<sup>7</sup> *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*, Strasßburg 1914, 47–50.

<sup>8</sup> Bengtson (see note 2 above), 47 note 2, 99.

certain occurrence of the wording ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is in *P.Tebt.* III.2 959, 2 (140 BC) where a person called Phanias is said to be the στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων.<sup>9</sup> The same Phanias (with an honorific title τῶν πρώτων φίλων) occurs in *P.Tebt.* III.1 785, 2, 786, 2, possibly in 787, [1], and *P.Duke inv.* 716.<sup>10</sup> These documents, dated to 138 BC in the *editio princeps*, are petitions addressed to him as *strategos*, who is also the one in charge of the revenues, from cultivators of the crown land.<sup>11</sup> Phanias worked in the Arsinoite nome, and his land holdings are still referred to in reports on the crops of Kerkeosiris some 25 years later (*P.Tebt.* I 61b, 47, 118-117 BC, and *P.Tebt.* I 72d, 360, 114-113 BC).

Phanias was succeeded by Apollonios,<sup>12</sup> who is mentioned as a shipowner with the title στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in *P.Tebt.* III.1 802, 7 (135 BC). Since Apollonios, too, was a *strategos*, it is likely that he is the addressee of a petition by the priests of the temple at Socnopaiou Nesos in 132 BC (*P.Amh.* II 35, 2). In the 130s, the combination στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is further attested in the Herakleopolite nome in a mutilated declaration on oath addressed to the *strategos* Polemarkhos (*P.Tebt.* III.1 810, 13, 134 BC).

In the 120s, ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is found only in *P.Tebt.* III.1 700, 67 (124 BC) and in an inscription from Philae (see the first Hermias in the table). *P.Tebt.* III.1 700, 67 attests a person called Eubios as πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ and the one in charge of the revenues. The fragmentary locus gives little idea of the duties of Eubios or the reason for him being mentioned there, but the two occurrences of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων confirm that this function was still connected to the function of the office of the *strategos* in the 120s. According to L. Mooren,<sup>13</sup> Eubios was an assistant *strategos*

<sup>9</sup> Apollonios (or Apollodoros) mentioned in *P.Ryl.* II 253, 2, would, if in fact the supplement ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is correct, be some three years earlier. The document is dated to 143/2 BC and assigned to the Hermoupolite nome. H. Henne has, however, suggested that the title of the person is ἐξηγητής (see *BL* III 161).

<sup>10</sup> Judging by the date (about 139 BC) and the region, that is the meris of Polemon in Arsinoites, *P.Tebt.* III.2 828 might also have been addressed to the same Phanias.

<sup>11</sup> About the possibility that *P.Tebt.* III.1 786 and III.2 959 could both date to 140 BC, see J. D. Sosin, "Abduction at the Threshing Floor: P.Duk.inv. 714–716", *ZPE* 127 (1999) 132.

<sup>12</sup> See also Sosin (note 11), 134 who speculates that the same Apollonios would have worked in the office of Phanias as a deputy-*strategos* in the early-130s.

<sup>13</sup> Mooren (see note 1 above), 1220.



and this interpretation is now supported by Sosin's overview of the occurrences of the title πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ in *ZPE* 127 (1999), 134 (see note 11 above). If an assistant *strategos* was appointed to the office of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, this might well indicate that the duties of the *strategos* were becoming too much of a burden for one person only. Actually, it seems to me that the office of 'the one in charge of the revenues' gained an independent status in the administration at the beginning of the 110s at the latest.

*P.Tebt.* I 5 (= *C.Ord.Ptol.* 53), dated to 118 BC, contains a series of decrees issued by Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II and the two Kleopatras, the 'sister' and the 'wife'. In one of the decrees which is preserved in the fourth column of the papyrus, the wording concerning the checking of the measures is: [π]ροσ τετάχασι [[καὶ]] τοὺς στ[ρ]α(τηγούς) καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προ(σόδων) καὶ τοὺς βα(σιλικούς) γραμματεῖς τὰς στᾶθμας τῶν μ[έ]τρων | [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ βελτίστου ποεῖσθαι... (l. 88-89). This passage is commonly understood to refer to the *strategoι* and to 'those in charge of the revenues' as different persons from one another. In fact, I believe that this ordinance is the earliest surviving document referring to an independent office of 'the one in charge of the revenues' and that the persons acting as ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων were ranked – just like the *strategos* and the *basilikos grammateus* – among the highest officials in the nome. It is interesting to note that in 117 BC in Thebes the office of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was assigned not to the *strategos* but to another high official in the area. In *UPZ* II 162, Herakleides is the ἐπιστάτης τοῦ Περί Θήβας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ νομοῦ whereas Hermias is said to be συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ νομάρχης.

Between 117 and 113 BC, the only references to ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων are preserved in *P.Tebt.* I 61, 64 and 72. All these documents are reports on the crops of Kerkeosiris, and they include several references to the cultivated land in the past. Thus, even though landholdings of Phantias, στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, are mentioned, it is clear that the situation referred to was in regnal years 30-34, that is the actual period when Phantias was the officeholder in Arsinoites, as mentioned above. *P.Tebt.* I 72, 25-26 is somewhat problematic because the land in question is said to be rented to three persons, Phaies, Marres, and Horos, by a διεξάγων τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὰς προσόδους in year 4 (114-113 BC). One speculative explanation for the vague reference to the revenues in



connection with the duties of the *strategos* may be that the person is said to be διεξάγων which, according to A. Verhoogt,<sup>14</sup> means a person under probation. Even though the office of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων would have been considered separate from that of the *strategos*, the *strategos* had to be aware of (and learn about) state income in general.

It seems to me that a strong argument in favor of the office of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων as an independent administrative unit can be found in the references to those working for 'the one in charge of the revenues', that is to οἱ παρὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in *P.Tebt.* I 64b, 17 and 72c, 263.<sup>15</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that in *P.Tebt.* I 27 (113 BC) we meet Asklepiades (see also *P.Tebt.* III.1 792) and Hermias who are "only" ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in the Arsinoite nome. Whether the one was subordinate to the other (as suggested by Preisigke<sup>16</sup>) cannot be answered here. What can be said is that, besides Arsinoites, we meet those in charge of the revenues as independent officeholders both in Upper Egypt and in Memphis about the same period. ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is the title of Hermias in Pathyrites in 112 BC (*P.Amh.* II 31, 2). Furthermore, Ptolemaios X Alexander's circular concerning the Serapeum was addressed to the nome officials in Memphis in 99 BC (*UPZ* I 106-107 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 62-63). In this circular, the *strategos* and the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων are listed as two different persons just like in the ordinance of Euergetes II issued some twenty years earlier.

Shortly after the turn of the first century (95 BC), we again meet the combination στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in the title of Lysanias in Arsinoites. In the 80s in Herakleopolites, however, it seems that Sarapion was "only" ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων whereas Theris was acting as the *strategos*. The honorific title of Sarapion is τῶν πρώτων φίλων (*BGU* XVIII.1 2747, 23), and Theris has the higher status of a συγγενής.<sup>17</sup> The circumstances in Herakleopolites might have been somewhat exceptional in the 80s, but soon after the succession of Ptolemaios XII Neos Dionysos, the function of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was also systematically united with the office of the *strategos* in the Herakleopolite nome.

<sup>14</sup> Verhoogt (see note 2 above), 32 note 57.

<sup>15</sup> A person working in the office of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is also attested in the Ombite nome in 65 BC, that is Poroues or Portes in *O.Joach.* 13 (=SB III 6924), 5-7.

<sup>16</sup> *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*, Straßburg 1914, 46. Cf., however, P. Handrock, *Dienstliche Weisungen in den Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit*, Diss. Köln 1967, 38.

<sup>17</sup> See further *BGU* XVIII.1 24-28, and *P. Berl. Salmen.*, 62-64.

From the beginning of the 70s BC onwards, our surviving evidence comes mainly from the Herakleopolite and the Ombite nomes (see Table). In Ombites between 78 and 65 BC, Pelaias is said to be συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ νομάρχης (*O.Joach.* 2, and 5) whereas Hermias, son of Kallias, holds the titles οἰκονόμος (*O.Joach.* 1, 5, and 7), ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ Ὀμβίτου (*O.Joach.* 10), and βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς (*O.Joach.* 2, and 4) in addition to his sacral role of πορθότης (a priestly office, 'the great one of Thoth'). The situation becomes more complicated when the same persons are mentioned in the 50s, Pelaias as συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων and Hermias as ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ βασιλικῶν γραμματέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ (*O.Joach.* 18). In the *editio princeps* (p. 45), Preisigke suggested that Hermias was an official of the toparchy and Peremans and Van't Dack have suggested that Hermias was a *collega minor* of Pelaias working at the nome level of the administration.<sup>18</sup> It seems to me that the division of labour between these two officials can be detected in their different roles in the controlling system as the one is said to be the *strategos* and nomarch and the other the *oikonomos*.

It is interesting to note that as the function of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was combined with the person acting as *strategos* in the Herakleopolite nome, another official was introduced to the administrative personnel, namely the ὑποστράτηγος. Besides the Herakleopolite archives of the first century BC, ὑποστράτηγοι are attested, as far as I know, only in Memphis (*UPZ* I 124, 34, 175 or 165 or 118 BC) and in Thebes (*UPZ* II 215, 10, 130 BC) in the Ptolemaic period.<sup>19</sup> Both Memphis and Thebes, however, seem to have a more sophisticated administrative apparatus than the rest of the *chora* for obvious traditional reasons.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to answer all the questions connected with the division of labour or the well-defined reciprocal control system of various officials such as the οἰκονόμος or νομάρχης and the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in this context. It is, however, important to bear in mind that sometimes the overlapping functions of various officials is only apparent, as

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<sup>18</sup> W. Peremans and E. Van't Dack, *Prosopographica* (Stud. Hell. 9), Louvain-Leiden 1953, 105–107.

<sup>19</sup> In the Roman period, a ὑποστράτηγος is only attested in *P.Oxy.* XXII 2340, 5 which is an Alexandrian document from AD 192. Two other documents, dated to the Augustan period in the *ed.pr.* mention a *hypostrategos*, *BGU* IV 1060 and 1061. The dating of these two documents, however, should perhaps be reconsidered.

Falivene has noted.<sup>20</sup> Thus, I am convinced that the Ptolemaic ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, as well as the other officials involved with the control of the state income, have had specific duties of their own even though their function sometimes evades our interpretation.

To conclude, it seems to me that the title ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων was first introduced to further define the duties of the *strategos* who was referred to as στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων during ca. 140-118 BC. At about the same time, the *epimeletes* disappears from the administrative scene of the Egyptian *chora*. The duties of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων were then separated from those of the *strategos*, and other officials, too, may have taken over the overseeing of the revenues as is the case in *UPZ II*, 162 (117 BC) in Thebes. By 113 BC, an independent office of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων had been introduced, and this officeholder had a staff of his own (οἱ παρὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων). The duties of the ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων were again united with the office of the nome *strategos* in the 90s in Arsinoites, and the same phenomenon is attested elsewhere from the beginning of the 70s and onwards. In the Herakleopolite nome, from which the bulk of the material of the first century BC survives, another official, that is the ὑποστράτηγος, was introduced at the same time.

### List of persons holding the office of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων

NAME	DOCUMENT	DATE	REGION	TITLE	PP# NUMBER	NOTES
Protarkhos	<i>BGU III</i> 992, 2-3 (=SB I 4512, [2-3]); <i>SB VI</i> 9367 <i>passim</i>	187/6	Thebaid	ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα	995 = 911 (that is <i>hypodioiketes</i> )	Protarkhos is also a <i>hypodioiketes</i> .
Ptolemaios	<i>P.Haun.</i> I 11, 5 (=SB VI 9424)	183/2	Thebaid	ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα	997 = 913	Ptolemaios, too, is also a <i>hypodioiketes</i> .
Ptolemaios	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 227, 5-6	Before 169/168	Pathyrites	στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων (?)	996 = 313	

<sup>20</sup> Falivene (note 1 above), 221: "The overlap with the nomarch's functions is more apparent than real here, as executive power (ἄρχειν) is to be distinguished from managerial power (οἰκονόμος)."

Sarapion	<i>P. Tebt.</i> III.2 924, 1-[2]	144	Arsinoites	στρα(τηγός) και ἐπι[	998 = 327 = Mooren 069 (L. Mooren, <i>The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography</i> , Brussel 1975).	This Sarapion is not the same person as the one mentioned in <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1, 743, see Mooren, <i>La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque</i> , <i>Stud. Hell.</i> 23, Lovanii 1977, 216-217 and Sosin (note 11 above), 135.
Phanias	<i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 785, 2, 786, 2, and possibly in 787, [1], <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.2 959, 2; <i>PSI</i> XIII 1310, 1&9; <i>P. Duke</i> inv. 716, 1-2	140-135 (118-114)	Arsinoites	τῶν πρώτων φίλων, στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	1001 = 340 = Mooren 071	Phanias is also mentioned in <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 61b and <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 72 some twenty years later. Interestingly, he is said to have been νομορχήσας in year 34 ( <i>P. Tebt.</i> I 72, 205).
Apollonios	<i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 802, 7 <i>P. Amh.</i> II 35, 2	135-132	Arsinoites	τῶν πρώτων φίλων, στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	973 = 222 = Mooren 072	
Polemarchos	<i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 810, 13	134	Herakleopolites	στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	993 = 307 = Mooren 098	
Eubios	<i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 700, 67	124	Arsinoites	πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίαι και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	981 = 255	Identified with Eubios, ἐπιμελητής in 118/7 (= <i>PPt</i> 941, see vol. VIII).
Hermias, son of Platon	A. Bernard, <i>Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I</i> , Paris 1969, doc. 64, 8 (= <i>SB</i> III 6116) + <i>SEG</i> XXVIII 1483 + 1663	125-118 (?)	Thebaid	τῶν πρώτων φίλων και στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	Mooren add.	The dating '125-116' can be refined to '125-before 118' if the ordinance of Euergetes II marks the independence of the office of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων.
Eirenaios	<i>P. Tebt.</i> I 72, 243	Before 114-113	Arsinoites	ὅποτε ἦν στρατηγός και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	977 = 250 = Mooren 079Bb	
Herakleides	<i>P. Tor. Choach.</i> 12 (= <i>UPZ</i> II 162)	117	Peri Thebas	ἐπιστάτης τοῦ Περι Θήβας και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων τοῦ νομοῦ	984 = 380 = Mooren 0142	
Asklepiades	<i>P. Tebt.</i> I 27, 99, 254; <i>P. Tebt.</i> III.1 792	113	Arsinoites, perhaps a single meris	τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι και ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	975 = Mooren 0188A	

Hermias	<i>P.Tebt.</i> 127, 18	113	Arsinoites, perhaps a single meris	ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	978	
Hermias	<i>P.Amh.</i> 31, 2; <i>MDAIK</i> 21(1966) 143- 144, no 3	112-110	Pathyrites	ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	979	
Lysanias	<i>SB V</i> 8888, 3-6; <i>SEG VIII</i> 466, 38-39; <i>SB III</i> 6152, 26-27	95-93	Arsinoites	συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	986 = 277 = Mooren 082A	
Sarapion	<i>BGU XVIII.1</i> & <i>P.Berl.Salmen.</i> <i>passim</i>	88-85	Herakleopolites	τῶν πρώτων φύλων, ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	Mooren add.	Theris (= Mooren 0100) as συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς at the same time.
Andromakhos	<i>SB V</i> 8754-56; <i>BGU IV</i> 1187; <i>BGU XVIII.1</i> , 2753-57; <i>P.Berl.Salmen.</i> 17-20	78-77	Herakleopolites	συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	= 211 = Mooren 099	
Hermias, son of Kallias	<i>O.Joach. passim</i> , (= <i>SB III</i> 6027- 34 & 6920-33)	78-65 54	Ombites	οἰκονόμος, ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ βασιλικῶν γραμματέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ	980 = 443 = 1069	Cf. Pelaias
Pelaias	<i>O.Joach. passim</i>	54	Ombites	συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	991 = 303 = 403 = Mooren 0148	Attested as συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ νομάρχης in 78- 65.
Dionysios	<i>BGU VIII</i> 1741- 45, 1747-54, 1767	63	Herakleopolites	συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	976 = 245 = Mooren 0101	About the succession of the Herakleopolite <i>strategoī</i> and the political situation in the country, see L. Criscuolo, "Guerre civili e amministrazione tolemaica. Il caso degli <i>strateghi</i> dell' Herakleopolites", <i>Anc. Soc.</i> 22 (1991) 229-234. N.B., however, that Andromakhos was in office in the early 70s BC.
Heliodoros	<i>BGU VIII</i> 1730, 1772, 1782, 1788, 1825, 1880, see further Mooren 0102	61/60 53/2	Herakleopolites	συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	983 = 258 = Mooren 0102	
Paniskos	<i>BGU VIII</i> 1755- 57, 1781, 1813- 18, 1820-24, see further Mooren 0103	60-55	Herakleopolites	συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	989 = 295 = Mooren 0103	
Seleukos	<i>BGU VIII</i> 1761, 1810, 1826-28, 1831-33, 1847	15.2.51-16.3.50	Herakleopolites	συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	999 = 330 = Mooren 0104	
Soteles	<i>BGU VIII</i> 1759- 60, 1794, 1834- 37, 1842-46; <i>SB</i> <i>V</i> 7611 (= <i>BGU</i> <i>VIII</i> 1794 A-B),	27.5.50-49	Herakleopolites	συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	1000 = 334 = Mooren 0105	



Eurylochos	BGU VIII 1769?, 1848-50, 1852; SB V 7609	47	Herakleopolites	συγγενής καὶ στρατηγός καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	982= 256 = Mooren 0106	
Aristomachos	BGU VIII 1783	Between 80 and 30	Herakleopolites	Σ[υγγενής] καὶ στρατ(ηγός) καὶ [ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων]	974 = 229 = Mooren 0108	
Kallimakhos	SB V 8334, 3-4; SEG XXIV 1217, 3-4	Between 44 and 39	Peri Thebas	Συγγενής [καὶ στρατηγός καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων	985 = 267a = Mooren 0143	

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## A STUDY OF *CIL* XIV 375, AN INTERESTING INSCRIPTION FROM OSTIA\*

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Among the Ostian inscriptions making reference to members of the family of the Lucilii Gamalae, belonging to the local nobility, there is one which presents features of especial interest, *CIL* XIV 375 (cf. p. 482), a lengthy text set up in honour of a certain P. Lucilius Gamala, son, grandson and great-grandson of men also called Publius. The inscription has not been preserved, but is known from copies made by scholars between the 16th and the early 18th centuries; on the basis of these copies the text of the inscription can be reconstructed as follows:

*P. Lucilio / P. f. P. n. P. pro/nep. Gamalae / aed(ili) sacr(is) Volk(ani), / [a]edili d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) allecto / [g]ratis decurioni, / [p]ontifici, / vir(o) censo/riae pot(estatis) quinquennal(i), / in comiti(i)s facto cura- / <sup>(10)</sup>[tor]i pecuniae publicae exigen/[d]ae et adtribuendae. / [Hic i]n<sup>1</sup> ludos cum accepisset public(e) / lucar, remisit et de suo erogati/onem fecit. / [Id]em sua pecunia viam silice stravit, / [q]uae est iuncta foro ab arcu ad arcum; / [id]em epulum trichilinis CCXVII / colonis dedit; / [id]em prandium sua pecunia coloni[s] / <sup>(20)</sup>Ostie(n)sibus bis dedit; / [i]dem aedem Volcani sua pecunia restituit; / [i]dem aedem Veneris sua pecunia constituit; / [id]em aed(em) Fortunae sua pecunia constituit; / [id]em aed(em) Cereris sua pecunia / constituit; / [id]em pondera ad macellum / <sup>(30)</sup>*

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\* Warm thanks are due to Dr. Giorgio Filippi of the Vatican Museums (see n. 4).

<sup>1</sup> For the addition of *hic* here, see below at n. 21. – Throughout this paper, I have used with great benefit the *Packard Humanities Institute* Latin corpus CD-Rom, and the online epigraphical data banks of Eichstätt, Heidelberg and Frankfurt (Claus / Slaby) which one finds listed under "fonti epigrafiche" by A. Cristofori in his enormously useful *Rassegna degli Strumenti Informatici per lo Studio dell'Antichità Classica* (<http://www.rassegna.unibo.it/epigrafi.html>).

*cum M. Turranio sua pecu/nia fecit; / [idem] aedem Spei sua pecunia / [cons]tituit; / [id]em tribunal in foro mar/moreum fecit. / [H]uic statua inaurata d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) / p(ecunia) p(ublica) posita est, / [i]tem ahenea d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ecunia) p(ublica) posita / [p]roxume tribunal quaes(toris), / <sup>(40)</sup> [propt]erea quod, cum res publica / [p]raedia sua venderet ob pol/[l]licitationem belli navalis, / HS XV (milia) CC<sup>2</sup> rei publicae donav[it]. / [Hu]nc decuriones funere pu/[b]lico effere[ndum] cen[s]uerunt.*

Another inscription from Ostia also honouring a P. Lucilius P. f. P. n. P. pron. Gamala who had held high offices, *CIL XIV 376*, is quite similar. In this text, too, there is long section dealing with the honorand's benefactions consisting of short sentences introduced by *idem*, and there is talk of statues, etc. Because of the striking similarities, there have been scholars who assumed that the two inscriptions referred to the same man; as the latter inscription (*CIL XIV 376*), referring to *Divus Pius*, has a *terminus post quem*, AD 161, this would have settled the question of the date of the activities and events described in *CIL XIV 375*; the *bellum navale* would have been a battle on the Rhine or on the Danube during the Marcomannic wars (the position of Mommsen). However, there are marked differences in the two texts, and from the late 19th century onwards the view dominating in scholarly literature has been that we are dealing with two different men.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> This is the text of our editions, but something seems to be wrong, as the sum seems incredibly low. (Contrast, e.g., the cost of the funerary monument of the sevir L. Numisius Agathemer in *CIL XIV 397*, which seems to have been HS 100,000.) I do not think that the problem is solved by assuming that this is not the whole sum that was needed but that Gamala just supplied the part of the total that was missing (thus F. Zevi, *MEFR* 85 (1973) 576), or that there is not talk of war preparations at all in the inscription (cf. below). The problem as I see it is in the wording of the inscription: the (*statua*) *ahenea* of Gamala, the selling of the *praedia*, and Gamala's donation are clearly represented as interrelated incidents, and to me it seems quite inconceivable that (a) the city of Ostia would had been considering selling some *praedia* to get this money, and that (b) someone should have been honoured with a statue *only* for having donated the modest sum of 15,200 sestertii. As the text cannot be considered as certain (cf. Zevi, *ibid.* 556 n. 1), it seems advisable to assume that the sum has not been transmitted correctly. (But note that, e.g., in R. Duncan–Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (2<sup>nd</sup> 1982) 217 no. 1334, the sum is taken for granted, in spite of the fact that this is by far the lowest sum under its heading.)

<sup>3</sup> For an exposition of the history of the interpretation of the two texts cf., e.g., R.

On the other hand, it is clear that the two texts must belong to the same archaeological context for, in addition to other similarities, they seem to have had about the same format. Inscription 376, now in the Galleria Lapidaria in the Vatican inserted in the wall, is a remarkably small oblong stone only 20 cm. in breadth and (as preserved) 58,5 cm. high.<sup>4</sup> Inscription 375, also inscribed with many short lines, must have been very similar in appearance; its height is given by Pighius as 4 feet. There are only 30 inscribed lines in 376, as against 45 in 375, but originally the text in 376 must have run for many further lines (see n. 4). In any case, it seems certain that the two inscriptions must come from the same monument, no doubt somehow meant to honour the Gamala family (cf. below at n. 19). Normally it is assumed that the formulations of the later text 376 (with archaic details such as *L. Coilio* in line 25) are due to imitation of the earlier text 375.

Separating the Gamala in 375 from that in 376 of course leaves open the date of the man in 375. A normal epigraphist reading 375 without taking

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Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (1960) 493ff., cf. 584; F. Zevi, *MEFR* 85 (1973) 557ff.; J. Krummrey in his note on *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3031a. The opinions of scholars in the 19th century are well covered by J. Carcopino, *MEFR* 31 (1911) 143ff.

<sup>4</sup> Its thickness is given as 14,3 cm. See the exhibition catalogue *Ostie. Port et porte de la Rome antique* (sous la direction de J.-P. Descœudres), Musée Rath, Genève 2001, where this inscription is described on p. 424 (XII. 2). It seems that the stone was taken off the wall in order to be transported to Geneva for the exhibition; but it was back in its original location in the Galleria Lapidaria in November 2003, when I was able to inspect it personally in the company of Dr. Giorgio Filippi of the Vatican Museums; I wish to thank Dr. Filippi for enabling me to inspect the inscription, for discussing the text with me, and for a copy of the squeeze. (About the same information on the appearance of the stone can be found in Dessau's note on *CIL* XIV 376 and in Meiggs' *Roman Ostia* (n. 3), in the annotation to Plate XXXVIII d.) For a good photo of this inscription see M. Fora, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano* IV (1996), Tav. XVIII, fig. 2 and Tav. XIX, fig. 1. (There are photographs also in I. Di Stefano Manzella, *Index inscriptionum musei Vaticani. 1. Ambulacrum Iulianum sive "Galleria Lapidaria"* (1995) 257, fig. 56 (GL 45, 30), and in the exhibition catalogue mentioned above, 144 and 424.) It is important to note that the stone is broken below and that originally the text went on after line 29 (with *est*). The traces of letters in the beginning of line 30 are clear enough to produce the reading *hic HS XXX+ [---]*, where only the third X may be a bit uncertain. (Already Dessau in *CIL* seems to have read *HS*.) This reading is interesting because as a result we have another detail in which *CIL* XIV 376 imitates 375, a reference to a sum of money spent by the honorand now appearing after the mention of statues in both inscriptions. – For some further observations on *CIL* XIV 376 see below n. 63. (It is an error that *CIL* XIV 376 is referred to as not existing by G. Mennella, *Quaderni Catanesi di Cultura Classica e Medievale* 3 (1991–95) 160.)

note of 376 (or taking the latter inscription to have been formulated on the basis of 375) would probably turn her or his thoughts to the earlier empire. But the fact is that, as amazing it may seem, dates proposed for this inscription, or at least for the *floruit* of the honorand, vary from the time of Sulla to the time of Trajan; we are thus talking of a period of about two hundred years. As for the arguments presented in the discussion on the date, the variation in them is truly marvellous, although it must be admitted that not all arguments presented in favour of a certain proposed date seem equally impressive.<sup>5</sup>

In dealing with the text of *CIL* XIV 375, scholars have concentrated above all on two details mentioned in the inscription, namely on the *bellum navale* in line 42, and on the list of temples said to have been built by the honorand in lines 23–8 and 32–3. But almost all details mentioned in the inscription have been commented upon, for instance the *epulum* and *prandium* in lines 17–20 (introduced into the discussion by J.H. D'Arms in 2000, see below at n. 14), the fact that the colleague of Gamala in line 30 is called simply *M. Turranius*, the mention of the *tribunal quaes(toris)* in line 39,<sup>6</sup> and the fact that the inscription was found in Portus where building began in the time of Claudius (not decisive and not often referred to nowadays).

It may be of some use to sum up briefly the discussion subsequent upon Meiggs's classic exposition published in 1960, beginning with Meiggs himself (who, as mentioned in n. 3, offers a most useful survey of the discussion regarding *CIL* XIV 375 and 376). His position is basically as follows (p. 499–501, cf. 566f.): the Gamala in 375 is to be assigned to the time of Augustus and the *bellum navale* in line 42 is the war against Sex. Pompeius of 38–36 BC. As he is here dismissing theories assigning the man to a much later period, he adduces at this point some aspects of the

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<sup>5</sup> The weirdest argument brought into play in favour of a certain dating may be that presented by V. Rosenberger, *Bella et expeditiones* (1992) 174f., who seems to say that 375 cannot be very much earlier than 376 because from this it would follow that the Lucilii Gamalae used the praenomen *Publius* (attested already for the great-grandfather of the earlier Gamala) for centuries. But this is exactly the kind of thing that was going on in Roman families.

<sup>6</sup> This *quaestor* cannot be anyone other than but the *quaestor Ostiensis* (F. Zevi, *MEFR* 114 (2002) 37 n. 68); as this office was suppressed by Claudius (Meiggs (n. 3) 55; cf. W. Eck, *L'Italia nell'impero romano* (1999) 10), the mention of his *tribunal* would seem to furnish a *terminus ante quem* (J. Carcopino, *MEFR* 31 (1911) 203).



inscription pointing to an early dating.<sup>7</sup>

The next significant stage in the discussion on the dating of the Gamala in *CIL* XIV 375 is the article by F. Zevi, 'P. Lucilio Gamala «senior» e i «quattro tempietti» di Ostia' (*MEFR* 85 (1973) 555–581 (esp. p. 562ff.)), prompted at least in part by the publication, in the same volume (p. 517–553) by M. Cébeillac, of a late Republican inscription of an Octavia M.f. (clearly of high social status), the wife of a (Lucilius) Gamala. Zevi dates the activities of the man in 375 (whom I shall refer to as Gamala Senior) to the late Republic. He bases his argumentation above all on the view that the four temples mentioned in the inscription as having been built (the term being *constituit*) by the honorand in lines 23–8 and 32–3 must be identical with the group of four temples, built on the same podium and identical in structure and size, known as the "Quattro tempietti" just to the west of the theatre, of which one is known to have been dedicated to Venus on the basis of an inscription found there (*CIL* XIV 4127).<sup>8</sup> He goes on (p. 567f.) to observe that the temple of Venus was restored in the second century AD and by combining this with the fact that the later Gamala (in *CIL* XIV 376) had in fact restored the temple of Venus – a most suitable activity if the temple had been built by his ancestor. After having presented a number of other arguments pointing to an early date (but not necessarily all pointing to a date as early as the Republic), some of them good,<sup>9</sup> some of

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<sup>7</sup> E.g., the fact that M. Turranius has no cognomen and the fact that the *macellum* (cf. line 29) was (according to Meiggs; but cf. F. Zevi. *MEFR* 85 (1973) 564f. n. 5) restored under Augustus. He also notes instances of archaic spelling (*ahenea*, *proxume*, etc., at the same time correctly observing that 376 has *peq(unia)*) and style (singling out the use of *propterea quod* in line 40). – In the chapter "The New Evidence" attached to the second edition of *Roman Ostia* of 1973, Meiggs refers (on p. 584) to Zevi's views to be published in the same year, 1973; there he says that Zevi has "attractive arguments for a rather earlier dating", but prefers to leave the matter at that. – Meiggs' dating was accepted, e.g., by R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (2<sup>nd</sup> 1982) 217 no. 1334; E. Forbis, *Municipal Virtues in the Roman Empire. The Evidence of Italian Honorary Inscriptions* (1996) 119f. no. 59 (who also refers to the article of Zevi, without mentioning Zevi's dating).

<sup>8</sup> The identification of the "Quattro Tempietti" with the temples built by Gamala was first proposed by A.W. van Buren, *AJA* 11 (1907) 55ff.; the view has since then been repeated by many scholars.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., the fact that there is no reference at all to members of the imperial family or to imperial institutions: p. 565.

them less impressive,<sup>10</sup> Zevi goes on to the analysis of the date of the temples and concludes (p. 570) this section by suggesting that they must be dated to the "Sullan" period (defined as 110–70 BC).<sup>11</sup> The logical conclusion, then, is that the *floruit* of this Gamala must be put in the late Republican period; a birth date in c. 115 BC is accordingly proposed on p. 575. But what about the *bellum navale*? If this Gamala was active in the time of Sulla, some other war than that with Sex. Pompeius must be meant; and Zevi is here able to produce (p. 575) Pompey's campaign against the pirates in 67 BC. This campaign is actually called *navale bellum* or *bellum maritimum* by Cicero, and pirates had in fact raided Ostia.<sup>12</sup> In scholarly discussion the date proposed by Zevi gained wide acceptance.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> For instance, it is hard to see why the definition *marmoreum* of the *tribunal* (line 34f.) would have seemed "del tutto pleonastica, e quasi ridicola, già dopo l'apertura delle cave di Luni in età augustea" (p. 562). It is quite normal to describe monuments as having being made of marble also in inscriptions of imperial date (cf., e.g., the material in *TLL* VIII 412, 72ff.); in some cases, the attribute might be explained by the wish to differentiate a certain *tribunal* from some other similar structure.

<sup>11</sup> The fact that the temple of Spes is mentioned only after the reference to the *pondera* (in lines 29–31) is explained (p. 572f.) by assuming that the fabrication of the *pondera* for the *macellum* took place between the dedication of the other three temples and that of the temple of Spes. (That the activities mentioned in the inscription must be in chronological order – taken for granted also, e.g., by J.H. D'Arms, *JRA* 13 (2000) 198 – is no doubt correct.) Zevi does not seem to comment upon the fact that the verb referring to the temple of Spes in line 32 has been restored and that the restoration [*res*]tituit might also come into question (a detail noted, e.g., by J.H. D'Arms, *JRA* 13 (2000) 192 n. 2). – Professor Heikki Solin tells me that the (unpublished) graffiti from the site leave the impression of being early.

<sup>12</sup> *Navale bellum* or *bellum maritimum*: Cic. *Manil.* 13. 28. 44. 58; also *Flacc.* 30 and Sallust, *Catil.* 39, 1; cf. below at n. 54, with a discussion of the relevance of this. Pirates: Cic. *Manil.* 33; cf. Meiggs (n. 3) 37f.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (1982) 62f. (but with two 'si' –clauses being added); G. Mancinetti Santamaria, in M. Cébeillac–Gervasoni (ed.), *Les «bourgeoisies» municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.–C.* (1983) 129; C. Pavolini, *Ostia* (Guide archeologiche Laterza, 1983) 72; Id., *La vita quotidiana a Ostia* (1986) 143; J. Krummrey, in his note on *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3031a (p. 984); M.S. Arena Taddei, *Ostia repubblicana* (Itinerari Ostiensi I, 1987) 11–13; M. Cébeillac–Gervasoni, 'I magistrati della colonia di Ostia in età repubblicana' in: M. Pani (ed.), *Epigrafia e territorio. Politica e società. Temi di antichità romane* III (Bari 1994), 7–16, on p. 12 ("la sua carica di duovir negli anni 80"; Ead., *Les magistrats des cités italiennes de la seconde guerre punique à Auguste: le Latium et la Campanie* (1998) *passim* (e.g. 54, 118); Ead., in *Ostie. Port et porte de la Rome antique* (n. 4) 154; M.J. Kardos, 'Cicéron et Ostie républicaine', *BAGB*

In 2000, the question of the date of the Gamala in *CIL* XIV 375 was studied by J.H. D'Arms in an important article in the *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (vol. 13, pp. 192–200). After a survey of earlier views on the matter, the author proceeds to point out the importance of a passage not dealt with in depth by earlier scholars, namely that on the *epulum* in 217 *triclinia* and the *prandium* (said to have been 'given' by Gamala *bis*) in lines 17–22. He connects this with what is known of Caesar's activities in the mid-forties, namely that, after the African triumph in 46, Caesar is known to have offered the Roman people an *epulum* in 22,000 *triclinia*, and that, after the Spanish triumph in 45, he offered (according to Suetonius, *Iul.* 38, 2) *duo prandia* (see D'Arms p. 196). D'Arms observes that Gamala's offerings are so similar to those of Caesar in 46–45 that this cannot be coincidental. Accordingly, he concludes that Gamala must have been consciously imitating Caesar, this providing a *terminus post quem* for Gamala's feasts (on p. 198, the connection is called "virtually certain"). On p. 198, the author, who also makes an attempt at connecting Gamala's offices with certain benefactions, adds another *terminus post quem*, namely that no *Ilviri censoria potestate quinquennales* appear in the *Fasti Ostienses* the first fragment of which covers the years 49–44 BC; had the office existed at that time, the *quinquennales* would have had to be mentioned in 45 BC.<sup>14</sup> The logical conclusion of this is (p. 199) (a) that the *bellum navale* must be that with Sex. Pompeius; and (b) that the "quattro tempietti", if assigned to Gamala, must be dated not to the time of Sulla but a generation later. The *bellum navale*, if dated to the mid-thirties, of course also provides a *terminus ante quem*, and D'Arms is required to date Gamala's quinquennial duovirate to 40, the (as it seems) earliest possible date. As the author himself admits (p. 199), the result is that "the full list of Gamala's activities needs to be fitted within an extremely narrow time-span". This result includes some undesirable elements, and the mood of the author at the end of the article seems to be characterised by some hesitation, and there is a reference to the need "to await definitive evidence".

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1998, 235–49, on p. 244 (with explicit identification of the *bellum navale* with Pompey's operations in 67). On the other hand, E. Gabba in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* II (1976) 375 says that, with the *bellum navale*, either the war against pirates or "più probabilmente" that against Sex. Pompeius is meant. (Note also that Zevi actually says in his article of 1973, p. 576, that he would not like to rule out completely the war against Sex. Pompeius.)

<sup>14</sup> Observation already appearing in Meiggs, *op. cit.* p. 175.

The paper of D'Arms, not the published version but one presented in advance of publication in various seminars (note the abstract of one version published in *AJA* 103 (1999) 325), is commented upon by M. Cébeillac–Gervasoni and F. Zevi in a publication also of 2000.<sup>15</sup> The authors, while admitting that the new evidence on the chronology of the city walls of Ostia, dated previously to the time of Sulla, may also allow lowering the date of the "quattro tempietti",<sup>16</sup> criticize, in my view with some justification, above all D'Arms' chronological framework resulting in the cramming of Gamala's activities into a span of only a few years. They also express doubts about the significance of Gamala's feasts, noting that banquets of this kind were "répandues de longue date dans la partie orientale de la Méditerranée"(p. 15).<sup>17</sup> The authors end by saying that they prefer to stick "provisoirement" to the Sullan date until they see D'Arms' paper in print. F. Zevi comes back to the matter rather in passing in his paper on 'Appunti per una storia di Ostia repubblicana' (*MEFR* 114 (2002), esp. p. 35–38); his bottom line here seems to be that the Gamala in *CIL* XIV 375 can be dated either to the period of Sulla or to a period ending in the thirties BC, the date depending "in primo luogo dalla identificazione del *bellum navale* menzionato nel testo (perciò la guerra contro i pirati o quella contro Sesto Pompeo" (p. 35f.). His reference to the "lunga attività" of Gamala (p. 35) may perhaps be interpreted as a criticism of D'Arms' tight chronological framework.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> M. Cébeillac–Gervasoni and F. Zevi, 'Pouvoir local et pouvoir central à Ostie', in M. Cébeillac–Gervasoni (ed.), *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire de la mort de César à la mort de Domitien entre continuité et rupture* (Coll. ÉFR 271, 2000); the section on this Gamala is on p. 12–15.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 15, with references to important recent work by Zevi in n. 46. As for the date of the "Quattro tempietti", note now the exposition of L. Sole, *Arch. Class.* 53 (2002) 165ff. which ends (p. 178) with a date "dall'inizio del I. sec. a. C. alla fine della repubblica" being proposed for the temples.

<sup>17</sup> But in *MEFRA* 114 (2002) 36 n. 66, Zevi seems to take a more favourable view of the chronological significance of the feasts (although there still remain "perplexità").

<sup>18</sup> In n. 66 (on p. 36), Zevi criticizes scholars (G. Wesch–Klein, V. Rosenberger and S. Panciera) who have recently proposed an imperial date for this Gamala. In a note on this inscription, Panciera (in M. Christol & O. Masson, *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine* (1997) 260 n. 43) observes *inter alia* that the *adlectio [g]ratis* implies that normally one had to pay, for which there is, however, no Republican parallel. That this inscription cannot be dated to the Republic is the position also of H. Mouritsen, *Chiron* 28 (1998) 251f. n. 70, who suggests the first half of the first century



It seems, then, that at least in Ostian scholarship there is wide agreement as to the fact that the Gamala of *CIL* XIV 375 is a Republican or at the latest a Triumviral person, and that the exact date depends on the identification of the *bellum navale* mentioned in the inscription. Now it seems quite possible to me that the man is in fact to be dated to this period, for there is indeed much that speaks for the identification of the four temples mentioned in the inscription with the complex consisting of the "Quattro tempietti", whatever their exact date. If they could be dated to the triumviral or early Augustan period, this would produce an early Augustan Gamala Senior, a result most scholars would probably find acceptable and satisfactory. On the other hand, I am not at all happy with the notion that a specific war should be meant with the *bellum navale*, and there seem to remain some other things to be said about the inscription, especially its nature and its style. Accordingly, I shall now proceed to an evaluation of these aspects.

Let us start with some thoughts on the nature of this inscription. First of all, it should be remembered that the reference to the *funus publicum* in lines 44f. shows that the inscription belongs to a monument set up after the honorand's death. The important consequence of this is that there is no need at all to identify the date of Gamala himself with that of the inscription; in fact, the inscription may well have been formulated quite some time after Gamala's death (cf. J. Krummrey, on *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3031a, p. 984; *Fora* (n. 4) p. 64). It is thus clearly pointless to contribute to the discussion about Gamala's date by observing that the inscription cannot be of Republican date, although this observation as such may be (and in my view is) correct.

As for the monument to which this inscription belonged, in considering it one must take into account the existence of *CIL* XIV 376, the second-century inscription clearly imitating 375 (cf. above at n. 4). As we saw, it is quite certain that the two inscriptions, of similar shape and appearance, belong to the same archaeological context, which may well have included further inscriptions, now lost, referring to members of the family. Inscription 376 must also have been set up after the death of the honorand; there is nothing in the text (as preserved) to prove this, but, as in the case of 375, the long list of various benefactions and honours very much leaves the impression of being the summary of a successful, but already

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AD. – Cf. also G. Mennella, *Quaderni Catanesi di Cultura Classica e Medievale* 3 (1991–95) 171.



terminated, career.<sup>19</sup> Now this takes one's thoughts to an idea mentioned in passing by F. Zevi in *MEFR* 85 (1973) 580, namely that we may be dealing with a funerary monument; this could then have been a monument with several inscriptions, possibly (but not necessarily) fabricated at about the same time, commemorating significant members of the family (one could then adduce, e.g., the monument of the Plautii [cf. n. 23] near Tibur as a sort of parallel). The fact that *CIL* XIV 375 consists of 46 short lines seems to rule out the possibility that we would be dealing with a statue base, and the monument is described in the 16th- and 17th-century descriptions, in addition to being "marmor quadratum", as "columna quadrata" (Pighius) and "pilastrata" (Ligorius), which seems to point to a long and narrow marble slab, something which one would expect to find affixed to a wall. And *CIL* XVI 376, now inserted into a wall in the Vatican, is clearly of the same type (see n. 4). Now if these inscriptions belong to a private context in a mausoleum of sorts, this could explain the *ordinatio* (with many short lines) of the inscriptions, the small size of *CIL* XIV 376, the great variation in the quality of lettering in this inscription (see Dessau's note), not really acceptable in a public inscription, and perhaps also the fact (of course, not necessarily of any significance) that *CIL* XIV 375 was said to have been found in Portus.<sup>20</sup> And doubtless also the formulations of the inscriptions

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<sup>19</sup> Thus also, e.g., J. Carcopino, *MEFR* 31 (1911) 163. Note also that the inscription has not been preserved after line 30 (see n. 4), and that a *funus publicum* may well have been mentioned in the part now missing.

<sup>20</sup> For mausolea in Portus, see the report, by S. Keay and M. Millett, of the University of Southampton Survey Project 'Roman Towns in the Tiber Valley' at <http://www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Research/tiber%20valley/tv4.html#Portus>: "The most impressive discovery in this area [the zone between the Trajanic harbour and the Tiber to the east] was an immense canal, more than 1km long and 40m wide, which runs from the [sic] beside the south-eastern side of the hexagon of the Trajanic harbour to the Tiber in the east. (...) This canal is certainly one of those mentioned by the classical writers and must surely have formed part of the Trajanic scheme, although it may have had a Claudian predecessor. At the point where the canal joined the Tiber, the geophysics revealed the presence of a very large and elaborately decorated building of first century AD date. In its developed form, the canal ran in a straight line from the Tiber in the direction of the hexagon before deviating southwards to run parallel to its south-east side. Parallel to this and a short distance to the north was a Roman road, which ran from the south-eastern corner of the hexagon to the Tiber. Between this and the canal were discovered a series of warehouses, mausolea and other buildings that fronted on to the road. To the north of this, the geophysics located the line of an aqueduct that had previously been recorded by antiquarians". Cf. also O. Testaguzza, *Portus. Illustrazione*

may be interpreted as implying that they belong to a private context; contrast the inscription, both the formulations and the *ordinatio*, set up *dec(urionum) decr(eto) publice*, in honour of another distinguished Gamala, *AE* 1959, 254 (a photo in *Atti del terzo congresso int. di epigrafia greca e latina* (1959) tav. XXII).

Let us now go over to the structure and the style of the inscription, starting, however, by considering a detail. The mention of the benefaction in lines 12–14 (*[i]n ludos cum accepisset*, etc.) does not begin as one should expect it to begin if one takes into account the whole of the text. This problem is remedied by the insertion of the pronoun *hic* in the beginning of line 12; the advantages of adding *hic* here, introducing the section enumerating the benefactions of the honorand, characterized by the use of pronouns, are so clear that I regard this insertion as virtually certain.<sup>21</sup>

The structure of the text is unusual, to say the least. First there is a part in which offices and honours held by the honorand are enumerated in the dative. This is followed by a part in which the honorand appears in the nominative, his achievements being described in short sentences introduced first by *hic* and from line 15 onwards by the pronoun *idem*; altogether ten different statements beginning with *idem* are made (in *CIL* XIV 376 the number is seven). A new section begins in line 36, introduced by *huic*, where the two statues (grammatically the subjects of the respective clauses) set up in honour of Gamala are mentioned, this section being followed by an explanation introduced by *[propt]erea quod* (line 40). In this section, the

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*dei porti di Claudio e Traiano e della città di Porto a Fiumicino* (1970) 201–5, 227–231. – Also Dr. Giorgio Filippi, in an unpublished paper, believes that the inscriptions may come from a funerary monument.

<sup>21</sup> *[I]n ludos* in the beginning of line 12: H. Dessau in *CIL* XIV (and in *ILS* 6147) and (as far as I can see) all scholars quoting this text for some purpose. However, much can be gained by adding *hic* in the lacuna in the beginning of this line; the descriptions of this inscription are not so accurate as to exclude the possibility that something might be missing at the beginning of this line (and note that at least in one ms. copy, that of Achilles Stautius, this line is represented as “.. IN”, the dots implying that the author thought that something was missing in the beginning). As for the restoration *hic*, it must on the one hand be noted that epigraphical style requires a pronoun – which, then, must be *hic* – here at the point where the text moves on to the part where the honorand himself is the subject and where all other statements begin with a pronoun; on the other hand, there is a *hic* at exactly this point in *CIL* XIV 376, a text clearly inspired by, and in many places duplicating, 375. With the addition of *hic* in line 12, all sections coming after the initial part using the dative start with a pronoun (*hic*, *idem* ten times, *huic*, *hunc*).

enumerative style is abandoned for a moment, as the mention of the second statue (the *ahenea*) is not introduced by *huic* but linked to the previous statement with *item* (the only *item* in the text); furthermore, the word *statua* is not repeated and *posita* is not followed by *est*. As for the clause beginning with *[propt]erea quod*, I think that it is obvious that this clause is meant to furnish an explanation only for the erection of the latter statue (the *ahenea*), the *statua inaurata*, mentioned previously (in lines 36–7), having been accorded to Gamala for general reasons clear enough to the reader of the inscription.<sup>22</sup> – The text ends with a short clause in which the honorand (*hunc*) becomes the object, the decurions, decreeing that the honorand should be accorded a *funus publicum*, now being the subject. As mentioned above, one deduces from this passage that one is dealing with a monument set up after the honorand's death.

As far as I can see, the structure of the inscription, combined with the use of all the pronouns, is without a parallel (except, of course, for *CIL XIV 376* modelled on this one). Even if the name of the honorand were in the nominative, this could not be considered an imitation of an *elogium*, for there is an important difference between the style of this inscription and that of an *elogium*, namely that statements in *elogia* are made without the use of pronouns.<sup>23</sup> As observed above, what one finds in *CIL XIV 375* is a passage

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<sup>22</sup> Accordingly, in my view, it is not correct to write "deux statues ont été dédiées à ce personnage ... parce qu'il fit un don à la *res publica* dans la situation difficile créée par une «guerre navale»" (M. J. Kardos, *BAGB* 1998, 244). For the possible significance of the topographical information given in line 39 see F. Zevi, *MEFR* 114 (2002) 37f.

<sup>23</sup> See the material collected by A. Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* XIII, 3 (cf. G. Alföldy – L. Chioffi, *CIL VI* 8, 3, p. 4839ff.); note, e.g., the *elogium* of Q. Fabius Maximus *ibid.* 89 (*ILS* 56): *Primo consulatu Ligures subegit, ex iis triumphavit. Tertio et quarto Hannibalem ... coercuit. Dictator ... et exercitui profligato subvenit et eo nomine ... pater appellatus est. Consul quintum Tarentum cepit, triumphavit. Dux ... peritissimus habitus est. Princeps in senatum duobus lustris lectus est.* A similar style is used in some funerary inscriptions of prominent senators which, in addition to the normal enumeration of offices, include sections giving more detailed information on the achievements of the honorand. The prime example is perhaps *ILS* 986 (but cf. also, e.g., Q. Veranius in *CIL VI* 41075) in honour of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus cos. II 74 from the mausoleum of the Plautii near Tibur, in which a long section dealing with Aelianus' exploits in Moesia (*plus quam centum mill(ia) ... trānsdūxit; mōtum ... compressit; ignōtos ... réges ... perduxit* etc.) is introduced by *in qua, qua* referring to *Moesiae*. At the end, however, two clauses beginning with *hunc* are added. (By the way, it is notable that the inscription of Silvanus Aelianus uses the dative in the beginning whereas the inscriptions for earlier Plautii, *ILS* 921 and 964, use the nominative.)

in the dative in the beginning followed by clauses with various subjects introduced by pronouns, the sequence being [*hic*], *idem* (ten times), *huic*, *hunc*.<sup>24</sup> Clauses beginning with these pronouns are naturally familiar from honorific (and funerary) inscriptions. The nominative *hic* is normally used to introduce sections in which some extra information regarding the activities of the honorand is offered<sup>25</sup> whereas *huic*, in most cases, introduces descriptions of noteworthy or unusual honours accorded to the honorand.<sup>26</sup> The accusative *hunc* introduces sections with more or less the same purpose, but where verbs are used which require the honorand as the object.<sup>27</sup> As for the nominative *idem*, it is certainly more commonly used in inscriptions in which the person to whom reference is made appears in the nominative,<sup>28</sup> but there are also some instances of this pronoun being used to introduce special sections in honorific (or funerary) inscriptions.<sup>29</sup>

It is true that one can find combinations of these formulations in inscriptions; note, e.g., a fairly recently found inscription of Trajanic date from Singilia in Baetica (interesting also because it shows that *item* could be used in about the same position as *idem*): *M. Valerio ... Proculino IIVir(o) ... cives et incolae ex aere conlato; hic in IIViratu ... dedit; item ... pervocavit; item ... praestitit; huic cives et incolae ... statuam ... dederunt; ordo ... locum eligere permisit* (*AE* 1989, 420; *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/5, 789). Here, then, we find the combination of *hic* and *huic* (in fact, even a *hunc* could have been added

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<sup>24</sup> In *CIL* XIV 376, we have *hic*, seven instances of *idem* which are followed not by *huic* and *hunc* but by *huic* and another *hic* (see n. 4); the rest of this inscription has not been preserved.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *ILS* 1011. 1048. 1393. 1401. 1554. 2544. 2666. 2689. 2691. 5012. 5058. 5063. 5502. 5689. 5877. 5878. 6146. 6228. 6271. 6496. 6584. 6999. 9200.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *ILS* 921. 984. 985. 1022. 1056. 1098. 1100. 1112. 1240. 1244. 1250. 1326. 2071. 2666. 2942. 2950. 4946. 5056. 5057. 5062. 5178. 5194. 5233. 5489. 5490. 5491. 5492. 5500. 5501. 5507. 5698. 6138. 6149. 6166. 6296. 6313. 6334. 6366. 6372. 6473. 6595. 6655. 6752. 6905. 6906. 6915. 6920. 6972. 6998. 7157. 9502.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *ILS* 967. 986. 988. 6136. 6148. 6447. 9390. (Cases in which the 'honorand' is in the nominative: 6638. 8963. 9389.)

<sup>28</sup> E.g., *CIL* X 6649 = *ILS* 5426 *Germanico Caesari ... C. Iulius Chimarus; idem statuas ... refecit, sedes ... posuit*; *CIL* XI 4815 = *ILS* 6638 *C. Torasius ... Severus ... fecit* (probably baths); *idem ad celebrandum natalem fili sui* etc.

<sup>29</sup> Note *ILS* 2709. 6643; *CIL* V 7021 (?). (With a part of the nomenclature of the honorand being added: *ILS* 5075. 6839, 2; *AE* 1960, 214.). *Hic idem*: *ILS* 5689 (cf. also *CIL* X 1824).

between *dederunt* and *ordo*), a combination also found in other texts.<sup>30</sup> A combination of *hic* and *hunc* can be found, e.g., in *CIL* VIII 12536 = *ILS* 988, that of *huic* and another *huic* in *CIL* II 2026 = II<sup>2</sup>/5, 792 = *ILS* 6915, that of *hunc* with another *hunc* in the inscription in honour of Silvanus Aelianus which also includes a long section in *elogium* style (n. 23). Moreover, one can observe *hic* being combined with other cases of the same pronoun, and *huic*, *hunc* and *idem* combined with clauses introduced with relative pronouns referring to the honorand.<sup>31</sup>

But to have these formulations all combined in a single inscription is certainly very striking – and not just in the case of a text of supposedly Republican date, but also if one takes into consideration all Latin inscriptions of all dates. Although one could say that the inscription in honour of Valerius Proculus (cf. above) would be comparable if the pronoun *idem* were used instead of the conjunction *item*, and a *hunc* added at the end, it is in any case clear that the absolute uniqueness of this inscription cannot be overemphasized.

The uniqueness in structure is also reflected in the vocabulary of the inscription where one observes terms such as *lucar*. One also notes the consistent use of *constituit* when reference is made to the building of temples whereas *fecit* is used of other works (*pondera, tribunal*).<sup>32</sup> But without a doubt the most interesting formulation of the inscription is *ob pollicitationem belli navalis*, and the rest of this paper will be devoted to the interpretation of these words.

The scholars quoted above, and in fact many other scholars from

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<sup>30</sup> *CIL* X 688b = M. M. Magalhaes, *Storia, istituzioni e prosopografia di Surrentum romana* (2003) no. 14; *CIL* IX 2860 = *ILS* 5178; *CIL* II 2344 = *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/7, 799. The dative precedes the nominative in *CIL* XI 5693 = *ILS* 2666 and in *CIL* X 6012 = *ILS* 5062 of AD 249 (but here a clause beginning unusually with *is* is inserted in the middle).

<sup>31</sup> *CIL* X 5853 = *ILS* 6271 (*[hu]ius + hic*); *CIL* X 3704 = *ILS* 5054 (*qui + huic*); *CIL* XII 1357 = *ILS* 2709 = *AE* 1992, 1208 (*qui + idem*); *CIL* XIV 353 and 4642 (inscriptions of Fabius Hermogenes; *hunc + eique*, with a relative clause not referring to the honorand – *in cuius* [scil. Divi Hadriani] *sacerdotio* – preceding). If one takes into account also inscriptions in which the person to whom reference is made appears in the nominative, one can find some further combinations; note *CIL* XI 4815 = *ILS* 6638 (*idem + hunc*, with a clause introduced by *item* in the middle), *CIL* III 6687 = *ILS* 2683 (*idem + idem*), *CIL* XI 5400 = *I. Assisi* 41 = *ILS* 7812 (four clauses introduced by *hic*).

<sup>32</sup> For *constituo* cf. *TLL* IV 512, 57ff.



Mommsen onwards,<sup>33</sup> have taken these words to mean that the *res publica* of Ostia had promised to sponsor in cash the operations of the Roman government (or of someone representing, with justification or by usurpation, the Roman government) in a 'maritime' war, the problem being only the identification of the war.<sup>34</sup> But, to say the least, the phrase used in the inscription is a very odd way of expressing this thought (in fact, the only unproblematical word here is *ob*). As far as I can see, we have here three problems:

- (a) the meaning of *pollicitatio*;
- (b) the relation between *pollicitatio* and the genitive *belli navalis*; and
- (c) the meaning of *bellum navale*.

Before I proceed to an examination of these problems, I must point out that there is a school of thought according to which there is no talk here of a war at all, but of a *naumachia*, a mock naval battle arranged in a suitable site. This was the view of C. Cavedoni in 1858,<sup>35</sup> and it was reformulated L.R. Taylor in 1936; Taylor, identifying the restoration by Gamala of the temple of Vulcan (*CIL* XIV 375, line 21–2) with that recorded in the *Fasti Ostienses* in AD 112, dated the man to this period and connected the *bellum navale* with the *naumachia* mentioned in the same *Fasti* as having been built by Trajan in AD 109.<sup>36</sup> This view was accepted by some scholars, e.g., by H. Thylander in 1952, who adds some details to

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<sup>33</sup> For presentations of the history of the interpretation of this inscriptions, see the scholars referred to in n. 3.

<sup>34</sup> F. Jacques, *Les cités de l'occident romain* (1990) no. 68 (a) translates the passage as follows: "(alors que la commune vendait ses biens) à cause de la promesse faite lors de la guerre maritime". Note 'lors!': according to Jacques, the *pollicitatio* was made not in anticipation of, but during, a war. (He accepts the view that this refers to Sex. Pompeius.)

<sup>35</sup> *Bull. Arch. Napoletano* 6 (1857–58) 193–6 (not available to me); J. Carcopino, *MEFR* 31 (1911) 203 n. 3, quotes the relevant passage on p. 195f.: "La promessa fatta dai magistrati Ostiensi di offrire lo spettacolo d'una simulata guerra o pugna navale all'Imperatore Antonino [Cavedoni thought that the inscription belonged to the Antonine period] onde solennizzare la dedicazione delle terme".

<sup>36</sup> L.R. Taylor, *AJPh* 57 (1936) 183–9. The problem with this suggestion is that this *naumachia* is no doubt to be located in Rome, not in Ostia (cf. Meiggs 498; L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (1982) 104f.; B. Bargagli – C. Grosso, *I fasti Ostienses. Documento della storia di Ostia* (1997) 38).

Taylor's exposition,<sup>37</sup> in 1959 by F. Grosso and in 1992 by V. Rosenberger.<sup>38</sup> That no real war, but a show is meant is also the opinion of G. Wesch–Klein.<sup>39</sup> For my part, I firmly believe that no other interpretation can be possible. The rest of this paper will be devoted to the presentation of evidence favouring this interpretation.

On the basis of what has been said above, we may distinguish between two translations of the passage *ob pollicitationem belli navalis*: (a) 'because of the promise the community (*res publica*) had made in view of (or 'because of' etc.) the maritime war'; or (b): 'because the community had promised a maritime battle spectacle'. Let us now have a look at the term *pollicitatio*. This term, for which only the translation 'promise' is given in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* but which also seems to be used in a sense which might be rendered as, e.g., 'the making of a promise' or 'the activity of promising', is used in mainly two contexts, depending on the nature of the source. In literary sources, the word (appearing often in the plural) is typically used of promises, often empty, made to people (often members of military units, etc.) in order to persuade them to do something the attractions of which need some pointing out, e.g., to join the other side in a confrontation between two opponents.<sup>40</sup> But in epigraphical sources the term

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<sup>37</sup> H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie* (1952) B 336, in the commentary; Id., *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine* (1952) 7–9. Here the author adds the useful observation, based on material in the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, that *bellum navale* can be taken to mean a *proelium natale*, as *bellum* is quite often attested as being used in the sense of *proelium* (p. 8f.: *TLL* II 1824, 69ff.). On the other hand, I do not think that material in the *Corpus glossariorum* can be adduced to prove that *bellum navale* can have the meaning of *naumachia* (p. 9), for ναυμαχία (given as translation of *bellum navale*) can have its original meaning in the glossaries.

<sup>38</sup> F. Grosso, in *Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina* (1959) 140 n. 38; Rosenberger (n. 5) 173–5. It is not altogether clear to me whether the latter author also accepts the connection of this inscription with the *Fasti Ostienses*, proposed by Taylor, but he certainly strongly favours the view that a show, not a war is meant.

<sup>39</sup> G. Wesch–Klein, *Funus publicum* (1993) 128–130; the author proposes an imperial date for the inscription, but not later than the time of Claudius (p. 130; this date is based not on the *tribunal* [cf. n. 6] but on the nomenclature of *M. Turranius* and on other things).

<sup>40</sup> E.g., Caes. *Gall.* 3, 18, 2 *huic magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque persuadet uti ad hostes transeat*; *ibid.* 6, 12, 3; 7, 1, 5; 7, 31, 1; *civ.* 1, 56, 3; 3, 9, 2; 3, 108, 3; *Bell. Afr.* 134, 2; 40, 5; Cic. *Fam.* 10, 32, 4; Sall. *Iug.* 20, 1; 61, 4; Liv. 42, 38, 3; Nep., *Eum.* 2, 4; Vell. 2, 18, 2; Sen. *Benef.* 3, 19, 3; 4, 1, 2; Plin. *Nat.* 7, 124; Suet. *Nero* 13, 1; *Otho* 6, 3;

*pollicitatio* has a different meaning; in these the term is used almost exclusively in a municipal context to refer to 'promises' of various acts of euergetism pertaining to the municipal sphere – one 'promises' to arrange games or to set up a statue (cf. n. 43). This use also appears in literary sources dealing with municipal affairs<sup>41</sup> and in the jurists; the chapter *De pollicitationibus* in the *Digesta* seems to deal exclusively with municipal matters.<sup>42</sup> As for inscriptions, the instances are numerous, especially in Africa; along with the noun *pollicitatio*, the verb *polliceor* is used to convey the same idea.<sup>43</sup>

The bottom line here is that neither of the two main uses of the word *pollicitatio* fit into the scenario if one assumes that there is a reference to war preparations in *CIL* XIV 375, lines 41–3. I do not want to be interpreted as saying that the use of this expression in this context would be completely impossible, but certainly this word would be far more suitable if one

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*Dom.* 2, 2; *Hist. Aug. Did.* 4, 6. The fact that the term *pollicitatio* is often used in contexts in which some form of cheating or foul play also has a role appears very clearly from the definition given in *Rhet. Her.* 3, 3 *dolus consumitur in pecunia, pollicitatione, dissimulatione, maturatione, mentitione et ceteris rebus de quibus magis idoneo tempore loquemur*. For a negative context, note also *Ter. Phorm.* 857. – The verb *polliceor* is used somewhat differently; it can be used in contexts similar to that of *pollicitatio* (e.g., *Bell. Afr.* 71, 1), but more often it has a positive connotation (e.g., *Caes. Gall.* 4, 19, 1 *his auxilium suum pollicitus, si ab Suebis premerentur*).

<sup>41</sup> *Plin. epist.* 10, 39, 3.

<sup>42</sup> *Dig.* 50, 12. Note also, e.g., *Dig.* 26, 7, 46, 1; 35, 2, 5 pr.; 50, 4, 6, 1 and, e.g., the definition of the term *pollicitatio* in A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (1953) s. v.

<sup>43</sup> The noun *pollicitatio* in the above context in inscriptions outside Africa: e.g., *CIL* X 5808 = *ILS* 6875 (Aletrium); *CIL* X 8318 (Melita); *AE* 1993, 468 = *AE* 1994, 426b (Misenum); *CIL* XI 3137; *polliceor*: *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3173 (Brundisium); *ILS* 6468 (Petelia); *CIL* X 1788; *CIL* XII 697 = *AE* 1965, 270; *CIL* II 5489; *AE* 1978, 100 = 1987, 241 = 1990, 140 (Interamna Lirenas); *AE* 1983, 522 (Italica); *AE* 1993, 1791 (from Italy?); *AE* 1995, 586 (Concordia). In African inscriptions, the material is huge; for instances of services and building operations being 'promised' note, e.g., temples (*CIL* VIII 12006), amphitheatres (*CIL* VIII 7983 = *ILAlg* II 1, 34), arches (*CIL* VIII 7105 = *ILAlg* II 1, 683), statues (*CIL* VIII 7123 = *ILAlg* II 1, 696; *CIL* VIII 10867 = *ILAlg* II 1, 487; *CIL* VIII 17258 = *ILAlg* I 951; *ILAlg* I 1236; *ILTun* 769), a *munus gladiatorium* (*IRT* 396 = *AE* 1991, 1619; cf. *Apul. met.* 10, 18, 1). Note also, e.g., a woman being honoured with a statue *ob insignem liberalitatem pollicitationis eius* (*CIL* VIII 5365 = 17495 = *ILAlg* I 286), and see in general P. Garnsey, 'Taxatio and pollicitatio in Roman Africa', *JRS* 61 (1971) 116–129.

assumes that some municipal event is meant. In any case, there remains one interesting point to be made about the expression. Normally, it is an individual who makes a *pollicitatio*. But in this case it seems clear that we must be dealing with a 'promise' made by the community or at least by organs of the community, for otherwise one could not really explain why the *res publica* had to sell some *praedia* in order to get the money that was needed. *A priori*, this might seem a problem. However, it appears that *pollicitationes* in the municipal sense could also be made by organs of a community, for this is exactly what we see happening in Aletrium where we find a statue being erected in the time of Augustus *ex decreto decur(ionum) Aletrinat(ium) et ex ... pollicitatione sevir(orum) et municipum et incolar(um)* (CIL X 5808 = ILS 6267). The fact that this phenomenon (which possibly might deserve some further study) does not seem to be attested very often may depend on the fact that references to *pollicitationes* are normally found in honorific inscriptions which represent a type of source which exists only in the case of individuals. In any case, if an emperor could 'promise' to sponsor the building of a bathing establishment in Ostia (CIL XIV 98 = ILS 334), it is hard to see why an Ostian body, or even the city of Ostia itself, could not have 'promised' to arrange, on a suitable occasion, a naval spectacle.

Let us move on to the relation between the *pollicitatio* and the *bellum navale*. The verb *polliceor* is transitive; what is being promised thus appears as its object. If a noun is formed from such as verb, the object takes the form of an objective genitive. Thus we say *laudare Caesarem* but *laudatio Caesaris*. Now *pollicitatio* is derived via the frequentative form *pollicitor* from *polliceor*, and if a genitive is attached to this noun, the word in the genitive expresses what is being promised. It follows that *pollicitatio belli navalis* means that someone is promising a *bellum navale*. If something is promised for a *bellum navale*, or during a *bellum navale*, this should be expressed in some other way. As far as I can see, this problem has not been discussed very often. Meiggs, op. cit. (n. 3) 499 says that "there is no great difficulty in understanding *belli navalis* as a substitute for a prepositional phrase which would have been less elegant, the promise arising from, associated with, or in the time of the naval war". This is illustrated with two quotations from Cicero.<sup>44</sup> Now the statement that the genitive may be used

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid. n. 2 (where G.W. Williams is thanked for the elucidation of this matter): *deorum opinio* (= *de deis*), *Tusc.* 1, 30; *expectatio Galliarum* (interpreted as meaning the same as



to replace a prepositional phrase is basically true; the most useful treatment of this point seems to be that in K. Reisig, *Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft*.<sup>45</sup> One learns that "so werden öfter Genitive zu Substt. verbal. gesetzt, deren Verba nicht einen Akkusativ regieren sondern *de*". This is illustrated with a representative number of examples from Cicero, e.g., *coniecturam totius provinciae facere* Cic. *Verr.* 2, 3, 121; *dubitatio damnationis* *ibid.* 70.<sup>46</sup> Now it is important to note that the possibility of substituting a genitive for a prepositional phrase seems to apply mainly to those cases in which the preposition is *de* – a preposition which in any case shares some functions with the genitive.

This having been said, let us come back to our inscription. Unlike *dubitare* or *dimicare*, etc., *polliceor* and *pollicitatio* are not expressions which can be followed by a construction introduced by *de*;<sup>47</sup> there is no such construction as *\*pollicitatio de bello navali*. Accordingly, *pollicitatio belli navalis* cannot be interpreted as a substitute for a prepositional phrase, and we are left with the fact that the genitive *belli navalis* indicates what is being promised. Now there are not many situations in which one can promise someone a maritime war without getting into some kind of trouble. Therefore, we must now turn to the exact meaning of the expression *bellum*

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*de Galliis quid decernatur*) *fam.* 8, 8, 4 (Caelius). This explanation is accepted by J. Krummrey in his note on *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3031a (p. 984). Th. Mommsen, in his study of the Ostian inscriptions of 1877 (*Gesammelte Schriften* VIII (1913) 343) observes that "*pollicitatio belli navalis paullo durius dicitur ea quae fit ob bellum navale*", and goes on by saying, unhelpfully, "*talia enim si non laudanda, tamen ferenda sunt*".

<sup>45</sup> Chr. K. Reisig, *Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft. Mit den Anmerkungen von Fr. Haase, neu bearbeitet von J.H. Schmalz und G. Landgraf. Dritter Band* (1888) 577 n. 535 (this note being due to Haase). In other expositions, this phenomenon is not distinguished with sufficient care from cases of normal objective genitives. E.g., in R. Kühner – C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* II<sup>2</sup> (1912) 415f., one finds relevant instances interspersed with irrelevant ones such as *furere luctu filii* (Cic.), *trium ... bellorum victor* (Liv.).

<sup>46</sup> For other instances (*iuris dubitatio; dimicatio capitis, famae fortunarumque* etc.), see Haase's note (the passage from *Caec.* is in fact § 9, that from *Rab. perd.* § 5; as for *Catil.* 4, 20 [referred to as IV. 10], editors now tend to read not *conservatae rei p. gratulationem*, but *conservata re*).

<sup>47</sup> Of course it is possible that a *de* is used in connection with *polliceor* or *pollicitatio* to indicate the sphere of the activities which are being promised as, e.g., in Nepos, *Them.* 10, 4, *cum se, quae regi de Graecia opprimenda pollicitus esset, praestare posse desperaret*. But the object of *pollicitus* is, of course, *quae*.



*navale*.

As mentioned above, according to the doctrine now prevalent – at least in scholarship dealing with Ostia – this is a reference either to Pompey's war against pirates in 67 BC or to the war against Sex. Pompeius in the thirties BC. It seems striking that Actium does not seem to play a role in the discussion; most often it was described not as a *proelium* but as a *bellum*,<sup>48</sup> and a contemporary, although using the expression *proelium*, thought of it as *navale*.<sup>49</sup> In fact, later authors call Actium a *bellum navale*.<sup>50</sup> But let this pass. The essential question here is: is it likely that a real war, even if mainly consisting of naval operations, could be called, in a context like this, simply *bellum navale*, without any further specification of the type *piraticum* or *cum Sex. Pompeio* or *ad Actium*? I think the only reasonable answer must be no.

It must be admitted that Latin literature can produce many instances of the phrase *bellum navale* (or *bellum maritimum*). But in these cases the reference is not to a specific war fought in a specific year (or years) which is otherwise left undefined, for one does not find a *bellum Navale* between (say) a *bellum Mithridaticum* and a *bellum Gallicum*. The reason is, of course, that, in Rome, wars were normally named either after the opponents (*Punicum*, *Mithridaticum*, etc.) or after the place where the fighting took place (*Alexandrinum*, *Hispaniense*, etc.).<sup>51</sup> Normally, the term *bellum navale* (or *maritimum*) is used either when there is talk of naval war or warfare as a general phenomenon or (more commonly) simply of naval battles.<sup>52</sup> But let us now have a look at the nomenclature of those wars which have been identified with the *bellum navale* of our inscription.

First, Pompey's war against the pirates. This is called normally *bellum piraticum*, but one also finds *bellum praedonum* or τῶν ληιστῶν πόλεμος

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<sup>48</sup> Rosenberger (n. 5) 59–63.

<sup>49</sup> ILS 2243 (Ateste): *M. Billienus M. f. Rom. Actiacus* (note the *cognomen* formed from the name of the battle) *legione XI proelio navali facto in coloniam deductus*.

<sup>50</sup> Amm. 22, 16, 24; Serv. auct. *Aen.* 8, 714; cf. below at n. 57.

<sup>51</sup> See the material in Rosenberger (n. 5).

<sup>52</sup> Naval war(s) as a general phenomenon: e.g., Liv. 5, 6, 4; 32, 21, 27; 33, 3, 3; *Hist. Aug. Gall.* 12, 6. Naval warfare: e.g., Cic. *Verr.* 2, 5, 136; Nep. *Them.* 2, 3; Liv. 31, 28, 4; Lucan. 3, 513. 569; Flor. 1, 11, 10, cf. 4, 8, 6. Naval battle: e.g., Pomp. Trog. *prol.* 14; Frontin. *strat.* 4, 7, 9; Flor. 3, 5, 18; 3, 10, 5; Ampel. 15, 18; Porph. *Hor. ep.* 2, 1, 192.

(Rosenberger 163).<sup>53</sup> But the natural setting of the activities of pirates makes it clear that the operations against them must have been of a maritime nature, and so it is understandable if one also finds the terms *maritimum* or *navale bellum* applied to this war. But a nomenclature of this kind is, of course, used exclusively in contexts where there is talk of Pompey's operations, so that there could be no doubt that the war of Pompey against the pirates, not some undefined maritime war, was meant.<sup>54</sup>

The war against Sex. Pompeius, who had based himself in Sicily (and on other islands) and who had to be driven out of there, was actually not a maritime war at all for, in addition to the naval battles, it also included a great number of operations on land.<sup>55</sup> Thus it is correct to speak of a *bellum Siculum* as the whole and of *navalia proelia* as its parts (e.g., Liv. *per.* 128f.); *bellum Siculum* (or something on these lines) is in fact the normal designation for this war, a more rarely used alternative being something like *bellum cum Sex. Pompeio*.<sup>56</sup> But the main battles fought during the war were indeed naval battles, and this lends a maritime character to the whole; thus it is not odd if a contemporary calls the war *classica bella* (Prop. 2, 1, 28) – but this comes after Mutina and Philippi and *classica bella* is collocated

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<sup>53</sup> Add *bellum piraticum*, the heading of Florus 3, 6.

<sup>54</sup> Cic. *Manil.* 13. 28. 44. 58; *Flacc.* 30; Sall. *Catil.* 39, 1. In a speech dealing with the *imperium* of Cn. Pompeius (= *Manil.*) there could of course be no doubt (note especially the summary of Pompey's wars in *Manil.* 28: *civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense mixtum ex civibus atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum*), and the same goes for the passage from the *pro Flacco* (*gloria divina Pompei, ... praedones eos qui tum cum illi bellum maritimum gerendum datum est toto mari dispersi vagabantur redactos esse ...*) and that of Sallust (*postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est*). Note also the the passage in *prov. cons.* 27, *confectis* (by Pompey) *omnibus maritimis terrestribusque bellis*.

<sup>55</sup> This is clear from the accounts of the war, above all those of Appian and Dio (note especially the narratives of the events of 36 BC in Appian 5, 103–127 and Dio 49, 5–11). Note that, in the summer of 36 BC, Octavian's troops in Sicily consisted of 21 legions and 20,000 cavalry (Appian. 5, 116; for the numbers at the conclusion of the war – 45 legions, etc. – see *ibid.* 127). For a fairly recent exposition of the sources for Sex. Pompeius, see F. Senatore, 'Sesto Pompeio tra Antonio e Ottaviano nella tradizione storiografica antica', *Athenaeum* 79 (1991) 103–139.

<sup>56</sup> Rosenberger 58f. (where, however, the passage from Liv. *per.* is not mentioned; add also *bellum in Sicilia* Eutrop. 7, 4). For *bellum cum Sex. Pompeio*, see the heading in Florus 4, 8, comparable to *bellum contra Sex. Pompeium* Liv. *per.* 129 and *contra Pompeium bellum* Vell. 2, 80, 1.

between *Siculae ... fugae*,<sup>57</sup> the reference to the war against Sex. Pompeius is thus clear enough. Moreover, as we have *bella* used in the plural, the word is here used in the sense of 'battle', the battles being substituted, as *partes pro toto*, for the whole war. In any case, certainly this passage cannot be used to show that *bellum navale*, without any further definition, could mean the Sicilian war.

Although Actium does not seem to appear in the literature on *CIL* XIV 375 as a war possibly to be identified with the *bellum navale*, let us note here that (as mentioned above, cf. at n. 48) it was a *bellum* which is normally called *Actiense* or *Actiacum*. A reference to the fact that the war consisted chiefly of the famous naval battle itself is sometimes found, but only in addition to a mention of the place or the opponent; thus one observes *bellum Acties(e) class[icum]* in the *Fasti Amiternini, apud Actium bello navali* in Ammian (22, 16, 24), *exercitus qui Antonium vicerat navali bello* in Servius auctus (*Aen.* 8, 714).<sup>58</sup>

We have now seen (a) that the term *pollicitatio* is most likely to mean a 'promise' made within a municipal context, and (b) that the *bellum navale* must be what (not 'for what' or 'during what', etc.) is being promised, and, finally, (c) that it is quite inconceivable that a phrase consisting of only the two words *bellum navale* could have been used to denote a clearly defined historical war. It follows that we are dealing with the case that a *bellum navale* had been promised in Ostia and so we must return to the view of the scholars mentioned above (at n. 35ff.) that a *naumachia*, a mock naval battle must be meant.

In favour of the view that a *naumachia*, not a real war, is meant, both Taylor and Rosenberger cite passages in which *proelium navale* means a spectacle.<sup>59</sup> Taylor adds that, if a show lasted for several days, it could have been called a *bellum*, and Thylander (cf. above n. 37) observes that *bellum*

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<sup>57</sup> Prop. 2, 1, 27f. *nam quotiens Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos / aut canerem Siculae classica bella fugae* (*fuga* no doubt referring somehow to Sex. Pompeius' conduct at the conclusion of hostilities).

<sup>58</sup> See Rosenberger 59–63 (with p. 59 and 61f. on the *Fasti Amiternini*; however, something seems to be wrong with the declination of *frater* on p. 62).

<sup>59</sup> Taylor (n. 36) 185 n. 9, Rosenberger 175 (adding the reference to the *navales pugnas* in Suet. *Dom.* 4, 5); passages from Augustus' *Res gestae*, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus and Suetonius are being quoted.

could in any case be used for *proelium*.<sup>60</sup> And let me add that a *naumachia* is called *belli navalis imago* by Ovid (*Ars* 1, 171).

Thus, there is certainly no real problem if one interprets *bellum navale* in *CIL* XIV 375 as an entertainment event, especially as it cannot be interpreted otherwise. There seems to be no reason why naval shows (perhaps not as grand as those in Rome) could not have been arranged in Ostia. But there is one more thing to be said. It has been pointed out several times above that the other lengthy inscription in honour of a Lucilius Gamala, *CIL* XIV 376, partly reflects and partly imitates the earlier inscription. Now let us look at the items mentioned 376 from line 21 onwards. First, this later Gamala restores the temple of Venus built by his ancestor (21–2); then he 'makes' *pondera ad macellum*, reproducing the munificence of his ancestor, the same words being used as in the earlier inscription (22).<sup>61</sup> Then the inscription goes on by saying *idem navale a L. Coilio aedificatum ... restituit* (lines 25–7; for line 26, see below n. 63). The usual and no doubt correct assumption is that *navale* means here what it normally means, 'shipyard'.<sup>62</sup> But what if we have here the mention of another act of munificence of the later Gamala reflecting that of his ancestor? Let me conclude by proposing, with due caution, that this could in fact be the case. Observe the collocation of the reference to the *navale* after two other activities reflecting Gamala Senior and also the fact that the term *navalis* is so uncommon in honorific inscriptions that it would actually be more than surprising to find it used in both Gamalian inscriptions but only by chance and referring to quite different things. Therefore, if we assume that there is indeed a connection between the *bellum navale* of Gamala Senior and the *navale* restored by Gamala Junior, I think we may operate with two possibilities: either *navale* in the later inscription in fact means a *naumachia* – but it would be a *hapax* in this meaning – or, more probably, *navale* has its normal meaning but is relevant here because at least once it

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. also above n. 52, and note that, according to Florus 3, 3, 21, a *gladiatorium munus* consists of a *spectaculum belli*.

<sup>61</sup> But this later Gamala also made *mensuras ad forum Vinar(ium)* (for which see F. Coarelli, in A. Gallina Zevi & A. Claridge (eds.), *'Roman Ostia' Revisited* (1996) 105ff.), mentioned after the *pondera* in line 21f.

<sup>62</sup> E.g., J. Carcopino, *MEFR* 31 (1911) 214 (with a candidate for the identity of *L. Coilius*); Meiggs 501; the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s. v.



was used for a *naumachia*.<sup>63</sup> In either case we would be dealing with the

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<sup>63</sup> For some interesting observations on the nature of *navalia*, see N. Purcell, in *'Roman Ostia' Revisited* (n. 62) 268f. The exact meaning of *navale* here cannot, I believe, be determined by what is inscribed in the beginning of line 26. What one sees here if one inspects the stone (cf. n. 4) is *extru[.] + tibus* (not *extru[.]ntibus*, as in the *CIL*). The *T* is preceded by a *hasta recta* (not really visible in the photo in Fora) which belongs to either an *I* or an *N* (for *N* cf., e.g., the *N* in *aenea* in line 28). As for the *V*, the upper part of the left *hasta* of what seems to be a *V* is visible, but it should be noted that a close inspection of the stone shows that apart from the top this letter may well have been vertical, and thus possibly an *I* with a tip pointing to the left (cf., e.g., the second *I* in *Coilio* in line 25) or an *E* (cf., e.g., the *E* in *reparavit*, line 20); on the other hand, if one ignores the traces apparently pointing to a vertical *hasta* (which one will have to do if one reads an *V*), this letter could even have been an *A*, a letter which comes in very many shapes in this inscription. But if one assumes that the reading *extru-* of all editors of *CIL* XIV 376 is indeed correct, what about the rest of the expression? Th. Mommsen (in *Gesammelte Schriften* 8, 341f.) reads *extru[en]tibus* (to be understood as *exstruentibus*, from *ex(s)truere* 'to build', 'construct') and offers a pretty complicated explanation which is based on the fact that *navale* could mean both a place where ships were built and a place where ships were kept (there is a reference to Servius, *Aen.* 11, 326); therefore "commode distinguuntur *navale extruentibus factum et factum subducentibus*". What he seems to say is that this *navale* was built for shipbuilders (and thus a shipyard) and that it was in this way differentiated from a *navale* meant for the "subducentes", i.e., for those who hauled up ships to be kept in shipsheds. This explanation seems to have been accepted by Meiggs who writes "the *navale* was for the building of ships" (p. 501; for further scholars who accept the reading *extru[en]tibus* or *extru[e]ntibus* note M.F. Petracca Lucernoni, *I questori municipali dell'Italia antica* (1988) 27 no. 12; Fora (n. 4) 62–4 no. 28; P. Sanchez, in *Ostie. Port et porte de la Rome antique* (n. 4) 152 no. 5). But to me this explanation does not seem plausible at all – to say the least (note H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* I (1885) 438 n. 52: "sachlich und sprachlich halte ich *navale extruentibus* für unmöglich"). Who would have referred to a shipyard by saying "a *navale* (meant) for shipbuilders"? But the main problem with this explanation is that, if the Latin used here is of the normal kind, one should combine *extru[.] + tibus* not with what precedes but with what follows to form a colon *extru[.] + tibus fere collapsum* (thus correctly J. Carcopino, *MEFR* 31 (1911) 216. 218): clearly we have here *fere collapsum* somehow defined. But how? J. Carcopino (ibid.) proposed either *extru[den]tibus* (scil. "quelque chose comme *inundationibus aquam e ripis*") or (assuming that a few ligatures were used) *extru[s(is) stipi]tibus* (in this case "les eaux auraient emporté les pieux de ses estacades"); but both propositions seem equally implausible (and the latter far too long for the lacuna). One possibility could possibly be to accept *extru[den]tibus* but to assume that the verb is used intransitively, that *extrudentia* would mean something like protruding parts (of the building), and that we would be dealing with an *ablativus respectus*. (Note that P. Sanchez (cf. above) seems to be thinking on these lines, cf. his translation "l'arsenal construit par Lucius Coilius, dont les superstructures étaient sur le point de s'effondrer".) But *extrudere* is otherwise never used as a intransitive verb (*TLL*



actual site of the naval spectacle to the presentation of which Gamala Senior had contributed. Be that as it may, I think that a case can be made for regarding the mention of the *navale* in *CIL* XIV 376 as also pointing to the conclusion that no real war is mentioned in *CIL* XIV 375.

To conclude: I suggest that *CIL* XIV 375 may have been formulated some time after the death of the honorand and that it belongs to a private monument honouring deceased Gamalae. These circumstances would explain many of the exceptional features of the inscription. Furthermore, I suggest that the formulation *bellum navale* cannot possibly refer to a specific war and that, accordingly, it cannot be used for dating the inscription. In my view, the activities of Gamala Senior described in the inscription cannot belong to a period earlier than the Triumviral or, preferably, the early Augustan. If the "Quattro tempietti" can be dated to a period which fits this date, I think it is fairly likely that they can be identified with the temples built by Gamala Senior.

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V 2, 2088–90), and, to tell the truth, there is hardly space in the inscription for supplying the three letters *DEN* in the lacuna. On the other hand, I am not in the position to offer a more suitable word beginning with *ex(s)tru-* and ending with *-itibus* or *-ntibus*, and things are not made easier by the fact that the reading could possibly be even *ex(s)tri-*, *ex(s)tre-*, or perhaps even *ex(s)tra-*. It seems, then, that the problem remains.— F. Jacques, *Les cités de l'occident romain* (1990) p. 131 no. 68 (b) translates this passage as follows: "il a aussi restauré le chantier naval construit par L. Coilius, presque effondré".



**LATIN, SWEDISH AND FRENCH –  
Some Considerations on the Choice of Language in the Letter  
Collection of the Gyldenstolpe Family<sup>1</sup>**

RAIJA SARASTI-WILENIUS

A high-ranking Swedish statesman, Count Nils Gyldenstolpe (born in Turku in 1642, died in Stockholm in 1709) collected a great number of letters and other manuscripts during the five last decades of his life. Due to the bankruptcy of his grandson Count Nils Filip Gyldenstolpe (1734–1810), the collection passed from the family's ownership and was bought by Bishop Johan Magnus Nordin, a keen collector of manuscripts, at an auction in 1787. After Nordin's death in 1814, Crown Prince Charles John acquired the collection, donating it to the Uppsala University Library, where the collection is currently housed.<sup>2</sup> Among Nils Gyldenstolpe's manuscripts, there are a little less than 600 letters exchanged by members of his family between the years 1660 and 1708.<sup>3</sup> These texts, offering a view of the life of a cultured family during three generations, are valuable sources for research on seventeenth and early eighteenth century Sweden and Finland. The letters have earlier been read exclusively as historical cum biographical evidence, revealing facts about the persons involved. Treated as a collection, the letters make it possible to throw light on several social and cultural customs of the time. After a short presentation of the Gyldenstolpe family and the letter collection, I am going to look at the letter collection only from the

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<sup>1</sup> The first draft of this article was presented at the 12<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Bonn 3–5 August, 2003. The article has been written as part of the research project *The Arrival of Humanism in Finland* financed by the Academy of Finland.

<sup>2</sup> S. Ågren, "Om Nordinska handskriftssamlingen i Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek. Några anteckningar", in *Uppsala Universitets Biblioteks Minneskrift 1621–1921*, Uppsala 1921, 469–97.

<sup>3</sup> UUB, Nordinska samlingen vols 468–70.

point of view of languages used, discussing questions such as what can be said about the languages used, what they can tell us about the family, and about the time, in general, and what kinds of ideas concerning languages there are to be found in the letters themselves.

### The Gyldenstolpe family

The story of the Gyldenstolpe family begins with Nils Gyldenstolpe's father, Michael Wexionius, whose family name derives from Wäxjö, a locality in Småland, southern Sweden, where Michael was born the son of a pastor in 1609. After the cathedral school of Wäxjö, he studied at the University of Uppsala and completed his studies in Germany (Marburg, Wittenberg) and Holland (Leiden, Groningen, Amsterdam) in the 1630s. When the Academy of Turku was founded in 1640, Michael Wexionius was appointed to the chair of history and politics and, as he says in a letter dating from July 1661, "left his native country and brought his family to the ends of the earth to live among these unfamiliar people".<sup>4</sup> From 1647 on, Michael Wexionius also acted as the professor of jurisprudence at Turku. In 1650, he was raised to the nobility and took the name of Gyldenstolpe. When seven years later he was nominated as assessor of the Turku Court of Appeal (*hovrätt*), the highest court in Finland, he hoped to be able – at least partially – to keep his chair in jurisprudence at the Academy but this was not allowed and he served as a judge until his death in 1670. Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe was a major figure in the first decades of the Academy of Turku. He was a learned scholar and a productive author, with publications on ethics, politics, economics, geography, history and law.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Michael W.-G. to Nils G. 22 July, 1661: *Tum quod maximo cum dispendio ad regiam vocationem patriam reliquerim magnisque sumptibus in extrema haec terrarum loca ad ignotam gentem familiam meam transtulerim.*

<sup>5</sup> M. Klinge *et al.*, *Kuninkaallinen Turun Akatemia 1640–1808*, Keuruu 1987, index s.v. Wexionius, Michael; A.A.A. Laitinen, *Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe* 1, Helsinki 1912; M.G. Schybergson, *Historiens studium vid Åbo universitet* (Åbo universitets lärdomshistoria 3), Helsingfors 1891, 13–7; A. Liljenstrand, *Juridikens studium vid Åbo universitet* (Åbo universitets lärdomshistoria 2), Helsingfors 1890, 30–5; A.W. Westerlund, *Åbo hovrätts presidenter, ledamöter och tjänstemän 1623–1923: biografiska och genealogiska anteckningar*, Åbo 1923, 166–8; *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexicon* (henceforth *SBL*) 17, Stockholm 1969, 509–12.

Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe and his wife Susanna Crucimontana (1617–69) had twelve children among whom three daughters and six sons reached maturity. Three of the sons (Gabriel, Carl and Gustaf Gyldenstolpe) made themselves careers in the army.<sup>6</sup> The second eldest son, Nils Gyldenstolpe, moved to Stockholm and made an important career at the Swedish Royal Court.<sup>7</sup> Daniel and Samuel Gyldenstolpe followed in their father's footsteps, the former became an assessor of Turku Court of Appeal and the latter professor of history and politics at Turku (later district judge in Upper Satakunta, western Finland).<sup>8</sup>

### *Ad familiares* of the Gyldenstolpe family

Out of the nearly 600 letters in the Gyldenstolpe collection, the largest number – some 500 letters – are addressed to Nils Gyldenstolpe who also collected slightly less than 100 letters addressed to his (second) wife, Countess Margaretha Ehrensteen (1659–1721). Only in a few isolated cases is the recipient some other member of the family. Regrettably, the letters written by Nils Gyldenstolpe himself have not come down to us, almost the only exceptions being the letters he sent to his wife. The majority of the letters received by Nils, which serve as the principal sources of this article, were written by his father and brothers. Moreover, there are letters from his sisters,<sup>9</sup> brother-in-law,<sup>10</sup> uncle<sup>11</sup> and his family, and his wife and sons.<sup>12</sup>

Since all correspondents in this letter collection are family members

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<sup>6</sup> T. Carpelan, *Ättartavlor för den på Finlands Riddarhus introducerade adeln* 1, Helsingfors 1954, 494–5; *Svenska Adelns Ättartavlor* (henceforth *SAÄ*) 3, Stockholm 1900, 210–1.

<sup>7</sup> *SBL* 17 (above n. 5) 513–5.

<sup>8</sup> Westerlund (above n. 5) 177–8; *SAÄ* 3 (above n. 6) 212; Schybergson (above n. 5) 17–8; J.J. Tengström, *Chronologiska Företeckningar och Anteckningar öfver Finska Universitets fordna Procancellorer samt öfver Facultaternas Medlemmar och Adjuncter från Universitets stiftelse inemot dess andra sekulärår*, Helsingfors 1836, 140.

<sup>9</sup> Susanna Gyldenstolpe was married to Professor Enevald Svenonius, Sofia Gyldenstolpe to Capitan Henrik Silfversvan and Sara Gyldenstolpe to District Judge Johan Spofvenhielm. Carpelan (above n. 6) 494; *SAÄ* 3 (above n. 6) 210–1.

<sup>10</sup> Professor Enevald Svenonius (1617–87).

<sup>11</sup> Professor Olof Wexionius (1626–71).

<sup>12</sup> Edvard, Carl Adolf and Ulrik Niklas Gyldenstolpe. *SAÄ* 3 (above n. 6), 212–3.



and since the letters were not composed with publication in mind nor intended for a wider audience, the letters of the Gyldenstolpe family can, generally speaking, be regarded as familiar. However, describing the letters as strictly private would be too simplistic and would ignore certain features which relate to the dialectic of public and private, an important and much discussed aspect of humanist epistolary activity.<sup>13</sup> In order to shed some light on how public and private interact with each other in the letters, it is worth taking a look at how these concepts are used in contemporary textbooks and manuals of letter writing, which present various ways of classifying different types of letters.<sup>14</sup> A textbook published by Daniel Achrelius, Professor of Eloquence, in Turku in 1689 divides letters into four chief classes according to two different criteria – subject matter (1 and 2) and style (3 and 4) – as follows: 1) theological (*sacrae sive theologicae*), 2) civil (*civiles sive politicae*), 3) rhetorical (*pomposae sive oratoriae*) and 4) familiar (*privatae sive familiares*) letters.<sup>15</sup> The second class, civil letters, has two sub-divisions: letters which are purely public (such as letters exchanged between rulers or states concerning war, peace, marriages, etc.) and letters which combine features of both public and private communication (*publicoprivatae*). Again, the latter, the mixed type, is divided into two further sub-species, this time, according to correspondents: the letters are exchanged either between two private persons or between a

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<sup>13</sup> J.R. Henderson, "Humanist Letter Writing: Private Conversation or Public Forum?", in T. Van Houdt, J. Papy, G. Tournoy, C. Matheussen (eds.), *Self-Presentation and Social Identification. The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter Writing in Early Modern Times* (Suppl. Humanistica Lovaniensia 18), Leuven 2002, 17–38.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., Erasmus, *Opus de conscribendis epistolis* (Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami 1:2), Amsterdam 1971, 310–4; Justus Lipsius, *Principles of Letter-Writing. A Bilingual Text of Justi Lipsi Epistolica Institutio*, ed. and trans. R.V. Young and M. T. Hester, Carbondale 1996, 20; J.R. Henderson, "Defining the Genre of the Letter. Juan Luis Vives' *De conscribendis Epistolis*", *Renaissance and Reformation* 7 (1983) 96; Ch. Fantazzi, "Vives versus Erasmus on the Art of Letter-Writing", in Van Houdt, Papy, Tournoy, Matheussen (above n. 13) 41–4. For classification of letters in ancient literature, see Cic. *fam.* 2,4,1; Iul. Vict. *rhet.* (appendix *De epistolis*); P. Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme dell'epistolografia latina nella tarda repubblica e nei primi due secoli dell'imperio*, Roma 1983, 105–35.

<sup>15</sup> D. Achrelius *Epistolarum conscribendarum forma et ratio*, Aboae 1689, 9–15. Achrelius probably did not base his classification on just one model; he compiled from several sources and then presented his own view of the matter. See S. Hansson, *Svensk brevskrivning. Teori och tillämpning*, Göteborg 1988, 31.

private person and someone holding a high public office. Pliny's correspondence with Trajan concerning the Christians (Plin. *epist.* 10,96-97), Seneca's recommendation for mercy presented to Nero (Sen. *clem.*) and Erasmus's letters to European rulers are examples of the latter sub-species. The relationship between correspondents is not only observed in this public-private type of civil letter but it is also an essential part of the definition of a private (or familiar) letter, which is described in terms of style: letters exchanged between friends (naturally also family members) in which a certain negligence regarding rhetorical rules is allowed.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, we might add that there is even a third criterion besides subject matter and style, i.e., the recipient, that counts when the class or the type of a letter is defined.<sup>17</sup>

In the Gyldenstolpe family, one of the sons (Nils) rose in social standing above his father and brothers. The dynamics of this development are reflected in the letters which testify to different attitudes taken up by the letter writers and a certain change of attitude noticeable in some of the correspondents. A relationship between two brothers or cousins can acquire features of that between a client and a patron. This particularly influenced the style employed. Most of the letters represent familiar speech, reproducing the tone of conversation<sup>18</sup> but some writers, when they turned to the recipient (patron) in order to ask for support, favours, benefits, etc., composed quite formal letters with a lot of embellishment. As for the subject matter, the letters were written not only for the sake of communication but for several different purposes. The letters combine confidential conversations, personal thoughts, family news and gossip with requests, recommendations, congratulations, consultation, instruction, meditation on scientific topics, reports of political news, etc., elements representing several types of letters. Subject matters, thus, range from private to public.

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<sup>16</sup> Achrelius (above n. 15) 13–4: *Epistolae familiares dicuntur illae, quae amici ad amicos mittunt in quibus quaedam animi licentia ab uno argumento in aliud ambulat servato non adeo curioso dispositionis artificio.*

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Henderson (above n. 13) 22.

<sup>18</sup> Cic. *fam.* 9,21,1; Quint. 9,4,19–20; Sen. *epist.* 75,1 relate a letter to conversation (*sermo*). Also many early modern manuals on letter writing define a letter as a conversation between those absent from one another. Fantazzi (above n. 14) 48. Achrelius defines the letter in a similar way (above n. 15) 4: *Epistola est colloquium absentis cum absente.*

According to the classification presented in Achrelius' textbook, if two private correspondents discuss public affairs, their letters belong to the mixed, public-private-type of civil letters. Viewed against the definitions presented in contemporary manuals of letter writing, not all of the letters of the Gyldenstolpe collection can be classified as private because of the subject matter discussed or the style used in these letters.

### **Which language and why?**

What is noteworthy in the Finnish context of the time is that the male letter writers of the Gyldenstolpe family mainly exchanged letters in Latin. As expected, the women wrote in either Swedish or in French. In addition to Latin, most of the male writers used at least one other language, most often Swedish or French, in their letters addressed to one and the same male recipient (Nils G.).<sup>19</sup> If both the writer and the recipient were fluent in more than one language, which is the case with the male correspondents of the Gyldenstolpe family, on what grounds did the writer choose a particular language for a particular letter? Or did he not make a conscious decision at all? Do the writers themselves give reasons for their choice of language? Do the contents of the letters reveal something which would explain the use of a particular language?<sup>20</sup>

Writers only seldom explain why they have chosen the language in which they are writing. It seems, however, that they remember well if they once have used a language other than Latin. Later on they may refer to these letters by saying, for instance: "as I wrote in my Swedish letter...". Since letters in Swedish and French were more rare, this kind of a reference was usually sufficient enough whereas referring to letters in Latin always required a mention of the exact date. In a few cases, the contents of the letters reveal the reason underlying the choice of language. On his European

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<sup>19</sup> Michael 194 letters (187 in Latin, 9 in French), Daniel 67 letters (63 in Latin, 4 in Swedish), Samuel 77 letters (74 in Latin, 2 in Swedish, 1 in Italian), Carl 42 letters (36 in Latin, 7 in Swedish), Gustaf 18 letters (16 in Latin, 2 in Swedish), Nils' sons 25 letters all together (18 in Latin, 6 in French, 1 in Swedish), Enevald Svenonius 22 letters (20 in Latin, 2 in Swedish).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. C.L. Vermeulen, "Strategies and Slander in the Protestant Part of the Republic of Letters: Image, Friendship and Patronage in Etienne de Courcelles's Correspondence", in Van Houdt, Papy, Tournoy, Matheussen (above n. 13) 277–9.

journey, Samuel Gyldenstolpe sent a letter in Italian to his brother Nils from Holland where he was waiting for an opportunity to travel to Spain and Italy.<sup>21</sup> The reason for this exceptional choice of language is clear: by showing his ability and preparedness, Samuel tries to make a favourable impression and convince his elder brother, who was his closest patron and whom he called his *Maecenas*, that the journey to the southern countries was not a passing whim and attempts to persuade him to support his endeavour.

### **Prime Choice: Latin**

The collection includes letters written by Nils Gyldenstolpe's three youngest brothers (Samuel, Carl, Gustaf) from the ages of five or six years onwards. Even the very first messages of a few sentences were written in Latin. All the sons of Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe grew up with the idea that it was customary that the men of their family exchanged letters in Latin. Why was Latin the prime choice for the Gyldenstolpes? Of course, it was not extraordinary to use Latin in seventeenth century learned circles. Just as every well-schooled person of the time, Michael, his sons and grandsons had been taught Latin from the first school day on and had learned to compose Latin verses, letters and speeches. Since we are dealing with learned men used to communicating in Latin, should Latin then not be considered as a natural choice, even in the familiar correspondence? Considering that contemporary Swedish and European correspondents, even learned ones, who shared a native tongue seem to have written to each other more often in their native language than in Latin, it is possible that the using of Latin might have meant something special to the Gyldenstolpes.<sup>22</sup>

The Gyldenstolpes were also a noble family. Latin was not at all a common language in the letters written by other Swedish and Finnish noblemen of the time; noblemen mainly wrote in either Swedish or French. Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe was a *homo novus*, a nobleman of recent creation. In seventeenth century Sweden, able men were increasingly needed for the administration of the country and a growing high prestige was given to education as a noble virtue. This offered ambitious, literate commoners an

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<sup>21</sup> Samuel G. to Nils G. 3 October, 1676.

<sup>22</sup> Vermeulen (above n. 20) 278.

opportunity to rise on the social scale.<sup>23</sup> In 1650 Michael's family was registered in the rank of the lower nobility due to his scholarly merits.<sup>24</sup> Ten years after his ennoblement, Michael started to write letters to his son Nils who had just moved to Stockholm, the first known letter dating from August 1660. From this first letter onwards, we learn how Michael was in deep financial difficulties and still regretted that he had had to leave his chair in the Academy for his office as assessor in the Court of Appeal. It is possible that Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe did not yet primarily identify himself with the nobility but rather with learned elite. By establishing Latin as the prime communication language in his correspondence with his sons, Michael could emphasize his family's learnedness and erudition, features which distinguished them among their new social peers, justified their social advancement and boosted their self-esteem.

### **Secondary Choices: French and Swedish**

Nils climbed further up the social ladder, advancing to the top offices of the country and was first promoted to Baron, then to Count. He worked in the field of foreign policy and diplomacy serving, for instance, as Swedish ambassador to the Hague and French became an everyday language which was also used inside his family. Although his sons still wrote more often in Latin than in French, the latter was more frequently used in their letters than in those of their uncles.<sup>25</sup> Even Nils' wife used French, whereas his sisters and nieces, who all stayed in Finland, wrote exclusively in Swedish. As far as the positions of Latin and French are concerned, one detail may illuminate the different situations of Michael's and Nils' families. In the 1660s, Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe urges his sons, for practice, to sometimes write letters in French whereas, at the turn of the eighteenth

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<sup>23</sup> L. Gustafsson, "The Literate Nobleman. A Study in the Literature of the Earlier Part of Sweden's Period as a Great Power", *Lychnos* 1959, 38–9.

<sup>24</sup> Michael had solicited Count Per Brahe for a permission to use the name and coat-of-arms of an old Swedish noble family Stolpe because his mother was descended from that family. The petition was accompanied by Michael's assurances that he could not even think that he would deserve to be ennobled for his own merits (topos of *modestia*). Laitinen (above n. 5) 86–7.

<sup>25</sup> See n. 19.



century, his son Nils encourages his own sons to use Latin instead of French.<sup>26</sup> That Nils encouraged his sons to write Latin does not only indicate that he wanted his sons to improve their Latin. The exhortation might also go back to the learned background of Nils' family and his desire to keep up that reputation, an attempt in which he indeed succeeded since learnedness and intellectual activities are mentioned in his biographies, and even in those of his offspring. In fact, some biographers do not describe his political career as very successful but praise his erudition and especially his juridical knowledge.<sup>27</sup>

The opposite encouragement of the Gyldenstolpe fathers of the two successive generations mirrors not only the changed situation of their family but also that of the Latin language. At the turn of the eighteenth century when Nils' sons wrote their letters and Nils urged them to use Latin, the position of Latin was beginning to change in the country. Swedish gradually became more common in all, even academic, contexts.<sup>28</sup> That the two youngest sons of Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe used more Swedish than their elder brothers cannot, however, solely be explained by the general decreasing use of Latin; the fact that they made their careers in the army might also have influenced the choice of language. For example, the second youngest brother, Carl, who served in the Swedish and Dutch armies, first wrote exclusively in Latin but later on used more and more Swedish. Although he never totally gave up writing Latin, it was probably less used in his circles of colleagues and friends, and his native language, Swedish, became thus a more natural choice for him.

Michael's other sons wrote their father in French, too, but they never wrote their brother Nils in French.<sup>29</sup> In Nils' brothers' letters, the second choice was always Swedish, whereas for Michael, in familiar correspondence, it was always French. Michael had become interested in France and the French language during his scholarly journey (*peregrinatio*),

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<sup>26</sup> Michael W.-G. to Nils G. 18 January, 23 May, 22 July, 12 September, 1661; 15 October, 1664. Ulrik Niklas to Nils G. s.d. (UUB, Nordin 470:119).

<sup>27</sup> *SBL* 17 (above n. 5) 514; *Svenskt Biografiskt Handlexikon* 1, Stockholm 1906, 419; *Svenska män och kvinnor. Biografisk Uppslagsbok* 3, Stockholm 1946, 175.

<sup>28</sup> R. Sarasti-Wilenius, *Noster eloquendi artifex. Daniel Achrelius' Latin Speeches and Rhetorical Theory in Seventeenth-Century Finland*, Helsinki 2000, 38–9.

<sup>29</sup> In his letter to Nils G. dating from May 1662, Michael W.-G. mentions that he has received a letter from Daniel G. which was written in Latin, Greek and French.

particularly when he was studying at the University of Marburg in 1630s, in the time of the Thirty Years' War. When Nils wrote that he would travel to England, Michael answered – probably due to his own unfulfilled wish to visit France – that he would have preferred Nils to travel to France. However, in the present situation, Nils should learn English and study things about England in order to make the most of the journey.<sup>30</sup> As for Nils, he first supported the anti-France foreign policy, position the Swedish government took under Bengt Oxenstierna's lead, but in the 1690s he changed his attitude and was an enthusiastic Francophile (and Oxenstierna's opponent) for the rest of this life. He even received bribes from France which were welcome help in his financial difficulties.<sup>31</sup>

### Significance of language proficiency

The letters show how Michael, who appreciated the good knowledge of languages as an essential part of learning, took care that his sons learned languages to such an extent that language proficiency became a kind of a distinctive mark of the family. The family could indeed be proud of the sons' knowledge of languages on several occasions, e.g., when Michael took his two eldest sons, a little less than ten years old, to Stockholm where several significant persons admired their knowledge of Latin or when two of the sons, on two separate occasions, at the ages of 13 and 15, delivered Latin panegyrics on two patrons of the family.<sup>32</sup> In his letters to the sons who had

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<sup>30</sup> Michael W.-G. to Nils G. 20 December, 1660: *Iter tuum in Angliam faxit Omnipotens ut feliciter succedat! Mallem tamen, si commode fieri potuisset, in Galliam. Sed, uti Comicus ait, quando ut volumus non licet, velimus quod possumus. Interea consultum foret in lingua istius regionis Te graviter exerceri, nec non de moribus gentis dextre informari quo commodius et majori cum fructu celebre istud quoque regnum invises.* The reference to a comedian, cf. Ter. *Andr.* 805.

<sup>31</sup> *SBL* 17 (above n. 5) 514–5.

<sup>32</sup> Samuel Gyldenstolpe describes these occasions in the funeral oration in memory of the eldest brother Gabriel, who died at the age of twenty-five when he was in the service of the Swedish army in Riga. *Panegyris seu Parentatio in Memoriam Dn. Gabrielis Gyldenstolpens*, Aboae 1667 (A6v). Moreover, he describes how Gabriel had imbibed knowledge of several languages with his mother's milk (A5r): *statim deinde cum ipso lacte materno, pietatis semina variasque linguas hauserat atque imbiberat.* The panegyrics mentioned are Gabriel Gyldenstolpe, *Perbrevis Panegyricus Virtuti et Honori Dni. Laurentii Creutz*, Aboae 1655; Samuel Gyldenstolpe, *De Illustrissima Braheorum*

moved away from home, Michael gave them fatherly advice and frequently encouraged them to continue studying and, not least, utilizing languages. In time, this practice was to be continued by Nils who suggested themes such as *Comparatio Romuli et Augusti* for his sons' writing exercises in Latin.<sup>33</sup> The teaching of languages to other persons was highly recommended.<sup>34</sup> It was not only foreign languages that should be learned and practiced; it was also advisable to try to refine one's style in the vernacular language.<sup>35</sup>

Michael not only exhorted his sons but also continued to instruct them by means of letters. Michael's encouragement to write in French included that he would correct the text and then return the revised letter to Nils. In Nils' previous letters in French, father had noticed more errors than he had hoped to see.<sup>36</sup> We do not have Nils' answer but judging from the soothing and explanatory tone in Michael's following letters, Nils was not at all enthusiastic about his father's suggestion. He was probably unsure of his abilities in French at the time and was simply annoyed at or tired of his father's advice. Michael also made corrections to Nils' Latin text, pointing out orthographical errors and shortcomings in argumentation and style. Nevertheless, later on Nils wrote Michael at least a couple of letters in French receiving afterwards Michael's judgment and corrections (though in Latin). When Michael noticed that his well-intentioned instruction somewhat irritated Nils, he suggested a stylistic exercise which Nils could carry out by himself without his father's intervention: "translate a piece of

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*Prosapia Sermo Panegyricus*, Aboae 1671.

<sup>33</sup> Edvard G. and Carl Adolf G. to Nils G. 14 March, 1696.

<sup>34</sup> E.g., Michael W.-G. to Nils G. 20 December, 1660: *Exercitia tua in Romana pariter et Gallica lingua, quibus alijs quoque informatione tua subsidio esse possis, vehementer approbo. Animadvertis, mi fili, ut alat omnis terra peritos. Sic perge, Deum ardentem cole, assidue precare, virtuti atque eruditioni stude, atque cum illis libenter conversare ex quibus melior simul et doctior evadas, ut et tibi ipsi honori et promotioni et nobis gaudio atque solatio esse queas.*

<sup>35</sup> Michael W.-G. to Nils G. 6 July, 1661: *tersum stylum et genuinum etiam in vernacula excolas lingua verbaque et phrases minus usitatas aut commodas tanquam scopulos vites.*

<sup>36</sup> Michael W.-G. to Nils G. 23 May, 1661: *Gallicas itidem subinde abs te literas expecto. Exercitio siquidem in illo studij genere impense tibi est opus. Occurrebant quippe in illis quas antea dederas plura quam sperassem σφάλματα, quae, ubi nonnihil ocij nactus fuero, tibi annotata transmittam.* Michael uses the Greek term σφάλματα in order not to sound so harsh (a kind of euphemism) or in order to put special emphasis on that word. See also Michael W.-G. to Nils G. 22 July, 1661.

text from a French author into Latin or German, then put aside the text of the author and on your own translate the text again into French. Then compare your translation to the original text".<sup>37</sup>

Michael's motive for this kind of advice was naturally the concern for his sons' future lives and careers. The letters reveal that Michael invested in his sons' learning, in general, and in their knowledge of languages, in particular, in order to secure them respectable careers and to help them enter into patronage relationships with powerful patrons. In his letters, Michael makes it quite clear that it would be crucially beneficial for Nils' career to gain the patronage of more than one great supporter, which shows the meaning that the kinship, friendship and client–patron relationships had for people of the time. It was difficult to get something done, gain a benefit, a promotion or a position unless you had the right connections, knew someone who was powerful enough or who, for his part, knew someone who would act to your advantage.<sup>38</sup> When Nils had moved to Stockholm but had not yet found a proper job, Michael wrote to one of his patrons, Count Per Brahe, Governor-General and the highest judicial officer of the country (*drots*), suggesting various alternatives for the start of Nils' career, one of them being that Brahe would introduce Nils to the Royal Court where he could teach the young prince, the future king Charles XI, Latin and Finnish.<sup>39</sup> Becoming a tutor was a common way to enter into a patronage relationship. If Michael's hope had materialized, it would have meant an investment in a patron who was destined to become powerful.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Michael W.-G. to Nils G. 22 July, 1661: *Transfer ex Gallico in Latinum aut Germanicum sermonem. Seposito deinde authore, tuo marte, priori linguae redde, quod postmodum conferas. Id haud exiguo in stili exercitio erit adjumentum.*

<sup>38</sup> P. Englund, "Om klienter och deras patroner", in S. Dahlgren, A. Florén, Å. Karlsson (eds.), *Makt & vardag. Hur man styrde, levde och tänkte under svensk stormaktstid*, Trelleborg 1993, 86.

<sup>39</sup> Laitinen (above n. 5) 134. In a letter to Nils himself Michael mentions only Finnish. Michael W.-G. to Nils G. 1 August, 1660: *Regni Drozeto potes etiam humiliter insinuare Te velle Regem in Fennica lingua exercere.*

<sup>40</sup> M. Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier. The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism*, Chicago & London 1993, 19–24.

## Concluding remarks

On the grounds of a few explanations given or implied by the writers or revealed in the contents of the letters of the Gyldenstolpe family, I think it is justified to presume that the language was not randomly chosen and that, in many cases, the writer made a more or less conscious decision to use a particular language. There are several relevant factors that influence the decision. First of all, the choice of the language depended on who wrote and to whom: the writer had naturally to use a language s/he could write and s/he knew that the addressee could understand. For instance, the women never wrote nor were addressed letters in Latin. If both the writer and the addressee were fluent in more than one language, the subject matter and the purpose of the letter, i.e., what was written and why, could influence the writer in his choice of language. As the example of Samuel Gyldenstolpe's Italian letter shows, the writer could effectively pursue his goals by using a particular language.

Since the regular exchange of letters was regarded as a dialogue, it is possible that the recipient, in the first place, answered in the same language as the letter he received was written.<sup>41</sup> But the writer could also simply use a language which he found most convenient and could sometimes choose another simply for a change. He could also choose a particular language in order to practice that language or to instruct the addressee in it, or in order to show respect for the recipient, to transmit values of the family from one generation to another or to define his social identity.

Latin, which was standard in the mutual letters of the male members of the Gyldenstolpe family during three generations, can be regarded as a natural but perhaps not obvious choice in a familiar correspondence in the second half of the seventeenth century and in the early eighteenth century. The use of Latin, of course, associated Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe and his family, newcomers to the nobility, with the *res publica literaria*. Learning was the justification for their social advancement and remained an essential feature of their public image, at least during Michael's and his sons' lifetime. French and Swedish (and other languages), which were occasionally used for various reasons, only added some variety to the epistolary communication in Latin. The letters, particularly those of Michael

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<sup>41</sup> H.M.J. Nellen, "In Strict Confidence: Grotius' Correspondence with his Socinian Friends", Van Houdt, Papy, Tournoy, Matheussen (above n. 13) 229.



Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe, manifest how greatly a wide knowledge of languages was appreciated, not least because it was considered a good investment with regard to one's future career.

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## ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

### CCVII. NOCHMALS WEITERE NEUE COGNOMINA

Hier wieder eine weitere Auslese. Zu den unten gebrauchten Abkürzungen und diakritischen Zeichen s. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 475. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 189.

*Apiolus -a*: *CIL* V 2523 *Apiolus* (Freigelassener); X 5438 *Apiola*. Wohl zu *Appius* zu stellen. Freilich bleibt die Vereinfachung des Doppelkonsonanten unmotiviert; vgl. allerdings *Ariola* in *CIL* XIII 4690, wenn es zu *Arrius*, und *Geliola* VIII 21570 (christl., sofern nicht = *Caeliola*), wenn es zu *Gell-* (s. unten 178) zu stellen ist; *Vetiola* *IMS* IV 89, das zweifellos mit *Vettius* zu verbinden ist (das isoliert vorkommende *Vetius* dürfte eine reine Nebenform von *Vettius* darstellen).

*Aprianus -a*: Kajanto 140 mit einem Beleg (*CIL* XIII 6484, 12 aus der civitas Alisinensis). *Rep.* 294 (aus *ILAlg.* II 1112). Dazu *CIL* XIII 8512 *Aprianus*. 8525 *Apriana*. Kajanto leitet den Namen aus dem Gentilicium *Aprius* ab, ich würde mir als vornehmliche Namenquelle eher das übliche Cognomen *Aper* vorstellen.

**Ἄκυλᾶνος**: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2237, 104. *AthAgora* XV 466, 34 (beide 3. Jh. n. Chr.). Ist zweifellos mit dem Suffix *-anus* aus *Aquila* gebildet, das auch im griechischen Osten ein verbreiteter Name wurde.<sup>1</sup> An eine Variante von *Aquilianus* braucht nicht gedacht zu werden, allein schon, weil auch dieses Cognomen nur selten vorkommt.

! Ἄντωνᾶς, in *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 293 aus mehreren ägyptischen Papyri und 497

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\* Mika Kajava und Olli Salomies haben auf bewährte Weise meinen Text durchgelesen, wofür ihnen Dank erstattet sei. Marco Buonocore hat mir einige Lesungen von vatikanischen Handschriften mitgeteilt. Einen ganz besonderen Dank schulde ich Werner Eck für die sprachliche Durchsicht des Textes.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. O. Salomies, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 247, der auf die Häufigkeit von *Aquila* und *Aquilinus* in Pontos bzw. Paphlagonien hinweist.

aus einer stadtrömischen Inschrift angeführt (dazu noch etwa *Arch.Delt.* 38 [1983] Chr. 227 Nr. 12 aus Magnesia in Thessalien, byz.), kann in griechischer Umgebung vorzüglich als griechisch gedeutet werden, etwa als Weiterbildung von Ἄντων (Bechtel *HPN* 57). Doch sind die ägyptischen Belege (wie auch der aus Magnesia) durchweg späten Datums, so dass letzten Endes eine Anknüpfung an *Antonius* an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnt (auch wegen des Namens des Heiligen).

?*Ascitus*: *CIL* XII 3024 (Lesung und Deutung bleiben etwas unsicher). Vgl. *Rep.* 288 aus *Hellenica* III 144 Ἀδοκίτος (stellt aber nur eine unsichere Neulesung von *CIG* 3284 dar). So ist schon die ganze Existenz dieses Cognomens unsicher.

*Asurio*: *CIL* XIII 3500 (Belgica, Ambiani) *Flam(inius) Asurio*. Vielleicht Suffixableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Asurius*; eine epichorische Bildung kann kaum vorliegen.

*Atrox*: Kajanto 265 mit 4 Belegen. Dazu *ILJug* 744.

*Aucella*: *AE* 1967, 317 (Lugdunensis). Wenn die Lesung stimmt, vielleicht zu *aucella* zu stellen (vgl. *Aucellio* Kajanto 330), kaum epichorisch;<sup>2</sup> der Vater führt freilich den keltischen Namen *Smertu[---]*.<sup>3</sup>

*Aulicus*: s. unten 202.

*Aurilio*: *ILTG* 180 (Aquitanien, Lemovices) *Vilius Aurilio* (Lesung nach dem Editor Wuilleumier etwas unsicher). Kann als Nebenform von *Aurelio* (*Rep.* 298) aufgefasst werden; eine epichorische Erklärung ist nicht wahrscheinlich. Auch der Wortlaut der Inschrift ist sehr römisch und hat keine lokalen Besonderheiten aufzuweisen.

*Beatissima*: *CIL* V 5416 = Diehl *ILCV* 1445 (Comum) *hic requiescit in pace famuli Xi Iohannes cum Beatissime uxore sua*. Ich würde *Beatissima* als Namen der Frau ansehen,<sup>4</sup> nicht als Adjektiv.<sup>5</sup> Ein solcher Name wäre in der christlichen Anthroponymie nicht überraschend; er wurde aufgrund solcher Muster wie *Felicissimus -a* geschaffen. Jedenfalls handelt es sich um eine Gelegenheitsbildung, denn der Name lebt im italienischen Mittelalter nicht fort.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In *OPEL* I 219 unter *Aucellus*, das nicht existiert.

<sup>3</sup> Zu Vollnamen mit diesem Vorderteil K. H. Schmidt, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen* (ZCPH 26, 1–4), Tübingen 1957, 269f.

<sup>4</sup> So auch Diehl, *ILCV* und *OPEL* I 345.

<sup>5</sup> So Mommsen in *CIL* V und *ThLL* II 1909, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Überhaupt sind die Namen auf *Beat-* im Mittelalter selten geworden. Der einzige

! *Bellianus*: *Rep.* 301 aus *AE* 1982, 760 (aus Solva, epichorisch?). Dazu *ILTG* 372. *BRGK* 17 (1927) 349. Mutet aber vornehmlich wegen der geographischen Distribution eher als epichorisch an.

*Bur(r)ianus*: Kajanto 142 mit vier Belegen aus Rom, Samnium und Afrika. Dazu *AthAgora* XV 442, 4 (Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Ὀρφίτιος Βουρριανός.

*Callaecio*: *AE* 2000, 683 (Lusitanien, conv. Scallabitanus) *Callaecioni Lucreti Lupi ser(vo)*. Sein Vater hiess *Callaecus*, Träger eines seltenen Cognomens: *Rep.* 306, wozu noch *HAE* 1242 *Callecus*.

*Candidilla*: *Rep.* 307 aus *AE* 1979, 242. Dazu *CIL* II 58 vgl. J. D'Encarnação, *Inscr. rom. do Conventus Pacensis*, Coimbra 1984, 253.

*Canilla*: *RIT* 440 *Clod(ia) Canilla*. Nach dem Photo scheint die Lesung sicher. Die Namenbildungen der Sippe zu *canis* sind nicht besonders zahlreich; Kajanto 326 kennt derer nur die nicht üblichen *Caninus* und *Canio*, dazu noch *Canianus* (*Arctos* 34 [2000] 149f). *Caniana* (*ICUR* 23860). Doch sieht man nicht, wie die Bildung sonst erklärt werden könnte; um einen epichorischen Namen braucht es sich nicht zu handeln.

*Canio*: Kajanto 163 = 326 mit 3 Belegen. Dazu *RIB* 1483. Weber, *I. Steiermark* 149 IV, 1. *AE* 2000, 1326 (Philippi).

*Cervilla*: Kajanto 327. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 194 mit insgesamt vier Belegen. Dazu noch *AE* 1995, 204.

*Cognitus*: Kajanto 278. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 194. Dazu *IG* XII 6, 715.

*Kopvâς*: *Rep.* 318 aus *I. Kios* 16. Dazu *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 11349 (2. Jh. n. Chr.).

*Crastinus*: s. unten unter *Hodiernus*.

*Crispio*: Kajanto 223 mit drei Belegen. Dazu Vives *ILER* 6811 (dort schlecht Dat. *Crisp. Ioni*).

*Cupina*: *ILJug.* 2756 (Salonae) [---] *Cupinae Corellius Cassius pater*. Kaum epichorische Bildung. Eine andere Sache ist, wie der Name zu erklären ist.<sup>7</sup> Am naheliegendsten wäre, ihn aus dem alten Gentilnamen *Cupius* abzuleiten (vgl. auch *Cuppius*). Also eine italische Familie; der Vater trägt ebenfalls ein altes Gentile. Wenn aber das Cognomen akephal ist (doch steht

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Name, der in den *Monumenta onomastica Romana Medii Aevi (X–XII sec.)* von G. Savio, I, Roma 1999, 572f registriert wird, ist *Beatrix* mit 20 Belegen. Auch das oben genannte *Felicissimus* lässt sich bei Savio nicht belegen, ist aber aus dem 11. Jh. bekannt; so nannte sich ein Eremit und Heiliger, geboren um 1070 im Bistum von Nocera Umbra.

<sup>7</sup> Für G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, 183, der ihn nicht zu erklären versucht, ist der Beleg suspekt.

CVPINAE am Anfang der Zeile, und die Zeilen in der Inschrift beginnen jeweils mit einem Wort; andererseits soll P unsicher sein), dann könnte *[S]cupina* ergänzt werden, ein Cognomen, das in Dalmatien nicht undenkbar wäre, abgeleitet aus dem Namen der Einwohner der mösischen Stadt Scupi (*Scupinus* als Cognomen ist nur in *CIL* XIV 4810 belegt).

*Decrianus*: Kajanto 145. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 195f mit insgesamt 7 Belegen. Dazu noch *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2207, 35 (Anfang des 3. Jh.).

***Domnianus***: *I. chr.* *Bardo* 104 *Domnanus*. Ist am besten als *Domnianus* anzunehmen. Kajanto 362 kennt einen Bischof *ab Spanniis de Asturica Dommianus* Mansi 3, 42 aus dem Jahre 347, auch dies ist wohl als *Domnianus* zu deuten.

Δόμνιλλα: Kajanto 362 mit einem Beleg aus Iconium (*RPh* 1912, 65 Nr. 30). Eine weitere Namensträgerin ebendasselbst in *AE* 2000, 1448. Sie scheinen irgendwie verwandt zu sein und zur lokalen familia *Aelia* zu gehören: in *RPh* begräbt M. Aelius Octavius seine Frau *Domnilla*, und in *AE* begräbt *Futia Aelia Domnilla* ihren Mann *Aelius Nonius*. Sie könnten sogar identisch sein. Nur weiss ich nichts mit der Datierung der ersteren Inschrift anzufangen.

*Domninus*: Kajanto 362 mit 4 heidnischen und mehreren christlichen Belegen. Dazu *AthAgora* XV 447, 31 (ca. 205 n. Chr.). *ArchEph.* 1929, 151 Nr. 5 (Thebai in Achaia Phthiotis, byz.).

***Eburilla***: *CIL* XIII 1228 (Avaricum Biturigum) *Eburila* (Grabinschrift nur mit diesem Namen). Lässt sich ungezwungen als eine Suffixableitung der Namensippe *Ebur* erklären (neben *Eburianus*, *Eburinus*, *Eburiolus*).

*Emptus*: Kajanto 351 mit zwei Belegen aus Rom und Gallia cisalpina. Dazu *Epigraphica* 62 (2000) 168 Nr. 13 (Nursia) = *AE* 2000, 394 (die Lesung scheint sicher zu sein).

*Eques*: Kajanto 313 mit einem Beleg aus Hispanien. Nunmehr kennen wir andere Belege, in denen früher an Ritter oder Reiter gedacht wurde: *CIL* IX 3928 (Alba Fucens). *AE* 1966, 84; zur Belegung des Namens S. Demougin, *AIONArchStorAnt.* 2 (1980) 157-169.<sup>8</sup> Dagegen bleibt als Zeugnis ganz unsicher eine kürzlich publizierte Inschrift aus Gorsium (*RIU* 1524), in der schon die Lesung nicht feststeht und die Deutung völlig in der

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<sup>8</sup> Auszuscheiden ist von den von Demougin herangezogenen Fällen allerdings die von Mazzocchi überlieferte Inschrift aus Capua, die unecht ist: Solin, *Analecta epigraphica* 241.



Luft hängt.

*Flaccianus*: Kajanto 146 = 240 mit einem Senator, 6 heidnischen Belegen (von denen 5 aus Afrika) und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2000, 273 (Ager Albanus, 5./ 6. Jh. n. Chr.) *Flacianus*.

*Flamma*: Kajanto 341. Zu den dort aufgezählten Belegen seien folgende aus der griechischen Welt hinzugefügt: Athen 2mal (*LGPN* II 464, 1.-2. Jh. n. Chr.); *ID* 1631 (ein Audius). I. *Ephesos* 1546 Νεμέριος Γερίλλανος Νεμερίου υἱὸς Φλάμμα.

*Flaviolus -a*: Kajanto 167 mit einem Männernamen- und einem Frauennamenbeleg. Dazu *ILTG* 309 *Flaviola*.

*Florillus -a* : Kajanto 234 mit einem Männernamen- und einem Frauennamenbeleg. Dazu *NSc.* 1922, 424 Nr. 95 *Vibia L. l. Florilla* (Rom). Diego Santos, *InscrProvLeón* 108 (Männernamen).

*Focatus*(?): *CIL* XIII 11380 (Mediomatrici). Wenn die Lesung stimmt (der Kontext bleibt etwas unsicher, denn der Rest ist unverständlich: HERTOIS / P CVRAVERVNT), dann könnte die neue Bildung zu *focus* gestellt werden. Bekanntlich gibt es eine Handvoll Cognomina mit dem Suffix *-atus* aus Substantiva, auch der zweiten Deklination. Freilich haben die meisten Bildungen entsprechende Adjektiva neben sich: *Angulatus*, *Capillatus*, *Cirratu*s, *Gaesatus*, *Lupatus*, *Pudoratus*, *Viratus*,<sup>9</sup> direkt aus den Grundwörtern sind gebildet, *Iuvenatus* (es kann dem Namengeber natürlich auch *iuvenca Iuvenca* vorgeschwebt haben), *Passaratus*. Bedeutungsmässig würde *Focatus* vorzüglich einem künftigen Familienvater passen: 'mit dem Herd versehen'.

*Fonteianus*: Kajanto 146 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *AE* 1919, 81 (aus Ratiaria in Moesia superior, später Hauptstadt der Dacia ripensis).

*Fortinus*: Kajanto 257 mit einem Beleg aus *CIL* VI 32518 b, 5 (Prätorianer unbekannter Herkunft). Dazu *CIL* III 10903 besser *RIU* 318 *Flavius Fortin(us)*.

*Fufidianus*: *Epigraphica* 62 (2000) 356 = *AE* 2000, 536 (Carsulae, Ziegelstempel) *P. Lanus Fufidianus*.

*Gaditanus*: *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 336 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu dreimal in Gades:

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<sup>9</sup> Allerdings ist die Existenz dieses bei Kajanto 257 unter der Namensippe *vir* verzeichneten Namens nicht sicher. Er ist belegt auf einer gallischen Vase (*CIL* XIII 10010, 2052), und kann demnach einen keltischen Namen aus dem Stamm *Viro-* vertreten. Er ist aber nicht bei Schmidt, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen* a.a.O. 296f verzeichnet.

González, *Inscr. rom. prov. Cádiz* (1982) 392 ([G]aditana). 393 (L. Cornelius Gad[i]tanus). 414 (Argentilia Gaditana). Also alles deutlich Cognomina, nicht Ethnonyme.

*Galba*: *Rep.* 336f. Dazu *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2090, 120 (165/6 n. Chr.).

*Gelliola*: Kajanto 167 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand und einem Beleg auf *Geliola* aus Mauretanien (dieser bleibt etwas unsicher, da er auch für *Caeliola* stehen kann). Dazu *AE* 2000, 1061 (Germ. sup.).

**Γημιανός**: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2084, 28 (2. Jh. n. Chr.). Da keine griechische Erklärung zur Hand und das Suffix lateinisch ist, wird man hier einen lateinischen Namen vermuten dürfen. Als Ausgangspunkt könnte der freilich sehr seltene Gentilname *Gemius* dienen, von dem mir zwei Belege bekannt sind:<sup>10</sup> *CIL I<sup>2</sup>* 1074 = VI 8270 C. *Gemio* (wohl Nom.); Γέμιοϛ Δόδων *BCH* 7 (1883) 452-456 Nr. 2, 46 (Sebaste in Phrygien, 98/99 n. Chr.).<sup>11</sup> Nach dem letzteren Beleg zu urteilen soll aber *e* kurz sein, so dass, wenn die zwei Namen zusammengehören, *e* in einer der zwei Inschriften falsch wiedergegeben worden sein muss. Leider wissen wir nichts über die Quantität von etr. *cemu* und *Gemonius*, mit denen *Gemius* zusammengehören kann, wie auch mit *Geminus*, was aber wohl an *geminus* anzuknüpfen ist.<sup>12</sup>

*Germanianus*: Kajanto 417 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *BCH* 29 (1905) 103 Nr. 5 (Plataiai, 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

*Habentius*: Kajanto 358 mit einem Beleg aus Sulmo (christl.). Dazu *AE* 2000, 531 (Carsulae) *Abenti* am Anfang des Textes, also Signum.

**Hernilla**: *CIL III* 4190 = Diehl *ILCV* 401 = *RIU* 84 *Aurelia Hernilla* (die Lesung dürfte sicher sein). Wohl zu dem wenngleich selten belegten Gentilnamen *Hernius* (Schulze, *ZGLE* 82 = *Rep.* 92) zu stellen.<sup>13</sup> Es ist nicht nötig, einen Schreibfehler für *Herm-* anzunehmen, da Ἑρμιλλὰ *Hermilla*

<sup>10</sup> Unsicher bleibt *CIL VI* 406 = 30758 *Gemi(us) Felix*, von Bang im Gentilnamenindex so aufgelöst; viel eher haben wir es mit dem üblichen Gentilnamen *Geminus* zu tun.

<sup>11</sup> Die Kenntnis dieses Belegs verdanke ich der Freundlichkeit von Olli Salomies. Die Deutung als Gentilicium dürfte wohl sicher sein, wenn einen auch wundern mag, dass dieser *Gemius* Dadon der einzige mit dem Gentilnamen versehene in der langen Liste ist, der das Praenomen entbehrt; das erklärt sich aber wohl als individuelle Freiheit des Urhebers oder Steinmetzen des Verzeichnisses. Jedenfalls steht für Γέμιοϛ keine griechische oder kleinasiatische Erklärung zu Gebote.

<sup>12</sup> So Schulze *ZGLE* 108.

<sup>13</sup> Von *Hernius* zitiert Schulze nur *CIL II* 3683. Dazu noch *BACTH* 1915, CXCIX n. 8 (Sitifis) *C. Hernius Saturninus*. Freundliche Mitteilung von Olli Salomies.

überhaupt nirgends belegt zu sein scheint.

*Hispallus*: Kajanto 199, ausser dem Scipionen mit zwei Belegen. Dazu J. D'Encarnação, *Inscr. rom. do Conventus Pacensis*, Coimbra 1984, 351.

*Hodiernus*: G. Camodeca, *AIONAnnArchStorAnt.* n.s. 8 (2001 [2003]) 163ff (Album der Augustales von Liternum aus der Zeit von Mark Aurel – Commodus) *Ulpus Hodiernus* (Freigelassener). Namen dieser Art sind selten, etwa Bildungen wie *\*Hesternus* oder *\*Hornus* sind unbekannt, während die Deutung von *Crastinus* (*CIL* IX 1054) ungewiss bleibt: Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 193 stellt es zum Namen der sizilischen Stadt *Crastus*, woran sich zweifeln lässt (Crastus war eine unbedeutende Ortschaft, äusserst selten [in Wirklichkeit nur bei Stephanus Byzantius] in der Literatur erwähnt, so dass das Auftauchen des Ethnikons *Crastinus* als Cognomen im Gebiet der Hirpini recht überraschend wäre); eher ist der Beleg mit dem Gentilnamen *Crastinus* (*ThLL* Onom. II 690, 40-49) zusammenzubringen, der hier also die Funktion eines Cognomens angenommen hätte, was angesichts der Datierung der Inschrift etwa ins 3. Jh. n. Chr. nicht überraschen dürfte. Jedenfalls bleibt offen, ob der Namengeber oder -benutzer überhaupt eine Verbindung mit *crastinus* herstellen konnte.

*Humanus*: Kajanto 222 mit zwei etwas unsicheren Belegen aus Rom und Britannien. Aus Athen kann ein glaubhafter Beleg hinzugefügt werden: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2020, 121 (ca. 120/1 n. Chr.).

*Lacer*: Kajanto 245 mit einem Beleg aus Lusitanien. Dazu *CIL* III 2125 (Dalmatien, 1./2. Jh.).

*Lacerilis*: *CIL* II 4625 = *IRC* 50 (aus Bacasis). Die Bildung ist nicht ganz durchsichtig, könnte aber mittels des Suffixes *-ilis* aus *lacer* *Lacer* gebildet worden sein. Freilich ist *-ilis* kein produktives Suffix in der lateinischen Namengebung, vgl. immerhin *Lucernilis* in *ICUR* 14430 (*Rep.* 353); auch *Mercurilis* Kajanto 213 (es gibt kein Adjektiv *Mercurilis*, wohl aber *Mercurialis*, das hinter dieser Namenbildung durchschimmern könnte).

*Lacertaria*: Gonzáles, *Inscr. rom. prov. Cádiz* (1982) 361 = Vives, *ILER* 3240 *C(aecilia?) Lacertaria* (Gades, etwa 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Wohl aus *lacerta* mittels des Suffixes *-arius* *-aria* gebildet. Dieses Suffix war nicht besonders produktiv in der lateinischen Namengebung, vgl. immerhin Fälle wie *Agnarius* aus *agnus* oder *Caballarius* aus *caballus* (so hiess ein Gote um 541 n. Chr. [*Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 498], doch würde ich den Namen als eine rein

lateinische Bildung ansehen) und insbesondere *Lucustarius* zu *lucusta*; fern bleibt auch nicht *Mammarius* (*Rep.* 357). Mit dem Suffix *-arius* wurden Berufsbezeichnungen gebildet, und eine ähnliche Konnotation war wohl normalerweise in den mit diesem Suffix versehenen Cognomina vorhanden; die hier angeführten können mit *asinarius* usw. verglichen werden. Was *Lacertarius* angeht, so konnte dem Namengeber so etwas wie 'EidechSENSAMMLER' vorschweben. Eidechse wurde als Objekt magischen Heilzaubers gebraucht (*Plin. nat.* 29, 129 und auch sonst), wodurch die Möglichkeit, von ihrem Namen in der Anthroponymie Gebrauch zu machen, an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnt.

**Λαιλιανή:** *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2776, 27. ArchEph.* 1971, 131 (1. Jh. n. Chr.). Kajanto 148 kennt nur den Männernamen *Laelianus*, der ebenfalls auch in Athen belegt ist (dreimal in *LGPN II* 278).

*Laetianus:* Kajanto 261 mit zwei Belegen, von denen *ICUR* 1097 etwas unsicher bleibt,<sup>14</sup> und *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 500 aus *PIR<sup>2</sup> P 727* (jetzt so zu zitieren; ein procurator Syriae Pomponius Laetianus). Dazu *PIR<sup>2</sup> O 133* aus *CIL VI 414 b* und *XIV 4378* (190 und 191 n. Chr., *Orbius Laetianus, subpraefectus vigilum*); *RIB* 1851 (Centurio der cohors II).

**Λαίτιος:** *ArchEph.* 1917, 165 Nr. 15, 21 (Plataiai, 2./ 3. Jh.). Wenn die Lesung stimmt und die Inschrift in die vorgerückte Kaiserzeit datiert werden kann, dann mag hier *Laetius* vorliegen, mit dem späten Suffix *-ius* aus *Laetus* gebildet (vgl. den nachfolgenden Namen). Es liegt aber kaum der Gentilname *Laetius* in cognominaler Funktion vor, denn dieser ist nur einmal in der Belgica belegt (*CIL XIII 8513*; vielleicht gehört hierher auch *Letius* in *CIL XII 3245*).

**Λαίτλος(?):** W. Peek, *Attische Grabschriften 2* (Abh.Ak.Berlin 1956, 3), Berlin 1957, 21 Nr. 47 (kaiserz.) Λαίτλου ἐκ Φλ<υ>έων ζῆ. Der Name des Sohnes oder der Tochter von Laitlos muss auf der linken Seite der Stela angebracht sein. Nach der beigegebenen Zeichnung zu urteilen, scheint die Lesung plausibel, doch ist sie nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben. Peek erklärt den Namen als Λέ(ν)τλος = *Lentulus*, was etwas gewaltsam ist;<sup>15</sup> ausserdem war *Lentulus* kein beim gemeinen Volk übliches Cognomen.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> A. Ferrua, *Corona delle osservazioni alle iscrizioni cristiane di Roma incertae originis* (MemPARA in 8°, 3), Città del Vaticano 1979, 25 will den Namen ΛΑΠΙΑΝΟC *Lappianus* verstehen. [Trotz Ferrua ist die Inschrift doch eher wohl christlich.]

<sup>15</sup> Mit Recht rührt *LGPN II* 278 nicht an der Überlieferung.

<sup>16</sup> Kajanto 249 verzeichnet davon zehn Belege in *CIL*; dazu noch etwa *AE* 1980, 788.

Ein Cognomen *Laetulus* war bisher nicht belegt, aber gelegentliche Bildungen eines neuen Cognomens aus bestehenden Cognomina mit dem Suffix *-ulus* sind keine Seltenheit, vgl. etwa *Fidulus*, *Firmulus*, *Probulus*,<sup>17</sup> *Rufinulus*.

**Libiensis:** *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 7, 935 (= *EE* IX 258) *Sempronius Libiesi[s]*. Abgeleitet aus dem Namen der hispanischen Stadt Libia.

**Liris:** *CIL* VI 15135 *Ti. Cl(udius) Aug. l. Liris*; 5772 (augusteisch) *C. Iulius Lyris*; *RAL* 1969, 61 Nr. 1 = *AE* 1969-1970, 91 (Interamna Lirenas, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *M. Caprio M. l. Liri*. Ist zu dem Flussnamen zu stellen. Ich werde diesen Namen andernorts näher erörtern.

**Longanus:** *CIL* II 6295 *Teida Taurico(m) Longani uxor*. Trotz des lokalen Namens der Frau kaum epichorisch zu deuten, sondern als Ableitung aus der überaus beliebten Namensippe *Longus*. Es kann sich auch um eine Nebenform oder sekundäre Graphie von *Longianus* handeln.

**Lucceianus:** *Kajanto* 149 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *J. D'Encarnacão, Inscr. rom. de Conventus Pacensis, Coimbra* 1984, 266. *I.Ephesos* 422. 429. 504-506 (Grammateus im Jahr 114/115 in Ephesos).

**Lucerina:** s. unten 195.

**Lupia:** *Kajanto* 328 mit einem Männer- und einem Frauennamenbeleg. Dazu *ICUR* 17916 *locus Lupiaes* (4. Jh.).

**Luppianus:** *Rep.* 355 aus *PLRE* II 693. Dazu *CIL* V 6732 (Vercellae, christl., 470 n. Chr.). Szilágyi, *Inscr. tegularum Pannonicarum* (Diss. Pann. II 1), Budapest 1933, Taf. XXVII, 71-74.

**Mamianus:** *AE* 2000, 1729 (Uchi Maius, 3. Jh. n. Chr., Senatorenfamilie). Die familia Mamia war aus Uchi Maius bisher als Ritterfamilie bekannt.

**Mammianus:** *Kajanto* 149 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *RIU* 1082 (Intercisa, entlassener Soldat).

**Mammosa:** *Kajanto* 243 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *ILBulg* 76.

**Marculus:** *Kajanto* 174 mit vier Männernamenbelegen und einem Frauennamenbeleg. Dazu *Μαρκύλος* aus der Pelasgiotis: *ArchEph.* 1933, Chron. 3 Nr. 7 (kaiserz.). Ich erwähne hier noch die interessante Form *Μᾶρκυς* aus *Demetrias* (*IG* IX 2, 1099 c, kaiserz.): ist sie eine Art latinisierte Graphie von *Μᾶρκος* oder mit dem echten griechischen Suffix *-υς* versehen?

**Martio:** *EE* IX 261b (Bracaraugusta); *BRGK* 17 (1927) 162. [*CIL* II

<sup>17</sup> *ILT* 470 D (christl.). Kaum gr. Πρόβουλος.



1316, worauf in *OPEL* III 61 hingewiesen wird, ist korrupt.]

**Marusianus:** *CIL* II 5101 (Augusta Emerita). Der Gedanke liegt nicht fern, dass dieses Cognomen aus einem unbelegten Gentilnamen \**Marusius* abgeleitet ist, wenn nicht epichorisches Namengut vorliegt.

**Matricula(?):** *CIL* II 2860 (Lara).<sup>18</sup> Die Inschrift ist nur durch mehrere teilweise korrupte Abschriften überliefert. Der Text scheint aber heilbar, und aufgrund zweier Abschriften, der von Sandoval und der von Muratori aus Farnesischen Scheden gewonnenen, könnte man versuchen, die Namen der Mutter und Tochter festzulegen: die Mutter hiess *Arc(a)ea Flandica* (Sandoval) oder *Piandica* (Farnes.) oder ähnlich, die Tochter möglicherweise *Matricula*.<sup>19</sup> Wenn dem so ist, gewinnen wir ein neues lateinisches Cognomen *Matricula*, das bemerkenswert ist. Morphologisch gehört es zu *matricula* 'Verzeichnis, Matrikel', aber dem Namengeber konnte bei der Namenbildung auch *mater* vorschweben (ausserdem hatte auch *matrix* die Bedeutung der Erzeugerin, von Menschen allerdings nur im christlichen Latein). Was diese Namenbildung aber bedeutsam macht, ist, dass unser Beleg älter sein kann als die frühesten Belege von *matricula*, das erst in christlicher Zeit in allgemeinen Gebrauch kam (ein vereinzelter Vorläufer ist in einer Urkunde vom Jahre 193 [*CIL* VI 1585a] ergänzt). Das Wort hat also in der Sprache früher existiert, als die ältesten Belege zu erkennen geben.

**Maurianus:** Kajanto 206. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 501 mit vier spätantiken Senatoren. Dazu beim gemeinen Volk aus christlicher Zeit *Suppl. It.* 4 Albingaunum 32 (597 n. Chr.). *IMS* IV 138. Duval, *I. chr. Haïdra* 37.

**Maurilla:** Kajanto 206 mit vier heidnischen und drei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ArchEph.* 1929, 155 Nr. 11 (Thebai in Achaia Phthiotis, byz.).

**Maurio:** *Arctos* 32 (1998) 244 aus *AE* 1992, 1153 c (baetische Amphora). Dazu Pais 369 = *I. Aquileia* 3129 (christl.) [---]MAVRIO. Die Deutung als *Maurio* ist plausibel, denn es sind keine anderen Namen auf [---] *Jmaurio* bekannt. Freilich kann in der Inschrift ein Dativ vorliegen, aber ein Cognomen *Maurius* lässt sich sonst nicht belegen (der Gentilname(?) *Maurius* in *CIL* VIII 9814 bleibt fern), ist aber eine wohl mögliche Bildung

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<sup>18</sup> = J. A. Abásolo Álvarez, *Epigr. rom. de la region de Lara de los Infantes*, Burgos 1974, 129f. Nr. 176.

<sup>19</sup> So Sandoval und Muratori. Der älteste Zeuge hat freilich CATERVCVLA (mit T und E in Nexus) und Florez CECATRICVLA.

in der christlichen Anthroponymie. (Wird in den Indices von Pais [mit dem Asterisk] und *I. Aquileia* als *Maurius* aufgefasst.)

*Maurusius*: *Rep.* 361 mit drei Belegen. Dazu ein plausibler Beleg aus Obergermanien: *CIL* XIII 11561 (Lingones) [*don?*]avit *Maurusio* (scheint Dativ zu sein).

*Minucianus*: Kajanto 150 mit 8 Belegen (davon die Hälfte aus Afrika). Ist nicht weniger als 6mal in Athen belegt: *LGNP* II 315, aus Gründen, die uns verständlicherweise verborgen bleiben.

*Murus*: Kajanto 347 mit zwei Belegen; *Rep.* 366 mit einem Beleg aus Campanien. Dazu *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 7, 8 a.

*Mussianus*: *AE* 2000, 1662 (Mididi, Byzacena, Senator).

*Oneratus*: Kajanto 353 mit zwei Belegen (Senator und Soldat). 5mal in Athen belegt (*LGNP* II 352 (alle 2. Jh. n. Chr.)). Die Gründe der Verdichtung der Belege auf Athen bleiben verborgen.

*Orbianus -a*: Kajanto 152. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 501 mit 5 Männernamen- und einem Frauennamenbelegen. Dazu *RIT* 35 *Clod(ia) Orbiana*.

*Oriclio*(?): J. D'Encarnação, *Inscr. rom. do Conventus Pacensis*, Coimbra 1984, 259. Überliefert ist ORICLLO. Wenn *Oriclio* verstanden werden darf, kann es zu dem bestehenden Namen *Oric(u)la* Kajanto 224 gestellt werden. Dagegen mutet *Oric(u)lo*, in zwei Inschriften aus Verona belegt (*CIL* V 3267 [-*cul*-]. 3805 [-*cl*-]) mehr als eine unlateinische Bildung an, aber andererseits haben die Familienmitglieder in der zweiten Inschrift sonst lauter lateinische Cognomina.

*Ostianus*(?): *HAE* 1884 (überliefert *Ostianis*). Vgl. *Hostianus* *Rep.* 343 aus Fidenae.

*Ostorianus*: Kajanto mit einem Beleg aus Ostia (*Q. Ostorius O.*). Dazu *RIB* 1676 (ein Centurio).

*Palatinus*: Kajanto 184. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 502. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 213. Ein weiterer griechischer Beleg *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2239, 211 (Mitte des 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

*Palatio*: Kajanto 184 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2026, 17 (ca. 115-117 n. Chr.).

**Πεκτόριος**: *IG* XIV 2525 (Augustodunum) μνήσεο Πεκτορίου. Wohl zu *pectus* zu stellen (epichorisches Gut kann kaum vorliegen). Auszugehen ist von solchen Adjektiva wie *pectoreus* (*Drac. Orest.* 567, freilich nicht vom Menschen) oder *pectorosus* (auch von Menschen: s. *ThLL* X 1, 907, 63-70). In christlichem Kontext wäre ein solcher Name erst recht verständlich; denn in der christlichen Latinität wurde *pectus* oft vom Sitz

des Menschen gebraucht, in dem Gott verehrt wird (vgl. *ThLL* X 1, 916, 16-65). Der Träger des Namens *Pectorius* wäre dann etwa als einer angesehen worden, in dessen Seele Gott verehrt wird, der ein frommer Mensch ist.

\**Pecularius* in *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 377 aus *ILAlg.* II 3683 muss getilgt werden. Der Stein selbst scheint *Peculurius* zu haben, wie das aber zu deuten ist, bleibt offen.

***Peregrinianus***: *I. Asturias* 6. Kajanto 313 kennt nur den Frauennamen *Peregriniana* mit zwei Belegen aus Afrika.

*Pitinnina*: Kajanto 299 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus Rom (in der Form *Pitzinnina*). Dazu *AE* 2000, 1623 (Byzacena).

*Platanus*: Kajanto 335 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1962, 129 *G. Titius Platanus*, Augustalis in Aquincum.

***Porcellio***: Pais 833 (nahe Comum) *d.m. Porcellonis Pussiani filius patri pientissimo*. Das syntaktische Gefüge ist nicht ganz durchsichtig, es scheint aber das Cognomen *Porcellio* vorzuliegen, geschrieben (so wie es überliefert ist) irrtümlich PORCELLLO. Eine Bildung \**Porcello*, die in *OPEL* III 154 verzeichnet wird, ist weniger ansprechend, schon weil das bloss -o statt -io in rein lateinischen Suffixbildungen viel seltener vorkommt. Pais im Gentilnamenindex hat *Porcelloni[us] Pussianus*, eine gewaltsame Konjektur, die jedoch andererseits dem syntaktischen Gefüge besser gerecht wird.

*Primigenes*: *Rep.* 383. Eine Handvoll griechischer Belege finden sich jetzt bequem in den bisher erschienenen Bänden des *LGPN* (in I 2mal, in II 9mal, in III A Πριμογένης 4mal, in III B -ιγ- 1mal).

*Primitivianus*: Kajanto 290 mit einem Beleg aus Ostia. Dazu *AIJug.* 161 = M. Šašel Kos, *The Roman Inscriptions in the National Museum of Slovenia* (Ljubljana 1997) 23 mit Photo.

*Principinus*: Kajanto 291. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 215 mit vier Männernamen- und zwei Frauennamenbelegen (meistenteils aus Afrika). Dazu *Principinus* Vives, *ILER* 6818 besser *I. Palencia* 45. *OPEL* II 58 macht daraus aufgrund von Vives einen falschen Namen \**Cipinus*.

*Privignus -a*: Kajanto 305 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu gehört wohl Weber, *I. Steiermark* 17 *Privinus* (in *OPEL* III 164 verkannt).

*Promotus*: Kajanto 354 mit zwei Belegen (Senator aus dem 2. Jh., Soldat der zweiten parthischen Legion). Dazu noch *Flavius Promotus*, Konsul 389 n. Chr. Hierher gehört vielleicht auch *AthAgora* XVII 1075 (byz.) Προμοῦτος.

*Puella*: Kajanto 299 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika (christl.). Dazu *CIL* II 1036 = II<sup>2</sup> 7, 975 *Terentia Puella testamento poni iussit*, also eindeutig Cognomen.

*Pullianus*: J. Abásolo Álvarez, *Epigr. rom. Lara de los Infantes* (1974) 72. Dürfte aus dem nicht unüblichen, auch in Hispanien belegten,<sup>20</sup> Gentilnamen *Pullius* abgeleitet sein (wenn nicht zu *pullus Pullus* gehörig; auch dieses Cognomen in Hispanien belegt).<sup>21</sup> Andererseits sind die übrigen in der Familie bezeugten Namen nichtlateinisch, ausser möglicherweise *Pressus*, der lateinisch gedeutet werden kann.<sup>22</sup>

*Quintasius*: Kajanto 174 ausschliesslich mit afrikanischen Belegen. Aber *ILTG* 274 (christl.).

*Quiritinus*: *ILBulg.* 70 (Supernomen eines Dekurio in Oescus, etwa 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Der erste Beleg eines aus *Quirites* abgeleiteten Namens.

*Raeticus*: *CIL* III 5839 (Augusta Vindelicorum) *Reticius*. Da der Beleg aus Raetien kommt, wird man diesen Namen zu *Raeticus* usw. stellen. Kajanto 262 leitet *Reticius* aus dem Verb *reticere* ab, aber wenigstens unser Beleg gehört eher zum Namen der Provinz, vielleicht auch die übrigen, die alle christlich sind.

*Redux*: Kajanto 357 mit drei heidnischen Belegen und einem christlichen. Dazu *AE* 1971, 383 aus Ampelum in Dakien (3. Jh. n. Chr.).

*Regulianus*: Kajanto 317 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2128, 46 (184/5 n. Chr.) [Ῥ]ηγλιανός (andere Ergänzungen kommen kaum in Frage).<sup>23</sup>

*Ridicula*: Kajanto 287 mit zwei Belegen aus Rom. Dazu *RIT* 6 b (Sklavin wie es scheint).

*Rosio*: *Rep.* 393 aus *AE* 1937, 209 (Aquincum). Dazu ein weiterer pannonischer Beleg in *CIL* III 3687 (ist aber vielleicht eher als epichorisch zu deuten).

*Rufas*: Kajanto 229 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *SEG* XXI 1065

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<sup>20</sup> *AE* 1981, 554. *AE* 1968, 233 (Asturica) *Pul(lius) Maximus, proc. Aug.*, also nicht mit Sicherheit Spanier.

<sup>21</sup> *CIL* II 442. *EE* IX 79. *Pulla: Fouilles de Conimbriga* II 61.

<sup>22</sup> Kajanto 354. Die Belege verdichten sich aber auf Hispanien (aufgezählt in J. M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania*, Murcia 1994, 465), so dass der Name auch epichorischer Herkunft sein kann; so M. Lourdes Albertos Firmat, *Emerita* 40 (1972) 306.

<sup>23</sup> Das Lateinische kennt nur *Segulianus*, das aber ein Hapax ist: *CIL* VI 13906.

(Athen, kaiserz.) ῥουφᾶς.

**Sacratus Sacrinus.** Diese und ähnliche Bildungen fehlen bei Kajanto, der sie für keltisch hält (vgl. Kajanto 16f). Wegen der auch lateinischen Suffixe fragt man sich, ob sie doch teilweise ausserhalb von keltischen Gebieten als lateinisch empfunden werden konnten (in Rom z. B. *Sacratus* in *CIL* VI 28376). Zur Bezeugung dieser Namen in gallischen Provinzen s. *OPEL* IV 42.

\**Salie(n)sis* Kajanto 210 aus *ILT* 1147 verschwindet: zu lesen ist *Salte(n)sis*, vgl. L. Ennabli, *Inscr. chrét. Carthage* I 59.

**Salluvianus:** *CIL* III 2066 (Salona) *M. Uttedius Sallubianus*, gebürtig aus Iguvium, veteranus der legio XIII gemina und Decurio in Salona. Die "normale" Schreibweise ist wohl *Salluv-*, wie der Gentilname *Salluvius* üblicherweise geschrieben wird.

?*Salvator*: Kajanto 362 mit zwei heidnischen Belegen, *CIL* VII 889 aus Britannien und *CIL* VIII 369 aus Afrika. In christlichen Inschriften ist er nicht mit Sicherheit belegt; in *ICUR* 1337 scheint kein Personennamen vorzuliegen (so Solin, *GPN*<sup>2</sup> 1013 unter *Genesisius*). Die Existenz eines Personennamens *Salvator* ist sehr fraglich, denn in der afrikanischen Inschrift (besser *CIL* VIII 11549 = *CLE* 572) ist *salutor* zu lesen, und in der aus Britannien (jetzt besser *RIB* 1994) bleibt die Lesung etwas unsicher (auch wenn die Editoren für *Salvator* plädieren; zwei alte Zeugen der verschollenen Inschrift, Gordon und Stukeley, lasen SALINATOR). Das weitgehende Fehlen von *Salvator* als Personennamen ist leicht verständlich angesichts der Tatsache, dass das Wort *salvator* im vorchristlichen Latein überhaupt nicht gebräuchlich war, das haben schon die spätantiken Schriftsteller gesehen, wenn Mart. Cap. 510 von Cicero sagt, der *Verr.* II 2, 154 das Wort SOTER in Syrakus beobachtete und es erklärte, *Cicero soterem salvatorem noluit nominare, sed ait: qui salutem dedit*. Und in der christlichen Latinität wurde *salvator* nur von Christus (abgesehen von paar alttestamentlichen Belegen) gebraucht,<sup>24</sup> also konnte es nicht zu einem Personennamen werden. Man sollte also \**Salvator* aus der antiken Anthroponymie entfernen.

**Scribonianus:** Kajanto 155 mit zwei Frauennamenbelegen ausserhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *IG* XII 6, 331 (zwei Flavier, Mann und Frau).

**Sennianus:** Kajanto 155 mit einem Beleg aus Dakien. Dazu *CIL* XIII 8290 (Köln, Lesung sicher): Namen der anderen Familienmitglieder

<sup>24</sup> Kurz zum Wort P. de Labriolle, *CRAI* 1937, 110f.



lateinisch. Trotzdem erhebt sich die Frage, ob *Sennianus* eher als epichorisch gedeutet werden sollte: *Sennius* ist ein Gentilname, der sich des öfteren auch in den nördlichen Provinzen finden lässt, und daraus ist *Sennianus* natürlich abgeleitet und steht deswegen in Kajantos Listen. Das Grundstock ist aber keltisch, Namen wie *Senno* und *Sennus* legen davon Zeugnis ab.<sup>25</sup>

*Spectatinus*: Kajanto 277 mit einem Beleg aus Noricum. Dazu ein weiterer norischer Beleg: Weber, *I. Steiermark* 149 IV, 10.

*Spongiarius*(?): *CIL* V 2483 (Ateste) *Castricius Spongiarius* oder *spongiarius*. Die letztere Alternative wird von Mommsen in *CIL* V S. 1200 verfochten, da aber der Gebrauch des blossen Gentilnamens ohne Praenomen und Cognomen etwas ungewöhnlich wäre, sollte die Möglichkeit erwogen werden, hier liege das Cognomen *Spongiarius* vor (dies erwägt auch S. Bassignano, *Suppl. It.* 15 S. 52; in *OPEL* IV 91 wird es zur Gewissheit).

*Suscepta*: *RIB* 1296; trotz des fragmentarischen Kontextes scheint es sich um einen Namen zu handeln. Kajanto 356 kennt vom entsprechenden Männernamen nur einen akephalen Beleg [*Su*]sceptus aus Lukanien.

*Tabernaria*. Dieser Name liegt möglicherweise vor in *CIL* II 291 (Olisipo) *Iuliae Labernariae*, wie es überliefert ist, denn \**Labernaria* ist undeutbar (die Familie ist völlig romanisiert; auch aus diesem Grund braucht nicht nach epichorischem Gut gesucht zu werden). Bisher war nur der Männernamen *Tabernarius* bekannt: Kajanto 322. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 220 mit fünf Belegen.

*Umbrinus*: Kajanto 163 = 188, dort nur als Senatorencognomen verzeichnet. Dazu *IBR* 413.

[*Ur*]sacianus: *ILJug.* 2773 aus *Bull. Dalm.* 32 (1909) 83. Eine ansprechende Ergänzung,<sup>26</sup> denn es sind keine anderen Cognomina auf -sacianus, -sacinus, -sacius bekannt.

*Utiana*: *AE* 2000, 368 e (Gargano, vielleicht Territorium von Sipontum). Wenn die Lesung stimmt, dann zum Gentilnamen *Utius* zu stellen.

*Vadanus*: *AE* 2000, 1778 (Tiddis in Numidien) *Iulia L. f. Vadana*.

<sup>25</sup> Auch L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*, Köln und Opladen 1968, 363 und sonst hält die Sippe für keltisch.

<sup>26</sup> Fehlt allerdings bei G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (BNF N. F. Beiheft 4), Heidelberg 1969.

Kajanto 209 kennt nur *Vadanus* aus Mauretanien (christlich).

**Οὐαλεντιλλιανός:** *AE* 2000, 1420 (Jonien) M. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀττίνας Τατιανός Οὐαλεντιλλ[ι]ανός.

*Vallio:* Kajanto 165 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 20 (1958) 166 (Pannonien).

*Vatinianus:* Kajanto 158 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ILGraec.* 61 (Patrae).

**Victorida:** *RIU* 537 (Brigetio) *Aurelia Victorida* (geschr. Dat. *Aureliae Victoride*), Freigelassene eines *veteranus ex beneficiario legati*.<sup>27</sup> Das Suffix *-idus* wurde nur ausnahmsweise in der lateinischen Namenbildung als selbständiges Suffix gebraucht; mir ist ein einziges Beispiel bekannt: *Memoridus* (Kajanto 255; zum Suffix 112). Da kaum an Ableitungen aus unbelegten Adjektiven *\*memoridus* *\*victoridus* gedacht werden kann, bleibt nur übrig, den okkasionellen Gebrauch vom Namensuffix *-idus* anzunehmen, das entweder den Appellativen *memor* und *victor* oder eher den entsprechenden Cognomina *Memor* und *Victor* angehängt wurde. All die übrigen uns bekannten Cognomina auf *-idus -a* sind aus den entsprechenden Adjektiva gebildet. Dabei ist *Helvidus* interessant, das in *ICUR* 23901 in der Form *Elbidus* belegt ist. Und gerade diese Form kehrt auch in dem einzigen Beleg des entsprechenden Adjektivs wieder: *helvidus* ist nur bei Isid. 19, 28, 7 in der Form *elbidus ab elbo colore vocatum* überliefert. Gewöhnlich nimmt man an, dass *elb-* eine irrtümliche Schreibweise von *helv-* darstelle (M. Niedermann, *Glotta* 1 [1909] 267; *ThLL* V 2, 327, 45); da aber auch in der altchristlichen Inschrift dieselbe Schreibweise wiederkehrt, ist es wohl vorzuziehen, nicht von einem Irrtum auszugehen, sondern eine zeitbedingte Schreibung ohne *h* und mit *b* statt *v* anzunehmen, so wenigsten in der Inschrift. Auch einige andere der betreffenden Adjektiva sind nur selten (und spät) im Latein belegt (etwa *fulvidus* kommt [ausser den Glossen] nur in der *Vetus Latina* und bei Cassiodorus vor, *Fulvida* als Cognomen aber in einer deutlich früheren heidnischen Grabinschrift *CIL* V 4599 = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 396).<sup>28</sup> Ein gutes

<sup>27</sup> Die Lesung des Cognomens scheint, aufgrund des Taf. CLXI publizierten Photos, sicher zu sein; freilich ist vor DE ein Punkt (der Punkt scheint mir evident, also keine Narbe der Schriftoberfläche) sichtbar, das ändert aber nichts in der Deutung.

<sup>28</sup> Die Existenz dieses Cognomen in *CIL* V 4599 = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 396 ist nicht ganz über alle Zweifel erhaben, doch plausibel. Überliefert ist bei dem Maler Sebastiano Aragonese (gest. 1567) wohl in der *Recensio* von 1564 [---]*Julvida* (vom ersten Buchstaben ist nur der obere Teil des zweiten Striches erhalten, was jedoch zu einem V zu führen scheint). Im Cognominaindex des *CIL* V fehlt der Name, desgleichen in dem von *Inscr. It.* X 5;

Beispiel, wie Cognomina gelegentlich die Geschichte von Appellativa erhellen können (vgl. auch oben zu *Matricula*). – Nun bietet aber die Inschrift den Namen der Frau im Dativ in der Form *Aureliae Victoride*, also das Gentile orthographisch regelrecht mit *-ae*, das Cognomen aber nur mit *-e*. Wenn das auch an sich nichts Aussergewöhnliches ist, könnte es den Schlüssel zu einer anderen Lösung geben, die wegen der Seltenheit des Suffixes *-idus* in der Namenbildung nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann: wenn man anstelle der unregelmässigen Schreibweise *-ide* sich als die regelrechte Form nicht *-idae*, sondern *-idi* vorstellt, würde das zum Suffix *-is* führen, das gelegentlich lateinischen Namenstämmen angehängt wurde, etwa *Catellis* oder *Floris*.<sup>29</sup> Sehr verbreitet ist die Verwendung dieses Suffixes nicht; die meisten Bildungen blieben okkasionell. Gegen diese Deutung könnte sprechen, dass *Victor* neben sich schon ein Femininum hat, nämlich *Victrix*, das sich einer gewissen Verbreitung erfreute.<sup>30</sup> Wie dem auch sei, haben wir hier einen neuen Namen vor uns, denn auch *Victoris* ist bisher nirgends belegt.

*Vopiscus*: Kajanto 295. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 225. Dazu noch zweimal in Athen belegt: *LGPN* II 355 (2. Hälfte des 2., 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh., Vater und Sohn).

#### CCVIII. FALSCH NAMEN

*Amplius*. So liest man seit jeher den Namen des Bruders des verstorbenen Prätorianers Aurelius Sabinus in *I. Aquileia* 2825 (wo der Hinweis auf die Erstpublikation *AN* 13 [1942] 10 fehlt; auch bei E. Homann-Wedeking, *AA* 1942, 281). *Amplius* soll ein Novum darstellen. Anhand des, freilich nicht

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überhaupt hat der Editor Garzetti in *Inscr. It.* nichts verstanden, wie seine Anmerkung "fuit *Cluidae*?" verrät. [*F*]ulvida ist aber eine einigermaßen plausible Ergänzung, gerade weil ein Suffix *-idus -ida* sehr selten in der lateinischen Namenbildung ist, weswegen als Namenwort ein entsprechendes Appellativ nötig wird, und dabei kommt nur *fulvidus* in Frage. Diese Ergänzung wurde zuerst in *Rep.* 335 vertreten; so auch *OPEL* II 155.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Kajanto 130. Freilich bleiben einige dort angeführte Fälle unsicher in der Deutung. Andererseits können einige Bildungen hinzugefügt werden, so *Firmis*, *Frontonis*, *Pisonis* (alle in *Rep.* verzeichnet).

<sup>30</sup> Kajanto 278 verzeichnet von *Victor* 1699 und von *Victrix* 20 Belege. Der Unterschied ist also freilich gross, aber *Victrix* war jedenfalls nicht ganz unüblich in der Spätzeit, der unsere Frau gehört (etwa christliche Belege lassen sich bei Kajanto hinzufügen).

sehr scharfen, Photos lese ich eher *Ampelus*.<sup>31</sup> Dieselbe Verlesung in der pompeianischen Grabinschrift *AE* 1990, 183 d: siehe *Analecta epigraphica* 361.

*Apronio*. Ein solches Cognomen wird in *OPEL* I 154 aus *CIL* XIII 8378 verbucht, wo die seit langem verschollene Inschrift in folgender Form publiziert wurde: *Dignio / Quarto / Apronio* (N und I in Nexus) / *Bubalus / fratri f.* Die dritte Zeile wird von Lamey *APRONIO*, von Hüpsch *APRONIVS* überliefert. Die Autoren in *OPEL* haben sich von der von den Editoren des *CIL* präsentierten Textform in Irre leiten lassen. Vielleicht hätten sie die Wahl dieser Bildung vermieden, wenn sie einen Blick in den Index des *CIL* geworfen hätten; dort steht im Gentilnamenindex S. 3 ganz richtig *Apronius Bubalus*. Man versteht aber nicht, warum die Editoren des *CIL*, die im Index die richtige Namensform geben, im Text selbst *Apronio* gegen die Grammatik schreiben. Es ist freilich einzuräumen, dass J. W. C. A. von Hüpsch als ein sehr schlechter Autor gilt,<sup>32</sup> während Lamey einen besseren Ruf hat;<sup>33</sup> haben die Editoren dem letzteren den Vorzug deswegen gegeben, weil nur dieser den Nexus von N und I verzeichnet (welcher Nexus übrigens nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben ist)? Es ist also eindeutig *Apronius Bubalus* als Name des Bruders des Verstorbenen und Errichters anzusehen. An sich wäre ein Cognomen *Apronio* eine plausible Bildung, kann aber hier unmöglich vorliegen. (Theoretisch könnte *Apronius* noch ein zweites Cognomen des *Dignius Quartus* darstellen, das ist aber nur eine theoretische Möglichkeit.)

Ἀφριδιᾶτος. Dieser Name soll in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2094, 126 (166/7 n. Chr.) vorliegen (in *LGPN* II 81 akzeptiert). Eine solche Bildung wäre aber einmalig, ein Cognomen, das mit *-atus* aus einem Gentilnamen abgeleitet ist. Schon an sich wird *-atus* nur selten als selbständiges Namensuffix gebraucht, und niemals erscheint es einem Gentilnamen angehängt. Auch wenn man in griechischer Umgebung mit Suffixen grosszügiger umgehen kann, so schien mir die Lesung von Kirchner und seinen Vorgängern sehr suspekt, als ich auf den Namen stoss. Auf meine Bitte hin hat Jaime Curbera die Lesung anhand eines Abklatsches in den *Inscriptiones Graecae* verglichen und teilt meine Zweifel. Er vermutet etwas wie *EYΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΥ* (E und das erste T blieben zwar unsicher).

<sup>31</sup> Derselbe Beleg geistert in falscher Form auch in *OPEL* I 104.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. *CIL* XIII 2, 2, S. 508f Nr. XXII. Er wirkte am Anfang des 19. Jh.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. *CIL* XIII 2, 2, S. 508 Nr. XX: kein schlechtes Wort von ihm wird gesagt.

Καισαρίων. Dieser Name ist in *LGPN* III B 214 aus *SEG* XLIII 286 (Larisa, kaiserz.) registriert. Die Inschrift hat aber Κισσαρίων (der Text der Inschrift, ursprünglich in *ArchDelt.* 43 [1988] Chron. 281 publiziert, lautet Κισσαρίων χρηστέ, χαίρει), und es liegt kein Grund vor, an der Überlieferung zu ändern (weder in *ArchDelt.* noch in *SEG* werden Zweifel an der Lesung des Namens gemeldet). Erstens ist Κισσαρίων ein möglicher Name, auch in Rom vorhanden (*CIL* VI 19229) und wäre hier mit einem -σ- geschrieben worden; zweitens war im Lateinischen ein Cognomen *Caesario(n)* ungebräuchlich, sieht man von dem jung gestorbenen Sohn von Caesar und Kleopatra ab, der ja einen Sonderfall darstellt.<sup>34</sup>

Κάμπος. Dieser Name ist in *LGPN* III B 225 aus einer delphischen Inschrift als ergänzt (es fehlt der zweite Buchstabe) festgelegt; dabei haben die Autoren wohl an lat. *Campus* (oder *campus*?) gedacht, da aber *Campus* im Lateinischen nur okkasionell vorkommt (ein Beleg: *Arctos* 32 [1998] 238), sollte zu einer anderen Ergänzung gegriffen werden. Warum nicht Κόμπος, auch von den Autoren des Lexikons als Alternative präsentiert?

*Catagraptus*. Diesen Namen haben Mommsen, *CIL* V 182, und Forlati Tamaro, *Inscr.It.* X 1, 302 (Pola) "geschaffen" (auch in *OPEL* II 43 aufgenommen). Überliefert ist durch einen lokalen Gewährsmann aus dem Jahre 1860 CATAGRAPIVS. Doch ein Name *Catagraptus* ist unbekannt. Es ist eindeutig *Catagraphus* zu verstehen,<sup>35</sup> und ich vermute einen Nexus von P und H, von dem der einzige Zeuge den Querstrich von H verkannt hätte. *Catagraphus* lässt sich einigermaßen im römischen Westen belegen.<sup>36</sup>

*Eiedius*. Dieser Name muss aus den Namenbüchern gestrichen werden. Er ist allein durch die munizipale Inschrift *CIL* X 689 = *I.Surrentum* (ed. Magalhaes) 15 überliefert, wo Mommsen im *CIL* ihn erkennen wollte; er hat aber nur die Vulgata der mit Iucundus beginnenden alten Gewährsleute übernommen. Aus Mommsen ist er in unser *Repertorium* 72 eingeflossen (fehlt aber bei Schulze). Ich habe die Lesung der Inschrift am 20. September 2003 im Museo Correale di Terranova in Sorrento kontrolliert und konnte leicht den wahren Sachverhalt feststellen:

<sup>34</sup> Ein Beleg aus dem Leben liegt wahrscheinlich vor in *CIL* VI 2248 = I<sup>2</sup> 986 (in Wirklichkeit gehört die Inschrift aber in die Kaiserzeit) [- *V*]olusius [-]aesario sacerdos *Isidis Capitoline*; vgl. H. Solin, *Analecta epigraphica*, Roma 1998, 398.

<sup>35</sup> Das hat schon W. Otto, *ThLL* Onom. II 254, 33f gesehen, freilich die richtige Deutung mit dem Nexus verkannt.

<sup>36</sup> *ThLL* Onom. II 254; die stadtrömischen Belege, insgesamt vier, bei Solin, *GPN*<sup>2</sup> 1260.



Am Anfang ist ein Nexus von T und E erkennbar (die Serifen der Buchstaben sind zwar stark akzentuiert, aber der oberste Querstrich der ersten Haste rückt deutlich weiter nach links als die zwei anderen, so dass kaum nur eine Serifenlinie vorliegt, sondern der linke Teil des Querstriches von T). So wird der Gentilname *Teiedius* hergestellt, der des öfteren aus Rom (6 Belege in *CIL* VI) und aus *CIL* IX 1986 bekannt ist.

*Iupianus*. Diesen Namen haben die Editoren in *RIU* 1322 (= *CIL* III 3620), die ihnen zufolge <L>*ucio Septimio Iu/piano* beginnt, lesen wollen; früher wurde *Iu/[l]iano* oder *Iu/liano* gelesen. Die Editoren haben richtig gesehen, dass am Anfang der zweiten Zeile in der Tat PIANO steht. Aber *Iupianus* ist kein Name. Nun begeht der Steinmetz hier und da Fehler; in der ersten dieser Zeilen schreibt er zu Anfang IVCIO statt LVCIO, weswegen ich zu erwägen gebe, ob auch am Ende der Zeile IV für LV stehe. Somit hätten wir das nicht unübliche Cognomen *Lupianus*, das auch in Pannonien belegt ist (*CIL* III 14360, 20. *AIJug.* 399. *RIU* 879). Jedenfalls rate ich den Onomatologen, einen Namen *\*Iupianus* den Namenbüchern nicht einzuverleiben. – In derselben Inschrift bleibt das von den Corpuseditoren übernommene Cognomen *Caen[u]/sa* suspekt. Ein plausibler Name wäre *Caenis*, anhand des Photos wage ich aber keine Entscheidung (von SA kann dort nichts gesehen werden).

*Paternas*. Dieser Name soll in *CIL* III 11753 = Weber, *I. Steiermark* 330 (Solva) belegt sein. Anhand des in der letzteren Publikation beigegebenen Photos scheint eher PATERNS zu lesen zu sein. In der Nachfolge der Corpuseditoren deutet Weber den zwischen der zweiten und dritten Haste befindlichen Strich als Querstrich von A und nimmt so eine verkehrte Ligatur von NA an, was mir recht suspekt erscheint. Nach dem Photo zu schliessen, gehört dieser Strich kaum zur Schrift und ist eher als Beschädigung der Schriftoberfläche zu deuten. Auch wäre eine verkehrte Ligatur etwas sonderbar, um so mehr, als der Steinmetz sich keiner anderen Nexus bedient als des von E und T in *et*. Vielmehr liegt ein harmloser Schreibfehler PATERNS für *Paternus* vor. Dies ist ein überaus beliebtes Cognomen, auch in den Donauprovinzen belegt. Aber *\*Paternas* wäre, zumal ausserhalb grosser Zentren, eine etwas überraschende Namenbildung, aus *Paternus* mit dem griechischen Namensuffix *-as* gebildet, an sich theoretisch möglich,<sup>37</sup> aber doch überraschend.

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<sup>37</sup> Zu diesem Suffix in lateinischen Namen vgl. z. B. H. Solin, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects*, ed. by A. Rizakis, Athens 1996, 8.

*Taburtilla*. So ergänzt die Editorin in *IMS* II 116 (Viminacium) *Aebutia [T]aburtilla*.<sup>38</sup> Um den Namen zu erklären, vergleicht sie das Cognomen *Taburnius* in *CIL* IX 1291, das hilft aber nicht weiter (auch bleibt die Erklärung dieses Cognomens, dessen Lesung wohl über alle Zweifel erhaben ist, unsicher). Sofern nicht epichorisches Gut vorliegt, wird dahinter ein Gentilname auf *-aburtius* liegen, solche Gentilnamen sind allerdings nicht belegt. Wir kennen aber das Cognomen *Saburtilla* aus Rom (*ICUR* 7789. 8559. 14613. 19300. 27378), das ein Gentilicium *Saburtius* voraussetzen wird. So ist in der Inschrift von Viminacium eher dieses Cognomen zu ergänzen.

*Terrarius*. In *RIU* 1552b lesen die Editoren *Ael(io) Terrario* (mit TERR in Nexus). Man erkennt aber anhand des guten Photos (S. 463) auf den ersten Blick die richtige Lesung [---]A TERRARIO[---]. Ferner ist den Editoren entgangen, dass dieselbe Inschrift in 1344, aus vier zusammengehörenden Fragmenten zusammengestellt, wiederkehrt, und zwar mit einer noch abenteuerlicheren Lesung. Zur Konfusion trägt noch bei, dass eines der Fragmente gesondert in 1556 publiziert wird und dass jedesmal der angebliche Fundort verschieden ist (den Angaben der Editoren zufolge wurde 1344 in Tárnok im Gebiet von Aquincum gefunden, 1552b im Gebäude LXIII in TÁC und 1556 im Gebäude LXIX im Territorium von Gorsium). Nun aber zur Erklärung. *Terrarius* wäre ein neuer Name für die antike Anthroponymie, ob er aber hier vorliegt, stehe dahin; [---]a müsste die Endung eines Frauennamens im Nominativ vertreten und *Terrario* das Cognomen des Verstorbenen sein (ein Gentilname *\*Terrarius* wäre überraschend), was nicht das Naheliegendste wäre, denn die beiden davor erwähnten Personen führen Gentile und Cognomen, weswegen man auch hier den Gentilnamen vor dem Cognomen erwarten würde. Ich schlage mit Vorbehalt vor, *a terrario* zu verstehen. Das seltene Adjektiv *terrarius* scheint nur in Schol. Pers. 6, 22 belegt zu sein (leider können wir zur Zeit die Persius-Scholien nicht exakter datieren, denn es fehlen dazu noch genauere Untersuchungen, doch ist ein Grundstock dieser Scholien antik):<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Auch in *OPEL* IV 105 aufgenommen.

<sup>39</sup> Leider gibt es noch keine kritische Ausgabe der Persius-Scholien (von W. V. Clausen und J. E. G. Zetzel ist eine für die Bibliotheca Teubneriana in Vorbereitung). Unser Wort findet sich in den von Jahn 1843 aus der Pariser Persius-Handschrift edierten Scholien. Dagegen wird es nicht angeführt in einigen Hss der Berner Scholien (ed. Kurz, Burgdorf 1889).

von Vögeln *an cellarius, an terrarius sit*, also etwa 'auf freiem Boden aufgewachsen'.<sup>40</sup> Daneben ist das Substantiv *terrarium* aus *CIL XIV 16* (Ostia, Septimius Severus) bekannt: *cum basi marmorata, acceptatoribus et terraris*, wo es ungefähr die Bedeutung 'Erddamm' hat.<sup>41</sup> Der Ausdruck *a terrario* würde einem üblichen Schema folgen, in der die Präposition *a* einen Platz meint, wo die betreffende Person einen Beruf o. ä. ausübt.<sup>42</sup> Der hier erwähnte Mann, wohl ein [---]sius *Vetil[ianus]*,<sup>43</sup> hätte einen Arbeitsplatz *a terrario* gehabt; was diese näher beinhaltet hätte, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Eine ähnliche syntaktische (auch wenn inhaltlich unterschiedlich) Konstruktion in einer Inschrift von dem nahe gelegenen Intercisa: *CIL III 3327 = 10301* besser *RIU 1051* nach meiner Auslegung *AArchHung. 41* (1989) 233-236: *Cosmius pr(ae)positus sta(tionis) Spondill(---) a synag(oga) Iudeor(um)*. Auf die Seltenheit von *terrarium* braucht nicht viel Rücksicht genommen zu werden, denn das Fehlen weiterer Belege kann auf Zufall beruhen: man bedenke, dass das Wort im Mittellatein bekannt ist.<sup>44</sup> Andererseits kennen wir aus dem Mittellatein auch *terrarius* in der Bedeutung 'Landbesitzer',<sup>45</sup> die ebenso für die antike Latinität postuliert werden könnte. Nach alledem sollte man also die Möglichkeit jedoch nicht ganz ausschliessen, dass in der lateinischen Anthroponymie ein Cognomen *Terrarius* gelegentlich gebraucht worden wäre.

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<sup>40</sup> *Terrariae circumscriptionis* in *Arnob. nat. 2, 39* ist eine blosser Konjektur von Orelli, der Reifferscheid in seiner Ausgabe *CSEL IV* ohne Not gefolgt ist. Aus Reifferscheid, wie es scheint, ist es in die neue Auflage des Wörterbuches von Gaffiot gelangt.

<sup>41</sup> Das ist die geläufige Ansicht der Editoren und der Wörterbücher (Forcellini, Georges, *Diz. epigr. s. v. acceptator*, implizit auch Olcott, *Thes. epigr. s. v. acceptator*). Nur *OLD* fasst das Wort als Masculinum auf: 'One who works on shore in some capacity'.

<sup>42</sup> Belege in Olcott, *Thes. epigr. I 28f f* "denoting place where". Aber auch manche Belege in *g* "in functions, public and private" gehören zu *f*. Zum Ausdruck V. Väänänen, *Ab epistulis ... ad Sanctum Petrum. Formules prépositionnelles latines étudiées dans leur contexte social*; Helsinki 1977, passim, bes. 32.

<sup>43</sup> Die Editoren ergänzen *Veti[lius]* oder *Veti[nius]*, man erkennt aber am Photo nach TI eine Haste, die wohl ein L vertritt, oder aber auch ein N (in den Donauprovinzen ist *Vetilius* eingermassen belegt, *Vetinius* dagegen nicht); und sodann erwartet man ein Cognomen, nicht einen Gentilnamen.

<sup>44</sup> Vgl. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis VIII* 74f. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus*, 2002<sup>2</sup>, 1335f.

<sup>45</sup> Leg. VI Aethelstan, c. 11, ib., p. 182 col. 2.

## CCIX. VERKANNTÉ NAMEN

*Hediste*. CIL V 3719 lautet in der von Mommsen festgelegten Form wie folgt: *C. Quintius Herma sibi / et Thedistae Quintiai / contubernali. / in fr. p. XIII, / in agr. p. XVI*. Im Gentilnamenindex S. 1124 steht \**Thedista Quintia*. Die alten Abschriften, die wahrscheinlich auf Cyriacus zurückgehen, weisen geringfügige Varianten in der Wiedergabe des Namens der Frau auf. Ich konnte bei den alten Autoren folgende Lesungen feststellen (Mommsen ist in der Angabe der Varianten etwas ungenau): Felicianus, *Cod. Veron. Capit. 269 f. 4v* und *Cod. Marcian. X 196 f. 30v* geben den von Mommsen wiederholten Text als solchen wieder. Gammarus, *Cod. Stuttg. Hist. oct. n. 25 f. 127v* gibt *et T. hedistae*. Der Redianus liber f. 70 hat C.QVINTIVS HERMA SIBI ET·T· / HEDISTAE QVINTIAI CONTVBERNALI. Und Iucundus, *Cod. Veron. f. 65v* schreibt *sibi & T. Hedistae*. Die letztgenannten Autoren haben also vor H einen Punkt erkennen wollen. Man fragt sich, ob auch im Urtext ein Punkt da war. Wenn dem so ist, dann drängt sich der Verdacht auf, dass hier der gute und beliebte griechische Name *Hediste* verkannt worden ist, der neben *Hedistus* überall verwendet wurde.<sup>46</sup> ETT mag als Dittographie erklärlich sein, wenn im Stein nicht sogar bloss ET stand (Iucundus' &·T· könnte als *et* verstanden werden). Man wird *Hediste* am besten als Sklavin von *Quintia* nehmen, indem sie eine *contubernalis* von *C. Quintius Herma* war.

*Lucerina*. In CIL III 3991 (Siscia) lesen wir rechts oben LVCERINIS. Den CIL-Editoren zufolge lässt sich die Inschrift nach den Buchstabenformen in die letzten Jahrhunderte des Altertums ansetzen. Die Deutung dieses Elements hat seit jeher Kopfzerbrechen verursacht. Es fehlt in den Namenindices des CIL, und in OPEL III 175 wird daraus ein Name *Lucerinis* gemacht, was Nonsens ist. Nun steht der entsprechende Männername links *Paulini* im Genetiv, so dass wahrscheinlich auch *Lucerinis* als Genetiv zu deuten ist. Es handelt sich wohl um den Namen *Lucerina*, von dem ein Genetiv auf *-inis* nichts Wunderliches ist. *Lucerinus -a*: CIL IX 3110 (Mutter und Sohn).

*Malchus*. Dieser Name könnte in RIU 1513 (Gorsium) vorliegen, wenn das auch etwas unsicher bleibt. Die Editoren lesen *Ulp(io) Mac/hi Regi Alexan/der*. Ein *Ulpus Maches Rex* wäre aber recht sonderbar. Ich schlage anhand des auf S. 432 publizierten Photos einen Nexus von A und L

<sup>46</sup> Allein in Rom ist *Hedistus* 19mal, *Hediste* 22mal belegt: Solin, GPN<sup>2</sup> 949f.

vor, auch wenn dieser nicht sehr deutlich hervorgehoben ist. Das nachfolgende Element möchte ich als *Regi(ani)* deuten. *Malchus* war ein überaus beliebter syrischer Name auch im Westen, besonders üblich in Soldatenkreisen,<sup>47</sup> wo wir uns befinden.

*Myropnus*. Dieser Name scheint in *IRCatal.* I 98 vorzuliegen, deren Dedikant *C. Quintius Q(uintiae) Severae l. Myronus IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis)* heisst. Die Lesung des Cognomens ist sicher (nach dem guten, Taf. XXXIV publizierten Photo zu schliessen). Die Editoren denken an Namen wie *Myron* und ähnliche Bildungen, *Myronus* kann aber keine Variante oder Ableitung von *Myro(n)* sein. Deswegen ist es vorzuziehen, hier *Myropnus* anzunehmen; die Auslassung von P ist leicht verständlich entweder als harmloser Schreibfehler oder aber es handelt sich um einen lautlichen Vorgang: im Lateinischen sind die Verschlusslaute unter dem Einfluss eines folgenden *n* in die entsprechenden Nasale verwandelt worden; also wäre *Myropnus* zu *\*Myromnus* geworden und dies wiederum durch Assimilation der Artikulationsstelle zu *-nn-* geworden, was in vulgärer Sprache des öfteren passiert. *Myropnus* ist ein gängiger Name; 7 Belege allein in Rom.<sup>48</sup>

*Paramythius*. Dieser Name kann, mit gebotener Vorsicht, aus einer alten Abschrift von *CIL* V 7182 herausgeholt werden. Überliefert ist (am Rande von Marcanova, *Cod. Genuat.* f. 140v) QVINTVS CASSIVS PARAMICHVS HVIVS MONVMENTI SVIS SVMPTIBVS EMIT. Da ein Name *\*Paramichus* (so im Cognominaindex von *CIL* V) nichts ist, wird hier der übliche Name *Paramythius* vorliegen (allein in Rom 13mal belegt).<sup>49</sup> Oder soll man als die richtige Form *Paramythus* ansetzen, weil in der überlieferten Form I fehlt? Doch scheint *Paramythus* im römischen Westen überhaupt nicht belegt zu sein. Im Griechischen dagegen kommen sowohl Παράμυθος als auch Παράμυθος vor (Bechtel *HPN* 360), von denen der letztere üblicher zu sein scheint.<sup>50</sup>

*Patiens*. Dieser Name kann in *CIL* III 2397 vorliegen. B. Lörincz, *OPEL* III 126 will sich dort *Patens* festlegen, ein solcher Name ist aber

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<sup>47</sup> Vgl. H. Solin, *ANRW* II 29, 635 und sonst.

<sup>48</sup> Solin, *GPN*<sup>2</sup> 1367.

<sup>49</sup> Mit *Paramythia* 1mal, *Paramythias* 1mal, fragm. *Paramy[th---]* 1mal. Vgl. mein *Namenbuch*<sup>2</sup> 140f.

<sup>50</sup> In *LGPN* kommt Παράμυθος wie folgt vor: Band I: 2mal, III A: 3mal (alle aber in lateinischen Inschriften aus Puteoli), Παράμυθος dagegen in Band I: 3mal, II: 12mal, III A: 1mal, III B 4mal.



sonst nicht bezeugt.<sup>51</sup> Die Überlieferung der verschollenen Inschrift ist einigermassen verworren (zu Varianten vgl. auch *EE* IV 274). Von den zwei Zeugen, die hier in Frage kommen, AVR PATEATI (Zaccaria) und AVRA IN PATENTI (Cod. Pis.), kann mit gebotener Vorsicht auf das nicht ganz unübliche Cognomen *Patiens* geschlossen werden (im Namenindex des *CIL* wird der Mann als *Aur(elius) \*Pateas* angeführt).

## CCX. VERKANNTEN IDENTITÄTEN

*ICUR* 869 = *IG* XIV 1588 a (S. 701),<sup>52</sup> von mehreren alten Gewährsleuten in S. Martino ai Monti gesehen (seit langem verschollen). Silvagni in *ICUR* basiert auf de Rossi, sch. 7477, der aus Iucundus und P. Sabinus schöpft; die Textform lautet wie folgt: ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ·ΚΑΤ·ΚΑΛ·ΙΟΥΛΙΑ... Die Textform von Kaibel in *IG* XIV wiederum gründet sich auf eine Kopie von Huelsen aus *Cod. Vat.* 3616 f. 31 mit folgender Form: ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ·ΚΑΤ·ΚΑΨΙΟΥΛΙΑ. Die Identität der zwei Exemplare ist über alle Zweifel erhaben, schon derselbe Aufbewahrungsort bürgt dafür. Die Inschrift ist zweifellos christlich und ist folgendermassen zu verstehen: Ἑρμογένης κατ(ετέθη) Καλ(ανδαίς) Ἰουλία[ις],<sup>53</sup> wenn nicht Ἑρμογένης κατ(άθεσις), oder noch Ἑρμογένης κατ(άθεσις) mit dem Frauennamen *Hermogene*, der freilich viel spärlicher vorkommt als *Hermogenes*.<sup>54</sup> Der von vorn herein abenteuerliche Erklärungsversuch von Kaibel in *IG* XIV 1588 a Ἑρμογένης κ[αὶ?] Κ[λ(ανδαία)] Ἰουλία ist zu verwerfen.

*CIL* X 3717 = VI 10921. Die Inschrift wurde zum ersten Mal von dem bekannten neapolitanischen Antiquar Giacomo Martorelli in Liternum in der Villa der Cartusiani (Certosini) 1738/39 abgeschrieben und aus dessen Kopie von dem berühmten capuanischen Humanisten Alessio Simmaco

<sup>51</sup> Skeptisch auch G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (BNF N. F. Beiheft 4), Heidelberg 1969, 261.

<sup>52</sup> Die Identität wurde schon von Moretti, *IGUR* S. 505 vermerkt.

<sup>53</sup> So auch A. E. Felle, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae, n. s. Concordantiae verborum, nominum et imaginum*, Bari 1997, 122–135, 145. Zu den römischen Kalenderdaten in griechischem Gewand vgl. neuerdings H. Solin, *Hyperboreus* 9 (2003) 127–134.

<sup>54</sup> In der Neuauflage meines Namenbuches 57–60 werden für *Hermogenes* 73 Belege verbucht, für *Hermogene* 4.

Mazzocchi, *De ascia*, Neapoli 1739, 304 herausgegeben; aus Mazzocchi schöpft Mommsen, *CIL* X 3717. Ein wenig später wurde der Stein beim zweiten Meilenstein der via Labicana in Rom gesehen und von Francesco Ficoroni an Gori, *Cod. Marucell.* A, 6 f. 436 mitgeteilt; daraus stammt Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* 166 und Henzen, *CIL* VI 10921. Henzen meint, die Inschrift sei an der genannten Stelle gefunden worden, aber Ficoroni spricht nicht über eine Entdeckung *in situ*; vielmehr ist die Inschrift aus Kampanien nach Rom gewandert. Mazzocchi war ein guter und verlässlicher Autor, weswegen es kaum glaubhaft ist, dass er die Fundangabe verfälscht hätte. Vielleicht wurde die Inschrift bei einem Antiquar oder in einer Steinmetzwerkstatt gesehen; dafür könnte auch sprechen, dass sie von dem bekannten Sammler, dem Kardinal Domenico Passionei, erworben wurde, und zwar wahrscheinlich aus dem Antiquariatsmarkt.<sup>55</sup> Freilich liesse der Wortlaut wie auch die äussere Gestalt des Steines an eine stadtrömische Herkunft denken,<sup>56</sup> aber andererseits lassen sich die im Text vorkommenden Wendungen auch in kampanischen Inchriften belegen, sagen wir in der Nähe grosser Städte wie Puteoli oder Capua. Und der chronologische Vorrang der Angabe der literninischen Herkunft wiegt mehr als der an sich "stadtrömische" Wortlaut. Die Inschrift selbst wird nicht literninisch,<sup>57</sup> sondern eher etwa atellanisch sein.<sup>58</sup>

## CCXI. VARIA URBANA

1. Die Ligorianische Inschrift *CIL* VI 870\* vgl. S. 252\* scheint echten Stoff wiederzugeben. Sie ist zweiteilig und lautet in der auf Manutius und Florentius zurückgehenden, auf S. 252\* wiedergegebenen Fassung wie folgt: links steht CHIVS·VERNA / NICOMEDIS· VEID / VIX·

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<sup>55</sup> Die Inschrift gelangte dann nach Tuscolo in die Villa des Kardinals; publiziert wurde sie vom Neffen des Kardinals, Benedetto Passionei, *Iscrizioni antiche disposte per ordine di varie classi ed illustrate con alcune annotazioni*, Lucca 1763, 66, 27.

<sup>56</sup> Die Inschrift befindet sich heute mit anderen Texten aus der Sammlung Passionei in den Vatikanischen Museen, wo von mir im Jahre 2003 aufgenommen.

<sup>57</sup> Literninische Inchriften im *CIL* X existieren in Grunde nicht; die wenigen dort beobachteten werden von anderswoher stammen. Vgl. G. Camodeca, *AION AnnArchStorAnt.* n. s. 8 (2001 [2003]) 163ff.

<sup>58</sup> Ich habe die Geschichte dieser Inschrift eingehend in *Epigraphica* 65 (2003) 84f behandelt.

ANNOS·XV, rechts C·IVLIVS·CORA/NI·L ·CHARITO / VIX·ANNOS·XIIIX. Die Echtheit wird durch zweierlei unterstützt: durch die Texttradition und den Inhalt. Die Inschrift ist nicht nur durch Ligorius überliefert, sondern auch von dem Holländer Nicolaus Florentius (Nicolaas Florensz) während seines Aufenthaltes zwischen 1557 und 1567 im Weingarten des Kardinals Rodolfo Pio in Rom gesehen und abgeschrieben und dem Laevinus Torrentius (fläm. Lieven van der Beke; 1525-1595), Bischof von Antwerpen, geschickt worden (*Cod. Brux.* 4347 f. 5).<sup>59</sup> Florentius war nach seinen bei Torrentius, *Cod. Brux.* 4367-4369 erhaltenen Abschriften ein zuverlässiger Autor, was gewiss nicht für eine Fälschung spricht.<sup>60</sup> [Nach Henzen S. 252\* sollte auch Manutius, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5253 f. 396 die Inschrift haben, dort befindet sie sich aber nicht; bei flüchtiger Durchsicht vatikanischer Handschriften von Manutius konnten Marco Buonocore und ich dessen Abschrift nicht lokalisieren.] Wäre unsere Inschrift echt, würde sie sich zu den zahlreichen Fällen echter in der Vigna Codini entdeckter Inschriften gesellen, die zuerst von Ligorius beschrieben wurden (*CIL* VI 5842-5886); viele von ihnen existieren noch, und von diesen können die meisten ohne jedes Schwanken als echter Stoff verifiziert werden. In unserem Fall spricht die Nebenüberlieferung durch Florentius mit Nachdruck für die Echtheit. Ganz kann die Möglichkeit freilich nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass die Inschrift zwar auf dem Stein existiert hat, aber dennoch ein Fälschung sei; wie bekannt, hat Ligorius seine Fälschungen gelegentlich auch auf dem Stein produziert. Und da wir nichts Näheres über die äussere Form der verschollenen Inschrift wissen, bleibt letzten Endes die Echtheit unter diesem Gesichtswinkel betrachtet etwas offen.<sup>61</sup> – Was den Inhalt betrifft, ist der einzige Punkt, der etwas sonderbar anmutet, die Namenfolge im ersten Teil der Inschrift *Chius verna Nicomedis Vedi* (es ist hier wohl ein Nexus von D und I gemeint), denn Chius könnte als Ex-Sklave von Vedius (wenn so zu verstehen) kein *verna* des Nicomedes

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<sup>59</sup> Zu Florensz vgl. *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* V, Leiden 1921, 190f; zu Torrentius A. Roersch, *Biogr. nationale de Belgique* 25, Bruxelles 1930–1932, 462–474 (zu seiner epigraphischen Tätigkeit 468); M. G. Marinus, *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* 13, Brussel 1990, 779–785.

<sup>60</sup> Vgl. *CIL* VI S. LIV.

<sup>61</sup> Zur Beurteilung von Ligorius' epigraphischer Tätigkeit H. Solin, *Ligorigiana*, in: *E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften*, Paderborn usw. 1994, 335–351.

gewesen sein.<sup>62</sup> Die Schwierigkeiten werden aufgehoben, wenn wir *Chius verna Nicomedis Vedi(ani)* verstehen:<sup>63</sup> Nicomedes wäre ein Ex-Sklave des Vedius Pollio gewesen und dann durch Besitzwechsel in den kaiserlichen Dienst getreten.<sup>64</sup> Es sind uns eine ganze Anzahl von Ex-Sklaven des Vedius Pollio im kaiserlichen Dienst bekannt, <sup>65</sup> auch aus derselben Grabanlage. Ob Nicomedes bei der Anbringung der Inschrift ein Sklave oder Freigelassener war, ist nicht zu ermitteln.<sup>66</sup>

2. In *ICUR* 697 heisst die dritte Zeile ΘΕΟΚΟΜ. Ich habe die Inschrift am 11. Mai 2003 persönlich gesehen und kann die Lesung bestätigen. Weder links noch rechts fehlt etwas. Wie ist das aber zu deuten? Es dürfte am ehesten ein onomastisches Element vorliegen,<sup>67</sup> aber welches? Ich habe keine befriedigende Lösung anzubieten. Das einzige was mir einfällt, ist einen Schreibfehler für Θεόπομ(πος) in Kauf zu nehmen; *Theopompus* war ein beliebter Name auch in Rom.<sup>68</sup> Aber die Annahme von Schreibfehlern ist immer ein fragwürdiger Ausweg. Non liquet.

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<sup>62</sup> Es gibt keine sicheren Beispiele von Fällen, in denen ein Sklave sich nach einem Besitzwechsel als *verna* bezeichnet hätte. Und das ist natürlich zu erwarten. Nicht derartiges in der Zusammenstellung kaiserlicher Agnomina von H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser*, Wiesbaden 1967, 295–350 (ausgeschlossen bleiben die Fälle, in denen *verna* mit *Caprensis* oder *paternus* geknüpft ist: Chantraine 306f [aber auf welche Weise weist *Caprensis* auf einen Vorbesitz hin?]. 327). Ganz unsicher bleibt *CIL* 30983 *Felix ver. Aspergus Regianus*: m. E. kann hier unmöglich *Felix verna Regianus* verstanden werden.

<sup>63</sup> Man soll nicht *Vedi* als Genetiv auffassen. Dieselbe Abkürzung in *CIL* VI 5858 = 838\* aus derselben Grabanlage.

<sup>64</sup> Obwohl wir wissen, dass Vedius Pollio nach seinem Tod zwar einen Grossteil seines Besitzes an Augustus, vieles aber auch anderen Leuten (Dio 54, 23, 5) vermachte, so ist es doch am naheliegendsten als den neuen Besitzer hier Augustus zu sehen.

<sup>65</sup> Aufgezählt bei Chantraine, aaO. 339f. Nr. 326–331. Unsicher bleibt *CIL* VIII 21098, vgl. Chantraine 348 Nr. 375.

<sup>66</sup> Kaiserliche Sklaven haben oft selbst Sklaven gehabt. Es gibt eine Handvoll von Fällen, in denen der Besitzer mit blossem Cognomen und der Besitz ohne *vicarius* oder ähnliches (wie *delicium*) angeführt werden: so etwa *CIL* 8517. 13910. 15396. 16907. 19588. Manche von den Besitzern werden selbst Sklaven gewesen sein, sozusagen 'Obersklaven'.

<sup>67</sup> So auch der Editor im Namenindex; ferner A. E. Felle, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae, n. s. Concordantiae verborum, nominum et imaginum. Tituli Graeci*, Bari 1997, 309.

<sup>68</sup> In Rom 14mal belegt: Solin, *GPN*<sup>2</sup> 84.

3. In *ICUR* 17912 soll dem Herausgeber Ferrua zufolge *Lucilius Pelio* verstanden werden; überliefert ist LVCILLVS PELIO. Deswegen fragt man sich, ob nicht *Lucillus pel(l)io* gemeint wurde. Die Berufsbezeichnung *pellio* 'Kürschner' ist aus Autoren und Inschriften einigermaßen bekannt (s. *ThLL* X 1, 1002, 40-63); sie ist auch im Mittellatein belegt.<sup>69</sup> Das entsprechende Cognomen *Pellio* existiert auch, ist aber nur selten belegt (Plaut. *Stich. didasc.*, ein Schauspieler; *HisEp.* 5, 1070 *Silvanus Pellionis f.*). Ein Cognomen *Pelio* ist mir nicht bekannt, weder aus dem griechischen noch aus dem lateinischen Bereich. Auch deswegen ist es vorzuziehen, in der Inschrift – dessen ungeachtet, ob man hier ein Appellativ oder einen Eigennamen sieht – die Vereinfachung des Geminats *ll* anzunehmen.

## CCXII. POMPEIANUM

Della Corte, *CIL* IV 8769 *c* liest den Anfang dieser Kritzelei wie folgt: *Pittacius cum Primigenia hic*. Verdächtig ist *Pittacius*, das weder ein Gentilicum noch ein Cognomen darstellt, mir wenigstens ist ein solcher Name aus der antiken Überlieferung vollends unbekannt. Die einzige theoretische Möglichkeit, einen solchen Namen zu erklären, wäre, in ihm die spätantike Bildung auf *-ius* aus *Pittacus* zu sehen – diese Erklärung wird aber natürlich wegen der Datierung der Kritzelei hinfällig. Ich besitze von dem Graffito ein Photo (Institut für Paläographie der Universität Rom La Sapienza Nr. 216) und glaube anhand dessen die richtige Lesung feststellen zu können. Der erste Buchstabe ist L, nicht P: der vermeintliche Bogen des P ist nicht zugehörig, und der Querstrich des L ist sicher. Der dritte und der vierte Buchstabe sind nicht identisch (vertreten also nicht TT); ich deute sie als S und T. So wird die Lesung LISTACIVS festgelegt. Das muss als *L. Istacius* gedeutet werden. Nun ist kein Gentile *Istacius* belegt, wohl aber *Instacius* aus dem Gebiet der Marsi (*Epigrafia dei Marsi* 159. 194; vgl. Salomies, *Repertorium* 67), und *Istacius* könnte davon eine orthographische Variante darstellen. Ich würde aber hier eher den Namen *Istacidius* sehen;

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<sup>69</sup> Aus Polen: *Petrus pellio de Cracovia* (s. *Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum* VII, Kraków 1993, 231: ein Beleg ist aus dem Jahre 1529); doch wegen der Spärlichkeit der Belege kann es sich um eine gelehrte Entlehnung handeln. In romanischen Sprachen lebt *pellio* nicht weiter, etwa das Italienische hat *pellaio* aus *pellarius*.



wenn dem so ist, müssen wir den in Graffiti dieser Art an sich harmlosen, leicht verständlichen Schreibfehler *Istacius* für *Istacidius* in Kauf nehmen. Die *Istacidii* sind eine bekannte pompeianische Familie (Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*, Rom 1975, 178), in der *Lucius* des öfteren als Praenomen belegt ist. Identität mit dem Lebemann in *CIL* IV 1888 ist nicht ausgeschlossen.

### CCXIII. NURSINA

Einige Observatiunculae zur Mantissa der Edition nursinischer Inschriften durch R. Cordella und N. Criniti, *Epigraphica* 62 (2000) 137-211.

Nr. 4 (= *AE* 2000, 385). Das Cognomen des Verstorbenen bleibt ganz in der Luft hängen. Die Editoren lesen mit Vorbehalt *Catio Aufido*, anhand des Photos ist aber *Aufidus* weniger plausibel. Auch ist ein solches Cognomen nicht mit Sicherheit belegt. Die Autoren berufen sich auf Kajantos *Latin Cognomina* 194, der *CIL* VIII 23437 (Mactaris) *Iulia Aufida Quinti Aufidi filia* zitiert. Dort ist aber eher *Aufidia* zu verstehen; der Vater hiess augenscheinlich *Quintus Aufidius* (so auch im Gentilnamenindex), so dass *Aufida* blosser Schreibfehler für *Aufidia* sein wird; *Aufidii* in Mactaris: *CIL* VIII 23418.<sup>70</sup> 23441. 23442. Ich frage mich, ob in der Inschrift aus Nursia nicht *Aulico* zu lesen möglich wäre. Zum Cognomen *Aulicus* Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 319 aus *CIL* XIII 857 (dort vielleicht als epichorisches Element zu deuten); dazu noch *CIL* VI 6494 (Sklave); *aulicus* war ein übliches Wort und nicht unpassend als Namenquelle. Der Name kommt auch im griechischen Bereich vor: *I. Klaudiu Polis* 25 (Sohn und Vater, kaiserz.); ganz unsicher bleibt *BGU* 286, wo eher das Appellativum αὐλικ(ός) vorliegt. – Nun scheint freilich die Schriftoberfläche, aus dem Photo zu schliessen, sehr verwittert zu sein, weswegen eine gesicherte Lesung kaum erzielt werden kann.

Nr. 6 (= *AE* 2000, 387) aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. Die Editoren lesen den Anfang *Maltinia P. l. Daphinie*. Das Cognomen soll für *Daphne* stehen, was nicht möglich ist (höchstens könnte es um eine Nebenform von *Daphnia* handeln). Nein, es muss *Daphine* gelesen werden. Freilich geht aus dem

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<sup>70</sup> Ein Veteran; vgl. J.- M. Lassère, *Ubique populus. Peuplement et mouvements de la population dans l'Afrique romaine de la chute de Carthage à la fin de la dynastie des Sévères (146 a. C. – 235 p. C.)*, Paris 1977, 285.

unscharfen Photo nicht deutlich hervor, ob der von den Editoren als I gedeutete Strich da ist und zur Schrift gehört, aber jedenfalls wäre *Daphinie* eine ganz unwahrscheinliche Bildung, und zwar aus zwei Gründen: ein mit dem für die spätere Kaiserzeit charakteristischen Suffix *-ius -ia* versehenes Cognomen wäre im 1. Jh. sehr überraschend, und zweitens würde man in einer Inschrift der guten Zeit nicht *-ie*, sondern *-ia* erwarten. *Daphine* ist aber eine übliche Schreibweise mit Anaptyxe für *Daphne*, öfters etwa in Rom belegt.<sup>71</sup>

Nr. 9 (= *AE* 2000, 390). Der Stein hat P·TETTVLENI·VI·PAMPHILI. Die Editoren konjizieren *P. Tettuleni Vi(bi) <l.> Pamphili*. Die normale Abkürzung des Vornamens *Vibius* ist aber *V.*,<sup>72</sup> weswegen ich eher *V. [l.] Pamphilus* verstehen würde. – Die Editoren datieren die Inschrift in die erste Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr.; dieser Ansatz ist wegen der verschiedenen Vornamen des Herrn und des Freigelassenen zweifellos richtig (freilich haben die Editoren dieses zwingende Argument verkannt, während das von ihnen vorgebrachte der 'formule onomastiche complete' keinen Wert hat).

#### CCXIV. SEGESTANA

In den neuen Ausgrabungen des Forumgebietes von Segesta sind mehrere bedeutsame munizipale Inschriften zutage gekommen. Eine der bemerkenswertesten lateinischen lautet nach der Editorin C. Michelini wie folgt (ich normalisiere die Interpunktion):<sup>73</sup> *L. Caecilius A. f. Martiales apetaius praefectus deos forenses reposuit templumque eis sua pequnia adornavit*. Die von der Editorin gegebene Interpretation ist an manchen Stellen anfechtbar (im ganzen ist ihr Aufsatz von einer gewissen Obskurität des Gedankenganges gekennzeichnet); vor allem ist ihrer Vermutung, die Schreibweise *pequnia* zeige eine geringe Vertrautheit mit dem Lateinischen,

<sup>71</sup> *CIL* VI 11124. *Daphene*: 16731. *Dafene*: *ICUR* 16731. 17770 b. Von *Daphnus*: *CIL* VI 19921. XV 5171. *Latin Inscr. Kelsey Museum* 86. *RAC* 35 (1959) 13. Von *Daphnicus*: *CIL* VI 11520. Von *Daphnia*: *CIL* VI 34195.

<sup>72</sup> O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 96.

<sup>73</sup> Reimpiego di iscrizioni a Segesta, in: *Sicilia epigraphica. Atti del convegno di studi, Erice 15–18 ottobre 1998* (ASNP Quaderni 2), Pisa 1999, 441f. Auch in G. Nenci, in: *Terze Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima*, Pisa 2000, 813. *AE* 2000, 642 verschweigt die absurden Erklärungen der Editorin.

jeder Boden entzogen, vertritt doch *pequn-* eine äusserst übliche Schreibweise in lateinischen Inschriften der republikanischen und frühen Kaiserzeit! Noch schlimmer ist es mit der Behauptung bestellt, *apetaius* gebe den griechischen Terminus *aretaius* (sic) wieder. Aber das Griechische kennt kein solches Wort! Was dies APETAIVS meint (so scheint es in der Tat der Stein zu bieten), ist nicht mit Sicherheit zu ermitteln. Die einzige Erklärung, die mir möglich erscheint, ist, hier den griechischen Personennamen Ἀρεταῖος zu sehen;<sup>74</sup> der Mann hätte also zwei Cognomina gehabt, kein seltenes Phänomen in den höheren kommunalen Schichten. Ἀρεταῖος ist ein guter griechischer Name (Bechtel *HPN* 67),<sup>75</sup> auch in Sizilien belegt.<sup>76</sup> Der mit dem Lateinischen möglicherweise wenig vertraute Steinmetz hätte das griechische P versehentlich mit demselben Zeichen wiedergegeben. Auch sonst ist griechischer Einfluss in der Inschrift spürbar, wie der Gebrauch von *-ai-* oder das Vokal des Endsilbes in *Martiales*, vgl. Μαρτιάλης Moretti *IGUR* 326; Dat. Μαρτιάλη *CIG* 6959. Auch *dei forenses* scheint θεοὶ ἀγοραῖοι zu übersetzen (aber man versteht nicht recht, warum die Editorin dies als etwas sehr Überraschendes betrachtet).

#### CCXV. NOCHMALS WEITERE VERKANNTÉ CHRISTLICHE INSCRIFTEN

Als Fortsetzung zur Serie von Beobachtungen zu christlichen Inschriften, die in den zehn Bänden der *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* fehlen (*Arctos* 33 [1999] 201f. 34 [2000] 186-192. 35 [2001] 240f), seien noch zwei weitere Fälle mitgeteilt.

Die von C. Blasius bei G. L. Oderici, *Dissertationes et adnotationes in aliquot ineditas veterum inscriptiones et numismata*, Romae 1765, 338 aus der Hermes-Katakomba herausgegebene Inschrift [*L*]imeni dulcis, te in pace (auch bei Diehl *ILCV* 2271 adn.) fehlt in dem altchristlichen

<sup>74</sup> Das hat schon K. Korhonen, *Arctos* 36 (2002) 182 gesehen.

<sup>75</sup> Der bekannteste Namensträger ist wohl der Arzt aus Kappadokien. Sonst etwa in Athen: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1028 (101/0 v. Chr.); in Korinth: Luc. *Tox.* 22 (fiktiv); aus Nikomedeia *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10000. Öfters auf Iasos: *I.Iasos* 174. 271. 272 Ἰάσων Ἀρεταίου. 217 Ἀρεταῖος Αἰσχίνου. 284 Ἀρεταῖος Θευδᾶ (jüdisch). 289. 296 Ἀρεταῖος. Ferner auf Amphorenhenkeln aus Rhodos oder aus dem rhodischen Peraia: M. P. Nilsson, *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos* 69.

<sup>76</sup> Timaios bei Plut. *Dio* 31: Sohn von Dion und Areta (357 v. Chr.).

Inschriftenwerk; sie sollte im zehnten Band stehen. Nun führt derselbe Oderici zusammen mit dieser eine andere Inschrift aus der Hermes-Katakombe an, die aber Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri* usw., Roma 1720, 479 der Callistus-Katakombe zuschreibt (in der Nachfolge von Boldetti plaziert Silvagni *ICUR* 9263 sie dem Bereich der Katakomben der Appischen und Ardeatinischen Strassen); doch würde ich wenigstens für die erstere eine Provenienz aus der Katakombe des Hermes vorziehen.

*ICUR* 26986 vom Jahre 450 ist opisthograph, was den Editoren des zehnten Bandes entgangen ist. Auf der anderen Seite ist eine etwas ältere Inschrift (etwa 4. Jh.) als die unter 26986 publizierte angebracht. Beide Texte wurden von de Rossi *ICUR* I 750 veröffentlicht, so dass das Weglassen des einen wohl nur ein Flüchtigkeitsfehler ist.

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**SWAMP-HENS (*PORPHYRIO SPP.*) AND DUCKS (*ANATIDAE*)  
IN THE TOMBA DI MORLUPO  
and Other Republican and Early Augustan Romano-Campanian  
Mosaics and Wall Paintings<sup>1</sup>**

ANTERO TAMMISTO

**Introduction**

The recent corpus of the interior decoration of the Imperial period tombs in Rome and its surroundings by G. Feraudi-Gruénais also includes the so-called Tomba di Morlupo, from the wall paintings of which four painted lunettes are preserved, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 38819-38822).<sup>2</sup> The paintings come from an underground funerary chamber (3.77 m x 1.72 m) cut into tufa near the Via Flaminia at Monte Castello between

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<sup>1</sup> G. Sangster, "Purple Swamp-hen is a complex of species", *Dutch Birding* 20 (1998) 13–22 proposes the recognition of six subspecies of the *Porphyrio porphyrio* as species, a division which is followed here. The *Porphyrio porphyrio* is commonly referred to by the English name "Purple Gallinule" – e.g., in my *Birds in Mosaics* (see below) with its Index 2 of scientific Latin bird names giving also the bird's name in German ("Purpurhuhn"), French ("Poule sultane" / "Talève sultane"), Italian ("Pollo sultano") and Finnish ("Sulttaanikana") – but the English name "Purple Swamp-hen" is preferred here, as explained *infra* in Appendix 1, which includes a concordance of the nomenclature of the subspecies here recognized as species. The name "swamp-hen" of the genus *Porphyrio* includes in the following also the African Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio madagascariensis*), distinguished by its green instead of purplish-blue back and tertials, and the Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio poliocephalus*), which has a grey head and green breast and wings, both species being identifiable in some ancient sources (*infra*). – Abbreviations: ex(x) = example(s) (specimens) of; MANN = Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; pr. = probable (/y); Tammisto (note 1) = *Birds in Mosaics. A Study on the Representations of Birds in Hellenistic and Romano-Campanian Tessellated Mosaics to the Early Augustan Age* (AIRF 18), Rome 1997.

<sup>2</sup> F. Feraudi-Gruénais, *Ubi diutius nobis habitandum est. Die Innendekoration der kaiserzeitlichen Gräber Roms* (Palilia 9), Wiesbaden 2001, 73–74 cat. K 29.

Morlupo and Capena, a little more than thirty kilometres from Rome. It was found in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and briefly published by D. Vaglieri in 1907.<sup>3</sup> The lunette originally on the short back wall (Fig. 1), under which there was a loculus for urns, and the lunette on the opposite entrance wall (Fig. 2) show birds in so-called still lifes.



**Fig. 1.** Lunette from the back wall of the Tomba di Morlupo, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Rome) with Purple Swamp-hens (*Porphyrio porphyrio*) (from Cappelli, 192 fig. 66).



**Fig. 2.** Lunette from the entrance wall of the Tomba di Morlupo, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Rome) with three ducks, in the centre a duck sp. (*Anatinae sp.*), a Shelduck (*Tadorna tadorna*) with a hybrid reddish-violet body probably indicating a sex distinction like the Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), and on both sides two dabbling ducks (*Anas sp.*) with features possibly of the drake Teal (*Anas crecca*) or Garganey (*Anas querquedula*). On the lateral side two passerines (*Passeriformes spp.*), possibly Magpies (*Pica pica*) but rendered with a greyish green plumage as exotic fantasy birds (from Cappelli, 191 fig. 65).

<sup>3</sup> D. Vaglieri, "Morlupo – Scoperta di una tomba romana", *NSc* 1907, 676–678.

The lunette originally on the left lateral wall shows figures identified as the mythical lovers Leander and Hero with Leander swimming during the night from Abydos over the Hellespont to meet his beloved Hero, priestess of Aphrodite waiting at Sestos, while the lunette originally above the right lateral wall shows a female winged figure growing out of an acanthus scroll, thus either a Dionysian vegetation goddess ("Rankengöttin") or more specifically Victoria/Nike ("Rankenvictoria"). The vault was covered with white plaster, while the walls were decorated with squares framed by red stripes and a horizontal red stripe as a socle and a black stripe framing the upper part. Under the lateral walls were remains of funerary *klinai*.

Despite some brief references, including a Trajanic date proposed by M. Borda (1958)<sup>4</sup> without further discussion, the paintings remained almost unstudied until their presentation by H. Mielsch at an archaeological congress in 1988, published in 1990 (see note 7). The same year they were also independently published by R. Cappelli, for the first time with photographs in colour.<sup>5</sup> Both Cappelli and Mielsch dated the paintings, on the basis of similarities in style and repertory, to the Augustan era, and Mielsch, more recently, to the late Republican period between ca. 40-30 BC.<sup>6</sup> Feraudi-Gruénais returns to an earlier unpublished Late Antonine dating by Mielsch, likewise on stylistic criteria, which ignores the funerary material found in the tomb, a lamp of type Dressel 2, two late Republican amphorae of type Dressel 1B, and some small vases which, according to Cappelli, also suggest a date to the latter half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> R. Paribeni, *Le terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma 1932, 227 ff. nos. 638. 642. 651. 653; M. Borda, *La pittura romana*, Milano 1958, 267; G.D.B. Jones, "Capena and the Ager Capenas", *NSc* 1962, 147 fig. 10.

<sup>5</sup> R. Cappelli, "Una tomba dipinta di età augustea da Morlupo", *BdArch* 1–2, 1990, 190–194 refers rightly to the Tomba di Montefiore (see also *infra*) as the closest parallel and to the similarities with the paintings in the Casa di Augusto on the Palatine, as also Mielsch 1990, who, regarding the birds, also compares them to those in the Villa di P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, Villa di Poppea (Oplontis) and Casa di Criptoportico, and the rendering of the scene with Hero and Leander to the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili (here for conventional reasons this form of the name used in most publications is used instead of the writing "Pamphilj"; see also *infra*).

<sup>6</sup> H. Mielsch, *Römische Wandmalerei*, Darmstadt 2001, 198–199 fig. 236 and F. Naumann-Steckner, "Glassgefäße in der römischen Wandmalerei", in Michael J. Klein (Hrsg.), *Römische Glaskunst und Wandmalerei*, Mainz am Rhein 1999, 28 fig. 7 show the lunette over the back wall in colour.

<sup>7</sup> Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 73 n. 467 refers to the Tomb of Clodius Hermes under S.



Significant differences in dating on the basis of stylistic and repertorial comparisons are not uncommon for several reasons. Another example of certain interest here, not included in the catalogue by Feraudi-Gruénais, is the image of a priestess of Isis with at least four birds around her in a now almost vanished painting from a niche in the exterior wall of the so-called columbarium no. 18 at Via Laurentina at Ostia. Only black-and-white photographic documentation survives, but the birds seem stylistically a little later than those in the Tomba di Morlupo, probably from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. At any rate, they seem too different in respect to the stylistically later waterfowl resembling hybrid goose-like ducks (*Anatinae spp.*) in a Nilotic frieze in the nearby enclosure no. 22, belonging to the same owner as no. 18, said to be contemporaneous, from around ca. AD 150, as recently proposed by Clarke on the basis of the common subject matter.<sup>8</sup> Not only is the estimation of stylistic similarities often subjective, but also elements in one and the same monument or artefact may include elements pointing to different dates. Subjects like the birds are practical decorative subjects used for a long time, and may remain without notable stylistic changes or even be an element of a revival style, or so-called antiquarian details.<sup>9</sup> The birds surrounding a glass vase with fruit in the

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Sebastiano, dated by brick stamps to around AD 160, as the closest parallel for which see Feraudi-Gruénais, 121–126 cat. K 60 with further references and Mielsch (note 6), 203 fig. 242 in colour; Feraudi-Gruénais also refers to the late Antonine date suggested earlier in an unpublished manuscript by H. Mielsch, *Römische Wandmalerei des 2. u. 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 119 n. 17, p. 225, 305, cf. H. Mielsch, "Das Grab von Morlupo, ein unbekanntes Monument zweiten Stils", *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 575–576, and Id. 2001 (note 6), 199 fig. 236 (in colour) suggesting late Second Style date, ca. 40–30 BC; see also A. Carbonara & G. Messineo, *Via Tiberina*, Roma 1994, 21.

<sup>8</sup> J. Clarke, in: A. Barbet (ed.), *La peinture funéraire antique IVe siècle av. J.-C.-IVe siècle ap. J.-C. (Actes du VIIe Colloque de l'Association internationale pour la peinture murale antique, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, 6–10 Octobre 1998)*, Vienne – Paris 2001, 86–87 fig. 3 with further references.

<sup>9</sup> In the paintings in the Mausoleo di Fannia from Hadrian's time in the necropolis under St. Peter's, such an antiquarian detail is, according to H. Mielsch & H. von Hesberg (*Die heidnische Nekropole unter St. Peter in Rom. Die Mausoleen A–D* (1986), 22, 36), a peculiar type of vase in two still lifes, which would date the supposed original to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, perhaps corroborated by the birds flanking the vase, in one a couple of parakeets, and in the other a couple of peculiar birds identified as Rose-coloured Starlings (*Pastor roseus*), both species considered as references to Alexander's conquest. See my review of the work in *Arctos* 22 (1988) 259–262 with the correction of the

paintings in the Tomba di Clodius Hermes (AD 160 ca.), an Alexandrine Parakeet (*Psittacula eupatria*)<sup>10</sup> and a chukar-type partridge (*Alectoris sp.*)<sup>11</sup>, which Feraudi-Gruénais mentions as the closest parallel, are in my opinion rather such a revival element. So are the colourful birds and flowers around chests and glass vases with flowers in four still lifes, each with four birds, in the paintings of the Tomba dei Pancratii on the Via Latina, dated to the mid-first c. AD.<sup>12</sup> More importantly there are often not sufficiently reliably datable cases to estimate to what extent similarities indicate a contemporaneous date or, correspondingly, what differences indicate a divergent date. This remains a largely disputed issue also for the relatively well-represented group of material constituted by the Romano-Campanian wall paintings, among which so far only about a handful of instances are reliably datable by external criteria.<sup>13</sup> Thus it is more important to aim at a systematic and extensive comparison of parallels even of such restricted,

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identification of a supposed Peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*) to a Purple Swamp-hen.

<sup>10</sup> For references, see *supra* note 7. The species can be identified by the red wing-patch in distinction from the Rose-ringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*); for parakeets in Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings, see Tammisto (note 1), 80–84, 294–295 note 585 listing a total of 44 representations, 29 of which in wall paintings from Pompeii and seven from other sites in the Vesuvian area, six from Rome, most ignored by G.E. Watson, "Birds", in: W.F. Jashemski & F.G. Meyer (eds.), *The Natural History of Pompeii*, Cambridge 2002, 357–400, in particular 393–394 no. 58 s.v. "*Psittacula sp.*". The catalogue by Watson needs to be reviewed thoroughly, which I hope to be able to do in a review article under preparation.

<sup>11</sup> For the representations of chukar-type partridges in Romano-Campanian wall paintings, see Tammisto (note 1), 84–87, 297–298 note 608 listing a total of 16 representations, six of which in wall paintings from Pompeii and seven from the Vesuvian area in MANN, and three from Rome and surroundings, only part of which are referred to by Watson (note 10), 362–363 no. 5 s.v. "*Alectoris graeca*".

<sup>12</sup> Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 109–114 cat. K 48 with references to which can be added Tammisto 1985, 235 note 55 with some identifications of the birds, of which the Rose-ringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*) is to be corrected to an Alexandrine Parakeet (*Psittacula eupatria*) on the basis of the red wing-patch (*supra* note 9) visible in the colour photograph published by Mielsch 2001 (note 6), 203 fig. 243.

<sup>13</sup> W. Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen an römischen Wandmalereien von der späten Republik bis zur Zeit Neros*, Mainz am Rhein 1987, 2–9 concludes with a list of five cases from the early Imperial period between 36 BC–AD 42: Casa di Augusto 36–27 BC, Piramide di Cestio before 12 BC, Villa di Agrippa Postumus around 11 BC, Colombario di Pomponius Hylas (I phase) AD 19–37, Palestra grande (N-wall, Pompeii) before AD 42.



although common, parts of repertoires such as the birds. A systematic comparison of parallels is, in this case, necessary first to confirm that the late Republican period, or more probably, an early Augustan time dating of the paintings from Morlupo, suggested by the aforementioned tomb finds, is more likely than the mid-second c. AD date also on the basis of the material presently known among Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings.

Secondly, the comparison, which in the following concentrates on the lunettes of the two short walls with bird motifs, aims to establish their identification and interpretation. The aim is to show in what respects these bird motifs are iconographically unusual, and that the identification of the species is an aspect to be taken into account in the analysis of such representations because it can be significant for the tracing of models and iconographic relations. Hence attention is here also paid to the as-correct-as-possible identification of a number of other representations of birds as well.

### **The Purple Swamp-hens in the Tomba di Morlupo and Other Contemporary Representations**

The two birds on both sides of a *modiolus*-shaped glass vase<sup>14</sup> on the lunette originally on the back wall are not partridges, as was first proposed by Vaglieri and recently repeated by Feraudi-Gruénais,<sup>15</sup> but instead, as rightly identified by Cappelli and Mielsch 1990,<sup>16</sup> clearly identifiable Purple Swamp-hens (*Porphyrio porphyrio*) (for the nomenclature see *supra* note 1 and *infra* Appendix 1). This is shown by their substantially correctly depicted habitus and colours with the red bill, eye and legs which, together with the purplish-blue plumage, are diagnostic for the species, although the white under tail coverts, which also are typical of most of the other species

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<sup>14</sup> The term *modiolus* here follows Mielsch 1990 (note 7); cf. Cappelli (note 3), 193 calling the vase a "pisside" (*pyxis*), while Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 28–29 fig. 7 in colour, defines the scene as follows: "In einem Kammergrab in Morlupo, Etrurien, ist zwischen zwei Laufvögeln ein gläserner steilwandiger Behälter dargestellt, in dem sich vier Balsamaria und drei Toiletteninstrumente befinden."

<sup>15</sup> Vaglieri (note 3), 678: "Starne", i.e., Grey Partridges (*Perdix perdix*); Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 73 cat. K 29: "Rebhühner"; for the partridges in Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings, see Tammisto (note 1), 84–87 and references in note 10.

<sup>16</sup> Cappelli (note 3), 191: "porfirioni"; Mielsch 1990 (note 7), 575: "Purpurhühner"; see also Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 28–29 fig. 7 defining the birds as waders ("Laufvögel").

of the family of rails (*Rallidae*) are not rendered. Minor inaccuracies also found in other representations of the species are the lack of a red forehead, and the depiction of the slightly too short legs and toes with only two instead of three toes in front – common artistic devices in Romano-Campanian wall paintings. There is also an interesting incoherence in the rendering of the shadows of the birds and the vase – rendered as cast on the back wall (here not otherwise indicated) instead of on the ground, as is common in still lifes. As both birds are depicted with a shadow cast as though in front of them, the shadow of the specimen to the right is cast to the left, i.e., in the opposite direction in respect to the shadows of the bird to the left and the vase. This suggests that the specimen to the right was made by reversing the supposed model showing a Purple Swamp-hen turned to the right with a shadow cast as though in front of it (to the right). This is an important detail not only as evidence of the use for models including also such details as shading, which in this case may suggest that the designer of the model was an artist drawing more likely with his left hand. The detail is important because it suggests that the scene did not follow a unitary model, but was one variant of the widespread subject, or rather *Themenkreis*, of "bird(s) with a precious vase (or basket)", compiled from repertories of various vases and birds. This combination of a particular glass vase with specifically Purple Swamp-hens instead of another vase or other birds was a sort of custom-made choice by the painter, or by the commissioner, or whoever planned the decoration of the tomb. This is confirmed by the fact that this particular combination is so far unique among the approximately 5000 birds known in Romano-Campanian wall paintings. Such shadows are an unusual feature among Romano-Campanian wall paintings, none being found among the ca. 350 birds known from Second Style paintings from about 30 buildings, among which there are 16 known still lifes with birds.<sup>17</sup> In the only later Fourth Style variant of a swamp-hen in a still life with a glass vase, the swamp-hen, probably an African Swamp-hen or perhaps even a Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio sp.*, *P. madagascariensis* / *P. poliocephalus*) shows only the usual shadow on the ground. As far as I know, the only variants of shadows

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<sup>17</sup> The eleven so-called integrated still lifes and five separate framed still lifes in Second Style paintings are listed *infra* in Appendix 2, where there are hanging birds in four instances from Pompeii (nos. 6–8) and from Villa dei Papiri (no. 10). Mielsch 1990 (note 7), 575 mentions similar shadows in the Casa del Criptoportico, which I have not been able to verify in any of the Second Style birds of the house.

of birds painted as if on the wall are four Fourth Style still lifes from two houses showing dead birds painted as though hung up on the wall.<sup>18</sup> This probably suggests the use of earlier Hellenistic models since the only parallel known to me is in a recently published Macedonian tomb painting.<sup>19</sup> In favour of the suggestion of the use of cartoons, probably without correct size relations, can be adduced also the size of the birds, which are clearly too small in relation to the vase, something which also seems to be dictated by compositional reasons.

The glass vase containing cosmetic *impedimentia* was rightly interpreted by Cappelli and Mielsch (1990) as an element of the *mundus muliebris*, and although Mielsch now (2001) also interprets the Purple Swamp-hens as traditionally emblematic of women's spaces, and hence here as a reference to a supposedly female burial, the reasons and evidence have, to my knowledge at least, not been published. The association of the swamp-hen with the female sphere, and more precisely, as a guardian of the virtue

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<sup>18</sup> The remarkable series of Fourth Style still lifes from the Casa dei Cervi (IV, 21) in Herculaneum include the only other representation of a swamp-hen and a glass vase in MANN (8644 A), showing a walking swamp-hen casting its shadow on the ground instead of the wall (see also *infra*) (S. De Caro, *La natura morta nelle pitture e nei mosaici delle città vesuviane*, Napoli 2001, 75–76 no. 56; Mielsch 2001 (note 6), 201 fig. 239 with the erroneous inv. 8647), whereas the following three examples show hanging birds with shadows on the wall: 1) MANN 8644 C with a dove sp. (*Columbidae spp.*), either a Turtle Dove (*Streptopelia turtur*) or Feral Pigeon (*Columba livia*) hanging from a ring against a wall with its shadow beyond an apple on a shelf in front of which a rabbit is eating grapes, De Caro, 77–78 no. and fig. 58 in colour; 2) MANN 8647 A with a plucked hen (*Gallus gallus*) and a dead hare; 3) MANN 8647 B with a chukar-type partridge (*Alectoris graeca / A. chukar*) with an apple and a pomegranate (De Caro, 73–74 no. 52; Mielsch 2001, 201 fig. 240 in colour). In a Fourth Style still life from the S-wall of the tablinum of the Praedia di Giulia Felice (II 4, 3), now MANN 8598 C, there are four Song Thrushes (*Turdus philomelos*) hanging against a wall, where their shadow is depicted, as is also the case with the piece of cloth hanging on the wall to the right, while the shadows of the vases and the plate in front below them are cast merely on the shelf, but not on the wall, De Caro, 62–65 no. 37 figs. 36–37 (who calls the birds erroneously Quails (*Coturnix coturnix*), which have a different habitus), see also Mielsch 2001 (note 6), 200 figs. 237–238 with photographs.

<sup>19</sup> H. Brecoulaki, in A. Pontrandolfo (ed.), *La pittura parietale in Macedonia e Magna Grecia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Salerno-Paestum, 21–23 novembre 1996*, Salerno 2002, 25–36, in particular p. 31, pl. II fig. 2 (in colour) from the Tomb II at Aineia with a white Feral Pigeon (*Columba livia*) casting its shadow on the wall behind it as does the golden cup (*skypfos?*) hanging on the wall to its right.

of female chastity, is demonstrated by literary sources, as well as by some other representations of the bird. In literary sources, the Purple Swamp-hen is identifiable as the bird called *porphyrio(n)*, known from Aristophanes onwards as an exotic and luxurious pet, famed for its exceptional beauty.<sup>20</sup> Because of the bird's harem-keeping habits, it had a reputation of a severe guardian of marital fidelity and chastity, as the bird, according to Polemon (*apud Athen.* 9,388c; translation by C. Burton Gulick from the Loeb edition, 1961), "keeps a sharp eye on married women and is so affected if the wife commits adultery that when it suspects this it ends its life by strangling and so gives warning to the master." According to Alexander of Myndus, referred to by Athenaeus (9,388d), the *porphyrion* "is Libyan and sacred to the gods which are worshipped in Libya". On the basis of the area of distribution, the author refers to the African Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio madagascariensis*) distinguished from the Purple Swamp-hen by its green back and tertials. Pliny's reference to the most admired variety in Commagene in Syria (*nat.* 10, 129 *laudatissimi in Commagene...*) probably refers, on basis of the area of distribution, to the Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio poliocephalus*), distinguished by a grey head, green breast and wings. It is remarkable that the African Swamp-hen is identifiable among some of the earliest representations of swamp-hens.

Provided that the Purple Swamp-hens in the Tomba di Morlupo are most likely from the early Augustan period, as the closest parallels for the decoration of this tomb should show, there are only a total of at least six, probably eight, representations datable before the Christian era, which will be briefly discussed in the following. Two or probably three instances are in the following mosaics: 1) two Purple Swamp-hens in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC Nilescape mosaic frieze from the Casa del Fauno (VI, 12) in Pompeii; 2) two African Swamp-hens in a 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC mosaic emblema, probably from the area of the *horti Caesaris* in Rome; 3) one African Swamp-hen in a fragmentary, probably 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC mosaic from Canopus (Egypt).

In addition to the Tomba di Morlupo, there are swamp-hens in the

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<sup>20</sup> See N. Dunbar (ed.), *Aristophanes: Birds*, Oxford 1995, 253–254, 628–629, who suggests that the two names *porphyrus* and *porphyrion* used by Aristophanes refer to one and the same species; for the Purple Swamp-hen in other literary sources, see Sir D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, London 1936<sup>2</sup> (1895), 251–252; O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* II, Leipzig 1913, 207–208; J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, London 1973, 246; J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, London 1977, 69, 182–183; Capponi, 428–430, s.v. "Porphyrio".



following three, probably four, paintings with a pre-Christian date: 1) one African Swamp-hen in the paintings from the so-called III Wardian tomb in Alexandria (Egypt), the masonry of which is dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, while the paintings are stylistically closest to late Republican or early Augustan parallels; 2) one Purple Swamp-hen in the early Augustan paintings from the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili; 3) two Purple Swamp-hens in the probably early Augustan garden paintings from the Villa di Livia at Prima Porta, 4) one of originally four swamp-hens (*Porphyrrio sp.*) in the early Augustan paintings in the Aula Isiaca. I have not systematically studied earlier vase paintings in search of eventual possible representations of swamp-hens, but supposing that such vase paintings are not known, these earliest representations of the swamp-hens, although barely a little more than a handful, attest that the swamp-hens were introduced to Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings as part of a Nilotic and then a more generally egyptianising repertory. The earliest, more reliably, dated representation is the pair of Purple Swamp-hens in the Nilescape mosaic frieze from the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii (VI, 12) from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>21</sup> There may have also been another pair in the damaged and restored right part of the mosaic, as the differences in respect to the pair in the left part are more likely due to restoration instead of being diagnostic of other rail species. Instead, the light bill and more striped plumage with a bluish breast of the better preserved and less restored third specimen of a rail species (*Rallidae sp.*) in the right part of the Casa del Fauno Nilescape are more likely diagnostic of a species of rails other than the Purple Swamp-hens, more likely a Little Crake (*Porzana parva*) instead of a Coot (*Fulica atra*). A Coot is not identifiable among the birds in Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings, although Watson recently identified the aforementioned pair in the left part of the Casa del Fauno Nilescape as Coots, mistaking their tails as the "lobed feet" characteristic of the Coot, and maintaining the red bill to be white which together, with the all black plumage, are the most distinctive characteristics of the Coot.<sup>22</sup> The light bill of the rail in the right part of the mosaic could hence suggest a Coot, but the colours of the plumage argue more in favour of a Little Crake as also does the fact that the Little Crake is identifiable in one Third Style

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<sup>21</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 62–67, 364–366 cat. NS2, pl. 22 fig. NS2,1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 22 fig. NS2,4; Watson (note 10), 379 no. 33 s.v. "*Fulica atra*" with somewhat misunderstood references to Tammisto (note 1), 65, pl. 22.



still life out of a series of four still lifes with birds from the Villa di Campo Varano di Stabia. Remarkably, two other still lifes of the series show a bound Purple Swamp-hen, and the fourth a very unusual representation of a grey goose species (*Anser sp.*) with brown plumage, probably a Greylag Goose (*Anser anser*) instead of the more northern Pink-footed Goose (*Anser brachyrhynchus*).<sup>23</sup> Although the clearly Egyptian fauna in the Casa del Fauno Nilecape, the mongoose attacking the cobra (*Naja haje*) and the hippo juxtaposed with the crocodile, surely reveal the use of models or mosaicists of ultimately Alexandrian origin, the identification of the Purple Swamp-hen instead of the African Swamp-hen suggests, together with the hybrid features of the ducks, that the models of the avifauna varied, and were probably not always accurate about details of colour characteristics, or were perhaps made from observations of Purple Swamp-hens in Italy.<sup>24</sup>

More remarkable is the identification of two African Swamp-hens in the emblema mosaic, probably from the area of the area of the *horti Caesaris* in Rome, presently in S. Maria in Trastevere and datable to the 1st c. BC (Fig. 3).<sup>25</sup> The African Swamp-hens, shown among plants eating snails and a small octopus from a fallen basket in front of a wooden pole, hence most likely a domesticated pair, are identifiable by their distinctively represented diagnostic colours of the back and wings, here rendered in green and yellow. The identification of the species is strong evidence for the already earlier suggested Alexandrian origins for the mosaic itself or for its models at least. In particular, the bird to the right is shown in a distinctive posture and from a distinctive point of view, more challenging to render than the more commonly found postures. Purple Swamp-hens in the same posture and from the same point of view, although as a reversed "mirror image" with the head turned to the right, are known from one, also otherwise

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<sup>23</sup> The Little Crake is in MANN 8728, see A. Allroggen-Bedel, *RM* 84 (1977) 33, 82, pl. 1,4 (referred to in Tammisto (note 1), 280 n. 498 as a crake sp.), the grey goose sp. in MANN 8740 (ibid., pl. 1,3, the Purple Gallinules in MANN 8726 and 8737 (ibid., respectively pl. 2,1 and 1,3).

<sup>24</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 62–67, 159–168.

<sup>25</sup> On a bipedalis (51 x 51 cm), dated to 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC by C. Gasparri, in: A. Bonacasa & A. di Vita (eds.), *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani* 3 (Studi e materiali, Istituto di archeologia, Università di Palermo, 6), Roma, 672–676 (erroneously rejected in Tammisto [note 1], 280 n. 488); L. De Lachenal, in: *L'idea del bello: viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, Roma 2000, 625–672, 639–640 no. 3.



**Fig. 3.** Mosaic emblema probably from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC from the area of the *horti Caesaris* in Rome, now in S. Maria in Trastevere, with two African Swamp-hens (*Porphyrio madagascariensis*) in the lower registre, and three drake Mallards (*Anas platyrhynchos*) in the upper registre.

unusual Fourth Style garden painting in the Casa di Adone ferito (VI, 17, 18) in Pompeii,<sup>26</sup> and another in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD paintings in the frieze with

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<sup>26</sup> A. Tammisto, "Representations of the Kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*) in Graeco-Roman Art", *Arctos* 19 (1985) 217–242, in particular 240–241; *id.*, "The Representations of the Capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*) and the Pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*) in Romano-Campanian Wall Paintings and Mosaics", *Arctos* 23 (1989), 223–247, 229–230, in particular 244–247, figs. 1–2.

garland-bearing youths flanked by various birds in the triclinium of the Casa sotto S. Giovanni e Paolo known as the so-called Aula degli Efebi. The frieze, as well as the grapevine scroll in the vault, also includes several other unusual birds suggesting a derivation from earlier ornithological repertories.<sup>27</sup> These parallels suggest a derivation from similar if not common Hellenistic cartoons.

With regard to the three ducks in the pendant lunette from the Tomba di Morlupo, it is remarkable that the mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere shows in its upper part three drake Mallards (*Anas platyrhynchos*), identifiable by their blue heads and necks with a collar of white speckles against a reddish violet body with a green back, although such bodycolours differ from the grey flanks of the Mallard, and the red bill indicates rather the Shelduck. The inaccuracy is surprising both in respect to the accuracy of the African Swamp-hens, as well to the fact that the Mallard was the most familiar duck as the parental species of the Domestic Duck. This is also attested by the representations of waterfowl (*Anseriformes*) in pre-Christian mosaics, although only about half of the representations of these Mallards can be defined as more accurate, such being found in eight out of a total of a dozen mosaics with 19 specimens out of a total of 37 individuals.<sup>28</sup> The violet colour may be a stylisation, but even a sort of hybrid addendum to give the ducks a more exotic character, as suggested by some other representations of ducks in pre-Christian mosaics and wall paintings, somewhat similarly as will be shown below to be the case with the ducks of the Tomba di Morlupo. The Mallards in the mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere are shown among plants, but in a still life like posture, and it is not clear whether they were represented as swimming or as sitting on the ground. This is the case in the lunette with ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo as well. The posture of the duck is turning its head downwards to the side, in the S. Maria in Trastevere mosaic to the right, but in the Tomba di Morlupo it turns to the left, a mirror image. This probably suggests similar models. This kind of a combination of

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<sup>27</sup> There is also another Purple Swamp-hen among the birds and cupids in the wine scroll in the vault of the triclinium, which is visible between a cupid and an acanthus bunch in the colour photo published in C. Pavia, *Guida di Roma sotterranea. Gli ambienti più suggestivi del sottosuolo romano*, Roma 1998, 194–197.

<sup>28</sup> For reasons of space, the detailed evidence including corrigenda and addenda to the material published in Tammisto (note 1), 445–447 taxa nos. 9–14 and passim could not be published as an appendix here (with an updated table), which will be included in the forthcoming second volume of the corpus of bird motifs (see note 1).



ducks and swamp-hens shown like elements in an *aviarium*, remains so far without closer parallels among Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings, although it belongs to the same series of still lifes combining in two levels subjects deriving from the repertoires of fish mosaics and Nilescapes, like the three variants of the so-called cat mosaics (from German *Katzenmosaik*) and the two so-called ducks and fish mosaics.<sup>29</sup>

Remarkable evidence of the Mallard and the African Swamp-hen as representatives of the Nile from Alexandria is found in the unusual land- and riverscape painting (Fig. 4) from the III Wardian tomb (also called the Saqiya tomb). The bucolic scene shows a pair of oxen turning a water-lifting wheel (*saqiya*), the setting on the banks of the river Nile being underlined by the two birds, the African Swamp-hen walking on the water plants and the drake Mallard swimming among them. The tomb has been dated to the late 2nd c. BC on the basis of the masonry work, whereas stylistically, the closest parallels to the bucolic scene in general and the birds in particular are found in late Republican or early Augustan paintings.<sup>30</sup> Judging by the colour photo available,<sup>31</sup> the habitus and colours of the Mallard seems closest to the Mallard drakes in the Nile-landscape in the late Second Style paintings in the Casa del Menandro (I, 10, 4) in Pompeii (*infra*), and the sketchy (or "impressionistic") rendering of the oxen is closest to the ox in the bucolic scene in the late Second Style fragments remaining of the earlier decoration of the Aula Isiaca on the Palatine.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 87–92, pls. 36–38, see also *ibid.*, 384–385 cat.DM7, pl. 34 fig. DM7,1, and 159–162, Ch. 3.5.1.2. The only parallel for such a still life with a bird pecking snails known to me is a still life from Tusculum with two Helmeted Guinea-fowls, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome (inv. 1250), dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD, for a colour photograph, see A.S. Fava, *I simboli nelle monete argenteae repubblicane e la vita dei romani*, Torino 1969, p. 85, pl. XLVI.

<sup>30</sup> M. Venit, "The Painted Tomb from Wardian and the Decoration of Alexandrian Tombs", *JARCE* 25, 1988, pp. 71–91 with further references to previous studies with dating proposals varying from late Republican to the 4th c. AD, and for her dating to the late 2nd c. BC particularly on pp. 87–89; *Ead.*, "The Painted Tomb from Wardian and the Antiquity of the Saqiya in Egypt", *JARCE* 26 (1989), 219–222; see now also M. Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theatre of the Dead*, New York 2002, 96–118 on the Wardian necropolis and the Saqiya tomb.

<sup>31</sup> H. Riad, *Archaeology* 17:3 (1964) with a colour photo on the cover (here as fig. 9 in black-and-white).

<sup>32</sup> I. Iacopi, *La decorazione pittorica dell'Aula Isiaca*, Milano 1997, 40–45, figs. 27–30 dating to 2nd half of 1st c. BC; parallels for the bucolic scenes are also among the sacro-



**Fig. 4.** Painting from the III Wardian tomb (Saqiya tomb) near Alexandria with a water-lifting wheel (*saqiya*) water being indicated with an African Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio madagascariensis*) and a drake Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*) in front of it (from H. Riad, *Archaeology* 17:3 [1964] cover originally in colour).

The dating to the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC of the fragmentary mosaic, possibly from a garden scene or perhaps rather from a still life -like scene from Canopus in Egypt, the latter alternative being suggested by a Cock (*Gallus gallus*) in another fragmentary mosaic deriving perhaps from the same mosaic, has to be taken with reservations. Here my previous

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idyllic landscapes in the Villa della Farnesina, I. Bragantini, in: R. Sanzi Di Mino (a cura di), *La Villa della Farnesina in Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, Milano 1998, figs. 138–139, 144.



identification of the Purple Swamp-hen must be corrected to the African Swamp-hen, both on basis of the colours as well as the Egyptian provenience.<sup>33</sup>



**Fig. 5.** Purple Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio porphyrio*) with the wattle and spurs of the Domestic Fowl (*Gallus gallus*) in a still life in an early Augustan painting from the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili.

The Purple Swamp-hen is represented with a Cock in a still life around a fruit basket (Fig. 5) in one of the total of 54 "animal-pieces", meaning mostly still lifes with birds, from the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili in Rome, dated to the early years of the Augustan era by epigraphic and stylistic criteria.<sup>34</sup> The paintings in this columbarium, the

<sup>33</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 65, 69, 374–375 cat.GS1, pl. 30 fig. GS1.

<sup>34</sup> R. Ling, "The paintings of the Colombarium of Villa Doria Pamphili in Rome", E.M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Ancient Wall Painting*, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992 (BABesch Suppl. 3), Leiden 1993, 127–135, 129 with references to the previous literature; the early Augustan date suggested by Hülsen 1893 is followed now also by Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 40–43 cat. K 10. I am indebted to the Soprintendenza

earliest communal tomb of the freedmen and slaves of the Augustan aristocracy, have been calculated by Ling to include a total of 136 scenes, including the already mentioned 54 "animal-pieces", but in addition 39 landscapes, 15 anecdotal scenes, 12 egyptianising waterscapes, 7 mythological scenes, 6 pygmy scenes, 3 still lifes (with fish).<sup>35</sup> These paintings include one of the most abundant and notable collections of rarely represented exotic birds among Romano-Campanian wall paintings.<sup>36</sup> The Purple Swamp-hen can be positively identified despite the fact that it has been rendered not only with a strong red bill and forehead, but also with wattles and spurs, obviously characteristics of the hen (*Gallus gallus*), which the painter probably thought he/she was rendering since the other bird was the familiar Cock. This hybrid characteristic may partly explain the misidentification of the bird as a Turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*) proposed by Bendinelli, ignoring the fact that the Turkey is an American species introduced into Europe after the "scoperta d'America" by Columbus.<sup>37</sup> The most likely explanation for the hybrid transformation of the Purple Swamp-hen into a hen is that the supposed Hellenistic model, probably some ornithological repertory of Alexandrian origins, showed the Cock and the Purple Swamp-hen together, the latter being evidently unfamiliar to this painter. If this is the correct explanation, this is a remarkable piece of evidence for the use of Hellenistic repertories, which even in the case of such an ornithologically exceptionally rich collection were not necessarily correctly identified or interpreted by the painters. With regard to the consequent reservations, I propose that the combination of these species in the assumed model was probably not only due to a pictorial play with two exceptionally colourful and hence challenging and decorative birds, but in

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archeologica di Roma for kindly allowing me to see the paintings waiting for restoration in the store rooms of the Museo Nazionale Romano in 1985 and in 1990, and photograph some of them. G. Bendinelli, *Le pitture del Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili* (MonPitt III, Roma 5), Roma 1941, pl. I (reprinted in Ling, 132 fig. 6) shows the wall C in the plan (Bendinelli, fig. 1; Ling, 130 fig. 2) where a dozen still lifes show a total of 18 birds and two still lifes with a bird on wall F.

<sup>35</sup> Ling (note 34), 131–133 in particular and with further references to which can be added Tammisto 1985 (note 26) for the identification of some of its birds as well as Tammisto 1989 (note 26), 223–247. Ling (note 34) mentions 135 scenes, but the supra cited numbers total 136.

<sup>36</sup> For the use of the term "Romano-Campanian", see Tammisto (note 1), xii.

<sup>37</sup> Bendinelli, pl. V,1 "Cesto di frutta tra Gallo e Tacchina".

addition may have intentionally juxtaposed the Cock and the Purple Swamp-hen. The Cock was widely known as emblematic of the male sphere and of the fertility for which the fowl-like birds (*Galliformes*) in general were known,<sup>38</sup> while the swamp-hens were associated with the female sphere and with chastity, not only in the literary sources (*supra* note 20), but also in some other representations.

Concerning the love symbolism associated with both various plants and birds, and also in connection with gardens and painted garden scenes (conventionally called garden paintings),<sup>39</sup> I suggest that the two Purple Swamp-hens in the right half (from the entrance) of the opposite long walls of the so-called Garden Room in the Villa di Livia at Prima Porta, are represented as intentional pendants of two pairs of white Feral Pigeons in the opposite left half of the same long walls. Both the Purple Swamp-hens and the two pairs of Feral Pigeons are shown prominently at the feet of four spruces represented in the recesses of the fence in the paintings. If one interprets the Purple Swamp-hens as references to the virtue of chastity, then the white Feral Pigeons, widely known as ancient symbols of Aphrodite (Venus), are likely to refer to the complementary virtue of fertility. Supposing these paintings to be from the early Augustan era, according to their commonly accepted date, then their commissioner was Livia, "the First Lady" of the Empire, who really was in need of both virtues.<sup>40</sup> The originally four pairs of strongly stylised swamp-hens (*Porphyrio sp.*) growing out of a floral decoration antithetically with a probable Cattle Egret (*Ardeidae sp.*, pr. *Bubulcus ibis*) in the paintings in the vault of the Aula Isiaca are principally an egyptianising and here probably an Isis-motif, but since the egrets, as substitutes for storks, could be interpreted as a reference

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<sup>38</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 30–31, 84–87 with further references.

<sup>39</sup> Tammisto 1985 (note 26), 240–241; Id. 1989 (note 26), 229–230 n. 14 in particular.

<sup>40</sup> Bragantini (note 32), 15–25 for the early Augustan date ("primissima età augustea"), contemporary with the paintings from the Villa della Farnesina. On the short walls of the garden room from Villa di Livia there is, to the left, an oak (*Quercus robur*) with a birds' nest and a Quail (*Coturnix coturnix*) at the foot, and to the right a Cattle Egret at the foot of a pine (*Pinus pinea*). The birds could refer to fecundity and piety respectively, but the relation with the floral symbolism remains to be clarified, for which see G. Caneva, "Ipotesi sul significato simbolico del giardino dipinto della Villa di Livia (Prima Porta, Roma), *BCAR* 100 (1999) 63–80, who sees the trees as reference to Jupiter and Cybele respectively, while the spruce (*Picea excelsa*) should be a complementary reference to the funerary sphere.

to piety, an intentional juxtaposition of the swamp-hen referring to *castitas* and the egret to *pietas* is perhaps not to be excluded in such sophisticated paintings.<sup>41</sup>

As a probably intentional juxtaposition of the Purple Swamp-hen as a reference to chastity and a fowl-like bird as reference to fertility here are proposed four later paintings. In addition to the only instance in Romano-Campanian wall paintings showing the swamp-hen explicitly with a female figure, there are also three further instances in garden paintings. In the N wall of the Casa dei Vettii (VI, 15, 1), a young girl feeds a swamp-hen (unfortunately damaged on the back) from a silver (hardly glass) vase (Fig. 6), which is a pendant scene of a young boy feeding two Guineafowl (*Numida meleagris*) on the E wall. In one of the most abundant and high quality Pompeian Third Style garden paintings from the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI, 17, 42), which in many respects seem to echo the paintings from the Villa di Livia, the Purple Swamp-hen is opposed with a chukar-type partridge. In the aforementioned Fourth Style garden painting from the Casa di Adone ferito, with several sophisticated love symbols, the Purple Swamp-hen is beside the – so far unique – exotic Capercaillie cock. In the Fourth Style paintings with plants and birds decorating the plutei of the peristyle garden in the Casa del Menandro (I, 10, 4) in Pompeii, the Purple Swamp-hen and a Cock are placed, certainly not by chance, in the facing panels of the external walls in the corner, which was visible from the richly decorated *oecus* in the NW-corner of the peristyle.

In addition to the Purple Swamp-hen in the garden painting in the Casa di Adone ferito, there are only two other Fourth Style Pompeian garden paintings with a swamp-hen. In the Casa dei Cei (I, 6, 15) an African Swamp-hen is juxtaposed with a Peacock above a statue of a water nymph flanked by an owl, a Little Owl (*Athene noctua*) or Tawny Owl (*Strix aluco*), and a Feral Pigeon respectively, which probably refer to the Isiac sphere.<sup>42</sup> In the summer triclinium (II, 9, 7) near the Palestra Grande a Grey-headed Swamp-hen or African Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio sp.*, *P. poliocephalus*

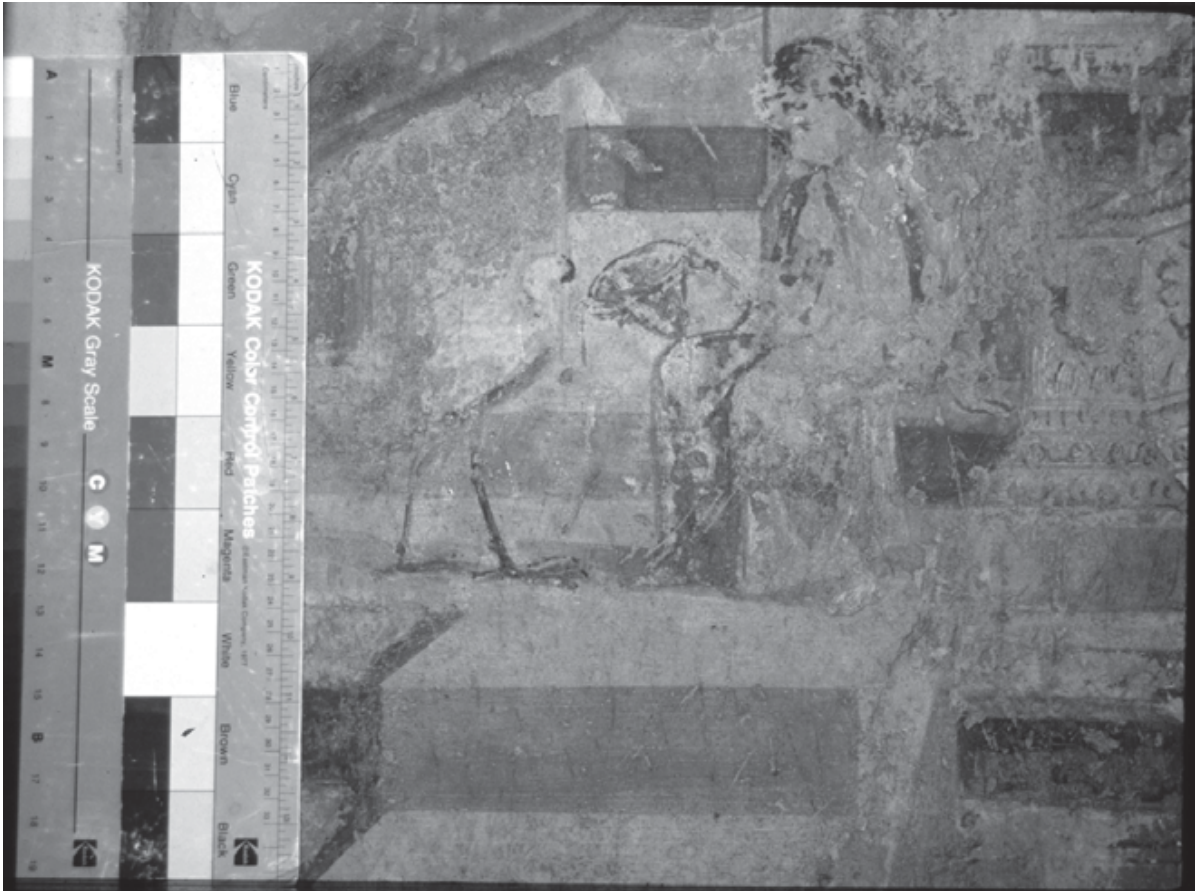
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<sup>41</sup> Iacopi (note 32), 24–27, figs. 17–18, pp. 32–33, fig. 21 with an excellent colour plate. Remarkably, in the Fourth Style garden paintings in the Pompeian summer triclinium (II, 9, 7) there are an African Swamp-hen and an egret species (*Egretta sp.*) on both sides of a huge crater.

<sup>42</sup> *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* I, Roma 1990, 468–469 fig. 94 with an erroneous identification of the African Swamp-hen as a Peahen.



/ *P. madagascariensis*) is shown flanking a large crater with an egret as its pendant, probably as references to *castitas* and *pietas* respectively. These are not numerous examples in respect to the total number of a little more than 50 garden paintings known from Pompeii, of which 14 are Third Style, but precisely the rarity argues in favour of the bird's supposed allusive reference to the female sphere and chastity.



**Fig. 6.** Detail from the Fourth Style wall paintings from the N wall in the atrium of the Casa dei Vettii (VI, 15, 1) in Pompeii with a girl feeding a swamp-hen (*Porphyrio* sp.).

The great majority of the representations of the swamp-hens in the later Third Style, and in particular the Fourth Style paintings remain to be studied on another occasion to verify in detail the exact numbers that can be identified (by genus or by species) and the various contextual references of the features associated with the swamp-hen, i.e., as a splendid decorative bird, a luxurious pet bird, a water bird and a representative of the female sphere. There are more than 120 representations in Pompeian wall paintings alone, which attest the popularity of the swamp-hens as decorative subjects. Only about a dozen instances more explicitly indicate the female sphere. Of all these representations this still life from the Tomba di Morlupo is the most



explicit representation in addition to the aforementioned instance in the Casa dei Vettii showing a swamp-hen with a female figure. In Romano-Campanian wall paintings, the swamp-hens are not shown in emphatically Nilotic contexts, but a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD mosaic from Thmuis in Egypt showing a swamp-hen between a female figure and a pygmy dancing at an outdoor banquet under a velum surrounded by Nilotic fauna including another swamp-hen pecking fruit from the basket of a pygmy, is evidence of the continuity of the association of swamp-hens with the female sphere and the Nile.<sup>43</sup>

However, the swamp-hen's association with chastity may have been a sort of "background factor" or "hidden agenda" which, in addition to the bird's principally decorative value, has contributed to its popularity even when such features are mostly not explicit. This is suggested by the fact that the swamp-hens belong to the "top six" of most abundant birds in Romano-Campanian wall paintings, which are, apart from the largest group consisting of various passerines (*Passeriformes*), distinctive, peculiar looking, relatively large birds, fairly easy to represent and to identify, and hence both practical as well as economic motifs ideal for ornamental "mass-production". The most abundant of these more specific taxa are the eagle (*Aquila sp.*), the swan (*Cygnus sp.*), the mythical phoenix represented as fantastic falcons with features of parakeets, mostly represented in flight, the Peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*), and the doves (*Columbiformes*) often represented on architectonic scenes and/or on garlands or ornamental bends. Manifold, but apparently widely known mythological connotations were associated with all these "top five" specific birds known as emblems of the major divinities, except the phoenix which was a complex solar symbol of rebirth, regeneration, immortality and happiness linked with the mythical Golden Age.<sup>44</sup> Among such a gallery of species widely used as a more or less ornamental avifaunal repertory because of their rich mythological connotations and associated symbolic significance, the swamp-hens can hardly have been represented merely as splendid decorative birds and luxurious pets or representatives of water as the basic element *sine qua non* of the abundance of nature, although these are also basic spheres of reference for the bird. Since the swamp-hen is not known as an emblem of a

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<sup>43</sup> W.A. Daszewski, in: Papenfuss & Strocka (Hrsgb.), *Palast und Hütte*, München 1982, 406, fig. 8.

<sup>44</sup> On the Phoenix in wall paintings, see A. Tammisto, *Arctos* 20 (1986), 171–225.

specific deity, or as a bird with otherwise significant mythological associations, it was, most likely associated not only with the aforementioned aspects, but also with the female sphere in general and with *castitas* in particular, as emphasized in literary sources.

Among the widespread *Themenkreis* of "birds with a vase or basket", the combination of Purple Swamp-hens with the particular kind of glass vase in the Tomba di Morlupo is unique, although the *modiolus*-shaped glass vase is known in four other paintings, all either from the late Republican or the early Augustan age. This particular type of glass vase is thus, in addition to the ducks and passerines of the pendant lunette, the strongest piece of evidence for the dating of the paintings to the early Augustan era, between ca. 40/30-10 BC. The majority of still lifes in Second Style paintings are so-called integrated still lifes, meaning objects shown among the illusionistic architectural scenes, usually those showing illusionistically "opened architecture". These have a certain exclusive and luxurious character because of their rarity, as the great majority of Second Style paintings represent closed architecture.<sup>45</sup> Of birds represented in an architectural setting with other objects, there are, counted as so-called integrated still lifes, a total of 11 instances in paintings from 6 houses, which show a total of 21 birds with a total of 13 different taxa, most being identifiable by species (infra App. 2). A little more than half, namely six of the total of 11 integrated still lifes, can be included to the same *Themenkreis* of a "remarkable exotic splendid birds with a precious vase" as the Purple Swamp-hens around the glass vase in the Tomba di Morlupo. Three of these are shown with glass vases (App. 2 nos. 1 and 4-5), and three with metal vases (App. 2 nos. 6-7 and 9). The large glass bowls with various colourful fruit in the Villa di P. Fannius Synistor shown below a splendid green parakeet (App. 2 no. 1), and in the Villa di Poppea (Oplontis) in Torre Annunziata above a Cattle Egret and a Black Francolin (on opposite walls), are almost identical, suggesting one and the same workshop working in both villas (App. 2 nos. 4-5).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> B. Wesenberg, "Zum integrierten Stilleben in der Wanddekoration des zweiten pompejanischen Stils", in: E.M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam 1992* (BABesch Suppl. 3), Leiden 1993, 160–167; R. Robert, "Des oiseaux dans les architectures", *ibid.*, 168–173.

<sup>46</sup> Probably a Rose-ringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*) or Alexandrine Parakeet

In addition to the integrated still lifes, there are also five framed still lifes with birds, two of them being lunettes with two Peacocks around either a basket, as those in the earliest known Second Style paintings in the Casa dei Grifi on the Palatine,<sup>47</sup> or around a glass vase with red fruit, as those in the late Second Style paintings in the alcove in the rear wall in the Tomba di Montefiore, dated between ca. 50/40-20 BC.<sup>48</sup> The Tomba di Montefiore constitutes the closest parallel to the Tomba di Morlupo not only chronologically and geographically, but also because of its similar structure and because four of its five lunettes show birds in similar still lifes. It is further remarkable that the fifth lunette with a still life in the Tomba di Montefiore shows a rabbit by a *modiolus*-shaped glass vase with fruit, which is one of the four parallels for the *modiolus*-shaped glass vase in the Tomba di Morlupo.<sup>49</sup> Significantly, the other three paintings with such vases show them containing similar cosmetic *balsamaria*, and among oriental or egyptianising exotica. In the paintings of the Stanza delle Maschere in the Casa di Augusto, datable between 36-30 BC, the glass vase is shown on a frieze above a theatrical mask and between a vegetal female peltast and a griffin.<sup>50</sup> In the paintings from the Villa della Farnesina, usually dated around 20 BC, one of the still lifes with theatrical masks and vases alternating with sacro-idyllic Nilescares shows such a glass vase with

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(*Psittacula eupatria*), Tammisto (note 1), 294 note 585 no. 36; M.L. Anderson, *Pompeian Frescoes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1988, 18 fig. 23, p. 25 fig. 30, inv. 03.14.13; Tybout 2001, 55 for the dating to ca. 60–50 BC.

<sup>47</sup> G.E. Rizzo, *Le pitture della "Casa dei Grifi"*, Roma 1946, 14 fig. 13; R. Tybout, *Aedificiorum figurae. Untersuchungen zu den Architekturdarstellungen des frühen zweiten Stils*, Amsterdam 1989, 29, 50, 373–375, with further references, dates the paintings to c. 90–80 BC.

<sup>48</sup> A. Laidlaw, *Archaeology* 17 (1964), 35–42, figs. 3, 6, 13 in particular.

<sup>49</sup> Laidlaw (see note 48) identified the rabbit as a lion!

<sup>50</sup> Cappelli (note 3), 193–194, fig. 70 (in colour). Wesenberg (note 45), 163 fig. 4, p. 165 seems to believe the grass in the vase to be water as he mentions this vase as the probably oldest example of the representation of a glass vase filled with water referring to D. Baatz, in A. Hoffmann u.a. (Hrsg.), *Bautechnik der Antike. Internationales Kolloquium Berlin 1990*, Mainz 1991, 5 fig. 1b, where the two little *unguentaria* in the vase are mistaken for bathing doves, which Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 33 note 25 corrects, though inaccurately attributing the misinterpretation to Wesenberg. The vertical lines in both the glass vase in Morlupo and in the Casa di Augusto are so regular that they rather were meant to depict the shape of the vase instead of water.

*unguentaria* together with an Isiac cult vase.<sup>51</sup> In the paintings in the Colombario di C. Scribonio Menofilo, similar to those of the nearby Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili, there is one still life with such a glass vase containing *unguentaria*, but also another still life in a lunette with a similar vase with pomegranates in and around the vase being pecked by another colourful, exotic-looking, mainly blue, bird, a Bee-eater. There is even a third still life with a glass vase, although a different one, also with red fruit in it and two colourful birds on both sides, of which the left one can be identified as a Golden Oriole, and the right one as a long-tailed blue fantasy bird, perhaps also deriving from the Bee-eater, although different in respect to the aforementioned specimen.<sup>52</sup>

As far as I am aware, there are no such *modiolus*-shaped glass vases in other Romano-Campanian wall paintings, and, in general, representations of birds with glass vases in the later Third and Fourth Style wall paintings are limited to only four examples (known to me). A splendid all-blue Kingfisher flying to a glass bowl with carmine red fruit in a lunette with several vases and also a Feral Pigeon and a Peacock are found in the late Third Style paintings from the Villa di Castel di Guido near Rome. There is an exceptionally large series of Fourth Style still lifes in the Casa dei Cervi

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<sup>51</sup> Bragantini (note 32), fig. 142 in colour; Ehrhardt (note 13), 3 with references about the dating by Beyen to c. 19 BC connecting it with the wedding of M. Agrippa and Augustus's daughter Julia, which Ehrhardt regards hypothetical, while recently P. Moreno, "Agrippa alla Farnesina", *Archeo* 16:1 (Gennaio 1999) 96–99 believes to have found confirmation for Beyen's attribution in his proposal to identify Julia and Agrippa in one of the villa's wall paintings, and the representation of the naval battle of Naulochos in 36 BC in one of the *naumachiae* paintings (Bragantini (note 32), fig. 143 in colour).

<sup>52</sup> The publication of the paintings of the Colombario di Scribonio Menofilo found in 1984 is under preparation, F. Catalli, *ArchLaz* 8 (1987) 147–151; C. Calci, & F. Catalli, *AISCOM* 7 (2001) 293–310, p. 295 with further references to the earlier preliminary reports; now also Feraudi-Gruénais (note 3), 43–45 cat. K 11 with further references in the bibliography, dating the paintings to the Augustan period despite the dating to the early Julio-Claudian era by L. Cianfriglia & D. Rossi & R. Santolini, *BCAR* 90 (1985) 216–217. I am indebted to Dr. Fiorenzo Catalli for the presentation of the columbarium in 1992 and to the opportunity to photograph its paintings, which will be discussed by Laura Gianfranco in the publication, which Dr. Catalli is preparing about the columbarium. I am also indebted to the Director of the Library of the Deutsches archäologisches Institut in Rom, Dr. Thomas Fröhlich for the discussion of these paintings in May 2003, and who kindly informed me about his work under preparation. As to the dating, he regards the reportorial and stylistic similarities especially with the paintings from the Villa Farnesina from ca. 20 BC significant.

(IV, 21) in Herculaneum. Many of these show glass vases, one with the already mentioned probable African Swamp-hen (or possibly Grey-headed Swamp-hen) walking towards a terracotta vase with an upside down glass cup (*guttus*) on it, with two reddish brown pieces of ham behind them, evidently a pictorial play with the colour of the terracotta vase and the wings of the bird stylised as red (instead of the green back and wings of the African Swamp-hen).<sup>53</sup> The other two examples are a Feral Pigeon sitting near a low glass bowl with fruit in a Fourth Style still life from the Casa del Poeta tragico,<sup>54</sup> and four Peacocks around a glass vase with red fruit in a Fourth Style fragment.<sup>55</sup>

### **The ducks and passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo and their parallels**

The identification and interpretation of the scene with five birds in the pendant lunette originally on the entrance wall has caused quite controversial views. This is understandable as the birds are ornithologically not accurately rendered and hence not more closely identifiable without comparisons to other wall paintings and mosaics. However, the habitus identifies the three birds in the centre clearly as ducks (*Anatinae spp.*), and the two long-tailed birds flanking them as passerines (*Passeriformes spp.*). A supposed eagle suggested by Vaglieri for the duck to the left, evidently mistaken by its raised wings, can be ruled out. Likewise, the identification of the duck in the middle as a diving dolphin (*Delphinus delphi*) must be ruled out. This was first proposed by Vaglieri, probably led astray by the duck's somewhat unusual posture, shown almost frontally, partly from

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<sup>53</sup> MANN 8644; Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 31 fig. 11: "Der grünliche Glassbecher scheint aus stilistischen Gründen eine Antiquität zu sein." Another still life from the same series with again an all-blue Kingfisher on a high handle of a silver vase is a further variant of the pictorial play of a splendid blue bird with a precious vase, Mielsch (note 6) 2001, 201 fig. 239. There may be some reservation about the diagnostic value of the red in the wing identifying either the African Swamp-hen or the Grey-headed Swamp-hen, because it may be a pictorial habit, since the Kingfisher is also shown with such a wing (instead of its red underparts).

<sup>54</sup> Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 31 fig. 12; J.-M. Croisille, *Les natures mortes campaniennes. Répertoire descriptif des peintures de nature morte du Musée National de Naples, de Pompéi, Herculaneum et Stabies* (Collection Latomus 76), pl. 64 fig. 122.

<sup>55</sup> MANN 8626, Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 26–27 fig. 4.



above, where the head against the breast may be taken as an eye.<sup>56</sup> The correct identification must be underlined, because the misleading identification as a diving dolphin has resurrected in the descriptions by Cappelli and Feraudi-Gruénais, although it was correctly described as a duck by Mielsch 1990. The identification also has significance for the interpretation since Cappelli regards the supposed immersion as an allusion to the entrance of the soul into the hereafter, interpreting also the subjects of the lateral walls, Leander's fatal swim to Hero, and the vegetation goddess a Nike, in an eschatological sense as allusions to the hereafter and victory over death. Holding the opposite view is Mielsch 1990, who denies any eschatological values, instead regarding all subjects as idyllic elements of happiness (*infra*).

It must be emphasized that the lunette with the three ducks and two passerines is a still life, not a sort of riverscape. Although ducks in pre-Christian mosaics and Second Style wall paintings are predominantly Nilotic representatives, there is no other indication of water in this scene. Confusion is caused by the lack of a ground line, although this is implied by the passerines standing on the sides and holding a slim string in their bills, as do also the ducks, the latter seeming to be bound by their legs, although the legs are not visible. The lack of a ground line is probably due to applying cartoons of birds in the manner of some still lifes in mosaics, where the

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<sup>56</sup> Also the plaster missing from the duck's breast and tail are likely to have contributed to the erroneous identification. Another example of a similar misidentification is the fish mosaic of the Via Sistina in Rome datable probably to the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. It shows a lobster and at least seven fish, because of which a partially damaged waterfowl (*Anatidae sp.*), most likely an Egyptian Goose (*Alopochen aegyptiacus*), in the centre has earlier been identified likewise as a fish (C. Fiorini, in *Topografia romana. Ricerche e discussioni* (Quaderni di topografia antica dell'Università di Roma 10), Città di Castello 1988, 45–57 pls. 3,1 and 4,b referred to and corrected in Tammisto (note 1), 37–45, 358–360 cat. SS3, pl. 14 fig. SS3,1). On the other hand, the fragmentary state of the mosaic led me, vice versa, to misidentify the tailfin of another fish as a supposed bird, either as a Kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*) or as a Bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*), the former identifiable in one of the two Pompeian fish mosaics (Tammisto, note 1, 37–45, 356–357 cat.SS2) and in a fish mosaic from Ampurias (*ibid.*, 37–45, 360–361 cat.SS4), and the latter species in the Pompeian fish mosaic from the Casa del Fauno (*ibid.*, 7–45, 352–355 cat.SS1). In a more recent photograph the mosaic appears more extensively restored, which has enabled this correction; the misidentification might perhaps have been avoided if the head of the Istituto delle Suore di Nostra Signora di Lourdes (Via Sistina 111, Rome) would have allowed an examination (in 1991).

background tends to be executed in white from about the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC onwards.<sup>57</sup> However, the exclusion of a ground line and other spatial elements may in this particular case and context suggest a sort of ideal or Elysian reference with an eschatological significance, as will be proposed below. However, it is important to underline that swimming not to speak of any immersion of the ducks, is not represented here. Merging ducks, or ducks with legs visible through the water as indicators of swimming are relatively rare, the only instance which I can recall being a Severan period sepulchral painting, dated by brick stamps between AD 200-210 from the area of the Zoo in Rome. This painting is also otherwise unusual as it depicts a column on a base in the water, on the top of which is a fallen vase pouring water decorated with a garland.<sup>58</sup> The yellow bill, green head with black eye stripe, and reddish-violet neck and breast of the duck to the right – of which only the forepart is preserved in the painting from the Tomba dello Zoo – are features closest to the Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), but might also derive from similar representations of ducks with the hybrid features of several species like the somewhat similarly coloured duck in the middle in the Tomba di Morlupo. Such hybrid features are a characteristic of ducks in pre-Christian mosaics and wall paintings, most of which show two different kind of ducks, three different ducks being found only in the also otherwise exceptional Nilescape from the Casa del Fauno. These differ from the majority of more contrasting dark-and-light hybrid ducks in Third and Fourth Style paintings in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, which only seldom are differentiated diagnostically. The similarity of colours of the duck to the right in the paintings in the Tomba dello Zoo with the one in the middle in the paintings in the Tomba di Morlupo seem more a revival feature instead of evidence in favour of the supposed later mid-second century AD dating of the Tomba di Morlupo.

The colours of the duck in the middle with a dark greyish-green head and wings contrasting with a dark reddish-violet (or purple) body do not correspond with any of the ducks occurring in the Western Palearctic. The dark greyish-green head and wings, or more accurately, the primaries of the

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<sup>57</sup> Tammisto (note 1), pls. 36–38 with the four variants of cat mosaics and two variants of the ducks and fish mosaics.

<sup>58</sup> C. Salvetti, in: A. Donati (a cura di), *Romana pictura. La pittura romana dalle origini all'età bizantina*, Venezia 1998, 176 with colour plate, pp. 290–291 no. 64 with further references; Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 76–77 K 31.

wings, are a characteristic of the Shelduck (*Tadorna tadorna*) to which also the relatively large bill points, but this species would seem to be excluded because it has an otherwise white plumage with a chestnut breast band. The drake Shoveler (*Anas clypeata*) with a heavy shovel-shaped bill, green head, but white body with chestnut flanks seems also to be excluded. The colours seem closest to the drake Mallard, which has a dark purple-brown breast and grey back and underparts, a combination not matched by other waterfowl. As the duck in the centre in the lunette from the Tomba di Morlupo is larger in respect to the two ducks on either side, and has a different habitus with a clearly longer bill, it is here identified as a duck species, probably a Shelduck or possibly a Mallard drake (*Anatinae sp.*, pr. *Tadorna tadorna* / ps. *Anas platyrhynchos*). Parallels in earlier mosaics and Second Style wall paintings (BC), which will be briefly discussed in the following, show that the reddish-violet colour is a hybrid feature added as an exotic element deriving from representations of Shelducks distinguishing their drakes and ducks in a hybrid way in the manner of dabbling ducks (*Anas sp.*), although in reality Shelduck drakes and ducks are identical, predominantly white, with a dark green head and red bill, a chestnut brown breast band and green stripes on the wings.

Not only the basically "reversed colours", but also the different habitus and smaller size of the two ducks on both sides of the supposedly hybrid Shelduck, point to another species of dabbling duck (*Anas spp.*) instead of supposed "hybrid females" of the drake. The duck to the right has a reddish-violet bill, head, neck and wing against a greenish-grey body with an ochre-yellow hue on the breast, which may be a diagnostic detail pointing to the drake Teal (*Anas crecca*), but which may also be a pictorial device of depicting highlights, as in some other representations. The white stripes on its superciliary and wing seem highlights emphasizing the splendid plumage instead of diagnostic details, like the same details on the two passerines, more clearly seen in the specimen to the right. The reddish-violet bill, head and neck against the greyish-green body of the duck to the left suggest that it represents the same kind of duck as the specimen to the right, although no ochre-yellow hue is visible on the breast or red on the wings, evidently due to the different posture with raised wings. As stated above, another species of dabbling duck is also suggested by the somewhat smaller size and by the much shorter bills. However, with regard to similar, evidently non-diagnostic, differences in the rendering of the Purple Swamp-hens and the

two passerines, it is not clear whether the smaller size and shorter bills are diagnostic characteristics or artistic variation. Hence the identification of the other two ducks remains a species of dabbling duck, probably with features of either the Teal (*Anas crecca*), or less likely, the Garganey (*Anas querquedula*) or Wigeon (*Anas penelope*), although there are no positively identifiable representations of the two latter species among Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings.<sup>59</sup>

The waterfowl (*Anseriformes*) in pre-Christian mosaics has been discussed by the present author in *Birds in Mosaics* (note 1), to which here is referred with regard to the corrigenda and addenda which will be published in the forthcoming second volume of the *Corpus of Bird Motifs*. Three mosaics dated to the late Republican period will be added, with a total of nine Mallards, increasing the number of individuals from 70 out of 346 to 79 out of a total of 354 specimens. The pre-Christian mosaics confirm that Mallards were the most familiar and abundant species of duck with 37 of the total of 79 individuals, of which more accurate representations are found in a total of eight mosaics, four Nilescape,<sup>60</sup> the two ducks and fish mosaics,<sup>61</sup> one mythological scene,<sup>62</sup> and one inhabited scroll.<sup>63</sup> Of the other ducks, there are only four positively identifiable Egyptian Geese and Shelducks, and two Teals, the only correctly depicted Shelduck and Teal drakes being in the cat mosaic from the Casa del Fauno, in the Nilescape where the only three other Shelducks and another Teal drake are found.

For the development of the hybrid representation of ducks, it seems to be indicative that the six probable Mallard ducks in the Casa del Fauno Nilescape are shown with hybrid features, probably of the Egyptian Goose,

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. Watson (note 10), 364 no. 8 s.v. "*Anas penelope*": "Three live wigeons hanging upside down on a herm in a wall painting on the N wall of the triclinium in House IX.i. 7 are the offering of a hunter (NM inv. No. ADS 954) (De Caro 1999: 55, fig. 27)." In the reproduction (ADS 954) published in colour also by De Caro (note 18), 90–91 no. 83 the heads are somewhat wigeon-like, but the white stripes on the head of the two lateral specimens are highlights. The reproduction is not reliable as is shown by a comparison with the two herms with three upside down hanging ducks, each still preserved in situ, where the dark reddish-violet ducks cannot be identified more closely than dabbling ducks (*Anas sp.*).

<sup>60</sup> Tammisto (note 1), cat. NS2, cat. NS4, cat. NS6–7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, cat. DF1–2.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, cat. MF3.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, cat. SC2.

and once with the colours of the back and wing of the Shelduck. This is probably the earliest evidence of the hybrid distinction between the sexes of the Shelducks. The earliest certain representations of such "hybrid Shelducks with distinction of sexes in the way of Mallards", like later the one in the Tomba di Morlupo, are found in the cat mosaic from the Villa di Cecchignola, and in the Nilescape mosaic from Priverno, respectively from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> quarters of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC,<sup>64</sup> and in the cat.NS1. In the case of the Nile mosaic of Palestrina, this feature would stylistically support the recent proposal to date the famous mosaic as a supposed dedication by Cleopatra VII during her stay in Rome in 46-44 BC instead of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC.<sup>65</sup> The closest parallels among the pre-Christian mosaics for the still life with ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo are the cat and fish mosaic from the Casa del Granduca in Pompeii, with three bound ducks, a Mallard duck and drake with a probable hybrid Egyptian Goose or possibly Shelduck between them. The three drake Mallards with a stylised or generically exotic reddish-violet body in the still life-like scene with the two African Swamp-hens from the area of the *horti Caesaris* in Rome have been mentioned above as parallels. As for the long-tailed passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo, reference must be made to the two long-tailed ochre-yellow passerines in the Nile mosaic from Priverno, which likewise seem more generic, exotic passerines, and are hence closer parallels than the four long-tailed passerines in the cat mosaic from the Casa del Fauno which, unlike the passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo, are bound, and identifiable as three Wheatears (*Oenanthe oenanthe*), and a probable Chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 389–390 cat. CM2, pl. 36 fig. CM2,1, and 368–369 cat. NS5, pl. 25 fig. NS5,1–4 respectively.

<sup>65</sup> For references and brief discussion, see my "The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina Reconsidered: The Problematic Reconstruction, Identification and Dating of the So-Called Lower Complex with the Nile Mosaic and Fish Mosaic of Ancient *Praeneste*", in the Acta of the IXth Colloquium of AIEMA in Rome (november 2001) (in print) on the open questions concerning the Nile mosaic of Palestrina. Significant results about the so-called Lower Complex of Praeneste with its famous Nile and fish mosaics can be expected from the study, which Sovrintendente Sandra Gatti is preparing, and to whom I remain indebted for the discussion during a visit to the site (26 November 2002). The forthcoming photographic reconstruction (scale 1:1) of the Nile mosaic in its original site in the so-called Aula Absidata under preparation by Prof. Bernard Andreae will improve significantly the hitherto made reconstruction proposals; I am indebted to Prof. Andreae for discussions about the matter and for his kind preliminary information (in 2003).

<sup>66</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 64–68, 387–389 cat. CM1, pl. 36, fig. CM1,1; cf. the divergent



Although in the pre-Christian mosaics there is a clear taxonomic concentration on Mallards, and a typological concentration to Nileescapes with 37 out of the total of 79 individuals found, the waterfowl in Second Style wall paintings are even more restricted taxonomically and typologically. Both the aforementioned pre-Christian mosaics and the Second Style wall paintings show that the Mallard and Shelduck, although commonly occurring in Italy, were conceived as Nilotic representatives. The little less than 60 individual ducks in Second Style paintings are almost exclusively in a total of nine Nileescapes, five of which in Pompeii, two in Rome, one in Ancona, and one in the Herodion of Masada (Palestine).<sup>67</sup> Some 39 individuals of the total of 44 ducks in Second Style paintings are in Pompeii are from the five Nileescapes, almost half of which are in the Nileescape in the apse of the calidarium (48) in the Casa del Menandro (I, 10, 4), i.e., 18 ducks. This is a crucial piece of evidence as the same painting shows not only two pairs of Mallards with both ducks and drakes substantially correctly depicted, but also larger ducks with dark green heads, and either reddish-brown or ochre-yellow bodies, of which at least ten individuals are shown as five pairs beside each other, like the Mallards. These can be identified as hybrid Shelducks by their larger size, green heads and dark red bills, one of which is shown with the characteristic knob of the Shelduck drake. The reddish-brown and ochre-yellow colours seem to have been added to these Shelducks so they can be distinguished as to drakes and ducks in the same way as dabbling ducks (*Anas sp.*). As similar hybrid Shelducks can be identified the three very sketchily depicted individuals in the Casa di M. Castricius (VII, 16, 17), an ochre-yellowish-brown specimen with a green breast spot as a probable highlight being shown as a drake near a light yellowish-brown duck. The third brown specimen is identifiable as a Shelduck drake by the knob on the red bill, despite the very inaccurate rendering. Probably in the same category of hybrid Shelducks belongs the only pair preserved from the largest known, but almost entirely vanished, Pompeian Second Style Nileescape from the Casa dello Scultore. These have

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identifications by Watson (note 10), 385–386 no. 47 s.v. "Oenanthe oenanthe, Sitta europaea" ignoring the Wheatears in the *Katzenmosaik*, which Watson (note 10), 378–379 no. 32 s.v. "Fringilla coelebs" instead identifies as Chaffinches without any references to the relevant discussion in Tammisto (note 1).

<sup>67</sup> The Herodion is dated shortly after 24/23 BC, Tybout 1989, 50, 167–170, n. 591 on p. 167 with further references, pl. 80,2 (the documentation available has unfortunately not allowed closer estimation of the waterfowl).

dark green heads and necks with a red bill, light green body with yellow highlights on the breast. Another pair known unfortunately only from black-and-white photographs, which are shown in a very similar posture and from a similar point of view as the ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo were probably similar. These possibly suggest the derivation from similar kinds of repertoires, as do also a third pair of ducks in the paintings from the Casa dello Scultore, which are diagnostically different. These are much smaller and have similarly slender bodies and bills as the two smaller ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo, probably also similar highlights on the superciliaries, thus supporting their similar identification as small dabbling ducks, most likely Teals or Garganeys.<sup>68</sup>

The ducks in the Nilescares in the Casa del Criptoportico (I, 6, 2) and the Casa di M. Obellius Firmus (IX, 14, 4) are too badly damaged to be reliably assessed and identified, which is also the case in the two examples in Rome in the Casa di Livia and the Aula Isiaca. As far as can be judged, the Nilescape and its ducks in the Casa del Criptoportico seem, however, so different with respect to the Nilescape in the Casa del Menandro, that it either argues against the earlier suggestion of their attribution to a common workshop, or suggests that one and the same workshop mastered surprisingly different "styles", or rather, was able to use a large variety of different kinds of sources.

Interesting evidence for the use of very different kinds of "styles", probably based on models from different repertoires, are the four ducks represented as swimming among the arcades, hence as in *stibadia*, among the socle-zone of the architecture in the wall from house VI, 17, 41 (now MANN 8594), which are therefore not directly Nilotic, but at any rate in a waterscape. These ducks are stylised in a clumsy caricature-like manner with indistinct violet bodies with ochre-yellow highlights on the breast, but they are also otherwise entirely different in respect to the remarkably accurately depicted four different birds hanging in the still life in the right half in the middle zone of this wall (*infra* App. 2 no. 8). Despite the entirely different caricature-like habitus, the violet colour and ochre-yellow highlights reveal the use of a probably related "key or concept of colours",

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<sup>68</sup> A. Maiuri, "Una nuova pittura nilotica a Pompei", *RAL* ser. 8, 7, fasc. 2 (1955), pl. V,2 also from the north wall (section B3) of the peristyle of the house shows the two small ducks (*Anas sp.*, pr. *Anas querquedula* / ps. *Anas crecca*) in the water on both sides and behind two male figures on the coast.

as in the Tomba di Morlupo, although the colours are here used as indistinctive exotic colours. The three Mallards, one duck and two drakes, the other of which already dead are represented together with a Shelduck in a still life from the Villa dei Papiri (MANN 8759) (*infra* App. 2 no. 10) are, together with the Nilescape in the Casa del Menandro, the only instances in Romano-Campanian wall paintings where both species are represented together and are positively identifiable in relatively accurate renderings, although here too the shape of the ducks is somewhat caricature-like. Probably because of different kinds of sources, the two gazelles lying bound below the ducks are more naturalistic. As African animals, the gazelles attest and underline, despite the still life context, the strong Egyptian connotation of the ducks.

There is also another duck in a Second Style still life in one of the painted *pinakes* with still lifes from the *oecus* (22) in the Casa del Criptoportico (I, 6, 2). This is the only representation of a duck in Second Style paintings without any other reference to water or the Nile, as the bird is shown probably as dead in a still life with vegetables (*infra* App. 2 no. 12). However, the shining all-turquoise colour of the bird contrasting with a red bill seems an indistinctive exotic characteristic here, probably referring to the Nile as it is used in the execution of the birds in the Nilescape in the calidarium (28) of the Casa del Criptoportico. In addition to these ducks also a heron with two long head feathers (on the E wall) is depicted as dark green, as is a long-tailed passerine on a lotus-flower (on the N wall), which is so far unique among the Nilescares in Romano-Campanian wall paintings, and significantly close to the two passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo, suggesting the uniform splendidly, dark colour to be an indistinctive generically exotic characteristic. There are similar dark violet or greenish and bluish fantasy passerines among the architectonic scenes in the frigidarium, probably indicating the "exotic" or divine character of the Apollonian woods seen behind the architecture.

In addition to the hybrid Shelducks in the Nilescape in the Casa del Menandro, the two or three different kinds of ducks in the Casa dello Scultore, and the Mallards and Shelduck from the Villa dei Papiri, the closest parallels for the hybrid colours of the Tomba di Morlupo are found among the ducks in the small riverscapes in the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili. I have been able to study two scenes of the dozen calculated by Ling, which include seven specimens, three pairs and a single one. One pair

are all reddish-violet with a somewhat caricatured habitus, while a duck in the same scene is more slender with a reddish-brown body, but a green tail. In the other scene, there are two pairs with a different habitus and but with almost identical plumage, while the other pair is differentiated. As the closest parallels to such hybrid colours of the Shelduck are found among late Second Style or early Third Style representations, this seems a further element in favour of the early Augustan dating.

The two passerines on both sides of the ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo are not more closely identifiable because the combination of a long forked tail together with splendid dark greyish green plumage emphasized by white highlights on the superciliary and the lesser coverts, seem rather fantasy features instead of diagnostic characteristics of such uniform dark coloured species as the Blackbirds (*Turdus merula*), or some species of the family of crows (*Corvidae*). The highlights are probably a pictorial device deriving from earlier Hellenistic repertoires, as suggested by the fact that similar highlights are found on two of the small passerines in the cat mosaic from the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii, which is the only other still life with ducks and passerines known to me among Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings. The slender habitus with the long forked tail of the passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo resembles most the Magpie (*Pica pica*), tentatively proposed by Cappelli. The uniform greyish green colour seems here to rule out the characteristically black-and-white Magpie, known as substantially correctly depicted in some wall paintings, but the shining exotic looking colour seems more likely a feature added to the birds to underline their exotic character. This supposed transformation of Magpies into fantasy passerines, or perhaps "fantasy magpies", by changing their colour into a generic exotic colour, is one of the many examples of the variation of features which makes the identification of birds in wall mosaics and wall paintings so difficult, as has been seen in the case of the hybrid Shelduck. This is particularly the case with Second Style wall paintings, for which various fantasy passerines are a distinctive characteristic, in addition to several identifiable exotic species from North Africa and/or Asia, typically eastern fowl-like birds (*Galliformes*), like Peacocks (*Pavo cristatus*), Pheasants (*Phasianus colchicus*) and Black Francolins (*Francolinus francolinus*), but also such colourful exotic-looking, although indigenous birds in Italy, as the Bee-eater. Some of these species, and particularly the fantasy passerines, are a characteristic of the late Second

Style paintings, and hence a further support for the late Republican or early Augustan dating.

### **Interpretation of the decoration of the Tomba di Morlupo**

The two still lifes with birds in the lunettes in the Tomba di Morlupo derive from the repertory of Hellenistic art particularly known from the egyptianising decoration in mosaics and paintings in wealthy houses in Italy from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. onwards. The egyptianising repertory became especially popular in the early Augustan period after the conquest of Egypt, when it was applied also to the funerary monuments of the slaves and freedmen of the Augustan aristocracy, attested by the paintings in the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili and the similar nearby Colombario di C. Scribonio Menofilo. Together with the probably slightly earlier Tomba di Montefiore – with a total of five still lifes, four of which depict birds – these constitute the closest parallels for the decoration of the Tomba di Morlupo. The decoration of such larger columbaria (for ca. 500-650 persons) consists of a large variety of scenes which seem to be compiled from various repertories as generic references to happiness (*felicitas temporum*) without a strict programmatic plan of the whole or particularly underlined eschatological contents. In the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili only one out of a total of 136 scenes depicts a subject peculiar to funerary art, but Endymion and Ocnus are not singled out or emphasized in any particular manner. It is, however, debatable whether this should be interpreted as evidence for a supposedly exclusively non-sepulchral character of the other subjects, to be regarded as pieces of genre with a mere "decorative" value, or, rather, on the contrary, as evidence in favour of the suggestion that all the other subjects could also be interpreted in an eschatological framework.<sup>69</sup>

With regard to the long traditions of various beliefs about the hereafter, a sepulchral context as such is, to a certain degree, both inherently as well as implicitly eschatological.<sup>70</sup> A sepulchral site is therefore likely to have created an eschatological framework even for generic elements of happiness. Moreover, a strict boundary between eschatological in contrast to

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<sup>69</sup> J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, London 1971, 38–39.

<sup>70</sup> See the numerous contributions in Barbet (ed.) (note 8).



"decorative" or "secular" is to some extent anachronistic as such generic elements, even in their "secular" use as embellishment of the domestic sphere, were full of references to the divine, and hence eternal happiness. Furthermore, even if the subjects in larger communal columbaria were chosen to be generic elements of happiness, which could suit anyone who happened to be buried there, this is less likely the case in smaller family tombs, where the commissioner probably had more personal interests in the choice of the decoration, as is attested by the Tomba del Patro.<sup>71</sup> The Tomba di Morlupo and its closest parallel, the Tomba di Montefiore, seem to be this type of family tomb even if their owners remain unknown. In these cases, it is more plausible to assume that the much more limited decoration was chosen with a more strict and programmatic allusive criteria. In such a context, even subjects like still lifes may have been chosen not only because of their doubtless generic decorative value, but also for their symbolic value suitable for the sepulchral context.

The subjects referring to the mythical and divine sphere in the Tomba di Morlupo were on the lateral walls, the mythical lovers Hero and Leander to the left, and the winged vegetation goddess growing out of an acanthus scroll to the right (see *supra*). This does not necessarily imply a subordinate role of these subjects in respect to the two still lifes with birds on the central axis, the ducks and passerines on the entrance wall, the Purple Swamp-hens around the glass vase on the back wall being the first visible to the visitor. The placing of the still lifes with luxurious Nilotic exotica to be seen first may indicate that they were intended as a sort of passage from the earthly, although idyllic abundance, to the mythical and divine sphere. If so, then the still lifes would constitute a sort of complementary pendant axis on the subjects of the lateral walls. The story of the mythical passionate lovers Hero and Leander is a subject, which inherently refers to love and death. Leander's tragic drowning after the fire of Hero's torch had put out by the wind, and Hero's suicide after finding his body, offer several obvious possibilities for allusions particularly suitable for a funerary context: the passionate love between the deceased, the tragedy of the loss of the other,

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<sup>71</sup> The Tomba del Patro is dated to the last decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. Its paintings include also four passerines among the branches of trees in a meadow where there stands a bird resembling a heron (*Ardeidae sp.*), but which, because of its uniform dark green colour, is more likely aimed at representing a Crane (*Grus grus*), Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 102–103 cat. K 45 with previous literature.

and unity in death. Leander's tragic nocturnal drowning may in addition be interpreted as a reference to the journey to the hereafter. In a funerary context, such a subject can hardly have been a casual choice. It seems more likely to have been the commissioner's wish instead of a subject chosen by the painter, who seems not to have been as experienced with mythological scenes as with still lifes, judging by the clumsy rendering of the subject, where the overlarge figure of the swimming Leander in respect to the palace with Hero looks like an addendum to a sacro-idyllic scene. The myth of Hero and Leander is known from references in Virgil (*georg.* 3,258-263) and Ovid (*her.* 18,19) attesting its popularity in the Augustan period, while a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC papyrus supports the suggestion that the story originated in a, most likely Alexandrian, poem. This is the earliest representation of the myth in Romano-Campanian wall paintings, where five Fourth Style representations are known in Pompeii.<sup>72</sup> Likewise its pendant, the Dionysian vegetation goddess growing out of an acanthus scroll, whether identified with Nike or not, is inherently associated with fertility and regeneration, which in a sepulchral context is likely to have been associated with rebirth and immortality. As a pendant of Hero and Leander, the winged figure may well have been paralleled or also identified with Nike as a reference to the victory over death.

As the choice of the subject of Hero and Leander at any rate implies a certain knowledge of literary sources, it is likely that in addition to the decorative value of the Purple Swamp-hen, also the "literary background" of the species as not only an exceptionally beautiful exotic bird, but also as a severe guardian of chastity contributed to its choice. The fact that the symbolic representation of virtues, like those of the male sphere with arms, or those of the female sphere, beauty in particular, with objects of the female sphere has long traditions, being known already from the Classical and Hellenistic age, both from vase as well as funerary paintings, argues in favour of such an interpretation. An allusive interpretation of the so-called

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<sup>72</sup> C. Caprino, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* IV (1961) 515–517 s.v. "Leandro" refers in addition to the Tomba di Morlupo to the following five representations of Hero and Leander in Pompeian wall paintings: 1) Casa di Ero e Leandro (Helbig 1374); 2) Casa dei Vettii (VI, 15, 1); 3) IX, 5, 14; 4) Casa del Orfeo (VI, 14, 20); 5) Casa di Sirico. Of these the versions in the Casa dei Vettii and house IX, 5, 14 are close replicas, substantially similar to the representation in the Tomba di Morlupo, which might argue in favour of a derivation of a common or similar models; see also *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* VIII 1 Suppl. (1997), s.v. "Hero et Leander" no. 4.

*xenia*, identifiable with representations conventionally known as still lifes, is known even from a non-sepulchral context from the description of a *pinacotheca* by Flavius Philostratos (*Imagines* 2,26), where the rabbit eating a grapevine is defined as a Dionysian symbol of fertility.

Although the three ducks in the pendant lunette are bound birds in a still life -like setting without any other reference to water, their Nilotic connotation in Second Style paintings is so strong that they were most likely conceived as exotic egyptian(ising) luxuria. If the ducks as pendants of the Purple Swamp-hens were likewise associated with female virtues, then they would probably allude to the Aphrodisiac sphere and fertility since ducks in some literary and visual sources have long traditions as erotic symbols. Such an association could also be seen as a reference to the subject of Hero and Leander as Hero was known as a priestess of Aphrodite. The relation of ducks with the female sphere is, however, not emphasized in the Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings if not in a few instances.<sup>73</sup> A still life with bound ducks as such implies their forthcoming death and consumption as a delicacy, and although the representation of ducks struggling for their life as they try to liberate themselves from the string could be read as an allusion to the dramatic moment of death, as in the aforementioned still life from the Villa dei Papiri or in the cat mosaic from the Casa del Fauno, but this seems too banal an interpretation with regard to the whole. The posture of the passerines looks more like pulling the string, which rather suggests the liberation of the ducks, in which case the allusion to the liberation of the soul from earthly struggles and pain and to a journey to the Elysian fields seems obvious. This is supported by the absence of any ground line or rendering of water creating an irreal ipression. Even if the passerines would merely be holding the string, they could possibly have a similar guiding or carrying function as the pair of Feral Pigeons or Turtle doves (*Columbidae* sp., pr. *Columba livia* / *Streptopelia turtur*) in the painting from the Ipogeo degli Ottavii in Rome dated to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD. Here the birds are pulling a biga in which the little Octavia Paulina, who died at the age of six, is being carried by a little boy and guided by Hermes Psychopompos to the Elysian fields, represented as a field of roses higher than the little children pecking their petals, around a column with a statue of

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<sup>73</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 35–37, pl. 9 fig. MF3,1 for the Mallard as a pet bird of the child Adonis in the Maltese mosaic (ibid., cat. MF3) and its variant in a Fourth Style painting from the Casa di Successus (I, 9, 3) in Pompeii with further references.

Hecate.<sup>74</sup> This interpretation of the paintings of the Tomba di Morlupo is probably supported by the exotic fantasy appearance of the passerines, which in such a context most likely underlines them as idyllic elements, and more precisely as an Elysian reference.

The suggestion of an Elysian reference is supported by the similarity of the passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo with the long-tailed colourful green and blue-and-red passerines among prominently depicted red flowers in the lunettes from the first two lateral alcoves (nos. 1 and 5) in the Tomba di Montefiore. The lunettes in the next two alcoves (nos. 2 and 4) show to the left (no. 2) a rabbit with fruit and a similar glass *modiolus* as in the Tomba di Morlupo, and to the right (no. 4) three bound chukar-type partridges among pomegranates, while the lunette in the alcove (no. 3) in the rear wall shows a pair of Peacocks around a glass crater containing red fruit. The two lunettes with colourful fantasy passerines among red flowers (nos. 1 and 5) in the Tomba di Montefiore seem a sort of shortened version of Elysian references similar to the fantastic bizarre birds in the clearly fantastic "sacred wood" seen through the painted architecture around the altar of the *penates* in the Casa del Menandro, or the less fantastic, although long-tailed, passerines in a similarly ideal, or rather Elysian pine wood in a meadow in the paintings in the Tomba del Patro, where the funerary poem composed by Patron himself for his tomb ends with the wish to rest even in the death in a *terpnos topos*, the Greek expression for the Latin *locus amoenus*.<sup>75</sup> The golden Phoenix shown as an egyptianising fantasy hawk among plants with three naturalistically depicted passerines and above a pair of antithetic Peacocks in the painted sign of the Caupona di Euxinus in Pompeii with the famous dipinto PHOENIX.FELIX.ET.TV has a similar Elysian value.<sup>76</sup>

The exceptional still life from the Tomba di Morlupo with the supposedly Elysian passerines and the ducks is here tentatively proposed to have an eschatological allusion. However, it remains to be verified case by case, and by aiming to a systematic comparisons of parallels, to what extent,

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<sup>74</sup> R. Santolini Giordani, in: *Romana pictura* (note 58), 175 (with a colour photo), 290–291 no. 63.

<sup>75</sup> F. Ghedini & M. Salvadori, "Tradizione e innovazione nelle pitture di vigne e giardini nel repertorio funerario romano", in: Barbet (note 8), 93–98 with further references; cf. Mielsch 1990 (note 7) denying any eschatological reference in this case, too.

<sup>76</sup> A. Tammisto, *Arctos* 20 (1986) 174–181.

or in what contexts, the other birds Romano-Campanian wall paintings can be interpreted as idyllic Elysian birds, or even as soul birds, as recently proposed by Sauron for the numerous passerines in the grotto scenes in the paintings from the cubiculum in the Villa di P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> G. Sauron, in C. Auvray-Assayas, (ed.), *Images romaines: actes de la table ronde organisée à l'École normale supérieure (24–26 octobre 1996)*, Paris 1998, 91–114.



APPENDIX 1: THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE *PORPHYRIO PORPHYRIO* GROUP AND ITS FORMER SUBSPECIES RECOGNIZED AS SPECIES WITH A CONCORDANCE OF THE NOMENCLATURE

The *Porphyrio porphyrio* is usually referred to in English as "Purple Gallinule", as mentioned *supra* in note 1 referring to Tammisto (note 1) and its Index 2 of scientific Latin bird names which also gives the bird's name in German ("Purpurhuhn"), French ("Poule sultane"), Italian ("Pollo sultano") and Finnish ("Sulttaanikana"), but I prefer here the English name "Purple Swamp-hen" following (although adding the hyphen), e.g., C.M. Perrins (consultant-in-chief), *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Birds. The Definitive Reference to Birds of the World*, London 1996 (1991), 127-129 no. 15 s.v. "Purple Swamphen (*Porphyrio porphyrio*)", and B.L. Monroe, Jr. & C.G. Sibley, *A World Checklist of Birds*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1993, 102, the latter listing six subspecies and using the (American) English name "Purple Gallinule" for the *Porphyrio martinicus* (in other works also *Porphyryula martinica*) occurring in the Caribbean. Following Sangster (note 1), the website of *Dutch Birding* (<http://www.dutchbirding.nl/>) and the website Western Palearctic Birds ([www.wpbirds.com](http://www.wpbirds.com)) use the English name "Western Swamp-hen" of the *P. porphyrio* and list the subspecies in Monroe & Sibley as species, though some with different English names, but do not include the *P. p. bellus* occurring in southwestern Australia, which in Monroe & Sibley is called "Western Swamphen" (see the concordance in the Table *infra*). Because of this confusing use of both the names "Purple Swamp(-)hen" and "Western Swamp(-)hen", "Purple Swamp-hen" is used here, although the name "Western Swamp-hen" better indicates the area of distribution of the species. In favour of the use of the name "Purple Swamp-hen" can be argued also its historical aspect, as it preserves a reference to the ancient Greek and Latin names *porphyrion* and *porphyrio* respectively (references *supra* in note 20, see also notes 1). On the complex taxonomy of the *P. porphyrio*, see Sangster (note 1), 13-22 with a map on p. 18 showing the range of breeding areas of the six former subspecies, now recognized as species (listed *infra*), and of the 13 subspecies recognized by S.D. Ripley, *Rails of the World*, Boston 1977, which indicates that the species (former subspecies) with which we are concerned here, the Purple Swamp-hen (*P. porphyrio*) is presently found in Spain, Sardinia and Tunis, the African Swamp-hen (*P. madagascariensis*) along the Nile, and in Central and Southern Africa, and Madagascar, and the Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*P. poliocephalus*) in the area around the Caspian Sea and Asia; cf. also E.C. Dickinson (ed.), *The Howard and Moore Complete Checklist of the Birds of the World. Revised and enlarged 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London 2003, 125 with further references to the disputed taxonomy retaining the *Porphyrio porphyrio* as one species with 13 subspecies. The various English names of the Purple Swamp-hen in previous literature have usually covered all these three former subspecies, here regarded as distinct species. It is advisable to use the English name "swamp-hens" for the genus *Porphyrio*, when the three species are covered or cannot necessarily be distinguished, as often is the case with ancient sources, although the African Swamp-hen, and possibly also the Grey-headed Swamp-hen are distinguished in some cases (*supra*). The "Preliminary Checklist to the Birds of Egypt (Excluding the Sinai)" in the Appendix II by P. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, Warminster 1986, 153 gives the following

information about the former nomenclature: "Purple Gallinule *Porphyrio porphyrio* (Linnaeus) *Porphyrio porphyrio aegyptiacus* Heuglin *Porphyrio aegyptiacus* Heuglin, 1856, Sitzungsber. Akad. Wiss. Wien, Math.-Naturwiss. Klasse, 19, p. 317, Egypt. Arabic names: Dajaaja Sulṭaaniyya, Farkha Sulṭaaniyya. Comments: Sometimes the Egyptian population is regarded as a race of the Green-backed Gallinule and is designated *P. m. madagascariensis*, or synonymized with *P. p. madagascariensis*. Called King Reed-hen, Purple Waterhen, Blue gallinule, Purple Coot or Purple Swamp-hen in some other works." To this list of the various English names may be added the classical "Porphyrion" used, e.g., by Toynbee (note 69), 246.

Concordance of the nomenclature of the *Porphyrio porphyrio* group according to the division into species proposed by G. Sangster, "Purple Swamp-hen is a complex of species", *Dutch Birding* 20 (1998), 13-22, followed by the website Western Palearctic Birds (<http://www.wpbirds.com/>) as well as the review *Dutch Birding* (<http://www.dutchbirding.nl/>) and between the subspecies listed by B.L. Monroe, Jr. & C. Sibley, *A World Checklist of Birds*, New Haven & London 1993, 102.

Division of species of <i>Porphyrio porphyrio</i> (Voous 1977) according to Sangster (followed in <i>Dutch Birding</i> )	Monroe & Sibley	Area of distribution (according to Monroe & Sibley)
Western Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio porphyrio</i> )	Purple Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. p.</i> )	Southwestern Palearctic
African Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio madagascariensis</i> )	African Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. madagascariensis</i> )	Africa, Madagascar
Grey-headed Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio poliocephalus</i> )	Indian Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. poliocephalus</i> )	Southern, eastern Asia-southern Oceania
Philippine Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio pulverulentus</i> )	Philippine Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. pulverulentus</i> )	Philippines
Black-backed Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio indicus</i> )	s.v. Indian Swamp-hen supra in this table	
Australian Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio melanotus</i> )	Eastern Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. melanotus</i> ) & Western Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. bellus</i> )	New Guinea, Australia, New Zealand Southwestern Australia

In some other works, the Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*P. poliocephalus*) is defined as the subspecies *P. p. caspius*, e.g., K. Mullarney & L. Svensson & D. Zetterström, *Fågelguiden – Europas och Medelhavsområdets fåglar i fält*, Stockholm 1999 (Finnish edition edited by H. Jännes, *Lintuopas. Euroopan ja Välimeren alueen linnut*, Helsinki 1999), which is the best field guide available. According to the website Western Palearctic Birds ([www.wpbirds.com](http://www.wpbirds.com/)): "Starting from volume 21 (1999) the editors of Dutch Birding have decided to follow Mark Beaman's *A Checklist of the birds of Europe, North Africa and Asia north of the foothills of the Himalayas* (1994) for English names in Dutch Birding. The editors consider this list to be the most complete and well-considered currently available; it is, for instance, the only recent list which tackles the problem of overlapping American and English names for the same species."

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF BIRDS IN STILL LIFES WITH OTHER OBJECTS (*XENIA*) IN SECOND STYLE WALL PAINTINGS

The following representations of birds in Second Style paintings are here defined as integrated still lifes (from the German "Integriertes Stilleben", see Wesenberg (note 45) and also Robert (note 45) with further references to previous literature on the genre also to be found in Tammisto (note 1), 72-103 discussing the birds in still lifes in pre-Christian mosaics), of which especially nos. 2-4 *infra* are borderline cases: Stage 1C of the Second Style, probably ca. 60-50 BC: **1**) Boscoreale, Villa di P. Fannius Synistor, cubiculum M, back wall of the alcove (now in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art): 1 ex. parakeet (*Psittacula sp.*), Rose-ringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*) / Alexandrine Parakeet (*Psittacula eupatria*) on a curtain between the pilasters in the central aedicula, in front the curtain below the bird is a glass bowl with fruit (apples) on a cornice; **2-3**) Torre Annunziata, Villa di Poppea (Oplontis), room 15, E wall: Peacock (*Pavo cristatus*) on a curtain in the left and right side vista beyond a tragic theatrical mask decorating the architecture (Tybout 1989 (note 67), pl. 52), while the Pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*) and the Bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*) on the podium on both sides of the door opening to an altar with a torch are not regarded as still lifes, nor are the four Bee-eaters on the podium of the triclinium 14); **4**) *ibid.*, *oecus* 23, N wall: 1 ex. Cattle Egret (*Bubulcus ibis*) on a podium in the left aedicula, above on the architrave three glass bowls with fruit (De Caro (note 18), 54-56 no. 23 with a colour photo), and in the right aedicula a basket (*calathus*) with red fruit (probably pomegranate or apples and plums) visible through a transparent veil towards which leans a torch (Tybout 1989 (note 67), pl. 57; De Caro (note 18), 54 no. 22 with a colour photo of the basket erroneously stated to derive from the E wall, interpreted as an allusion to Demeter-Ceres with reference to an identical chest with Triptolemos in a now vanished painting from the Casa di Trittolemo (VIII, 4, 51), *PPMDisegnatori*, 763, n. 234); **5**) *ibid.*, S wall: 1 ex. Black Francolin (*Francolinus francolinus*) on a podium in the right aedicula walking to the left towards a bunch of grapes near an altar with a cake in the central aedicula, above the bird on architrave are two of originally three glass bowls with fruit identical to that on the N wall in preceding no. 2 (De Caro, 54-56 (note 18) no. 24 suggesting identification as a female Capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*) or Black Grouse (*Tetrao tetrix*), "femmina di gallo cedrone o forcello?", cf. Tammisto (note 1), 247-248 n. 309); **6**) Pompeii, Casa del Labirinto (VI, 11, 9-11), *oecus* 43, E wall: 2 exx. Black Francolins hanging alive from a nail on the wall above a pigeon (*Columba sp.*), Feral Pigeon (*Columba livia*) / Stock Dove (*Columba oenas*) in the right aedicula beyond a large bronze crater (Tybout 1989 (note 67), pl. 59; De Caro (note 18), 51-52 no. 18 with a colour photo); **7**) *ibid.*, W wall: 2 exx. chukar-type partridges (*Alectoris sp.*), pr. Rock Partridge (*Alectoris graeca*) with colours of the Grey Partridge (*Perdix perdix*) hanging alive from a nail above a pigeon sp.; **8**) Pompeii, VI, 17, 41 (former VII Ins.Occ. 39), room 17, S wall (now MANN 8594): 1 ex. pigeon sp., Feral Pigeon / Stock Dove, 1 ex., passerine sp. (*Passeriformes sp.*), pr. House Martin (*Delichon urbica*), 1 ex. thrush sp. (*Turdus sp.*), pr. Song Thrush (*Turdus philomelos*), 1 ex. Sp., pr. passerine (*Passeriformes sp.*) hanging dead from a nail in the right aedicula below a tragic theatrical mask (Tybout, 1989 (note 67), pl. 66; De Caro (note 18), 49-52 no. 16b with a colour photo), below in the socle in stibadia 4

exx. ducks (*Anatidae sp.*); stage 2A, ca. 50/40-30 BC: **9**) Rome, Casa di Augusto, room 12, dated between 36-28 BC: 3 exx. passerines (*Passeriformes sp.*), pr. finch sp. (*Fringillidae sp.*) on the architrave on both sides of a silver bowl; **10**) Herculaneum, Villa dei Papiri (MANN 8759): 1 ex. drake Shelduck (*Tadorna tadorna*) and 3 exx. Mallards (*Anas platyrhynchos*) two drakes and one duck hanging from a nail alive (except one of the Mallard drakes is already dead) above two bound living gazelles, probably Dorca's or Edmi's Gazelle (*Gazella dorcas* / *G. gazella*) (Tammisto (note 1), 64, 91, 279 n. 484-485 with references; De Caro, 52-53 no. 20 with a colour photo); **11**) *ibid.* (MANN 8753): 2 exx. Cocks (*Gallus gallus*) bound alive on the podium.

Still lifes in painted *pinakes* (stage 2B): **12**) Pompeii, Casa del Criptoportico (I, 6, 2-4), *oecus* 22, S wall (now Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, in 2003 in the exhibition "Sotto il vulcano" in the MANN): 1 ex. duck sp. (*Anatidae sp.*) lying pr. bound and dead near fallen basket with vegetables in a painted *pinax* (2<sup>nd</sup> from the left) (De Caro (note 18), 48 no. 14 with a colour photo); **13**) *ibid.*: 1 ex. Cock (*Gallus gallus*) and a basket with fruit (figs and plums, etc.) covered with a white cloth in a painted *pinax* (4<sup>th</sup> from the left) on the architrave between hermai (De Caro (note 18), 49 no. 15 with a colour photo).

Framed still lifes and lunettes: **14**) Rome, Villa della Farnesina (now Museo Nazionale di Roma, Palazzo Massimo), corridor G, ps. datable to about 20 BC: 1 ex. passerine (*Passeriformes sp.*), Swift (*Apus apus*) / swallow sp. (*Hirundinidae sp.*) on the handle of a basket among theatre masks.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present paper was originally written in Italian in 1992 to be published in the *Bollettino di Archeologia* with the aim of discussing the publication of the paintings of the Tomba di Morlupo by R. Cappelli. The publication was delayed for editorial and other reasons, mainly by the publication of my *Birds in Mosaics* (see note 1), the first volume of my ongoing work for a corpus of bird motifs in Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings concentrating on the mosaics before the Christian era, and its second volume under preparation about the birds in the First and Second Style wall paintings. I have rewritten and enlarged the paper in English. I publish it in *Arctos* since in its present form the paper is less adapted to the section "Note e discussioni" of the *Bollettino di Archeologia*, to which it originally was accepted. I remain indebted to Irene Bragantini, Mariette de Vos, and Walter Pagnotta for reading the first Italian manuscript and for their valuable corrections and suggestions concerning not merely linguistic matters. I am also indebted to the editor of the *Bollettino di Archeologia* Alessandra Capodiferro for editing the Italian manuscript, and to Rosanna Cappelli for the consultation about the paintings of the Tomba di Morlupo including the original colour slides of the paintings. Regrettably, the figures cannot be published in colour here. I am also indebted to Ville Kajanne at the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae for providing copies of material in Rome, and to Docent Harry Lehto at the Tuorla Observatory of the University of Turku for the reference to Sangster. For the contents, I remain solely responsible.



## A SYMPTOMATIC TEXT CORRUPTION: Plato, *Gorgias* 448a5

HOLGER THESLEFF

Papyrologists know that the change of speaker was rarely and inconsistently noted in manuscripts of ancient dialogue texts. A line in the margin may occur, occasionally some other mark, but names or so-called character sigla ('singulae litterae'), such as we are used to, (ΑΓ, ΚΑ, ΚΑΑ, ΣΩ) were not normally employed. Perhaps codicologists know when the sigla began to be regularly adopted. This must have been at a time when dialogue texts were professionally copied for new readers who were expected to cope with the written dialogues on their own. In the Hellenistic age, the practice was still unknown, as far as I can see. I have argued elsewhere that the lack of character sigla has some bearing on the question of in what way, and for what audiences, the Platonic dialogues were originally meant to be presented.<sup>1</sup>

A well-established public institution such as the Greek theatre had no difficulties in using manuscripts lacking character sigla. Those who studied the written texts, stage directors and actors, were from the start acquainted with the distribution of the roles, and little training was needed to identify them. Nor was the change of speaker a big problem with pieces of simple dramatic prose dialogue where only two characters appear, such as some of Plato's texts. If a third person occasionally turns up (as in, say, the opening of *Hippias Minor* and again at 373a-c), a vocative address helps with the identification. And when a dialogue is carried by a narrative, there is normally no problem at all in determining who said what. This literary practice was well known since Homer, and the Socratics adopted it at an

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<sup>1</sup> "Plato and His Public", in: B.Amden al. (eds.), *Noctes Atticae*, Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press 2002, esp. 292–294. The absence in ancient manuscripts of names or sigla for dialogue speakers was argued in detail by J.Andrieu, *Le dialogue antique* (Coll. d'Études Latines 29), Paris 1954, 209–229, 283, 307 f.; cf. E.Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Oxford 1971, 15. I do not know of any counter-evidence.



early date.<sup>2</sup> Such texts could be read by anybody outside the public institutions.

Most of Plato's literarily wrought dialogues are of the narrative ('reported') kind. They were probably meant for (relatively) large audiences, and the text could be put in circulation beyond the immediate control of the author. The narrator, and through him the reader, can easily manage the flow of the dialogue even when several characters are involved in a lively discussion (as in *Protagoras*, *Symposium*, *Euthydemus* or *Phaedo*).<sup>3</sup>

However, a few of Plato's directly "dramatic" dialogues present obvious difficulties to a reader who has no character sigla for orientation. The *Gorgias* is a glaring example. I shall focus here on a single passage where the problem of character identification has led to a corruption of the text. I see this detail, which I have previously noted only in passing, as a very strong support for my hypothesis that the *Gorgias* was originally a narrated dialogue, later revised and expanded and rewritten in dramatic form.<sup>4</sup>

The introductory discussion (447a-448b) has a two-stage setting. The text (Burnet's OCT edition) runs as follows:

ΚΑΛ. Πολέμου καὶ μάχης φασὶ χρῆναι, ὦ Σώκρατες, 447  
οὕτω μεταλαγχάνειν.

ΣΩ. Ἄλλ' ἢ, τὸ λεγόμενον, κατόπιw ἐορτῆς ἤκομεν καὶ  
ὑστεροῦμεν;

ΚΑΛ. Καὶ μάλα γε ἀστείας ἐορτῆς· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ καλὰ 5  
Γοργίας ἡμῖν ὀλίγον πρότερον ἐπεδείξατο.

ΣΩ. Τούτων μέντοι, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, αἴτιος Χαιρεφῶν ὄδε,  
ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἀναγκάσας ἡμᾶς διατρίψαι.

<sup>2</sup> Details in H.Thesleff, *Studies in Platonic Chronology* (Comm.Hum.Litt. 70), Helsinki 1982, 53–67; P.A.Vander Waerdt (ed.), *The Socratic Movement*, Ithaca 1994.

<sup>3</sup> But contrary to other Socratics, Plato seems always to have preferred closed audiences; see Thesleff 2002 (above, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> First argued in 1982 (above, n. 2) 86–87; also *Phronesis* 34 (1989) 7 n. 28 with further references.

ΧΑΙ. Οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ ἰάσομαι. **b**  
 φίλος γάρ μοι Γοργίας, ὥστ' ἐπιδειξεται ἡμῖν, εἰ μὲν δοκεῖ,  
 νῦν, ἐὰν δὲ βούλη, εἰς αὖθις.

ΚΑΛ. Τί δέ, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν; ἐπιθυμῆ Σωκράτης ἀκοῦσαι  
 Γοργίου; **5**

ΧΑΙ. Ἐπ' αὐτό γέ τοι τοῦτο πάρεσμεν.

ΚΑΛ. Οὐκοῦν ὅταν βούλησθε παρ' ἐμὲ ἦκειν οἴκαδε· παρ'  
 ἔμοι γὰρ Γοργίας καταλύει καὶ ἐπιδειξεται ὑμῖν.

ΣΩ. Εὖ λέγεις, ὦ Καλλίκλεις. ἀλλ' ἄρα ἐθελήσειεν ἂν  
 ἡμῖν διαλεχθῆναι; βούλομαι γὰρ πυθέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τίς ἢ **c**  
 δύναμις τῆς τέχνης τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τί ἐστὶν δ' ἐπαγγέλλεται  
 τε καὶ διδάσκει· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἐπίδειξιν εἰς αὖθις, ὥσπερ σὺ  
 λέγεις, ποιησάσθω.

ΚΑΛ. Οὐδὲν οἶον τὸ αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν, ὦ Σώκρατες. καὶ γὰρ **5**  
 αὐτῷ ἐν τοῦτ' ἦν τῆς ἐπιδείξεως· ἐκέλευε γοῦν νυνδὴ ἐρωτᾶν  
 ὅτι τις βούλοιο τῶν ἔνδον ὄντων, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἔφη  
 ἀποκρινεῖσθαι.

ΣΩ. Ἦ καλῶς λέγεις. ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, ἐροῦ αὐτόν.

ΧΑΙ. Τί ἔρωμαι; **10**

ΣΩ. Ὅστις ἐστίν. **d**

ΧΑΙ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΣΩ. Ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐτύγχανεν ὦν ὑποδημάτων δημιουργός,  
 ἀπεκρίνατο ἂν δήπου σοι ὅτι σκυτοτόμος· ἢ οὐ μανθάνεις ὡς  
 λέγω; **5**

ΧΑΙ. Μανθάνω καὶ ἐρήσομαι. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Γοργία,  
 ἀληθῆ λέγει Καλλικλῆς ὅδε ὅτι ἐπαγγέλλη ἀποκρίνεσθαι ὅτι  
 ἂν τίς σε ἐρωτᾷ;

ΓΟΡ. Ἀληθῆ, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν· καὶ γὰρ νυνδὴ αὐτὰ ταῦτα **448**  
 ἐπηγγελλόμεν, καὶ λέγω ὅτι οὐδεὶς μέ πω ἠρώτηκε καινὸν  
 οὐδὲν πολλῶν ἐτῶν.

ΧΑΙ. Ἦ που ἄρα ῥαδίως ἀποκρινῆ, ὦ Γοργία.

ΓΟΡ. Πάρεστι τούτου πείραν, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, λαμβάνειν. **5**

ΠΩΛ. Νῆ Δία· ἂν δέ γε βούλη, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, ἐμοῦ.  
 Γοργίας μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκέμαι μοι δοκεῖ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἄρτι  
 διελήλυθεν.

ΧΑΙ. Τί δέ, ὦ Πῶλε; οἶει σὺ κάλλιον ἂν Γοργίου  
 ἀποκρίνασθαι; **10**

ΠΩΛ. Τί δὲ τοῦτο, ἐὰν σοί γε ἰκανῶς; **b**

ΧΑΙ. Οὐδέν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ σὺ βούλει, ἀποκρίνου.

ΠΩΛ. Ἐρώτα.

Thus, at the opening, Socrates and Chaerephon arrive too late to an epideictic performance by Gorgias, perhaps at a gymnasium. Then Callicles (447b7-8) invites them to his home where Gorgias is staying during his visit to Athens, and the ensuing debate seems to be carried on there.<sup>5</sup> The situation recalls the settings of some narrative dialogues (notably *Protagoras*, *Symposium* and *Republic*), but nothing is explicitly said in the text of *Gorgias* about a change of place. This is of no factual importance here, though we may feel that something is missing.

Another, more interesting feature is the lack of clear indications of who the speaker is – assuming that there are no character sigla. Callicles opens the dialogue, but the unprepared reader will not know this before there comes the vocative address in Socrates' second rejoinder (447a7). This same reader will also find it hard to identify the speaker at 447b1 as Chaerephon, until he has read on a bit, and perhaps reflected on what has been said. Similar difficulties occur now and again in the following pages. At 448a5 there comes a stumbling block which no editors and commentators seem to have noticed.

The immediate context is this. Socrates has suggested to Chaerephon (who knows Gorgias personally, 447b2) that he might try to interrogate Gorgias about 'who (or what) he is' (ὅστις ἐστίν, 447d1), as if he were asking a maker of shoes who he is (answer: a cobbler). Chaerephon begins (447d6) by asking if it is true, as Callicles has just said (447c5-8), that Gorgias is prepared to answer all questions. Gorgias self-consciously declares (448a1-3) that nobody has asked him any new questions in many years. "So you will find it easy to answer?", Chaerephon suggests (448a4).

Gorgias replies to this, according to all our manuscripts and editions (448a5): Πάρεστι τούτου πείραν, ᾧ Χαιρεμῶν, λαμβάνειν. This must mean something like "Here is an opportunity to make a test of this, Chaerephon". Now, πάρεστι meaning 'here is a chance' is good colloquial Attic, a bit peculiar in the mouth of the pompous Gorgias, but possible. The noun πείρα, including the phrase πείραν λαμβάνειν, is normally constructed with persons or with qualities or attitudes that can be tested in persons.<sup>6</sup> The following speaker in fact understands τούτου personally, as if

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<sup>5</sup> For the earlier discussion of the possible change of place, see W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy IV*, Cambridge 1975, 285; see further A. Fussi in *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 33 (2000) 45–49.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the 20 occurrences in the Platonic corpus refer to persons only. For *Laches*

referring to Gorgias. This speaker is Polus, an associate of Gorgias, again a new character (whose identification, by the way, is not immediately obvious from the context). He interferes (448a6-8): "Yes, certainly, but please (try) me! For Gorgias seems to decline: he has been speaking so much a while ago." And Chaerephon now starts to interrogate Polus. Gorgias only reappears at 448d, as Socrates' interlocutor.

We note that Polus not only understands τούτου personally and substitutes it with ἐμοῦ, but also he does not find Gorgias as prepared to be 'tried', 'tested', as the Πάρεστι reply, put in his mouth, would imply. Polus understands Gorgias to have declined (ἀπειρηκέναι 448a7), apparently judging from his attitude. Indeed, Gorgias is certainly not interested in a πείρα. It is very peculiar that he would instantly offer himself to a testing by this minor Socratic, Chaerephon. After all, Gorgias has only claimed that he knows answers to all questions, and that people always keep asking him the same things (448a2-3). He is bored. Later it takes Socrates some time (448d-449c) to persuade Gorgias to undergo his elenchus.

These specific complications disappear if the Πάρεστι comment is given to Socrates instead of Gorgias. Then Socrates would be following up what he said to Chaerephon before (447cd): "Go on, Chaerephon! Here is a chance to test this (namely, whether Gorgias finds it easy to answer) and him (namely, Gorgias himself)." Socrates does not say αὐτοῦ. But the genitive τούτου may have a double implication:<sup>7</sup> it refers to Chaerephon's tentative ῥαδίως ἀποκρινῆ (448a4), but at the same time to Gorgias. Socrates is ironical: this is not going to be easy, but surely Gorgias is worth examining. To test persons (rather than things) is typical of Socrates. Polus overhears this remark, does not see the irony, and interferes by stressing the personal aspect of τούτου: "rather test me!"

The emendation of the post-Platonic ΓΟΡ into ΣΩ is easily done. What makes this very minor correction of the text tradition interesting, is that it corroborates the aforementioned hypothesis of a secondary change in the dialogue technique of the *Gorgias*.<sup>8</sup> According to Plato's narrative practice, the narrator of the dialogue, here presumably Socrates himself, is likely to have commented on the setting, notably in this introductory section. He gave sufficient hints of who says what, and how – note for instance that

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189b, see below, n. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Laches* 189b where πείρα is constructed with two genitives, σαυτοῦ and ἀρετῆς.

<sup>8</sup> Above, n. 4.



Gorgias evidently does not listen to the discussion between Callicles, Chaerophon and Socrates until Chaerophon (447d6) turns to him. With the establishment of the text, and the later adoption of the sigla, the Πάρεστι comment was *automatically* attributed to Gorgias who had made the statement at 448a1-3 and whom Chaerophon addresses at 448a4. But in fact the only utterance by Gorgias at the beginning of the dialogue seems to be the pompous statement at 448a1-3, with its special effect and its implication of boredom.

We can only speculate about what made Plato and the early Platonists drop the 'inserenda', the μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων, and make the dialogue directly dramatic. This is likely to have happened in Plato's lifetime. In *Theaetetus*, where the process is explicitly referred to (142c-143c), the ultimate motivation was probably the successively more Academic contents of the dialogue which made the literary apparatus superfluous. Here the fiction of Euclides of Megara being the 'writer' who had several times been verifying, and making additions to, Socrates' narrative (*ibid.*), is a piece of Platonic play that does not entirely open itself to us. But the speakers of this dialogue, in its directly dramatic form, were easily identified by a reader, in this case a slave (143c), who has rehearsed the reading beforehand. We must presume that slaves were trained for reading in the Academy. At any rate the author, or somebody who knew the text well, was present at the performance and prepared to give the necessary instructions to the reader and his listeners. Remember: oral communication still dominated in the Early Academy.

However, the *Gorgias* is not a strictly Academic writing even in its present form. It has quite a protreptic tone, and Socrates in a way turns into an orator (as in *Protagoras* he has, in the end, changed position with the sophist). There may be some symbolic truth in the story about the Corinthian farmer who had listened to the *Gorgias* (presumably some part of it) and become so impressed that he marched straight on to Athens to hear more.<sup>9</sup> Yet there are ingredients alluding to Academic practice, such as the dihaereses at 462c-466a; and Socrates' discussion with Polus and Callicles especially (beginning at 481b) includes important philosophical points. Most pertinently, the section 506c-509c looks almost like a manifesto of Platonic philosophy. Some scholars have pointed out features in *Gorgias* which were

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<sup>9</sup> Themistius, *Or.* 23, 296cd.



hardly intended for the general public.<sup>10</sup> I imagine that the *Gorgias* was gradually expanded and elaborated as Plato's personal defence of philosophy until it became a useful textbook for Academic training.

Thus, while the dialogue still preserved much of Plato's specific non-Academic concerns from the 390s (Athenian politics, the influence of rhetors, the attack of Polycrates, apology of Socrates, and a general appeal to educated Athenians), the inserenda, which were useful for non-Academics only, could be left out from this new version.<sup>11</sup>

A somewhat similar case is the *Laches* (cf. the narrative *Charmides*) which cannot be dealt with here.<sup>12</sup> If the *Gorgias* had perhaps originally been addressed to a somewhat larger audience, the dialogue was now habitually presented by a trained reader to chosen audiences of intellectuals – where Corinthian farmers, alas, had no place. In Plato's lifetime, the dialogues were not on the whole intended for the general market, i.e., copied for publication, though some of the narrative pieces had a larger appeal. Plato's manuscripts, and especially the dramatic pieces, were not meant to be studied in a literate society by new readers unacquainted with the text. Thus the mistake with the attribution of *Gorgias* 448a5 is symptomatic of three trends on which I have commented recently:<sup>13</sup> the slide in Plato's dialogue technique from narrative to dramatic form; the preference for oral presentation in Plato's environment; and Plato's deliberate withdrawal from publicity. All lead to additional complications for our understanding of his allusions and moods.

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<sup>10</sup> E.g., Th.A.Szlezák, *Platon und die Schriftlichkeit der Philosophie*, Berlin 1985, 191–207. The dialectic of the 'tyrannical' and 'dishonest' Socrates of this dialogue (see D.Babut, "OYTOΣI ANHP OY ΠAYΣETAI ΦAYAPΩN", *REG* 105 (1992) 59–110; J.Beversluis, *Cross-Examining Socrates*, Cambridge 2000, 291–376) can, after all, only contribute to a fairly refined sort of protreptic (contrary to, say, *Euthydemus* which also ends with a protreptic note).

<sup>11</sup> As tended to happen in *Republic* II–X and *Parmenides*. I have not basically changed my view of this process, as argued in 1982 (above, n. 2)

<sup>12</sup> Possibly some dialogues were performed dramatically by students in Plato's Academy; cf. Thesleff 1982 (above, n. 2) 59, 62–63, with references; doubted by G.J.de Vries in *Mnemosyne* 37 (1984) 143–145. Public performances in Plato's Athens, as suggested by Gilbert Ryle, are rather out of the question.

<sup>13</sup> In 2002 (above, n. 1).



## DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

PETER NICHOLS: *Aristophanes' Novel Forms: The Political Role of Drama*. Minerva Press, London 1998. ISBN-86106-288-5. 258 pp. GBP 7.99.

According to the text on the back cover, this book's aim is to "examine the political influence on drama" by using Aristophanic comedies. This somewhat ambiguous expression becomes clearer only when the author reveals the premise of his study rather late in the introduction: Aristophanes should be treated like a serious thinker who wished to present a coherent view of poetry and philosophy and of their influence on the political life of the Athenian city-state. Nichols says that Aristophanes makes this evident by bringing poets and philosophers as citizens on stage. Aristophanes also wants to show how drama could improve and help the polis in a difficult period.

In the introduction, N. also deals on general level with questions such as "what is art?", "why is art?" and if it can be politics (he should, I think, also ask "what is politics?"). He analyses briefly, e.g., Rousseau's and Nietzsche's views about the meaning and function of art and touches upon questions of the status of drama in the contemporary USA. After the general introduction, N. moves on to discuss in detail three plays of *Aristophanes*, the *Acharnians*, the *Thesmophoriazousai* and the *Frogs*. The choice of the comedies is said to have been made mainly on the basis of the characters: in these plays Aristophanes puts his colleagues in tragedy, Euripides, Agathon and Aeschylus on stage, and is, on some level, represented himself, too. In these plays, consequently, one can detect Aristophanes' ideas about the role of drama as an edifying instrument in the society.

N. goes through the plays (he handles the comedies faithfully, following the plots), highlighting points which he thinks emphasise Aristophanes' theory of the poetic influence on political questions. The *Acharnians* is, of course, about peace, which is achieved only after introducing an Euripidean beggar-character to mollify the veterans of Salamis. After trying to influence in traditional ways in vain, the main character must take over the duties of a just city, as his name Dicaeopolis suggests.

In the *Thesmophoriazousai*, N. concentrates on the characters of the tragedian Agathon as well as that of the protagonist Euripides, who is facing the sentence pronounced on him by the angry women of Athens. The conclusions drawn concerning this play (which, according to the author, is usually not considered a political one) seem to be that Euripides has shaken the grounds of Athenian society by making men more concerned with domestic matters and therefore perhaps leading them away from the "grand ambition". He has also made the Athenian man more "womanish" by questioning the traditional religion. Thus he, unlike Aristophanes, who also makes fun of the gods, makes people fear, which has, of course, social consequences.

In analysing the *Acharnians* and the *Thesmophoriazousai*, N. repeatedly asks whether Aristophanes himself is questioning the usefulness of comedy and Euripides'

kind of drama to assist the polis through rough times:"...what it would mean under circumstances in which the city's survival depended upon warlike heroism, upon manliness in the traditional sense." (pp. 120–21). In the *Frogs*, it becomes clear that this is not the case, but instead the society needs quite traditional values, as presented by Aeschylus. Euripides, who was an indispensable help for Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*, and who manages to save himself in the *Thesmophoriazousai* loses out to Aeschylus, who upholds martial heroism. And this is the case, although Aristophanes himself is shown closer to Euripides than Aeschylus, as N. states in the conclusion of his study.

In the concluding chapters, N. compares the Platonic Socrates and criticism of poetry with Aristophanes (rather strangely, since the *Clouds* is excluded from the previous discussion), and he decides that Aristophanes anticipates the Platonic criticisms. The role of drama is not to teach actual means of ruling but to point out the correct guidelines to a just and righteous goal.

The ideas and views in this book are sometimes refreshing and interesting – I especially liked the treatment of the *Acharnians* with the discussion of the justice and justification of democracy and the pondering of the meaning of the frogs in the *Frogs*. On the other hand I found the book very difficult to read and some of the conclusions remain rather obscure and, frankly, unoriginal (but then, everybody knows, how difficult it is to say something genuinely "novel" about ancient literature).

Another problem is that, after reading the book twice, it remained unclear to me, what really was the focus of the study. I think it is self-evident that Aristophanes also depended on tragedy and that he had a political agenda, so it is not difficult to become convinced of the results of the study. But then again, it must be stated that the author is a scholar of political science, which makes his approach somewhat divergent from that of a philologist.

Tiina Purola

M. TULLIUS CICERO: *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*. Fasc. 17. *Orationes in L. Catilinam quattuor*. Recensuit T. MASLOWSKI. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. In aedibus K.G. Saur, Monachi et Lipsiae 2003. ISBN 3-598-71187-5. lxvi, 108 pp. EUR 68.

Those interested in the speeches of Cicero will be pleased to note the appearance, in 2003, of this new *BT* volume of Cicero's *Catilinarians*, edited by T. Maslowski, a distinguished Ciceronian scholar. Those who have had to absorb this specimen of Cicero's rhetoric at school and thought they would never care to return to these particular speeches might well use this occasion to renew their acquaintance with them. To be truthful, I do not think Cicero is quite at his best in these speeches (and there are perhaps a bit too many instances of expressions of the type of *furor* and *pestis*), but certainly the *Catilinarians* offer much of interest (note, e.g., the fact that we have here speeches delivered both in the senate and to the people).

At the beginning, there is a thorough and informative *Praefatio* (p. v–liv). Of his more recent predecessors, Maslowski mentions only Nohl, Clark and Reis. Clark's *OCT*

edition is spoken of with approval (p. x, and cf. e.g. xxxix; on the other hand, note p. xxxv, on Clark ignoring ms. **i**). As for the ms. tradition, the bottom line of the exposition presented here does not seem to be too much at variance with that by M.D. Reeve and R.H. Rouse in L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission* (1983) 62ff., but it is good to have the details set out in depth. Moreover, there is the spectacular fact that there are now, in addition to the mss., also four (or rather three, see p. xi) papyri, mentioned only in passing in *Texts*.

The textual history of the *Catilinarians* is fairly complicated, there being contamination between the mss. belonging to the three classes of mss, **α**, **β** and **γ** (cf. the stemmata on pp. xxxiv, xxxviii and xlv). In any case, it seems clear that this division into classes goes back all the way to (late) antiquity (e.g., p. xl). However, it can be established that they all have a common archetype **Ω** (p. xlvi); it seems remarkable that the same also goes for the important papyrus **B**(arcinonensis) which covers much of bk. i and all of bk. ii (p. xlvii).

This may well furnish the explanation for the fact that, in the end, the constitution of the text here does not differ so much from that of Clark. Let me note here some of the divergencies which I observed. First of all, it seems that Maslowski has, in some cases, given preference to readings dominating in **β** and **γ** over those in **α** (but note the constant presence of contamination). This seems to be more or less the case at least in 1. 9 (*nostro in numero*; better than *in nostro*); 1. 12 (*Italiam denique totam*; good); 1. 16 (*quotiens vero*; better than without *vero*); 1. 16 (*hoc tibi*); 1. 19 (*qui* instead of *quia*; clearly preferable); 1. 30 (*auctoritatem secuti*); 3. 3 (*exponam breviter, Quirites*); 3. 17 (*tanta in* [instead of *in tota*; clearly preferable, as *tanta* adds force to the comparison with *in privata domo*] ... *inventata atque deprehensa*). I should say that in all these passages M. has improved upon his predecessor. – The Barcelona papyrus is the source of the following divergencies: 2. 3 (*rei p. utilitas*, this word not appearing in the mss.; because of the parallel with *huius imperi severitas*, the addition is clearly more than useful; note also that *r. p. u.* comes only after *h. i. s.*); 2. 8 (*ne in uno quidem angulo* replacing *ne ullo quidem in angulo* [but I liked the collocation of *in* before *angulo*]); 2. 25 (*equitibus Romanis populo Romano* replacing *equitibus Romanis*, only **B** having *Romano*; surely a mention of the Roman people is of the essence here); 2. 20 (*raedis* which has some attractions beside *lecticis* [also in **β γ**] taking the place of *praediis*).

Of the divergencies based on something else, I noted 1. 4 (*verum tamen*; the *tamen* seems to add some force); 1.16 (*tamen ... potes* reintroduced into the text); 1. 27 (*sic* being added from Quintilian; but he may well be quoting from memory); 1. 31 (*hic* [most mss.] being reinstated, with a reference to good parallels); 2. 3 (clauses beginning with *quam multos* rearranged); 2. 5 (*prae his copiis*); 2.9 (*esse fateatur* removed; of the excellence of this, I am not sure); 2. 12 (*quid ut* replacing the conjecture *quin ut*); 2. 15 (*levandae* instead of *relevandae*; good); 2. 19 (*magnam concordiam maxima <in> multitudine* replacing Clark's *magnam concordiam <ordinum>, maximam multitudinem* which is lame and does not respect the "law of increasing members"; but I have the feeling that there is still work to be done on this passage); 3. 6 (*educuntur*; **C**. *Cethegus* [person introduced for the first time]); 3. 8 (*discriptum*; very good); 3. 12 (*et vide quid* instead of *vide ecquid*; but the *et* does not seem very desirable); 3. 25 (*atque... omnes* rehabilitated); 4. 2 (*sella curulis* put back in the text but placed before *sedes honoris*; but



isn't the result a bit too naïve to have been said in the senate? I think Muretus had good reasons for thinking that *s. c.* is a gloss); 4. 8 (now we have *multos una dolores*, etc.; but it is disturbing that the mss. have *multas uno dolore*); 4. 11 (*vituperatione prohibebo*; but the mss. point to some serious trouble); 4. 13 (*cum <iure> avum*; the addition seems indispensable); 4. 13 (<*minus*> dropped); 4. 20 (*esse iudico turpem*; Clark had dropped *esse*, apparently because it appears in different collocations in the mss.).

In addition to the text, there are also great number of *testimonia* both to the speeches and to individual passages; these will be of great service to scholars. Of course, here and there one could add a *testimonium* or two; for instance, a passage from 1. 25 is quoted by Boethius (*Comm. in Aristot. περὶ ἔρμ.*, ed. Meiser vol. ii p. 344), from 1. 27 by Augustine (H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* [1967] I 45), from 2. 11 by one of the *Panegyrici* (A. Klotz, *RhM* 66 [1911] 545). – At the end, there is an "Appendix orthographica" and an index of names. – In the whole volume, I observed only one misprint, 'testimionium' on p. xxxii.

This edition, based on very solid scholarship and criticism, will from now on no doubt be regarded as the standard edition. The editor must be congratulated upon his achievement.

Olli Salomies

*The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*. Edited by PHILIP HARDIE. Cambridge Companions to Literature. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002. ISBN 0-521-77281-8 (hb), 0-521-77528-0 (pb). 408 pp. GBP 47.50 (hb), 15.95 (pb).

Even those who do not specialize in Ovid or even in Roman poetry must have noticed that Ovid has been receiving a lot of scholarly attention in the last ten or fifteen years. This has clearly resulted in the upgrading of Ovid's status as a poet, previously thought of by many as an author mainly suited to being read in school as an introduction to 'serious' poetry and in need of being commented upon mainly on points of mythological prosopography. But in Ovidian scholarship, times have changed, and it is thus no wonder that one can now add this *Companion* to the monographs dedicated to Ovid in recent years. On the other hand, one may be a little surprised of the fact that the year 2002 produced not only one but two *Companions* to Ovid, for in addition to the Cambridge one there is now also *Brill's Companion to Ovid*, edited by B. W. Boyd and also published in 2002. (One is reminded of the fact that the Cambridge and Brill *Companions* to Virgil appeared almost simultaneously a few years ago.)

Now the term *companion*, used as here in reference to the study of an author, leads one to think of something to be placed on a somewhat higher level than what would be called an *introduction*. But in fact this volume has also been conceived as "an introduction to basic aspects of Ovid's works and their reception", as one reads in the *Preface*; on the first page of the volume, under the heading "*The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*", there is a somewhat modified version of this, for here one reads that this book is also designed as an "accessible handbook for the general reader who wishes to learn about Ovid". But in both places, higher aims are also announced.

To be candid, it is hard to see how this book could be used either as an introduction or as a handbook, for there is no *index locorum* at all and the contributions published here tend to be pretty heavy reading, at least for beginners; moreover, some subjects which one would expect to find in an introduction or a handbook are not treated at all (cf. below). Thus it seems that this volume would be more correctly characterized as a collection of essays on Ovid (this impression also emerges from the fact that some of the contributors have not been able to resist the urge to furnish their articles with fancy names of the type where a meaningless and a meaningful part are separated in the middle by a colon), although it must of course be admitted there there is a clear logic in the selection and the collocation of the contributions.

But of course it is true that the volume is not meant to be seen only as an introduction to Ovid, but also as "a sample of the range of approaches that have emerged ... in recent years" (thus the *Preface*), and seen from this angle, things change, as there can be no doubt that this is an extremely valuable collection of papers for the student of Ovid, especially for the student of Ovid who is already well acquainted with the man and his *oeuvre*. As mentioned above, the contributions tend to be scholarly rather than didactic, and normally they clearly presuppose that the reader is familiar with Ovid's writings; moreover, some of them have clearly been written in a state of great inspiration. The contributions are presented under three headings: 'Contexts and History', 'Themes and works', and 'Reception', the first two being of more immediate interest to the student of Ovid himself, the last to the student of Ovid's influence. In Part 1, I was impressed especially by R. Tarrant on 'Ovid and ancient literary history' and by T. Habinek on 'Ovid and Empire' (but the introduction of a quotation from J. Fabian, no doubt a deep thinker but apparently a person with difficulties in formulating his thoughts clearly, on p. 55 seems embarrassingly out of place), articles elegantly written and full of interesting points. Hardie (the editor) on 'Ovid and earlier imperial literature' and A. Schiesaro on 'Ovid and the professional discourses of scholarship, religion and rhetoric' are also interesting, but I thought both Hardie's and Schiesaro's manner of presentation a bit high-flown (a feature perhaps also characterizing Hardie's Introduction to the volume). Moreover, when reading the paper of Schiesaro, there were moments when I thought that it was perhaps not a very good idea to combine the subject 'Ovid's scholarship' (most interesting) with 'religion' and 'rhetoric'.

In part 2, we have altogether ten contributions, all of them dealing either with separate works (but none of them really conceived as introductions covering the main problems of the respective works) or with specific themes. Thus we have papers on 'Ovid and genre' (by S. Harrison), on 'Gender and sexuality' (by A. Sharrock), on myth (F. Graf) and on the 'aesthetics of place' in the *Metamorphoses* (S. Hinds); and, on the other hand, we have papers on all the works from the amatory ones to the exile poetry. I thought highly, for instance, of Harrison's 'Ovid and genre' (79ff.), especially of the parts dealing with the *Fasti* and the *Metamorphoses* (but some potential readers might be scared off by the introduction of the concept 'supergenre' in the fourth line of this contribution) and of Barchiesi on 'Narrative technique', full of interesting and well-made points (180ff.; on p. 189, note the passage "unfortunately [!] my mission is to focus on narrative technique (etc.)", a passage which seems to illustrate some of the problems of volumes such as this: established scholars in many cases prefer to spread their wings

instead of submitting to the discipline imposed by editors). Of course all of the papers are worth reading (although I thought Hinds on 'Aesthetics of place' was a bit on the lengthier side and that A. Feldherr on 'Metamorphosis' was kept on a level much too high for the inexperienced). Of the two articles by A. Sharrock, 'Gender and Sexuality' (p. 95ff.) and 'The amatory works' (p. 150ff.), I thought the latter, a delightful piece, was more successful (and I shall certainly keep in mind the definition of the *Remedia* as an "underrated, superbly sexy poem"; p. 160). As for the one on Gender, although it is clear that, from the point of view of the representativeness of this collection, this is a most useful and appropriate contribution, I cannot help thinking that approaching a corpus like that of Ovid from the isolated point of view of gender and sexuality may in some cases lead to conclusions which illustrate our thinking rather than that of Ovid (note what happens to the *Aeneid* when seen from this angle, p. 104, line 6ff.).

In this context, I cannot go into Part 3 on Ovid's 'Reception' (an expression which strikes me as somehow German) except by pointing out the interest of the contributions (among which there is also C. Allen on 'Ovid and art') and D.F. Kennedy's observation (p. 335) that there is need for a major work on Ovid's 'reception' in the 20th century. Instead, if I may be allowed, I would like to make some observations on the whole volume and on its conception, keeping in mind the fact that this volume is also designed as an introduction and a handbook (cf. above).

Now it is very clear from the first page onwards that the point of view is almost exclusively literary. Accordingly, there is nothing here on Ovid's background, his style, or the manuscripts of his works, although one would assume that even those whose interests are literary might wish to be informed on these matters. The fact that Ovid was from Sulmo in the country of the Paeligni is of some interest by itself, and there are many epigraphical sources which could be used to illustrate the standing of the Ovidius family there. And shouldn't there be a critical examination of the poet's life? Moreover (to touch upon a detail of minor importance), I would also like to see an introduction to Ovid with a note on the name of the city where he lived in exile; normally literary historians speak of it as *Tomis*, but *Tomis* is not unheard of (note here 35 n. 5). And if it is *Tomis*, is this a singular or a plural? (Inscriptions seem to show that the city could be called both Τόμοι and Τόμις which is a singular and declines like πόλις.) Also, the section on the exile of Ovid in an introduction to Ovid might gain from a few words on the area of Tomis, a region with not only barbarians but also with old Greek colonies, reachable within a few hours journey from Tomis.

But what about the other *Companion* to Ovid published in 2002? There are things in this volume which make one think. There is a biography (by P. White), a superb chapter (by E.J. Kenney) on language and style (p. 27–89; in part, a modification of an earlier exposition), a useful paper (by M. Dewar) on the fate of Ovid in Antiquity (up to the 5th century), and a very thorough and informative contribution on the manuscript tradition (by J. Richmond). Moreover, there is an *index locorum*. Add to this the fact that in the Brill volume, too, there are contributions on the individual works, on narrative technique, and on Ovid's afterlife (but only on that in the Middle Ages), and the result would seem to be that many might be inclined to think that, if one had to choose between the two, the Brill volume would be more desirable. (I would say that this was the case with the two *Companions* to Virgil.) However, there is one notoriously bad thing about

books published by Brill, and the Cambridge volume covers some ground which is neglected in its Brill counterpart. And, to say the truth, after having read the book reviewed here, it is now clear to me that there is room for even more introductions to Ovid, a previously neglected poet now almost in the centre of critical attention and no doubt offering much material for further scholarship. And, of course, I thought this was a great book, and I enjoyed every minute I was reading it.

*Olli Salomies*

MARIA PLAZA: *Laughter and Derision in Petronius' Satyrice. A Literary Study*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 46. Almquist & Wiksell International, Stockholm 2000. ISBN 91-22-01891-3. xii, 227 pp. SEK 244.

Maria Plaza's study of Petronius' *Satyrice* (a revised version of her doctoral dissertation) consists of the following main parts: Chapter 2 bears the title "A critical survey of previous research on laughter and related topics", concentrating on the narrating-"I" and experiencing-"I" (2.1) and the interpretations of the function of laughter (2.2); Chapter 3 focusses on the "Analysis of the motif of laughter and derision", with subchapters on *Sat.* 1–26.6 (3.1), *Cena Trimalchionis* (3.2) and *Sat.* 79–141 (3.3.), all divided into further sub-sections. Plaza's grounds (p. 11) for giving a special introduction and summary in 3.2 on the *Cena*, the central and almost independent episode of the work, are acceptable.

Plaza analyzes the function of the explicit references to laughter and derision in the *Satyrice*. This is a well-grounded theme for study because, as far as I know, she is quite correct (p. 3) that explicit laughter and derision have been considered important in the *Satyrice*, but the study of them has been neglected. This book, with its systematic episode-by-episode analysis of the references and contexts of laughter, fills that gap in the scholarly research on Petronius.

Plaza explains her aims inspiringly (p. 2). In particular her designs for finding out the function of the references in colouring the "tone of narrative" and "connection with major aspects of the *Satyrice*, satyr-like behaviour, satire and humour" offer a good starting point for discussion. Her deliberately narrow delineation (stated on p. 3), instead of a more theoretical approach is, indeed, a wise method of study. Plaza mentions first (p. 3) that she is "not primarily concerned with laughter in general" – yet she suggests to us on the following page that "our interest in laughter must thus be a broad one". This verbal inconsistency does not, however, reflect her analysis. To read this book is rewarding.

Ch. 2, the survey of the previous study of laughter and related topics in the *Satyrice*, is a clear introduction for a general reader, too. Plaza discusses respectively the main functions of laughter and derision in the novel suggested by scholars: satire, entertainment, pessimism and despair, affirmation and relativisation. She herself develops the points of view of the relativizing function of this laughter, presented in 1974 by Louis Callebaut and particularly 1990 by Gerlinde Huber; for Huber's research applied successfully by Plaza, see pp. 183–185 on *Sat.* 111–112, Eumolpus' story of the Widow of Ephesus. According to Callebaut and Huber, the laughter of the *Satyrice* is ambivalent, that is challenging and affirmative (so Callebaut, see p. 52, but see Plaza's criticism of his

method and results, p. 52, 67), as well as mutually exclusive, non-absolute and relativizing (so Huber, see p. 53). Plaza demonstrates us that laughter in the *Satyrica* is ambiguous (see p. 53: "ambiguity is its very nature") and it performs simultaneously different functions (ibid.).

In her analysis in 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, Plaza successfully avoids compartmentalizing laughter; she occasionally tends to underline her arguments for the ambivalent nature of the text so much that the reader finds her own analysis ambivalent to a degree. On p. 83 in the conclusion of the analysis of *Sat.* 1–26.6, she concludes that "the satiric vision is strongly undercut by the facts that the potential satiric vehicle is silenced...On the other hand, it may be said that unrefined mimic laughter in itself is an object of scorn, and such a view would strengthen the satirical interpretation". Consequently, what is left is that the satiric function is, however, very prominent. But I agree with Plaza that the satiric function, or equivalent, is not the only target Petronius aimed at.

Plaza succeeds well in keeping her method in balance throughout the treatise; no single theory of laughter (an overview of them given pp. 4–10) dominates her analysis. Perhaps this (subconsciously) influenced her in her decision to entitle the subchapters with the sentences of the *Satyrica*. This method, having as a starting point the words and their contexts, is not an innovation as such (it is used in a broader sense in commentaries), but it appears to also work in a study of a specific theme like this. The explicit references functioned as "shortcuts" into the more profound messages in Petronius, and they serve methodologically the same purpose in Plaza's analysis. If the reader is interested in the specific passages of the *Satyrica*, this book offers an easy access to the writer's argumentation and debate with her colleagues. I would not, however, consider Plaza's subtitles convenient for a more general reader. She could have found illustrative titles from her own creditable analysis on the narrative strategies, characters and their interactions, intertextual methods and thematic and generic ambivalence in Petronius' work. Or, she could have translated the reference sentences into English, the language of her study.

This valuable treatise by Maria Plaza encourages us to take a step further and imagine that behind Petronius' visions there was not a black and white but a multicoloured Rome, where human laughter appeared on different levels simultaneously.

*Asko Timonen*

SUETONIUS: *Divus Claudius*. Edited by DONNA W. HURLEY. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001. ISBN 0-521-59676-9. viii, 274 pp., figs. GBP 40 (hb), 14.95 (pb).

Donna W. Hurley's edition of Suetonius' *Life of Claudius* in the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics contains an introduction to the author, his work and the Latin text of the *vita Claudii* (based on Ihm/Teubner), a commentary, a list of literature and three indexes.

This book is very useful for the student of Suetonius. Hurley's comments are easy to follow, even if one starts in the middle of them (which is quite usual); she has a fluent way of approaching the text, not a common feature of commentaries due to the problem



of what should be commented upon. I enjoyed Hurley's brief introductions in the beginning of chapters (e.g., *10 Accession*, p. 94, *14–15 Iudex*, pp. 116–118; *16 Censor*, pp. 127–128; *17 Imperator*, pp. 133–134, *35–37 Fearfulness*, pp. 211–212, or *43–46 Death*, pp. 233ff. with subdivisions) which greatly help a reader using this edition as a source book for specific details or sectors of the emperor's life and career.

Hurley's interpretations of the text are careful; she avoids taking a very pointed stand on Suetonius' opinions of Claudius' achievements or decision-making, which, as a whole, is fair to the beginner at least.

Considering Claudius' accession (*mirabili casu*, 10.1), Hurley rightly points out (p. 94) that "Ironically, the *reluctant emperor* image played directly into the portrayal of him as passive, fearful and undignified". Although this is a basic commentary, I would have wished her to focus more on such features of biography in her introduction. For instance, Suetonius' literary devices to knit together the emperor's habits with different occasions of life could have been discussed in Chapter 4, Structure and Style, pp. 17ff. Fortunately, she deals somewhat with the central topics of Suetonius' style in the course of her commenting, as, for instance, fearfulness as "C.'s dominant trait" (pp. 211–217). "Fearfulness" is a biographical rubric to be compared with "cruelty", "luxury" and "gluttony" ("cruelty" also occurs in the *vita Claudii*, [34, see pp.207–211]), but, as known, it is impossible or very difficult to discern fact from fiction in Suetonius. Hurley rightly points out regarding Claudius' insecurity (p. 211–212) that "C. had particular reasons for being so, coming to the principate as he did in the face of a hostile senate, threatened by a coup a year later and never able to protect himself by establishing a firm succession". The reader can judge (and actually expects answers from Hurley) how much of this image of his reign was moulded by a biographer who loved rumours, intrigues and scenes of absurd situations (like the *mirabili casu*, mentioned above).

One difficulty with relatively thick paperbacks like this is how to keep a double page open, say, at a point some 50 pages from the beginning or from the end of the book – that needs inventiveness! Should we turn the opened book upside down and keep turning it when needed while working? Or, should we open it roughly so that it stays open, which, as a result, causes the pages to be in danger of coming loose from the binding. I would not recommend the latter method but the first one: this book deserves to be kept open with its pages in correct order.

*Asko Timonen*

GERHARD ANSELM MÜLLER: *Formen und Funktionen der Vergilzitate und –anspielungen bei Augustin von Hippo. Formen und Funktionen der Zitate und Anspielungen*. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, 18. Band. Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn 2003. ISBN 3-506-79068-4. 508 S. EUR 88,40.

*Formen und Funktionen der Vergilzitate und –anspielungen bei Augustin von Hippo* von Gerhard Anselm Müller ist eine überarbeitete Fassung seiner im 2000–2001 an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität angenommenen Dissertation. In seinem opus magnum untersucht Müller Augustins Vergilzitate im Horizont ihrer Zeit und die Rolle der Zitate

in Augustins Argumentation.

Man kann das Verhältnis der Kirchenschriftsteller zur klassischen griechisch-römischen Kulturtradition mit einer gewissen Ambiguität beschreiben. Christliche Verfasser wie Laktanz, Hieronymus und Augustin betonten die Trennung zwischen der klassischen Bildung und dem christlichen Glauben. Dennoch findet man in den Texten derselben Autoren umfangreiche wörtlich übernommene und deutlich markierte klassische Zitate.

Augustin wendet sich gegen die pagane (d.h. klassische) Dichtung wegen ihrer wesentlichen Verbindung mit paganen Göttermythen. Nach Müller lag im Horizont Augustins viel eher ein völliges Verschwinden der klassischen Autoren aus dem Bewusstsein auch der gebildeten Christen. Das ist besonders offensichtlich in *De doctrina christiana*, obgleich dieses Verschwinden eine gleichartige transzendente Vision wie die absolute Trennung der *civitas Dei* und der *civitas terrena* (in *De civitate Dei*) zu sein scheint. Eine echte Herauslösung aus der antik-paganen Bildung war nicht möglich.

Müller will beweisen, dass der Gebrauch von Vergilzitate eine willentliche Entscheidung Augustins war, von der er sich Überzeugungskraft in Hinblick auf ein weites Publikum erwartete. Die Zitate funktionieren also als reflektierte Elemente der rhetorischen und kommunikativen Strategien des Kirchenvaters.

Formen und Funktionen der Vergilzitate und –anspielungen ist nach Werken und Werkgruppen strukturiert: philosophische und theologische Frühschriften, anti-manichäische Schriften, theologische Schriften, antipagane Schriften, Briefe, Sermones und exegetische Schriften, antipelagianische Schriften und antidonatistische Schriften. Auf diese Weise kommt die Themen- und Adressatenbezogenheit der Zitate auf. Die einzelnen Werke und die Adressaten, ihr Bildungsgang und ihre religiöse Position werden analysiert. Innerhalb der einzelnen Werke sind die Zitate einigermaßen thematisch eingeordnet worden, was die Lesbarkeit des Buches erleichtert. Echte Neufunde von Zitaten gibt es nur wenige, aber das ist ja nicht der Zweck dieser Untersuchung.

Nach Müller ist die Engführung auf Vergil die Hauptschwäche vieler vorigen Untersuchungen, weil Vergil dann oft zu isoliert betrachtet wird. Die Stärke der detaillierten Untersuchung Müllers ist bestimmt der Vergleich mit anderen zitierten klassischen Dichtern und Prosaautoren, weil er zu einer differenzierteren Sicht führt. Die Bedeutung Vergils als zentraler Bezugspunkt Augustins wird nicht gemindert – Vergil ist für Augustin der wichtigste römische Dichter – aber seine Rolle wird relativierter betrachtet.

Man vergleicht das vorliegende Buch natürlich mit zwei anderen Werken, nämlich Harald Hagendahls *Augustine and the Latin Classics* (1967) und Sabine MacCormacks *The Shadows of Poetry. Virgil in the Mind of Augustine* (1998), mit denen Müller sich auch auseinandersetzt. Müller kritisiert MacCormack, die nach seiner Meinung Einzelheiten zu sehr belastet. Er betont, dass die meisten Zitate und Anspielungen einen begrenzten Resonanzraum haben und nicht über die unmittelbare argumentative Funktion hinaus ausgewertet werden dürfen. Während Hagendahl zum größten Teil an den zitierten Autoren und weniger am Kontext innerhalb des augustininischen Werkes interessiert ist, untersucht Müller demgegenüber genau den Kontext und den Gebrauch der klassischen Zitate im Zusammenhang der augustininischen Werke. Hagen-

dahl hatte eine Wellenlinie in der zeitlichen Entwicklung der augustinischen Zitate dargestellt: Demzufolge wären sie nach einem ersten Höhepunkt mit der Priesterweihe zur Flaute gekommen. Im Jahr 413 erfolge ein Neuansatz, während in den letzten Schriften Zitate wiederum fast völlig fehlten. Diese Wellenlinie wird aber illusorisch, wenn man nicht die zeitliche Perspektive betont, sondern auf Themen und Adressaten konzentriert.

Verdienstvoll finde ich das Interesse und das Vertiefen in die Kontexte, Textstrategien und Intertextualität. Als sein methodisches Vorbild nennt Müller Stefan Freunds, *Vergil im frühen Christentum. Untersuchungen zu den Vergilzitate bei Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Novatian, Cyprian und Arnobius* (2000). Er überträgt die von der Intertextualitäts- und Markierungsforschung bereitgestellte Instrumente in den Bereich der Klassischen Philologie.

Im Augustin Müllers ist vor allem ein Verfasser zu seinem Recht gekommen, der frei und bezogen auf Adressaten und Thema zu von ihm differenziert und kritisch betrachteten Mitteln greift. Für Augustin sind die paganen Autoren Elemente reflektierter rhetorischer Strategien, nicht Herzensergießungen. Jedoch könnte man Müller kritisieren, dass er hier völlig an allem Unbewussten vorbeigeht und dass sein Augustin zu rational und unproblematisch ist! Die unterschwelligeren Elemente sind jedoch viel in der neuesten augustinischen Forschung erörtert und betont worden. Auch in der Intertextualitätsforschung wird unvermeidlicher und unbewusster Dialog der Texte hervorgehoben. Kein Text ist allein und ein Wort trägt immer das andere mit sich.

In Formen und Funktionen der Vergilzitate und –anspielungen gibt es auch ein ausgezeichnetes Register der Vergilzitate Augustins – sowohl nach den Augustinstellen als auch nach den Vergilstellen geordnet.

*Maijastina Kahlos*

NONIUS MARCELLUS: *De compendiosa doctrina libros XX* Onionsianis copiis usus edidit WALLACE M. LINDSAY. Editio stereotypa editionis prioris (MCMIII) I–III. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. In aedibus K. G. Saur, Monachii et Lipsiae 2003. ISBN 3-598-71251-8; 3-598-71262-6; 3-598-71263-4. xlii, 997 S. EUR 78 + 78 + 76.

Lindsays Nonius-Ausgabe gehört zu den Klassikern ihrer Gattung. Wegen des besonderen Charakters des nonianischen Werkes war Lindsay wie kaum ein anderer ausgewiesen, gerade einen Autor wie Nonius herauszugeben. Trotz der intensiven Forschung um Nonius besonders während der letzten Jahrhunderthälfte hat Lindsays Edition nichts von ihrem Wert verloren und ist bis heute nicht ersetzt worden. Der Verlag hat sich einen großen Dienst für die Welt der Wissenschaft dadurch erworben, dass er die Ausgabe wieder lieferbar gemacht hat. Da der Nachdruck keine eigenen Nachträge enthält, brauche ich hier nicht auf die Textgestaltung einzugehen. Um so mehr freut man sich wegen des Neudruckes, denn Nonius ist in mancher Hinsicht ein wichtiger Autor. Da er seine Belege überwiegend direkt aus den benutzten Autoren schöpft, ist sein Text für die überlieferungs- und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Situation der jeweiligen Epoche ungewöhnlich aufschlussreich.

*Heikki Solin*

SIBYLLE IHM: *Ps.-Maximus Confessor. Erste kritische Edition einer Redaktion des sacro-profanan Florilegiums Loci communes nebst einer vollständigen Kollation einer zweiten Redaktion und weiterem Material*. Palingenesia, Band 73. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2001. ISBN 3-515-07758-8. cviii, 1153 pp. EUR 91.

L'ultima edizione della raccolta dei *Loci communes* falsamente attribuita a Massimo il Confessore risaliva al 1675<sup>1</sup>; un dato questo che di per sé rende già benemerita la fatica di Sibylle Ihm, che offre finalmente al pubblico degli specialisti la prima vera edizione critica di uno dei più importanti florilegi sacro-profani giunti a noi moderni, suddiviso in 71 capitoli, ciascuno organizzato attorno ad un tema preciso (περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας, περὶ φρονήσεως, περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ecc.)<sup>2</sup>. Ma, il merito della studiosa non si limita solo a questo, dal momento che in pratica ella si preoccupa di fornire contemporaneamente l'edizione critica delle tre recensioni esistenti del testo originario dello Pseudo-Massimo ("Ur-Max"), indicate rispettivamente con Max I, la più breve, MaxII, la più estesa, e MaxU (dal tedesco *Umstellung*), una sorta di versione abbreviata di MaxII con in più una trasposizione dei capitoli ivi ricopiati (1–35, 43–71, 36–42). Per questo, ogni sentenza, numerata secondo una doppia numerazione, la prima relativa a MaxU, la seconda a MaxII (ad. es.: 15./14.), presenta un triplice apparato in cui vengono segnalate le divergenze delle tre redazioni. Nel caso, poi, la sentenza fosse omessa in MaxU, l'editrice riporta in un corpo minore il testo di MaxII, numerandolo in accordo alla numerazione di MaxU, ma seguito da una lettera dell'alfabeto (ad es.: -./8d). Non è raro, però, neppure il caso in cui l'unica recensione superstite sia quella di MaxI, che la studiosa trascrive nuovamente in corpo minore, accompagnando la sentenza con una numerazione questa volta riferita a MaxII (ad es.: -./9a).

Nell'*Einleitung*, divisa in 5 paragrafi (I-XXIX), la Ihm dà ampiamente ragione di tale scelta, dilucidando con essenzialità ed estremo rigore tutte le problematiche inerenti lo *status quaestionis*, dalla posizione della raccolta dello Pseudo-Massimo nell'ambito della letteratura gnomologica alla datazione della raccolta, dalle fonti ai rapporti tra le diverse recensioni. In particolare, la studiosa mette in risalto la diversa 'fortuna' delle tre recensioni, da cui derivano in parte il materiale per le proprie raccolte gli anonimi autori dei *Gnomica Basileensia* e del *Florilegium Rossianum* (MaxU), del *Florilegium Laurentianum* e di quello *Baroccianum* (MaxII). In tal senso, risulta davvero di grande pregio ed utilità la rassegna seguente (III–XVII), in cui viene data notizia di tutti gli gnomologi editi ed alcuni inediti (*l'Appendix Vaticana*, la *Melissa*, il *Florilegium Atheniense*, gli *Gnomica Basileensia*, il *Corpus Parisinum*, gli *Excerpta Vindobonensia*, lo *Gnomologium Byzantinum*, il *Florilegium Leidense*, il *Violetum*, lo *Gnomologium Baroccianum*, lo *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, il *Florilegium Rossianum*, il *Florilegium Nazianzenum*, ecc.); i *fontes* dei *Loci* dello Pseudo-Massimo sono studiati, invece, nel

<sup>1</sup> Si tratta dell'edizione parigina curata di Fr. Combefis, ristampata nella *PG* del Migne (vol. 91, 1865).

<sup>2</sup> Le precedenti edizioni di V. Semenov ("Drevnjaja russkaja pcela po pergamenonó spisku", *Sbornik otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* 54/4, St. Petersburg 1893) e di M. Phillips (*Loci communes of Maximus the Confessor: Vaticanus Graecus 739*, Ph.D., S. Louis University 1977), oltre ad essere fuori commercio e difficilmente reperibili, forniscono, rispettivamente, il testo di MaxU e MaxII sulla base di un solo manoscritto. Di una recentissima edizione di MaxI a cura di É. Sargologos (*Florilège sacro-profane du Pseudo-Maxime*, Typokykladiki, Hermoupolis-Syros 2001) ho solo notizia.

paragrafo successivo (XVII–XXII), dove è presentato il contenuto del cosiddetto *Corpus Parisinum*, dei *Sacra Parallela* di Giovanni Damasceno e dell'*Anthologium* stobeo.

Una questione di non secondaria importanza è rappresentata dal rapporto intercorrente tra le redazioni rappresentate da MaxI e MaxII; questione che ha portato negli anni passati a differenti visioni: la Ihm dedica il quarto paragrafo del capitolo (XXII–XXVIII) a dimostrare, in opposizione sia allo Schenkl, che considerava MaxI fonte di MaxII, sia alla Phillips, la quale capovolge le conclusioni del predecessore, che il testo di MaxI e MaxII presuppone una fonte comune indicata con "Ur-Max", la cui data di composizione risalirebbe alla seconda metà del VII sec. d.C., come dimostra la presenza di alcune sentenze del retore di Gaza, Coricio, e di Giovanni Climaco (XXVIII–XXIX). Per converso, la cronologia di MaxI e di MaxII cadrebbe attorno ai secc. IX–X (con una leggera precedenza per MaxI). Ne deriva, naturalmente, che la redazione di MaxU non può essere avvenuta prima della fine del X secolo.

Il secondo capitolo (XXX–LXXIV) presenta la lista e la descrizione attenta di tutti i manoscritti contenenti i *Loci communes*, raggruppati secondo le tre diverse redazioni, cui si aggiungono i *testimonia* di altri *Florilegia* (quali, ad es., il *Flor. Laur.*, il *Corp. Par.*, il *Flor. Rossianum*, il *Flor. Atheniense*). Andrà segnalato, senz'altro, l'utilità della descrizione, divisa generalmente, e a seconda del tipo di manoscritto, in 'Bibliografia', 'Contenuto', 'Copisti', 'Impaginazione', 'Stato di Conservazione', 'Filigrane', 'Provenienza', 'Caratteristiche paleografiche'.

Lo studio dei rapporti tra i codici è indagato approfonditamente nel terzo capitolo (LXXV–XCIX), dove la studiosa arriva a stabilire lo *stemma* per ciascuna redazione, stabilendo, altresì, il grado di relazione fra le tre recensioni.

Se, poi, il capitolo quarto (C–CIV) è consacrato alla presentazione delle edizioni parziali dei *Loci communes* (Gesner, Combefis, Phillips, Semenov) e agli studi sul testo e la tradizione gnomologica (Mai, Tischendorf, Westermann, Dressler, Michajlov, Tartaglia)<sup>3</sup>, nel successivo (CIV–CV) la Ihm segnala tutte le traduzioni esistenti del florilegio (latina, slava, armena, araba). I principi editoriali e la soluzione dei *sigla* sono discussi nei capitoli 6 (CV–CVII) e 7 (CVII–CVIII).

L'edizione critica vera e propria del testo greco (1–1049), numerata secondo le modalità che ho inizialmente descritto, si presenta così strutturata: per ogni sentenza viene proposto in ordine l'apparato di MaxU, i *loci similes* dei *Gnomica Basileensia*, del *Florilegium Rossianum* e delle raccolte che risalgono a MaxU, l'apparato di MaxII, i *loci similes* del *Florilegium Laurentianum*, del *Baroccianum*, della *Melissa* dello Pseudo-Antonio e delle raccolte che risalgono a MaxII, l'apparato di MaxI, i *loci similes* del *Corpus Parisinum*, dei *Sacra Parallela*, di Stobeo e, quindi, i riferimenti ad altri florilegi in cui è conservata la sentenza.

L'alto valore dell'edizione è, infine, garantito dalla nutrita serie di indici che compaiono alla fine del volume. Anzitutto, *l'Aufstellung der abweichenden Sentenzenfolgen* delle pagine 1050–1056; quindi, la *Bibliografia* generale (1057–1078), divisa in raccolte di testi e frammenti, edizioni di florilegi, edizioni di autori antichi,

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<sup>3</sup> La Ihm non ha potuto naturalmente tener conto dell'importante contributo di O. Overwien, "Das Gnomologium, das Gnomologium Vaticanum und die Tradition", *Gött. Forum f. Altertums.* 4 (2001) 99–131.



contributi relativi allo studio dei manoscritti e letteratura secondaria, e gli indici relativi sia agli *initia* (1079–1105) sia agli autori, cristiani (1106–1127) e pagani (1127–1153), ai quali risale o è attribuita la singola sentenza.

Volendo esprimere un giudizio di massima, l'edizione della Ihm costituisce senza dubbio un imponente lavoro, destinato ad essere consultato ed utilizzato con sicuro profitto. Naturalmente, in un'opera del genere, aperta com'è a molteplici campi di indagine, non possono mancare *errata* o imprecisioni, che non diminuiscono affatto il pregio del volume. Anzi, dimostrano la difficoltà enorme che uno studioso di necessità incontra nell'affrontare tradizioni complesse ed ampiamente articolate come quelle dei florilegi bizantini. Trattandosi, inoltre, della prima vera edizione critica dei *Loci communes*, fondata su uno studio attento e scrupoloso dell'intera tradizione manoscritta, si capisce come le difficoltà siano molto più ampie del previsto.

Non è il caso, dunque, di segnalare i vari esempi di *corrigenda* ed *addenda* che ho notato durante la mia lettura del libro, mi limito solo a rimarcare l'uso, per alcuni autori pagani, di edizioni datate o diverse da quelle attualmente di riferimento: ad es., la Ihm preferisce citare le orazioni di Dione Crisostomo secondo l'edizione del de Budé (1916–1919) e non piuttosto di quella del von Arnim (1893–1896), che, benché anteriore, resta la sola di riferimento (in caso contrario, si poteva rimandare all'edizione più recente di Cohoon-Crosby, 1932–1951). Ugualmente, le epistole di Procopio di Gaza andavano probabilmente indicate con la numerazione di Garzya-Loenertz (1963) e non con quella di Hercher (1873). Curioso anche l'impiego per Elio Aristide dell'edizione del Dindorf (1829) invece di quella di Keil-Lenz (1898, 1976–1980), così come per i frammenti dei comici adespoti della raccolta di Edmonds (1957–1961) e non dell'VIII volume dei *PCG* a cura di Kassel-Austin (1995). L'*Anthologia Palatina*, poi, è citata secondo l'edizione del Dübner (1864–1872) e non quella del Beckby (1957–1958); i frammenti euripidei, dati secondo la numerazione del Nauck, potevano essere integrati con quella di Jouan-Van Looy (1998–2002); per Demetrio Falereo si dispone ora dell'edizione a cura Stork-van Ophuijsen-Dorandi (1999), così come per i frammenti del *de senectute* di Favorino dell'edizione di Amato (1999). Era utile, poi, rimandare per Eveno di Paro alla benemerita raccolta teubneriana degli elegiaci greci di Gentili-Prato (1988<sup>2</sup>). I frammenti comici di Menandro, infine, sono numerati secondo le raccolte di Körte-Thierfelder (1957–1959) e, all'occorrenza, di Edmonds, Meineke (1841) e Kock (1888), mai con il volume VI/2 dei *PCG* di Kassel-Austin (1998).

Ma, lasciando stare tali questioni, vorrei porre un quesito più importante: come mai la Ihm, che pure mostra grandissima attenzione verso altri manoscritti contenenti florilegi, non ha preso affatto in considerazione il Barocci 143? Si tratta, com'è noto, di un importante florilegio del XII secolo, suddiviso in 48 capitoli, che in taluni casi, oltre ad offrire tradizioni in parte diverse, permette di restituire con maggiore verosimiglianza la paternità delle sentenze trascritte<sup>4</sup>.

Non sarebbe stato, inoltre, neppure inutile rintracciare, ad esempio nel caso delle sentenze attribuite a Procopio di Gaza (61.18/68.19, 67.16/38.17, 70.36/41.41), il contesto ovvero l'opera di provenienza. Invero, la Ihm non fa differenza alcuna

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<sup>4</sup> Mi permetto di rinviare ad E. Amato, "Sentenze di Favorino in tre manoscritti inesplorati di Oxford, Cambridge e Londra (con una nota al fr. III Callanan/Bertini Malgarini)", *RhM* 146/1 (2003) 72-84.

nell'indice degli autori profani tra il retore di Gaza e lo storico di Cesarea.

Ribadisco, comunque, che tali annotazioni non pesano che in minima parte sul valore assolutamente positivo dell'edizione della Ihm, cui chiunque si occupa di problemi inerenti la tradizione gnomologica dovrà fare riferimento.

*Eugenio Amato*

ULRIKE EGELHAAF-GAISER: *Kulträume im römischen Alltag. Das Isisbuch des Apuleius und der Ort von Religion im kaiserzeitlichen Rom*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 2. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2000. ISBN 3-515-07766-9. 631 S., 57 Abb., 20 Fototafeln. EUR 50.

Im Zusammenhang mit antiker Religion sind Festkalender, herausragende Kultereignisse und Tempel immer eingehend untersucht worden. Vergessen wurden jedoch vielfach die Alltagsbedürfnisse rund um die Kulte, niederes Kultpersonal und Hilfs- und Nebenräume der eigentlichen Heiligtümer. Gerade diese Aspekte untersucht U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser auf imponierende Weise. Methodisch geht sie dabei einerseits intensiv auf die Metamorphosen des Apuleius und speziell seine Beschreibung des Isiskultes ein. In diesem Zusammenhang entsteht außerdem als "Nebenprodukt" eine Zusammenstellung von ca. 400 antiken Fachtermina zur Sakralarchitektur – ebenfalls ein Desiderat der Forschung. Gleichzeitig untersucht sie aber auch die Funktionen und die Benutzung des gesamten Kultraumes, wobei die Küchen und Speiseräume, Bäder, Personalwohnraum und Herbergen eine wenigstens ebenso wichtige Rolle spielen wie der eigentliche Kultraum.

Das Buch gliedert sich in vier Teile. Im ersten wird unter der Überschrift "Religiöse Werte und gesellschaftliche Normen", nach einer Übersicht über die Apuleiusforschung, mithilfe einer detaillierten Interpretation des Isisbuches die Bedeutung von Raum in übertragenem wie konkretem Sinn, die Optik des Isisanhängers bzgl. Ort und Zeit und vor allem die Einbindung in die römische Verständnisperspektive geleistet: Nicht nur literarisch knüpft Apuleius an übliche Gattungskonventionen an, auch philosophisch ist das Werk im "mainstream" zeitgenössischer Religionsphilosophie und platonischer Erkenntnistheorie und gesellschaftlich sowohl konkret in den lokalen Kontext als auch in die politischen Tendenzen der Hadrianszeit eingebunden.

Logischerweise stellt sich dann die Frage nach dem Stellenwert und der Funktion eines derartigen Fremdkultes in Rom. Dem geht die Autorin nach, indem sie im zweiten Teil die textanalytischen Befunde anhand archäologischer und epigraphischer Gegebenheiten exemplarisch an drei Iseen und einem Serapeum überprüft. Als vielleicht wichtigstes Resultat tritt die Erkenntnis hervor, dass die Exotik, neben ihrem Propagandacharakter sich vor allem in äußeren Dingen insbesondere dem Dekor der öffentlichen Zonen der Kultkomplexe widerspiegelt, während die Architektur in Fassadengestaltung und Raumkonzeption sich praktisch nicht von anderen römischen Kultkomplexen unterscheidet. Nach Egelhaaf-Gaiser betreibt Apuleius eine aktive Romanisierung etwa durch den Gebrauch römischer Kulterminologie und struktureller Gleichsetzungen, wodurch der integrative, staatstragende Charakter des Kultes unterstrichen wird.

Der dritte Teil geht den umgekehrten Weg und stellt sich die Frage, was sich aus den insbesondere archäologischen und epigraphischen Befunden für das Verständnis des Isisbuches ergibt. Iseen und Serapeen, welche anders als etwa Mithräen keinen eigenen Bautypus entfalten, sprechen durch ihre festen Küchen und Speiseräume vom hohen Stellenwert des Kultmahles, wobei die Speiseräume z.T. eine klare Statusdifferenzierung zulassen. Während die Küchen zwar als Nutzseinrichtungen immer ihren nüchternen "Arbeitsplatzcharakter" behalten, unterstreichen in Speiseräumen erhöhte Triclinien, besonderer Dekor die innere Differenzierung der Kultgemeinschaft. Egelhaaf-Gaiser stellt eine Typologie dieser Räumlichkeiten in verschiedenen Häusertypen in ihrem Spannungsfeld zwischen Intimität und Öffentlichkeit zusammen. Nach außen zeigt sich das gemeinsame Prestige z.B. in aufwendigen Nymphäen im Eingangsbereich. Auch hier wie im Kapitel bezüglich des "Kulttourismus", archäologisch fassbar etwa in Herbergen und Bädern, finden wir eine Typologie und interessante Bemerkungen zur jeweiligen Terminologie. Die praktische und für uns zugleich in literarischer Form überlieferte Anwendung bei Apuleius gibt wertvolle Hinweise auf die "Inszenierung und Nutzung publikumsrelevanter Nebenräume".

Der Kultbetrieb im Alltag, wie er sich in den Zeugnissen zum Kult- und sonstigem Dienstpersonal vom *aedituus* bis zum Gemüsehändler und durch einen genaueren Blick auf die Personalwohnungen und Wirtschaftsräume darstellt, weist große Unterschiede je nach Lage, Finanzkraft und umgebender Infrastruktur auf. Die in der Literatur oft hervorgehobene Idealisierung des Lebens von Kultpersonal in nächster Nähe zu ihrem Gott erweist sich in der Praxis als wenig tragfähig, da Kultanlagen immer in Wechselwirkung und Abhängigkeit von ihrem städtischen Umfeld – angefangen vom Wasseranschluss bis hin zu Öffnungszeiten von Märkten usw. stehen. Andererseits bietet die Anlage ihren Mitgliedern auch unabhängig vom Kult Zweckeinrichtungen und Service. Die Lebens- und Arbeitsverhältnisse des niederen Personals werden wie in jedem größeren Privathaushalt gehalten und als selbstverständlich hingenommen. Auch Apuleius' Lucius bildet hier keine Ausnahme.

Die klare Gliederung des Werkes und seine Konsequenz in Aufbau und Ausführung, die stichwortartige Zusammenfassung der vier Teile sowie Bibliographie, Sach- und Stellenregister am Ende erlauben, das Buch auch zur gezielten Arbeit für Einzelaspekte heranzuziehen. Seine durchgehende Lektüre ist freilich sehr lohnenswert und bereichernd.

*Uta-Maria Liertz*

*A' Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο 'Επιγραφικῆς (Πρακτικά). Στην μνήμη Δημητρίου Κανατσούλη. Θεσσαλονίκη 22–23 'Οκτωβρίου 1999. Editors 'Ι. Τουλουμάκος & 'Η. Κ. Σβέρκος. 'Εταιρεία 'Ιστορικῶν καὶ 'Επιγραφικῶν Σπουδῶν / Εκδοτικός Οἶκος Αδελφῶν Κυριακίδη α.ε., Θεσσαλονίκη 2001. ISBN 960-343-608-9. 206 pp.*

This volume contains the acts of the first 'Panhellenic' epigraphic Congress, held in Thessaloniki in October 1999 in memory of D. Kanatsoulis (the author of works such as the Macedonian prosopography). As one would expect of a venue in the northern city

(and sponsored by the Νομαρχιακὴ Αὐτοδιοίκηση of the Nomos of Kozani), the accent lies heavily on Macedonia, and thus on the Roman period. From the interesting Πρόλογος by I. Touloumakos (who notes that one should have started to organize congresses of this type years ago) one learns that 19 papers were delivered at the congress; 12 of them are published here whereas the other papers will be published "later" by the respective authors "σὲ εἰδικὲς μελέτες". As there is (on p. 8f.) a complete programme of the congress, one can, by comparing that to the table of contents (p. 7) easily identify those papers which were omitted here; among them there seems to be that of Professor Touloumakos himself. The papers are all in Greek, with abstracts in English, French or German added. In some cases, the titles of the published papers differ greatly from those given in the programme of the congress.

In any case, there is indeed very much of interest here. The most interesting new text may well be that from Apollonia in Mygdonia published by I.A. Papangelos (p. 111–4); this is a text dated to 106/5 BC mentioning the building of a gymnasium by Μάαρκος Λευκίλιος Μάάρκο[υ] Ῥωμαῖος, ὁ ἐπικαλούμεν[ος] Δημήτριος; this happens στρατηγούντος Τίτου Αὐφιδίου, this person clearly being a new governor of Macedonia. There is also a pleasant Latin vulgar inscription from Philippi (by A. Zannis, p. 35–43) referring to a certain *Fructosus despesator* (for *Fructuosus dispensator*). In addition to these inscriptions, we have new epigraphical texts from Thessalonica (P. Adam-Veleni & I.K. Sverkos), from various sites in the Nomos of Kozani (G. Karamitrou-Mentesidi), from Aphytis south of Potidaea, an early Hellenistic deed of sale (V. Misailidou-Despotidou), from Pella (inscribed weights by D. Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou; various inscriptions by P. Chrysostomou), from the sanctuary of Apollo-Helios at Nea Roda (Chalcidice; by E.-B. Tsigarida). Already published inscriptions are discussed by P.M. Nigdelis (*SEG* xxx 546 from Amphipolis) and G.A. Souris (three letters of Roman emperors). M.B. Hatzopoulos discusses the publication of the epigraphical material from the third *meris* of Macedonia (with interesting remarks on the uses of epigraphical manuscripts; he notes on p. 162 that part 2 of the Ἐπιγραφὲς Κάτω Μακεδονίας will contain 593 texts); and finally, I. Petropoulos discusses the epigraphical evidence for early Greek settlements on the north coast of the Black Sea. All in all, this is a fine volume which I hope will find its way into as many scholarly libraries as possible.

*Olli Salomies*

*Inscriptiones Graecae. Volumen IX: Inscriptiones Graeciae septentrionalis voluminibus VII et VIII non comprehensae. Pars I: Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii. Editio altera. Fasciculus IV: Inscriptiones insularum maris Ionii. Schedis usus, quas condidit GUENTHERUS KLaffenBACH auxitque DANIEL STRAUCH, adiuvante MATHIAS LAWOW edidit KLAUS HALLOF. Titulos Ithacenses retractavit JOHN M. FOSSEY. Gualterus de Gruyter, Berolini – Novi Eboraci 2001. ISBN 3-11-017411-1. xii, 396 S., XLIV Tafeln. EUR 298.*

Die Redaktion des griechischen Inschriftenwerkes legt mit dieser Ausgabe einen weiteren Faszikel der 1932 begonnenen Neuauflage des neunten Bandes vor. Die äußere

Anlage ist der der oben besprochenen ähnlich (doch werden hier, anders als im samischen Band, auch die Inschriften auf Vasen, Ziegeln usw. aufgenommen). Eigens erwähnt sei, dass der Edition jeder Insel ausführliche Fasti vorausgeschickt sind (im Titelblatt geistert noch die anachronistische Erwähnung des achten Bandes der *IG*, von dem sicher nie etwas erscheinen wird). Der Zuwachs der Texte ist nicht ganz unbedeutend: während Dittenberger in der ersten Auflage (die Reihenfolge der Inseln ist übrigens ganz verändert worden) rund 530 Texte publizierte (darunter mehrere Fälschungen, die hier weggelassen sind), sind es in der Neuauflage 994 geworden, die Tituli alieni mitgezählt. Den Löwenteil nimmt Korkyra mit 445 Inschriften ein, an zweiter Stelle kommt Leukas mit 247, während die übrigen Inseln unter 200 bleiben.

Aufgrund dieser Urkunden lassen sich manche wertvolle Einzelheiten der Geschichte der Inseln erhellen. Dekrete, Briefe, Edikte, Stiftungen (wie die berühmte 798), archaische Weihungen usw. zeugen vor der Vielfalt der epigraphischen Urkunden. Auch kaiserzeitliche Inschriften mit römischen Namen sind zahlreich. Aus Raumgründen kann ich hier nur ein paar in ihnen begehrende Einzelheiten besprechen: 843: der Mann war ziemlich sicher Freigelassener des berühmten Redners, und zwar aus mehreren Gründen. Das Cognomen des Freigelassenen ist ein harter Brocken. Die überlieferte Abschrift gibt es kaum richtig wieder; ich finde keine Lösung. – 1552: auch das Cognomen *Mastuna* ist eigentümlich; illyrisch? – 1572: der Editor hat sicher Recht, wenn er *Eia* als kleinasiatisches Namenselement deutet. Warum aber wird dann im Index S. 352 (*H)eia Ponponia* geschrieben? Hier liegt Inversion der Namen vor, das Cognomen wird also dem Gentilnamen vorangestellt (*Ponponia* kann nicht als Gentilname in cognominaler Funktion aufgefasst werden, denn der Name de Sohnes zeigt, dass *Pomponia* ein echter Gentilname war). Inversion der zwei Namensteile kommt besonders bei Frauen vor. – 1620: Epaphroditus war doch Sklave, nicht Freigelassener des Novius; als Freigelassener hätte er seinen Status zweifellos ausgedrückt. – 1624: zweifellos als *Eros Libonis* zu verstehen, nicht *Eros Liboni s(ervus)*. Der ganz okkasionell gebrauchte Gentilname *Libonius* kommt hier nicht in Frage. Und erst recht versteht man nicht die Wiedergabe des Namens auf S. 355 in der Form *Liboni(us)*. – 1673: der erste Name ist korrupt. Ὑάκινθος, ein Vorschlag von Strauch, der Eingang in den Index S. 359 gefunden hat, scheint ausgeschlossen, allein schon wegen des Suffixes -ιος, das man nicht in hellenistischer Zeit erwarten würde.

Heikki Solin

*Inscriptiones Graecae*. Volumen XII, fasciculus 6: *Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassiis Icariaque*. Pars I: *Inscriptiones Sami insulae. Decreta; epistulae, sententiae, edicta imperatoria; leges; catalogi; tituli Atheniensium; tituli honorarii; tituli operum publicorum; inscriptiones ararum*. Edidit KLAUS HALLOF. Gualterus de Gruyter, Berolini – Novi Eboraci 2000. ISBN 3-11-016870-7. xii, 345 S. EUR 248. – Pars II: *Inscriptiones Sami insulae. Dedications; tituli sepulcrales, tituli christiani, Byzantini, Iudaei; varia; tituli graphio incisi; incerta; tituli alieni. Inscriptiones Corassiarum*. Edidit Klaus Hallof. *Inscriptiones Icariae insulae*. Edidit ANGELUS P. MATTHAIU. Ibid. 2003. ISBN 3-11-017718-8. S. vii, 347–756; LVIII Tafeln; 2 Karten. EUR 298.



Nach Jahren von Stagnation ist das griechische Inschriftenwerk unter der tatkräftigen Leitung von Klaus Hallof aus dem Schlaf des Dornröschens erwacht. Mehrere Bände sind während der letzten Zeit erschienen (einige sind auch in dieser Zeitschrift gewürdigt worden). Hier sei kurz die hochwillkommene Ausgabe der samischen Inschriften angemeldet, dessen Fehlen eine der schmerzlichsten Lücken in der Erschließung des griechischen Inschriftenwerkes bedeutete. Das Vorhaben, samische Inschriften in einem Faszikel im Rahmen des Inselcorpus zusammen mit den chiischen zu publizieren, hat eine lange Vorgeschichte, worüber Hallof im Vorwort Rechenschaft ablegt. Besonders verdient hat sich an diesem Vorhaben Günter Dunst gemacht, aus dessen hinterlassenen Papieren nun Hallof die Ausgabe an die Welt geschenkt hat. Die Edition der Inschriften der Insel Ikaria/Ikaros wurde von A. Matthaiou beige-steuert. In einem dritten Faszikel sollen später die Inschriften von Chios vorgelegt werden.

Es werden insgesamt 1196 samische Inschriften (dazu fünf von anderswo stammende Texte), 14 aus Korassiai und 76 aus Ikaria/Ikaros vorgelegt. Die Edition ist mustergültig, mit Kommentaren versehen, die alles Nötige zum Verständnis der Texte bieten. Als Sprache wird durchgehend gemäss der alten Tradition Latein verwendet (das Latein des Editors ist normalerweise gut und lesbar, nur mit wenigen grammatischen oder stilistischen Entgleisungen behaftet). Das einzige, was man aus den früheren Faszikeln des Inselcorpus vermisst, ist eine Einleitung mit Notizen zur Geschichte und den Altertümern von Samos, die Fasti, wie man sie zu benennen pflegt. Auch die Indices sind von hoher Qualität (dass ein in früheren Bänden vorhandener Abschnitt 'Nomina Romana' weggeblieben ist, bedeutet keinen großen Schaden, denn die betreffenden Namen sind im onomastischen Index selbst alle mit enthalten). Den Band runden photographische Abbildungen ab, die freilich noch zahlreicher sein könnten. Mit einem Wort, jetzt liegt uns die epigraphische Überlieferung von Samos und den benachbarten Inseln Korassiai und Ikaria in einer Ausgabe vor, die allen Ansprüchen entgegenkommt. Wenn man nicht alle korrupt aussehende Textstellen, wo der Editor – meistens zurecht – versagt, durch beigegebenen Abklatsch oder Photo nachprüfen kann, ist es kein Vorwurf. Aber an ein paar Stellen, wo die Namen korrupt überliefert sind, könnte man durch Heranziehen eines Abklatsches oder eines Photos vielleicht einer Lösung näher kommen. – Aufgenommen werden nur die Stein- und Bronzeinschriften; weg bleiben also Inschriften auf Vasen und dergleichen. Anders wurde in dem gleich oben besprochenen Band IX 1<sup>2</sup> 4 verfahren. Es ist schade, dass dadurch hochinteressante Texte wie archaische Weihungen aus der Edition ausgeklammert werden: so zum Beispiel das vor Brennen geritzte Graffito auf einer Vase aus der Mitte des 6. Jh., publiziert von Dunst, *AM* 87 (1972) 147 Nr. 9 und neu gedeutet von A. Cassio, in *Philokypros. Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire d'O. Masson* (2000) 103–107.

Diese Edition wird sicher bestehende Impulse für die Erforschung der griechischen Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Philologie geben. Um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen, erweist sich das mustergültig erschlossene Namenmaterial als sehr fruchtbar für anthroponymische Studien. Allein der materielle Zuwachs im Hinblick auf die im Namenlexikon der British Academy aufgelisteten Belege ist beachtlich: in dem ersten, im Jahre 1987 erschienenen Band des Lexikons, wo Samos mit allen anderen Inseln des Ägäischen Meeres mit enthalten ist, werden von manchen Namen nicht einmal die Hälfte der in dieser Edition gebotenen Namenbelege aufgelistet. So bietet das Lexikon von

Ἀλέξανδρος 8, die vorliegende Ausgabe 21 Belege; von Ἀρτεμίδωρος sind die entsprechenden Zahlen 16 und 29 und von Διονύσιος 27 und 61, um nur einige wenige Beispiele zu nennen. Auch neue Namen begegnen, wie etwa Ψηρόμανδρος 445 mit jonisch-kleinasiatischem Kolorit (schon auch im Lexikon aufgelistet).

Das samische Corpus ist bedeutsam auch für das Studium der Res Romanae, denn die Zahl von interessanten kaiserzeitlichen Texten ist bedeutend. Es sei uns gestattet, zum Schluss einige kleinere Anmerkungen zu Inschriften der römischen Zeit beizusteuern (einiges wurde mir von Olli Salomies mitgeteilt). 443: die Ergänzung des Supernomens *Scribonianus* bleibt doch recht unsicher; das in 331 als Männer- und Frauennamen belegte Cognomen *Scribonianus -a* ist im Westen nur selten belegt (Kajantos *Latin Cognomina* 155 verzeichnet ausserhalb des Senatorenstandes nur zwei Frauennamenbelege). – 697: der Gentilname *Tresius* (die Lesung dürfte feststehen) kommt auch in Ephesos vor: *ZPE* 120 (1998) 75 Nr. 14. – 711: ist der Herr des Sklaven vielleicht L. Sergius Paullus, Prokonsul von Asia etwas vor 166 n. Chr.? Wenn ja, dann hat Dunst besser gelesen. – 713: bemerkenswert ist der Name Ἐνκόλπιος, der in die antike Anthroponymie durch die Lektüre von Petrons *Satyrica* eingedrungen ist (H. S., in *Petroniana. Gedenkschrift Petersmann*, 2003, 193–199). Man kann also die Datierung ruhig in die zweite Hälfte des 1. Jh. einengen. – 714: der Gentilname *Atanius* begegnet oft im griechischen Osten, auf Delos (*ID* 1769, auch ein Aulus), in Athen, Sikyon, Dion, Kyzikos, Smyrna. – 715: zum seltenen Cognomen *Cognitus* s. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 194. – 841: Die gens Egnatuleia ist auch auf Kos belegt: *SEG* XLVI 1112. – 851: Man fragt sich, ob die Inschrift nicht eher christlich sei, und zwar wegen des Namens Ἀθανασία, der ein Produkt der speziell christlichen Namengebung ist und erst im 4. Jh. aufzukommen scheint (H. S., *AA* 1980, 272f). Deshalb stellt man auch die Frage nach der Richtigkeit der ins 3. Jh. vorgeschlagenen Datierung. – 879: das in der Form "Efigx---" überlieferte Cognomen ist hoffnungslos korrupt und unheilbar. – 1227, 4: der Gentilname ist zweifellos als *Modius* aufzulösen, dagegen kommt *Modestius* nicht in Frage. – Die Indices sind, wie schon bemerkt, hervorragend bearbeitet. Warum wird auf S. 632 zwischen Ἀλεξῆς und Ἀλέξης variiert? – S. 640: In "Epi(e)icius" ist "(e)" überflüssig, denn im Lateinischen schreibt man ohne *e*. – S. 643: soll man nicht Ἡγεμών akzentuieren? Denn dieser Name ist zu ἡγεμών zu stellen; und wenn ein substantivisches Appellativ zu einem Eigennamen wird, kommt keine Akzentverschiebung zustande. So schreibt auch Bechtel *HPN* 513. Den Irrtum hat der Editor vielleicht aus dem Lexikon der British Academy übernommen, wo durchweg -έμων geschrieben wird (zur Wahl dieser irrtümlichen Akzentuierung hat vielleicht Ἡγήμων [zu ἡγημα] beigetragen, wie man zu akzentuieren, und zwar ganz richtig, pflegt).

Heikki Solin

BERNADETTE PUECH: *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale*, préface de L. PERNOT. Textes et Traditions, 4. Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, Paris 2002. ISBN 2-7116-1573-1. XIV + 589 p. EUR 46,50.

Il voluminoso e denso libro si propone di raccogliere tutte le iscrizioni d'epoca imperiale, sia greche che latine, relative ad oratori e sofisti greci, per un arco di tempo che va dalla fine del I secolo d.C. alla metà del V. Ogni epigrafe, opportunamente riprodotta, studiata e tradotta, è accompagnata da un commento di tipo per lo più prosopografico che mette ottimamente in luce la personalità del dedicatario, collocandolo opportunamente nel quadro cronologico e nel *milieu* cittadino e sociale di appartenenza. Si tratta di un'opera straordinaria ed ammirevole non solo per la dedizione e la messe di informazioni, bensì per l'originalità e l'utilità del soggetto. Ci troviamo dinanzi ad un contributo destinato a rimanere tra le mani degli studiosi e che nel recente e ricco panorama delle pubblicazioni relative alla Seconda Sofistica si impone per la sua rilevanza ed affidabilità. Dire che il libro della Puech rappresenti quel commento prosopografico ed epigrafico tanto atteso per le *Vitae sophistarum* di Filostrato, significherebbe certamente diminuirne il pregio ed il valore<sup>1</sup>. La Puech raccoglie, infatti, ben 282 epigrafi (più qualcun'altra di minor rilievo), che attestano l'attività di 184 personaggi (76 oratori e 58 sofisti), la maggior parte a cavallo tra il II ed il III secolo dell'era comune, raggruppate in ordine alfabetico per nome del dedicatario.

Com'è noto, a partire dalla fine del primo secolo d.C., la Seconda Sofistica s'impone sempre più con la sua schiera di virtuosi della parola, che, fuori delle mura scolastiche e delle sale dei tribunali, si impegnano in una sorta *tournées de conférences* per sponsorizzare la propria persona e quella della città che rappresentano fino a divenire, in alcuni casi, gli emblemi stessi della propria comunità, della provincia di appartenenza, se non proprio dell'intero impero. Se il quadro generale di tale "sistema" era senza dubbio ben tratteggiato nelle *Vitae* di Filostrato ed in quelle di Eunapio, neppure, però, era trascurabile l'apporto dei documenti epigrafici, sia nel senso delle aggiunte che essi forniscono, ma anche per i numerosi correttivi proposti. Si tratta di un dato storico e letterario su cui nessuno studioso dubita, ma per il quale mancava ancora uno studio d'insieme che si sforzasse di raccogliere e rendere note in un solo *corpus* le centinaia di notizie sparse in riviste e pubblicazioni scientifiche, molto spesso datate o, comunque, di non facile accesso. A ciò si aggiunge la difficoltà nella scelta del materiale. Chiarisce a tal riguardo la Puech: "Le dépouillement des publications n'a pas consisté pour autant à relever dans leurs index les occurrences des mots *sophistès* et *rhètor*, car les rédacteurs

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<sup>1</sup> Irrimediabilmente datato ed insufficiente il commento che accompagna l'edizione della *Vitae* a cura di C. L. Kayser (Heidelberg 1838), un tentativo parziale è stato offerto da S. Rothe, *Kommentar zu ausgewählten 'Sophistenviten' des Philostrats: die Lehrstuhlinhaber in Athen und Rom*, Heidelberg 1989. Utile, in un'ottica prosopografica, benché estremamente sintetico, anche il contributo di G. W. Bowersock – C. P. Jones, "A guide to the sophists in Philostratus' 'Vitae sophistarum' ", in *Approaches to the Second Sophistic*, ed. by G. W. B., Pennsylvania 1974, 35-40. Nel frattempo ha visto, però, la luce M. Civiletti, *Filostrato. Vite dei sofisti*, Milano 2002, il cui apparato di note (357-656), nato proprio, come l'autore afferma (8), dall'esigenza di ricondurre ad una interpretazione globale i numerosi contributi esegetici, fioriti negli ultimi anni, a seguito della rilevante fioritura di indagini epigrafiche, prosopografiche, archeologiche e storiche in senso lato, risulta, in pratica, un vero e proprio commento. Dell'edizione commentata per la "Collection des Universités de France" annunciata da anni dalla nota epigrafista Simone Follet siamo ancora in attesa.

des inscriptions, eux aussi, ont le désir de bien dire et d'éviter, quand il se peut, les formules trop stéréotypées" (3). Diviene allora molto difficile distinguere tra l'oratore o il sofista ed il semplice letterato, soprattutto quando l'autore dell'epigrafe utilizza perifrasi costruite attorno alla parola *logos*.

Nell'*Introduzione* (1–35), dopo aver chiarito gli scopi della ricerca e le modalità seguite nell'identificazione dei personaggi, la studiosa passa ad indagare i limiti cronologici del fenomeno assieme alla natura e alla ripartizione geografica dei documenti raccolti, per sottolineare, sulla linea di indagini dibattute ampiamente, a partire dall'ultimo quarto del secolo scorso, da W. Ameling, G. Anderson, C.A. Behr, E. Bowie, G.W. Bowersock, L. Pernot, Th. Schmitz, R.R.R. Smith e S. Swain, l'importanza sociale della sofistica itinerante d'età imperiale, la quale si pone come scopo principe di diffondere e preservare dinanzi ai Romani il potere e la gloria della παιδεία ellenica: "Dans l'esprit de Pindare – afferma significativamente la Puech –, guidés et protégés par Apollon et Asclèpios, les "rois de mots" rétablissaient, dans le cadre administratif de l'empire romain, le règne de l'hellénisme" (35).

In particolare, la raccolta e l'analisi delle numerose epigrafi permette di apportare un correttivo alla tesi filostratea, secondo cui solo quattro sarebbero stati i centri della nuova sofistica: Atene, Smirne, Efeso e Roma. Le iscrizioni rendono piena giustizia a Pergamo col suo Asclepeion – il che conferma l'idea di un rapporto privilegiato tra il *pepaideumenos* ed il divino già prima dell'esperienza di Elio Aristide –, ma anche ad Afrodisia, Olimpia, Delfi e Corinto, per tacere dei numerosi centri della Siria, della Palestina, dell'Egitto, di Creta e della Spagna. Stupisce anche il numero di oratori e sofisti provenienti dall'Italia, ma trasferitisi in Grecia o in Asia già a partire dall'età augustea. Quanto al quadro cronologico del fenomeno, va da sé che circa il 90% dei documenti rimonta all'epoca della Seconda Sofistica: man mano che ci si inoltra nel tardo-antico il materiale va, infatti, sensibilmente diminuendo. Le ragioni di tale cambiamento, tuttavia, piuttosto che essere imputate ad una mancanza d'interesse verso l'oratoria, vanno spiegate con la diversa funzionalità delle dediche pubbliche. "L'évolution qui impose à cette étude une limite inférieure ne concerne pas non plus le mouvement sophistique mais la documentation épigraphique. Dans le courant du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, elle s'éteint peu à peu, non qu'il y ait eu moins de sophistes mais parce que le fonction des inscriptions a changé: elles ne reflètent plus, désormais, la vie de la cité" (7). Segue, quindi, il nucleo vero e proprio dell'opera (37–498), rappresentato dall'edizione e dalla discussione delle singole epigrafi, raccolte, come dicevo, sotto il nome del singolo oratore o sofista. Ogni voce è accompagnata nella riga immediatamente successiva da una stringa in cui compare la cronologia dell'oratore, il luogo di provenienza e, laddove sia possibile, l'eventuale ricorrenza nella *PIR*<sup>2</sup> ovvero nelle *VS* di Filostrato, nella *PLRE* e nella *RE*<sup>2</sup>. Ciascuna epigrafe è, inoltre, preceduta dall'elenco delle edizioni anteriori e seguita, dopo l'apparato e la traduzione francese, dall'eventuale bibliografia.

La Puech non trascurava neppure di studiare le iscrizioni attribuite ad oratori, quali Alessandro di Seleucia, Avidio Eliodoro, Elio Aristide, ecc., su cui, come dimostra l'*Annexe I* (501–505), gravano diversi dubbi. Nell'*Annexe II* (508–530) vengono, invece, offerti quattro studi prosopografici relativi alle famiglie di Ermocrate, dei *Cassiani* di

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<sup>2</sup> La soluzione di tali sigle è saltata nella bibliografia finale.

Stiria, dei *Claudii* di Melita, dei *Flavii* di Maratona e degli *Statii* di Colleide, ognuno dei quali porta ad uno *stemma* conclusivo.

Il volume si chiude con una nutrita *Bibliografia* (531–543), relativa sia alle raccolte epigrafiche, numismatiche e di papiri che alla letteratura secondaria, cui seguono cinque Tavole di concordanze (546–551) con le opere di riferimento (*IG, IGR, Syll, CIL, SEG*, ecc.), un indice dei nomi propri (553–567), uno dei luoghi e degli etnici (569–570), uno delle parole greche (571–583) ed uno delle parole latine e dei *notabilia* (585–588).

L'interesse e lo stimolo che la lettura del libro di Bernadette Puech suscita in chi si occupa di oratoria greca di età imperiale e tardo-antica, ma in generale di storia socio-politica del basso impero possono essere solo marginalmente esemplificati in questa sede con alcune modeste annotazioni.

Mi domando, ad es., le ragioni, nelle pagine relative alla funzione sociale dei sofisti in età imperiale, dell'assenza dello studio di M. Korenjak (*Publikum und Redner. Ihre Interaktion in der sophistischen Rhetorik der Kaiserzeit*, München 2000), che, tra le altre cose, dedica diverse pagine del suo libro alle "Soziale Funktionen sophistischer Rhetorik".

La Puech, mutuando una felice espressione di Laurent Pernot coniata per la retorica greca posteriore al III sec. d.C., afferma, poi, che "à l'époque de la Troisième Sophistique, l'orateur n'est plus la vedette qui fait la fierté de la cité, mais un professeur à qui l'on ne songe plus guère à élever une statue" (7). Ora, se è indubbio che col passare dei secoli la retorica finisce col chiudersi sempre più nelle scuole (si pensi al caso di Libanio), non è del tutto preciso asserire che non vi siano più state *vedettes* nell'Impero. Oltre al fatto, riconosciuto dalla stessa Puech, che, come non tutte le personalità 'rencensite' nelle *Vitae* di Filostrato hanno trovato un riscontro nell'epigrafia, per cui se non fosse altrimenti non avremmo informazioni relative ad 'autorità' come Dione Crisostomo, Favorino, Luciano, ecc., né sempre, per ragioni di ordine politico ed economico, nei documenti epigrafici viene data notizia dell'attività retorica ed oratoria di alcune individualità di spicco (come Avidio Eliodoro, Flavio Eusebio, Damiano d'Efeso, ecc.), così per qualche rappresentante della Terza Sofistica è possibile ipotizzare un fortuito silenzio dell'epigrafia, l'assenza di dediche pubbliche per oratori e retori del tardo-antico potrebbe derivare anche dalla stato di conservazione del materiale a nostra disposizione. Si pensi, ad es., a Gaza e alla sua famosa scuola di retorica, che nel V–VI secolo vide 'in azione' personalità di spicco, quali i σοφισταί Procopio, Enea e Coricio ed i ῥήτορες Zosimo e Zacaria, ma sulla cui parabola discendente avranno giocato un ruolo determinante prima la presa di Gaza da parte dei Persiani di Cosroe II nel 618/619 e poi il definitivo dominio arabo nel 636 per opera dell'armata di 'Amr-ibn-al-'As, che certo non si distinse quanto a salvaguardia delle tracce della cultura dei vinti (Coricio stesso nel primo e nel secondo elogio per il vescovo Marciano fa allusione a continui atti di brigantaggio, rivolte di Samaritani e incursioni dei beduini che avevano richiesto l'aiuto delle truppe speciali). È impensabile che retori ed oratori del calibro di Procopio e di Coricio – il quale in particolare attesta spesse volte la grande importanza nella vita intellettuale di Gaza, ἡ πόλις φιλόμουσος καὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους εἰς ἄκρον ἐλληλακυῖα (come recita uno scolio all'*ekphrasis* poetica di Giovanni di Gaza), della declamazione pubblica in occasione delle numerose πανηγύρεις che si tenevano nella città (πᾶν ἔτος ἐμὴν πληῆρες ὡς εἰπεῖν πανηγύρεων scrive Coricio in *Laud. Marc.* 2,73, p. 46 Förtser-



Richtesteig) – non abbiano punto svolto ruolo di spicco nella propria comunità tale da non meritare neppure un'onorificenza pubblica, almeno all'interno della propria scuola<sup>3</sup>. È importante, anzi, segnalare che le iscrizioni nr. 55 e 229 relative agli oratori gazei Basileide, Isidoro e Tolemeo, attivi tra il II ed il III sec. d.C., non fanno che rafforzare l'ipotesi di una stagione retorica a Gaza prima del *floruit* dei secoli V–VI<sup>4</sup>.

Ancora: se la studiosa non poteva, naturalmente, conoscere il commento alle *Vitae* filostratee di M. Civiletti, pubblicato in contemporanea al suo libro, risulta senz'altro strana l'omissione, nel caso della rubrica dedicata a Polemone di Laodicea, dell'importante ricostruzione biografica fornita da M. D. Campanile, "La costruzione del sofista. Note sul βίος di Polemone", in *Studi ellenistici* 12, a cura di B. Virgilio, Pisa-Roma 1999, 269–315, in cui vengono egregiamente discusse molte testimonianze relative all'illustre retore. In realtà, un sintetica discussione dei *testimonia* su Polemone si leggeva in W. W. Reader (in collaborazione con J. Chvala-Smith), *The Severed Hand and the Upright Corpse. The Declamations of Marcus Antonius Polemo*, Atlanta 1996, 7–12, ugualmente sfuggito alla studiosa. Quanto al nome dell'oratore, andava, credo, segnalato che il *preanomen* ed il *nomen* compaiono anche in AP 11, 181.

Da segnalare, inoltre, l'assenza del nome di Marco Postumio Festo, che, oltre ad essere oratore latino, fu anche oratore greco, come testimonia la seguente iscrizione romana sfuggita all'attento vaglio dalla Puech: [M. Pos]tunium Fes[tum] / oratorem utraque facund[ia] / maximum procos. Asiae destinat[um] / VII virum flam. venerabilis / memoriae virum T. Fl. Postumius Varus cos. / pronepos sectator eius (CIL VI 1416). Su tale testimonianza, oltre il puntuale richiamo di E. Norden, *La prosa d'arte antica dal VI sec. a.C. all'età della Rinascenza*, trad. it. Roma 1986, 373–374, vedi più di recente L. Gamberale, "Confronti e incontri di cultura nell'età degli Antonini", in Aa. Vv., *Filellenismo e tradizionalismo a Roma nei primi due secoli dell'Impero*, Roma 1996, 57–84: 67.

Una questione che ha interessato gli studiosi di antichistica è stata, inoltre, quella dell'identificazione del retore Demetrio di Alessandria, presente nelle iscrizioni nr. 86–87, con il discepolo di Favorino ricordato da Galeno nell'*ad Epigen.* 5 (XIV 627 Kühn = Favorin. T 15 Barigazzi). La studiosa omette, in questo caso, la proposta di J. L. Marres, *De Favorini Arelatensis vita, studiis, scriptis*, diss., Utrecht 1853, 19, il quale pensava all'omonimo retore ricordato da D.L. 5, 84; ipotesi contrastata sia da H. Scheurleer, *De Demetrio Magnete*, diss., Leiden 1858, 57–58 che da E. Maass, *De biographis Graecis quaestiones selectae*, Berlin 1880, 136<sup>5</sup>.

Perché, poi, a proposito di Alessandro di Seleucia, detto ὁ Πηλοπλάτων, la Puech

<sup>3</sup> Sul problema, cf. F. L. Litsas, *Choricus of Gaza: an approach to his work*, Ph.D., University of Chicago 1980, p. 33-38; 91-99; Id., "Choricus of Gaza and his Description of Festivals at Gaza", *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 427-436 e, più di recente, F. Ciccolella, *Cinque poeti bizantini. Anacreontee dal Barberiniano greco 310*, Alessandria 2000, 118-126.

<sup>4</sup> Noto, di passaggio, che il commento della Puech all'iscrizione nr. 55 (p. 160) relativa ai gazei Basileide e Isidoro è imprecisa ("ces deux frères étaient probablement des jeunes gens venus en Grèce d'Europe..."). Ricordo, inoltre, che il nome Isidoro è attestato a Gaza per l'omonimo capo della scuola di Atene, dopo Marino di Neapoli.

<sup>5</sup> Per la possibile attribuzione a Demetrio (o a L. Stazio Quadrato) dell'*or.* 63 (*de Fortuna*) di Dione Crisostomo, cf. E. Amato, *Alle origini del "corpus Dioneum": per un riesame della tradizione manoscritta di Dione di Prusa attraverso le orazioni di Favorino*, Salerno 1999, 24.

ritiene che il sofista "était aussi probablement un bon connaisseur de l'oeuvre de Platon, pour autant que l'on puisse en juger d'après son surnom et ses études auprès de Favorinus"? Filostrato, nel capitolo dedicato al sofista (VS 2,5), si limita solo a ricordare che tra i maestri di Alessandro vi fu, assieme a Dionisio di Mileto, anche Favorino, παρ'οὗ μάλιστα καὶ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ λόγου ἔσπασε. Del resto, Favorino nelle sue opere non ha mai fatto professione di platonismo<sup>6</sup>. Come che sia, non va esclusa l'ipotesi ventilata da G. Anderson (*Philostratus. Biography and Belles Lettres in the third century A.D.*, London-Sidney 1986, 50), secondo cui il soprannome Πηλοπλάτων rappresenti la testimonianza di qualche critica rivolta dagli avversari ad Alessandro, senza che Filostrato ce ne dia la spiegazione.

Infine, uno studio sulla presenza degli oratori e sofisti greci nelle iscrizioni di età imperiale, a conferma, come ho ricordato sopra, sia della moda da parte delle comunità cittadine di dedicare statue ed onorificenze pubbliche a personaggi famosi, distintisi per i loro discorsi e la loro cultura, sia dell'importante funzione sociale e politica dell'oratoria imperiale, avrebbe dovuto, dal mio punto di vista, prestare maggiore attenzione a testi, quali la *Rhodiaca* (or. 31) di Dione di Prusa e la *Corinthiaca* di Favorino, in cui il problema della dedica di ἀνδριάντες, εἰκόνες e *signa* in generale è ampiamente affrontato (*en passant*, rilevo che non sarebbe stato infruttuoso indagare ai fini dell'importanza sociale del dedicatario la natura del materiale di supporto, che può essere di pietra ordinaria, di calcare, così come di diverse qualità di marmo). In tal senso, anzi, non si sarebbe dovuta tacere la testimonianza filostratea, benché non confermata dalle epigrafi, sulla statua di Favorino ad Atene, abbattuta dopo una rottura con l'imperatore Adriano (VS 1,8,490), così come quella dello stesso oratore relativa alla propria statua a Corinto. Vi è di più: dal momento che la Puech discute le dubbie attribuzioni di alcune epigrafi, non sarebbe stato privo di interesse verificare l'ipotesi di B. W. Winter, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*, Cambridge 1997, 133 n. 36, secondo cui le parole καλῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ συμφρόντως τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρῃ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν di *Cor.* 23 (307, 20–21 Barigazzi) potrebbero riprodurre, modificata, parte del testo dell'iscrizione riportata sulla perduta statua corinzia di Favorino.

Si tratta, ovviamente, di osservazioni a carattere personale, che forse vanno al di là della volontà della studiosa, i cui meriti restano insindacabili, ma che, credo, non dovrebbero essere taciute in un libro consacrato interamente a tale fenomeno.

Non resta, comunque, che complimentarsi con Bernadette Puech per questo suo contributo originale, stimolante e ricco, frutto di pazientissime e meticolose ricerche autoptiche e bibliografiche, che ha, dunque, tutte le caratteristiche per divenire meritatamente un'opera di riferimento per la Seconda Sofistica.

Eugenio Amato

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<sup>6</sup> Su Favorino filosofo, vedi di recente A. M. Ioppolo, "The academic position of Favorin of Arelate", *Phronesis* 38 (1993) 183-213; L. Holford-Strevens, "Favorinus: the man of paradoxes", in *Philosophia Togata*, II. *Plato and Aristotle at Rome*, ed. by J. Barnes and M. Griffin, Oxford 1997, 188-217. Per lo *status quaestionis*, rimando ad E. Amato, "Favorino e la critica scettica alla divinazione artificiale (Su Filostrato, *Vite dei Sofisti* 1, 4, 8)", in *Primum Legere. Annuario delle attività della Delegazione della Valle del Sarno dell'A.I.C.C.* 1, a cura di E. A., F. D'Avino, A. Esposito, Salerno 2002, 135-161: 160-161.

ANDREAS FASSBENDER: *Index numerorum. Ein Findbuch zum Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum I–II*. Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum: Auctarium, nova series 1. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2003. ISBN 3-11-017936-9. xiv, 1144 S. EUR 168.

Die neue Reihe der Auctaria des Berliner lateinischen Inschriftenwerkes wird mit dieser sehr nützlichen Zusammenstellung iniiert. Wie allbekannt, begegnen in der gewaltigen Masse der in den verschiedenen Bänden des *CIL* herausgegebenen Inschriften gelegentlich Doppelfassungen, d. h. dieselbe Inschrift ist in zwei (oder unter Umständen in mehreren) Bänden des Corpus oder aber an mehreren Stellen innerhalb eines Bandes publiziert worden. Zu einem großen Teil handelt es sich um Fälle, in denen die Herausgeber bewusst eine Inschrift entweder in den Nachträgen neu edieren oder neue Information zum Text der betreffenden Inschrift bieten oder aber der betreffenden Inschrift einen richtigeren Sitz im Leben aufzuweisen imstande gewesen sind; zum Teil handelt es sich aber um Inschriften, die unbewusst, d. h. meistens irrtümlich mehr als einmal innerhalb des Inschriftenwerkes publiziert wurden (entweder in demselben Band oder in unterschiedlichen Bänden). Besonders die Auflistung der letzteren Fälle macht das neue Findbuch zu einem wertvollen Repertorium.

Das Werk enthält in der Form von Konkordanzen zu den einzelnen Bänden des *CIL*, also von I<sup>2</sup> bis zu XVII:

1) alle Korrekturen, Nachträge, Neueditionen und Gleichsetzungen, sei es innerhalb eines Bandes, sei es, dass die Nachträge oder Gleichsetzungen verschiedene Corpusbände betreffen; insbesondere sei angemerkt, dass die in den *falsae vel alienae* versteckten Hinweise aufgelistet wurden (z. B. wurden unter *CIL X* für die zahlreichen *alienae* des Museums von Neapel die Hinweise auf *CIL VI* und *ICUR*, gelegentlich auch auf andere Corpusbände, zumeist IX, präsentiert).

2) Hinweise auf die Bände des *CIL-Auctarium* sowie auf einige Parallel- bzw. Schwestereditionen. Aus der Reihe des *Auctarium* wurden Huebners *Exempla scripturae* (dagegen nicht Degrassis *Imagines*, die ja schon eine Konkordanz zu den *CIL*-Nummern haben), sowie der Index der norischen Inschriften von Hainzmann und Schubert ausgewertet. Andere systematisch herangezogene Editionen sind die *Ephemeris epigraphica*, Dessaus treffliche Auswahlammlung, Buechelers Versinschriftenausgabe mit Lommatzschs Addenda, sowie für die Stadt Rom die *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*; für die bilinguen Inschriften wurden ferner Verweise aus *CIG* oder *IG* beigeuert. Darüber hinaus werden in Fußnoten noch andere Sammlungen zitiert.

Es ist wichtig im Sinne zu halten, was dieses Werk bietet und was es nicht bietet. Es verzeichnet nicht anderswo publizierte bessere Editionen von im *CIL* schon veröffentlichten Inschriften. Ausgeklammert werden also z. B. die Neulesungen bzw. die Neufassungen von Inschriften, die für Italien jetzt seit zwei Jahrzehnten innerhalb der *Supplementa Italica* von Jahr zu Jahr geboten werden (in den Fußnoten wird gelegentlich auf diese Reihe bei Feststellung von Gleichsetzungen hingewiesen). Ausgeklammert werden auch Hinweise auf neue Identifizierungen der Herkunft von Inschriften, als deren Ergebnis eine Inschrift in dem Band, wo sie steht, sozusagen heimatlos geworden ist. So hat sich eine ganze Anzahl von Inschriften, die in *CIL X* als puteolanisch publiziert wurden, durch neuere archivalische Forschungen als stadtrömisch entpuppt. Es sind die Inschriften, die ins Museum von Neapel als Teil der berühmten Sammlungen Borgia und

Farnese in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. bzw. in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jh. gelangten, ohne dass Mommsen im *CIL* X über ihre wahre Herkunft Kenntnis gehabt hätte. Diese Inschriften haben jetzt im ersten Band des *Catalogo delle iscrizioni latine del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Napoli 2000 unter anderen stadtrömischen Stücken Aufnahme gefunden, und die neuen Zuweisungen sind dort bequem konsultierbar. Aber die Berücksichtigung solcher Fälle hätte den Plan des Werkes gesprengt und die Arbeit am Findbuch vervielfacht. An sich wäre es freilich nützlich gewesen, auch derartige Fälle, wenigstens in casu, zu berücksichtigen.

Auch wird kein Versuch gemacht, für die mehrmals in unterschiedlichen Bänden veröffentlichten Inschriften den richtigen Sitz im Leben zu bestimmen zu versuchen (an diesem Punkt versagte schon Ursula Lehmanns treffliche Zusammenstellung der Nachträge und Gleichsetzungen für den Teil der stadtrömischen Inschriften). Das hätte aber sehr viel Arbeit gekostet und wäre überhaupt nicht ohne Mitarbeit von Spezialisten der Gegenden, denen die betreffende Inschrift zugeschrieben worden ist, durchführbar gewesen.

So, wie das Werk vorliegt, ist es jedenfalls ein sehr wichtiges und nützlich Hilfsmittel geworden. Dem Autor und der Leitung der Arbeitsstelle *CIL* gebührt dafür der wärmste Dank seitens all derer, die sich mit lateinischen Inschriften befassen.

Am Ende sei es mir erlaubt, einige Bemerkungen und Nachträge beizusteuern. Man fragt sich, ob es sich gelohnt hätte, neben Dessau auch Diehl als seinen christlichen Pendant aufzulisten. – Einiges scheint überflüssig zu sein, so die volle Berücksichtigung der Korrekturen, Nachträge, Neueditionen und Gleichsetzungen innerhalb des britannischen Bandes VII, der durch die *RIB* vollständig ersetzt worden ist; heute zitiert man britannische Inschriften kaum mehr nach *CIL* VII. – Am Ende seien folgende bei Fassbender fehlende Gleichsetzungen angemeldet, die mir bisher begegnet sind (ich verdanke ihr Entdecken entweder meiner Arbeit an der Neuauflage des griechischen Namenbuches oder aber an der Vorbereitung der Neuauflage von *CIL* X): VI 2290 = X 1816; 3626 = X 1774 (nicht 1776, wie aufgelistet); 16542 = 16532 + 12733; 18225 = X 3025; 19600 und 27125 gehören zusammen; 23627 = X 6741; 28033 = X 3167; 29853 = X 6758; 35230 = *ICUR* 2239; X 354\* = 1287; X 1833 = XIV 261; XIV 297 = X 1924. – Neue Zuweisungen, die in Zeitschriften oder anderen nicht systematisch ausgewerteten Publikationen beobachtet wurden, werden also nicht aufgelistet (ich meine Fälle wie VI 24100 aus Tusculum, wie in *Epigraphica* 51, 1989, 318 nachgewiesen). – S. XIV, unter VI, zweitletzte Zeile: lies 'eine' statt 'einen'.

Alles in allem eine sehr willkommene Bereicherung zur täglichen Arbeit eines Epigraphikers und im allgemeinen jedes Forschers, der sich mit der römischen Altertumskunde beschäftigt.

*Heikki Solin*

CINZIA VISMARA & MARIA LETIZIA CALDELLI: *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano V: Alpes Maritimae, Gallia Narbonensis, Tres Galliae, Germaniae, Britannia. Vetera 14*. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-7140-191-3. 268 pp. EUR 46.48.

This is now the fifth volume of the interesting series of volumes dedicated to inscriptions referring to amphitheatrical matters, initiated in 1988 by P. Sabbatini Tumolesi (who unfortunately died unexpectedly in 1995). The first volume, by Sabbatini Tumolesi herself, was on Rome (but there is going to be another volume on Rome by S. Orlandi, "*Anfiteatri e strutture annesse*", with an edition of the inscriptions from the Colosseum; see the list of the publications in the *Vetera* series at the beginning of this book); the second volume (1989, by G.L. Gregori) was on the Italian regions VI to XI, the third (1992, by M. Buonocore) on regions II to V and on Sicily and the other islands, and the fourth (1996, by M. Fora) on Latium (part of region I). As Professor Gregori, now responsible for the series, observes in his interesting *Presentazione* (p. 7), the volume on the Colosseum (cf. above) and one on Campania are still missing, but both are "in preparazione" (no further details seem to be supplied anywhere on the latter volume). As for the provinces, this volume now covers the NW parts of the empire, and there is going to be another one on Spain (p. 7). Of further volumes (one thinks, e.g., of Africa) there is no mention.

But let us now turn to this volume. From the Contents page and from the Introduction, one sees that C. Vismara was responsible for the *Alpes Maritimae* and *Gallia Narbonensis* whereas M.L. Caldelli was responsible for the rest; accordingly, the material is presented in two chapters corresponding to this assignment of roles. Within the two chapters, the material is presented under four headings, The administration of *munera* (nothing on this in the *Narbonensis* chapter), *munera* and *venationes*, gladiators, amphitheatres. The net is cast wide; it follows that many inscriptions are included which, while containing information pertaining to some aspect of the subject, one would certainly not classify primarily as amphitheatrical inscriptions; thus we have honorific inscriptions mentioning, among other things, also *munera*, and we have inscriptions referring to building or restoration of amphitheatres. This is good news also for those epigraphists who do not normally deal with gladiators and amphitheatres, for it is important to note that this is not a collection of sources, but a scholarly edition: all texts are edited according to modern standards (the edition being in many cases based on autopsy) and furnished with commentaries (but not with translations) and (whenever possible) with photos. Accordingly, if an inscription of general interest happens to include a mention of something pertaining to the amphitheatrical world, one will find it here presented in a format normally superseding earlier editions. For instance, we have here (as no. 58) an edition of the so-called "Marbre de Thorigny" (*CIL* XIII 3162), with a photo and facsimiles and all (of course, in the case of this long and complicated text, the commentary does not include a discussion of every single detail). Further texts of general interest are, e.g., no. 6 (*CIL* XIII 697 from the amphitheatre of Arles) and no. 57 (*CIL* XIII 2949 = *ILS* 7049), the inscription on bronze in honour of C. Amatius Paterninus of Agedincum, a splendid character indeed. But, after all, this volume is dedicated to the amphitheatre and its life, and its main purpose is, of course, not to furnish editions of inscriptions of a more general interest but to collect the material on its subject and to



present it in a systematic fashion. This the editors have achieved and as a result we have a most competent edition of all the inscribed sources pertaining to the world of the amphitheatre from the provinces appearing in the title of the book. In addition to honorific and building inscriptions (cf. above), we have here, for instance, an inscription of a *negotiator familiae gladiatoriae* (no. 10 = *CIL* XII 727; it is notable that Dessau did not consider this inscription interesting enough to be included in his collection) and one of a centurion who had captured 50 bears (probably, as the editor says in the commentary, heading for the amphitheatre) in 6 months (no. 48); then there are, of course, inscriptions of various gladiators, some of them citizens, some of them not (cf. on this the *Considerazioni generali*, p. 176ff.), and (among many other types of texts) also inscriptions pertaining to the seats in an amphitheatre (no. 78, at Lugdunum; on no. 80, similar inscriptions from Paris, there is a useful discussion on their interpretation). No previously unpublished inscriptions seem to be included. At the end, there are various summaries, some of them in the form of tables, these being followed by very detailed indexes. This book is certainly based on solid scholarship. Let us hope that someone will make use of the material contained in this and the other volumes in the series in order to produce an entirely new study of amphitheatres and amphitheatrical life during the Roman Empire.

*Olli Salomies*

SILVIA PALLECCHI: *I mortaria di produzione centro-italica. Corpus dei bolli. Instrumentum 1*. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2002. ISBN 88-7140-219-7. 319 pp. EUR 48.

Gli studi epigrafici romani hanno fatto, durante diciamo l'ultimo mezzo secolo, enormi progressi. D'altra parte, alcuni settori della ricerca epigrafica sono ancora agli inizi. Particolarmente ciò può dirsi degli studi sull'*instrumentum inscriptum* (o come si soleva dire prima, *instrumentum domesticum*) che sta soltanto ora prendendo l'avvio. Era perciò felice intuizione di un gruppo di studiosi romani e di altre Università italiane, soprattutto di Bari e Siena, quella di cominciare ad occuparsi in maniera approfondita di questo settore degli studi epigrafici. Particolarmente importante si rivela la stretta collaborazione tra varie discipline quali epigrafia, archeologia e storia – solo tale stretta collaborazione può infatti permettere lo sviluppo degli studi riferentisi a questo genere di documenti epigrafici. Dopo anni di lavoro ecco il primo volume dedicato a un particolare gruppo di *instrumenta*, cioè mortari (altri volumi, come quelli sulle anfore, sono in avanzata preparazione).

Il presente lavoro fu originariamente discusso come tesi di laurea presso l'Università di Siena, preparata sotto la direzione di Daniele Manacorda che ha pure scritto una breve Presentazione all'inizio del libro. La Pallecchi, che è per formazione un'archeologa, maneggia bene, come si vede, anche la ricerca epigrafica. Con questo libro ha prodotto un ottimo esempio di come si devono pubblicare i vari generi dell'*instrumentum inscriptum*, che interessa non solo gli epigrafisti, ma anche – e forse soprattutto – gli archeologi, senza parlare dell'importanza che questa documentazione presenta per gli studi della storia e cultura romana in genere.

Il volume si apre con un utilissimo sguardo sulle menzioni del mortaio nelle fonti

letterarie greche e latine nonché sulla diffusione dei mortai nell'Impero romano. Seguono considerazioni generali sui bolli iscritti nei mortai, dopo di che viene presentato, nella parte centrale dell'opera, il catalogo dei bolli. Questa edizione mi ha fatto un'ottima impressione. Il volume si chiude con un capitolo intitolato "Produzione e rapporti di produzione" nonché con due appendici dove vengono raccolte le menzioni di mortai nelle fonti letterarie; a fine libro stanno gli indici.

Nella parte centrale, nel catalogo dei bolli, questi non solo vengono pubblicati con grande cura e informazione completa, ma vengono offerte anche ampie considerazioni sullo sfondo sociale e geografico delle persone i cui nomi si ricordano nei bolli. Con ricerche comparative la Palleschi cerca di trovare punti fermi per stabilire la provenienza delle persone e così dei bolli. Per lo più le sue considerazioni sono sensate e ben fondate, anche se qualche volta restano ipotetiche (per prendere solo un esempio, a pp. 93–95 viene discussa l'origine sociale, giuridica e geografica degli Aquilii, in particolare di C. Aquilius Felix, ma *Felix* è un cognome troppo diffuso per permettere identificazioni all'interno l'industria figlinaria).

Mi sia concesso di finire offrendo un nuovo bollo, finora inedito, scritto sul labbro di un mortaio frammentario di provenienza ignota (ma proverrà dal territorio della romana Antium), da me visto nel 1996 a Villa Adele ad Anzio (l'attuale Museo civico della città). Diametro massimo cm 55, all'interno 33; l'altezza si conserva per cm 14; bollo misura cm 3,4 x 6,4; le lettere sono alte cm 1,2–1,3. Il bollo, in due righe, dice:

*Augustâlis*  
*Saturnin(i).*

Questo Augustalis, schiavo di Saturninus, finora dunque ignoto, potrebbe essere un Anziato attivo in una figlina locale.

*Heikki Solin*

Ἰ. Κ. Σβέρκος: *Συμβολή στην ιστορία τῆς Ἄνω Μακεδονίας τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν χρόνων (πολιτικὴ ὀργάνωση - κοινωνία - ἀνθρωπωνυμία). Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ διδασκαλία. Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Φιλοσοφικὴ Σχολή. Θεσσαλονίκη 2000. 241 pp.*

This doctoral dissertation of the University of Thessaloniki deals with a subject suggested to the author, I. K. Sverkos, by Professor I. S. Touloumakos (p. 9), namely various aspects of the history of Upper Macedonia (a concept which does not seem to receive a definition here) in the Roman period. In the introduction, the author notes (p. 25) that research on this area is made difficult because of the paucity of epigraphical sources; he also reminds the reader (*ibid.*) that there is almost no material from the period preceding imperial times, which makes it impossible to make comparisons between this period and earlier ones (p. 26). The author then goes on (26f.) with a discussion of the epigraphical sources (here one must note that he was able to use the new Macedonian *IG* volume of 1999 but not the edition of the texts from Leucopetra, in the *Meletemata* series, of 2000) and (27ff.) with an overview of the secondary literature (note the

interesting characterization of the book of F. Papazoglou on the *Villes de Macédoine* of 1998 on p. 27f.).

The first part of the book deals with the political organisation of the area. In a largely non-urban area, the κῶμοι played an important role, and the author starts with an overview of what is known of them. The author points out (p. 35) that the names of the κῶμοι in Upper Macedonia are known above all from manumission records from Leucopetra (p. 35), the complete publication of which he was not yet able to use. The cities are treated next (p. 45ff.). There are some obscure places which are attested as cities in this period in an inscription or two (e.g., Aeane, p. 47, n. 97; for a list of places attested earlier as cities but disappearing later from our sources, see p. 32f.), but the main cities are Heraclea (Lyncestis), Styberra, Stobi (not covered by the new *IG* volume); and then there is also Pelagonia, a problematic case. Sverkos notes (46 n. 94) that this place is known as a city only from Latin inscriptions in which it is mentioned as the *patria* of soldiers, and its site has not been identified (p. 25). The first part of this statement does not seem to be altogether correct, for in Diod. 31.8.8 Pelagonia is certainly referred to as a πόλις, but it is true that normally there is talk only of a region called Pelagonia, and of Pelagonians. This peculiar scenario furnishes the explanation for the suggestion of M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Bull. ép.* 2000, 451, that the πόλις of Pelagonia is in fact to be identified with Heraclea. This proposition, which would solve quite a few problems, will have to be studied with care, the study taking into account the fact that soldiers naming Pelagonia as their *patria* have the tribe *Maecia*, whereas people from Heraclea tend to have the *Fabia* (for one instance, see 144 n. 638; cf. in the Prosopography under 'Cornelius' and 'Saufeius'; generally speaking, the question of Roman tribes does not receive much attention here). A careful analysis of all the attested urban institutions follows. From the section on ἔθνη and κοινά, it seems to emerge that the two expressions were used more or less synonymously (cf. p. 60 with n. 165f.); the ἔθνη would normally have a centre in a πόλις (cf., e.g., n. 168). This chapter (ending with a note on the term πολιτεία, 64ff.) is followed by one on civic life (69ff.). Here we find sections on the more prominent citizens (those producing acts of "euergetism", etc.; note, e.g., a well-known figure, M. Vettius Philo, p. 70ff.; manifestations of interest in rhetoric, etc.: p. 89), on other freeborn persons (p. 90ff.; resident foreigners: p. 92f.; manumission acts and the term παραμονή: p. 93ff.; soldiers: p. 99ff.), freedmen (103ff.) and slaves (107ff.).

The third chapter (115ff.) is dedicated to nomenclature. It is divided into sections on "Greek" (divided into Macedonian and other names) and "foreign names" (divided into "Roman" and other – mainly Thracian and Illyrian – names). The section on Roman names, of great interest and use, begins with Roman names used by peregrines. Here the author divides the material into 7 groups (139f.: both son and father have a Roman *praenomen* or *cognomen*; the son uses a Roman *praenomen* or *cognomen*, the father a Greek name; etc.), a division which may be a bit too subtle (except for the useful category of the ὁ καί names); I do not think the people using Roman names made a difference between the various types of names (*praenomina*, *nomina*, *cognomina* – they were simply Roman names), and as for the distinction between the types Ἀμύντας Πρεΐμου and Γέμελλος Ἀλεξάνδρου, this does not seem very useful, as any Amyntas son of Primus might well have had a son called Primus, and members of the same family would then be in different categories. The important thing seems to be that Roman names

attested as real *nomina* in the area are also often attested as individual names (thus, e.g., *Alfidius*). The author then moves on to the names of Roman citizens (144ff.); here, too, the division into categories (144f.) seems too subtle (any T. Flavius Orestes might at some point be referred to as 'Flavius Orestes'; moreover, something seems to be seriously wrong with the category (στ), where the author cannot really mean what he seems to be saying), but the exposition is in general interesting and useful. – After the conclusion (157–62), we have (163ff.) a list of all attested names, divided among names of *peregrini*, *nomina* of Roman citizens (but the Aburnius [p. 196] surely comes from Heraclea Salbake, not from Macedonia, and no doubt *Stertinius* rather than *Sertinius* should be read on p. 210; as for possible additions, note the soldier of the 7th legion called Mestrius and with the tribe *Maecia* in *IGR* iii 1476, who looks like another man from Pelagonia), *cognomina* and names in filiations. After this section, there are very detailed indices (223ff.) and, at the end of the book, a 5-page summary in English.

The author is to be congratulated for having chosen a rewarding subject for his dissertation and for having done a good job in dealing with that subject (note also the very detailed bibliography on p. 11–23). Clearly, this is a very significant contribution to the study of Roman Macedonia. However, a map would have been useful.

*Olli Salomies*

FRANCIS X. RYAN: *Rank and Participation in the Republican Senate*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1998. ISBN 3-515-07093-1. 394 pp. EUR 96.

This is a dense book which is of interest to all who are seriously interested in the working of the Roman senate, especially during the late Republic. Before the publication of the book, the author was already well known for his numerous shorter articles on Roman Republican political life. In this work, on the contrary, Ryan shows his skills in advancing a substantial argument of considerable length. The book is divided into two main sections. The first part discusses the situation of the least important senators in the senate (13–136), while the second part focuses on the other end of the power structure and discusses the role of the *princeps senatus* (137–356). An Appendix on "Senators attested speaking in the Senate 219–43 B.C." (357–75, listing some 630 certain or probable interventions) concludes the book.

How much influence did the less prominent senators have? This is the first question Ryan sets out to answer. As a preamble the author clarifies the context: what were Senate meetings like; how many members were in fact usually present? Ryan concludes that the attendance in the Senate must normally have been quite low, as the quorum needed for certain less important matters (which he specifies) was only 1/3 of the members. A definite novelty (surely based on a CD-ROM search) is the realization that the expression *frequens senatus* in the sources is a "terminus technicus" that indicates a meeting for which the quorum was both required and fulfilled ("a quorate session" is Ryan's suggested translation).

The quorum, the function of which obviously was to prevent a small minority from hijacking the state, is surprisingly low, and means that as few as c. 1/6 of the Senate

might have been able to decide matters even in quorate sessions. On the other hand, a quorum was not required, as far as we know, for certain important matters such as declarations of war; the assumption must have been that a good attendance could be relied upon for such matters. The assumption that so many senators frequently were absent leads Ryan to conclude that it would mostly have been possible for the young senators to participate in the debate (if they cared to be present).

Part of identifying the situation of the junior senators is a discussion of the expression *senator pedarius* (52–95). The presentation of the material could have been clearer, as the six sources which are discussed in detail are not given in extenso until p. 88 (among them is Frontin. *aq.* 99,4; that passage was briefly discussed in my *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki 1991, where I also mentioned the only known epigraphical occurrence of the word *]pedari[* in an inscription not known to Ryan). The author suggests various etymologies for the term, e.g. that it referred to the lack of a particular senatorial shoe (*calceus senatorius*) (55), which is not very convincing, but the main point of the argument is that we should not believe that the only way in which a *pedarius* could participate in the Senate was by using his feet (when joining the speaker he supported, or when voting). The latter view seems persuasive to me, but even after reading Ryan's extensive argument, I doubt that we can say more than that people characterized as *pedarii* had the right to speak, while they rarely used it and normally only contributed "by using their feet". To have the right to speak does not mean that one automatically uses it, and it is inherently improbable that in any gathering of men everybody would have the same drive and an equal interest in voicing an opinion, especially in a society which was so authoritarian as the Roman world. (Even the useful Appendix on senators known to have spoken in the Senate cannot change this).

The second part of the book, "The Consular Grades", is by far the longer. It is concerned especially with delineating the origin and the importance of the position of *princeps senatus*. In order to do this, Ryan sets out from when the Roman Senate as we know it from the later centuries of the Republic took shape, which means discussing the *lex Ovinia*. The date of that law is much debated. Ryan dates it to shortly before 312 B.C. (with Mommsen and others), which was not accepted by T.J. Cornell, "The *Lex Ovinia* and the Emancipation of the Senate", in C. Bruun (ed.), *The Roman Middle Republic. Politics, Religion, and Historiography c. 400 – 133 B.C.* (Acta IRF 23), Rome 2000, 69–89, esp. 79, who instead proposes 339/334 B.C. (Cornell 83f. reads *iurati* in Festus 290L, while Ryan prefers *curiatim*). Based on Ryan's date for the *lex Ovinia*, and the fact that the senior former censor used to be the foremost in the Senate, the author argues that a regular appointment to *princeps senatus* could not take place before the death of App. Claudius Caecus, which creates a *terminus post quem* of c. 275 B.C.

Next, a substantial section is dedicated to analysing the individuals who are attested as *principes senatus*, or who can be presumed to have been in that position. That investigation leads to a list, the *Fasti principum senatus* (p. 223), which contains 19 individuals from Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus (c. 275 B.C.) down to M. Tullius Cicero in 43 B.C. That list can be compared with corresponding ones by Mommsen (14 entries), Willems (19 names), and J. Suolahti (in *Arctos* 17 (1972) 215 f.: 15 names), which all contain some entries from the early Republic that Ryan excludes.



The rest of the book is dedicated to chapters on "Appointment to the Principatus", "Priority in the Consular Grade", and "The Influence of the *primus rogatus*", which show the same characteristics as the pages discussed above: a close argument, not always easy to follow, but necessary reading for anyone seriously concerned with the topics. There are ten pages of indices, covering Greek and Latin words, topics, and persons, but unfortunately not the sources. Among the persons, one looks in vain for the historian Cremutius Cordus. He is mentioned, though, on p. 133 n. 253, where the fact that his Republican opinions were fatal for him (Tac. *ann.* 4,34–35) receives the surprising comment "*iure caesus*" (in fact he committed suicide, *vitam abstinentia finivit*), with the motivation that Cremutius gave the epithet "the last of the Romans" to C. Cassius, not to M. Favonius, one of the dedicatees of this book. Not everyone will agree.

*Christer Bruun*

*Fonti letterarie greche e latine per la storia della Lucania tirrenica.* A cura di FERNANDO LA GRECA. *Studia archaeologica* 115. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-161-4. 418 pp. EUR 260.

Si tratta di un nutritissimo catalogo delle fonti letterarie antiche riguardanti il versante tirrenico della Lucania, che si è soliti individuare nel territorio dal Sele al Lao. Tuttavia nel presente volume vengono giustamente considerati anche i territori immediatamente confinanti come pure quelli che si riferiscono più in generale all'antica Lucania. Partendo dal periodo della colonizzazione greca il materiale raccolto arriva agli inizi del Medioevo. Tra i 761 brani letterari, elencati alfabeticamente secondo l'autore, molti risultano poco conosciuti o solo di recente segnalati negli studi lucani, mentre alcuni vengono qui considerati per la prima volta come testimonianze sulla Lucania antica.

La consultazione del catalogo è resa più facile dalle note introduttive e dalle piccole osservazioni sul contenuto dei testi e sulle varie problematiche che le testimonianze comportano. Tuttavia più che un'analisi storico-filologica, il volume costituisce un'accurata raccolta di materiali destinata ad essere un'ottima base di partenza per le future ricerche sulla Lucania antica. L'utilità del volume viene inoltre considerevolmente aumentata dall'indice analitico che consente al lettore di risalire facilmente ai testi riportati nel catalogo precedente.

Mi risulta pienamente giustificata la consegna del premio internazionale "Colonie Magna Grecia" a questo volume nel 1998. Peccato però che per acquistarlo occorra pagare una somma da capogiro.

*Mika Kajava*

MARCO BUONOCORE: *L'Abruzzo e il Molise in età Romana. Tra storia ed epigrafia*. Voll. I–II. Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria: Studi e testi, vol. 21, 1–2. Edizioni Libreria Colacchi, L'Aquila 2002. 1114 pp. EUR 52.

It is with extreme pleasure and satisfaction that one notes the appearance of these volumes of papers by the Italian epigraphical scholar Marco Buonocore. Buonocore is no doubt one of the most active scholars in this field, and because of the number and the importance of his publications, it is very good to have a selection (cf. below) of them collected and furnished with indexes.

The volumes start with an Introduction by Silvio Panciera (p. 5f.), who points out the interest of this publication. A Preface by the author follows on p. 7–9. One finds out here that the author's dealings with the epigraphical material of the Abruzzi area (corresponding to the Augustan *regio IV*) began in July 1979, when he started with the study of the material in the museum of Chieti (p. 7). Considering that this is not such a long time ago, the number of Buonocore's publications dealing with this area is indeed impressive (and note that the work on Chieti already produced the first article on the same city in 1980 (no. 2 in the Bibliography)). On p. 8, one reads that there are 51 papers in this collection, which, then, is clearly only a selection (cf. below). Although there is marvellous variation in the subjects and the scope of the papers, there is one feature common to all of them, namely the aim to contribute to the completion of his expected *opus magnum*, the supplement, covering *regio IV*, to vol. IX of the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Buonocore being by far the most suitable scholar to cope with this task, the Berlin *Corpus* is to be congratulated for having been able to secure his collaboration.

The *Bibliografia generale* following on p. 15–27 includes 235 numbers, published between 1978 and 2002 (4 articles being "in stampa"); in the latter part of the bibliography, there are many papers dealing with manuscripts in the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, not surprising in the case of a scholar who is based there. This, however, does not mean that codicology has surpassed epigraphy in the range of interests of Buonocore, for inscriptions have often been transmitted in manuscripts which, then, become material of interest also to the epigraphical scholar. In any case, as an authority on epigraphical manuscripts Buonocore is almost without rival. I wonder how anyone could possibly be so efficient, but the facts are there.

As for the contents of these volumes, it is of interest to have a look at the bibliography, in which the papers included in the volumes are separately indicated, in order to find out what has been omitted from this collection (in addition, obviously, to papers and monographs not dealing with the Abruzzi area). First of all, monograph-type publications (nos. 88, 112) and the contributions to the *Supplementa Italica* series (which start with Histonium; note that Buonocore is also the author of the *Supplementa* to Locri and Regium Iulium, very far from the Abruzzi: nos. 60 and 75; cf. 58). But then there are also many articles which seem relevant but which have not been included here (e.g., 2, 3, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 31, etc.). Most of them seem to have been omitted here because they were more or less superseded later for instance by a *Suppl. It.* volume, some possibly because they were originally intended for readers with a non-scholarly background (perhaps, e.g., nos. 80, 83, 112).

Be that as it may, there are in any case more than 1000 pages here, a most respectable number. In addition to this, there is a map of the area (taken from *CIL IX*) and 62 illustrations of inscriptions. The papers themselves are not in a chronological but in a thematical order, papers with a more general scope coming first, those dealing with certain sites following, individual sites having been grouped together (e.g., four papers on Larinum on p. 401ff.). It is to be noted that many of the papers, if not included here, would be practically inaccessible, for some of them have been published in rather obscure publications of a more local nature (e.g., the papers on p. 29ff., 47ff., 113ff., 835ff., 857ff.). But even in the case of papers published originally in well-known journals, there is not simply the fact that it is good to have the papers collected together (which would be a sufficient reason), but also the fact that the papers (or at least most of them) have been updated, clearly by Buonocore himself. In some cases there are additional notes attached to individual papers (e.g., p. 99, 706, 856, 921). But one can recognize the updating from the fact that definitive *Année épigraphique* numbers appear in papers originally published earlier than the respective *AE* volume; for instance, in an article of 1992, there is a reference to *AE* 1997 (p. 141; cf., e.g., p. 350, 361ff., 511, 783ff., 849ff., 924).

Most of the papers included here will be familiar to those dealing with matters treated by the author. But I must point out here two recent publications of great interest, namely that on Teramo (*Interamnia Praetuttiorum*) with, e.g., inscriptions in honour of a senator and of a knight (p. 875ff.) and the other, of extraordinary length, on the *falsae* and *alienae* in *regio IV* (p. 209–287). The paper seems to surpass its scope by far, and contains a huge amount of information, e.g., on the actual collocation of inscriptions (often with observations on their formal aspects), their correct assignment to a specific city (there is much of this throughout the volume, cf. also, e.g., 201 n. 32, 202 n. 36, 556 n. 22, 716), etc. For those interested in senators, I pick out here the information that the inscription in honour of Sex. Tadius Lusius Nepos Paullinus (a senator who died just before reaching the proconsulate of Crete and Cyrene), *CIL IX* 4119, known to Mommsen only from ancient copies, in fact exists in a monastery close to Rieti (p. 271f., with notes on the reading, etc.).

The papers are all characterized by a very full command of all the information pertaining to the monuments of the area, this command embracing local publications (cf. e.g. the note on Interpromium, p. 564) and ms. sources for inscriptions. Thus we have references to spectacularly obscure articles and monographs (e.g., 249 [the paper of N. Colella of 1931], 843). The useful tables listing material illustrating a certain point (e.g., 80ff. on (*seviri*) *Augustales*, 140f. on praetorians, 744ff. on all the published inscriptions of Carsioli; note also 143ff., 173ff., 292f., 580f., 718ff., 869ff., 910ff.) are typical of the method of Buonocore. It should also be observed that material from outside the Abruzzi area is constantly taken into consideration if needed as illustrative material (note two Ninnii in Ephesus, referred to as *Marsi*, illustrating Ninnii in *regio IV*, p. 255).

This seems to be the point where I may be allowed to add an observation or two on details. P. 49f.: The mention of a junior senatorial Mussidius (from Sulmo) takes one's thoughts to the Mussidii of the earlier Empire, who have gained much by the publication of the recent senatorial supplement to *CIL VI*; these men are in the tribe *Arn*. (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 754–6 with *CIL VI* 41072–3), and I would be surprised if they are not also to be assigned

to this area. – 52: The *praenomen* of Asinius Pollio cos. 81 seems to have been *Marcus* rather than *Lucius* (*AE* 1998, 419). – 63: *Statilius* (not *Stab-*). – 430: I think the reading *vives* (future equivalent to an imperative) *et affectus*, etc. would be even better than *vive, set* (cf. fig. 35). – 873: Could it be that no. 51 is in fact identical with no. 70?

To conclude: this is clearly a publication of great merit and utility which will renders services to a very great number of epigraphists and historians dealing with the epigraphical material of this area. The fact that the papers have been updated by the author himself and that he has added most detailed indices of almost 150 pages contribute to the value of this collection.

Olli Salomies

GÉZA ALFÖLDY: *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaft in der Gallia Cisalpina. Epigraphisch-historische Untersuchungen*. Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien (HABES), Band 30. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1999. ISBN 3-515-07633-6. 380 S., 6 Taf. EUR 75.

Es war eine sehr gute Idee, die wichtigen Arbeiten Géza Alföldys zur Sozialgeschichte Norditaliens in einem mit hervorragenden Indizes versehenen Band zusammen zu publizieren. Enthalten sind hier alle einschlägigen Aufsätze, auch der lange Beitrag zu den norditalienischen Senatoren im zweiten Band von *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (dagegen ist natürlich die selbstständige Monographie *Römische Statuen in Venetia et Histria* [1984] nicht aufgenommen worden).

Aus dem Vorwort (S. 3) erfährt man, daß die hier wiedergegebenen Beiträge mit den norditalienischen Forschungsreisen zu verknüpfen sind, die Alföldy in den Jahren 1977–83 vor allem mit dem Ziel unternahm, Material zu der soeben genannten Monographie zu sammeln. Die hier abgedruckten Studien sind, so Alföldy (ebd.), "Abfallprodukte" dieser Reisen; ich würde sagen, daß sich diese Reisen sehr wohl gelohnt haben. Die Aufsätze in diesem Band wurden ursprünglich in den Jahren 1978–86 publiziert; dazu kommt der viel spätere Beitrag (hier noch als "im Druck" bezeichnet, S. 342) zu den Inschriften des jüngeren Plinius, der dann in *Acta Ant. Hung.* 39 (1999) 21–44 publiziert wurde.

Wie man weiterhin im Vorwort liest (S. 4), entspricht keiner der Beiträge ganz der Originalversion; vielmehr sind alle von Alföldy selbst bearbeitet und somit auf den aktuellen Stand der Forschung gebracht worden (nur auf S. 300 vermisste ich einen Hinweis darauf, daß nach W. Eck, *ZPE* 118 [1997] 178ff. Abonius Mauricus überhaupt nicht Senator war). Daß diese Aktualisierung der Beiträge (neben Verweisen auf neuere Literatur findet man auch z.B. Neubearbeitungen von Namenlisten: S. 25) den Wert der Sammlung noch erhöht, braucht von mir gar nicht unterstrichen zu werden. In Anbetracht dessen, daß es sich hier um bekannte Aufsätze eines anerkannten Spezialisten des Materials handelt, von denen mehrere viel zitierte Klassiker sind (so z.B. der Aufsatz 'Gallicanus noster', S. 159ff.), scheint eine nähere Würdigung der einzelnen Beiträge nicht angebracht (nur auf das außerordentliche Interesse des Beitrags zu den Inschriften Plinius [S. 221ff.], wo z.B. gezeigt wird, daß Plinius in Bithynia nicht *consulari*, sondern *proconsulari potestate* gewesen ist, soll hier hingewiesen werden). Dagegen soll es mir

erlaubt sein, hier auf einige Details hinzuweisen, bei denen ich mich nicht ganz überzeugt fühle. S. 81f.: Ich würde die Form *Pileius* (wo die Mittelsilbe metrisch lang ist) nicht mit *Pilius* identifizieren und als eine "altertümliche Variante" desselben Namens ansehen; m.E. handelt es sich bei *-eius* um ein anderes Suffix (vgl. z.B. *Alleius* neben *Allius* usw.). – S. 280: Aus der Di Vita-Evrardschen und von Alföldy übernommenen Lesung des Namens des M. Atilius Metilius usw. folgt der m.E. sehr störende Umstand, daß der Mann ein auf *[-]blicus* endendes Cognomen haben soll; ein solches Cognomen fällt aber mir jedenfalls nicht ein. – S. 284: Ich würde die Tribus *Sabatina* von Nr. 6 vielmehr mit Etrurien – vgl. das Nomen *Caecina* – als mit Minturnae verbinden; jedenfalls kann sie kaum als die Tribus von Minturnae angesehen werden. – S. 303f.: Bei Claudius Augustanus ... Bellicius Sollers hält Alföldy an seiner alten Rekonstruktion der Verhältnisse fest (jedoch mit einem Hinweis auf meine abweichende Meinung), und an sich kann sie sehr wohl richtig sein. Nur scheint mir immer noch ganz evident, daß die natürliche Interpretation der Worte *Claudio ... Augustano patri Bellici Sollertis proc. Aug. prov. Britan.* (*CIL* V 3337) die sein muß, daß Sollers selbst, nicht der Vater Augustanus (wie normalerweise angenommen wird), der britannische Prokurator war (in *Adoptive Nomenclature* 46 bin ich darauf nicht näher eingegangen, weil m. E. nur das Gegenteil dieser Interpretation bewiesen werden müßte); daraus würde folgen, daß Sollers noch als Ritter durch einen Bellicius adoptiert wurde (und daß für seinen Vater kein Amt bezeugt ist). Der Nutzen dieser Rekonstruktion wäre auch, daß man die adoptive Nomenklatur *Bellicius Sollers* am Anfang der Inschrift *CIL* V 3356 ergänzen könnte. – S. 311: Der Vorschlag, Clodia Varilla mit T. Clodius Vibius Varus in Zusammenhang zu bringen, scheint mir deswegen problematisch, weil nicht *Clodius*, sondern *Vibius* das (Haupt-) Gentiliz des Varus war. – S. 326: Ich würde Iulia A[-] und ihren Sohn Fronto (*CIL* XIV 2445), die m.E. mit Senatoren überhaupt nichts zu tun haben, hier nicht heranziehen (*Adoptive Nomenclature* 110). – S. 329: Die Cordii in Torino sind hier vielleicht nicht relevant, weil das Cognomen *Cordinus* des Rutilius Gallicus wegen des Senators Q. Iulius Cordus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 272) eher mit *Cordus* als mit *Cordius* in Zusammenhang zu bringen ist.

Dieser feine Band, der in jede seriöse Bibliothek gehört, wird durch sehr detaillierte Indizes (S. 345–380) abgeschlossen; zum Schluß folgen noch sechs Tafeln mit Abbildungen einschlägiger Inschriften.

Olli Salomies

GIAN LUCA GREGORI: *Brescia romana. Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale II. Analisi dei documenti.* Vetera 13. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 1999. ISBN 88-7140-166-2. 475 pp. EUR 46.48.

Nine years after the first volume (*Brescia romana. Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale I. I documenti*, Roma 1990 – see *Arctos* 29 (1995) 214–215) the author now publishes his synthesis. The time in between has been well spent, and in conjunction with the first volume which presents the sources, *Brescia romana* can be said to provide the scholar with every information on ancient Brixia and the surrounding country one could conceivably need. The large size of the pages means that 475 of them accomodate a huge



amount of information, making this research endeavour into a model study of a mid-sized Roman town. In fact Brixia was not chosen at random, but precisely because with over 1,300 inscriptions, naming some 2,000 individuals (80% of whom lived during the first two centuries A.D.), it looked like a promising area of study.

The material was in fact so extensive that the author, wanting to compromise neither when presenting and discussing the epigraphic evidence nor when drawing his conclusions from the sources, was forced to divide his study into two volumes. The user ought to be aware that both volumes are needed side by side in order to benefit optimally, as vol. II throughout refers to the texts in vol. I by the author's own codes, not by the standard epigraphical references. This system seems to me the only thing about the book(s) open to some criticism, and one must hope that those unfortunate enough not to own both volumes will not find either one missing in the library.

The first major chapter of the book traces the remains of the original Celtic population of the area (above all the Camunni and the Trumplini) in the onomastic material, noting that for some 10% of the population during the first century A.D. the names do not quite conform to the Roman name system. Next follows an even more detailed onomastic study of the names born by Roman citizens (45–104). (The author spent some time at the Institutum Classicum in Helsinki and obviously made good use of his discussions with colleagues from the "Finnish onomastic school".)

The middle portion of the book carries the heading "La struttura sociale" (107–225) and surveys the individuals of Brixia and surroundings according to their social rank. The categories included are: senators, equestrians, local magistrates and notables, the *seviri*, soldiers, women, foreigners, and slaves and freedmen (there is obviously some overlapping between these groups). It is a most meticulous study, which for the more notable individuals presents the following material: senators (47 texts, mostly defined as "honorary" by the author), *equites Romani* (33), magistrates (60), *seviri (Augustales)* (78), and soldiers (35 texts, almost exclusively funerary). The actual number of individuals is naturally smaller, so that, for instance, the senatorial inscriptions name some 30 individuals in total from the late Republican period onwards; only in some cases do they seem to be of local origin.

Towards the other end of the social spectrum there are the slaves and freedmen, which receive equally careful attention from Gregori (215–25). Here one finds some interesting numbers, as the author counts those individuals for whom the legal status as slave or freedman is certain (no inference from Greek cognomina *vel sim.*). He reaches the conclusion that some 240 individuals (from a total of *c.* 2000) belong in this category (the number of recorded slaves and freedmen must be higher, as not everyone indicated his/her origin or status). The highest percentage is not surprisingly found in the town of Brixia itself (*c.* 14 % of all known individuals), followed by the *ager* surrounding the town (*c.* 13 %), while the percentage in the countryside is very low indeed (between 2 and 5 %). Clearly such results have their relevance also for larger questions such as the number of slaves in the Roman world, recently vividly debated by scholars such as William Harris, Walter Scheidel, and Elio Lo Cascio (by whom the most recent contribution, with bibliography; see his "Considerazioni sul numero e sulle fonti di approvvigionamento degli schiavi in età imperiale", in W. Suder (ed.), *Études de démographie du monde gréco-romain* (Acta Univ. Wratislawensis 2425. Antiquitas 26),

Wrocław 2002, 51–65).

Due to the reviewer's current interests, the *servi* and *liberti publici* of Brixia were chosen as a test case for determining the usefulness of the book under review. The work which still is standard in this field, L. Halkin, *Les esclaves publics chez les Romains*, Bruxelles 1897, 238 lists six public slaves, of which "Catil(lus)" (CIL V 4186 = *Inscr. It.* X.5 900) is discarded by Gregori (the explanation is given in vol. I, 274 n. 7: the man is probably a C. Atilius), who instead adds a more recent find (one Ascula *publicus*). Halkin (p. 245) listed three freedmen of Brixia (more are known today) and had little to say about them, while Gregori discusses the question in detail (220 f.). The identification of these freedmen is complicated by the fact that they did not adopt a gentilicium referring to the town's name, but instead one derived from their status as (*servi*) *publici*, becoming Publicii. Not all Publicii were freed municipal slaves or descended from such individuals, however, and thus the name in itself is not enough for an identification. Gregori tentatively suggests that public slaves may have been better off than those of private families, as one is found as owner of a *vicarius* and two were living in *contubernium* with free women. This is possible, but it seems to me that, overall, public freedmen had less success in their social advancement than the most successful freedmen of private individuals (not to mention imperial freedmen, but in Brixia no *servi Caesaris* and perhaps no *liberti* either are found, p. 219).

Following this very competently handled section is the third part on "Economy, Evergetism, Religion, and Culture" (229–300). As indicated by the heading, the range is here very wide, and the content stretches from a study of Brixian agriculture and manufacture to an analysis of the metre in local poetry from funerary inscriptions. A brief last chapter contains comments on Brixia in Late Antiquity, including the Christianization of the area, but from this period there is little evidence. As is to be expected, the book is rounded off by very substantial indices (393–459). All in all, this is a most impressive study, which is of interest to anyone studying local societies in the Roman world.

Christer Bruun

NADJA SCHÄFER: *Die Einbeziehung der Provinzialen in den Reichsdienst in augusteischer Zeit*. Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 33. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2000. ISBN 3-515-07723-5. 182 S. EUR 34.

Restauration oder Erneuerung – diese Frage bezüglich der augusteischen Politik hat in der Forschung z.T. weit auseinanderdriftende Beurteilungen gefunden. Schäfer will anhand prosopographischer Methoden überprüfen, inwiefern Cassius Dio's Aussagen und Claudius' Bezug auf augusteische Erneuerung des Senats durch Provinziale in augusteischer Zeit zutreffen.

Im ersten Teil der Arbeit geht es um eine Auswertung des literarischen Materials, insbesondere in der Frage, wie der Zugang zum Senat nach den von Augustus durchgeführten Zensen und anderen Maßnahmen geregelt wurde. Die Stellung provinzialer Ritter und Senatoren in ihrer Heimat, ihre ethnische Herkunft sowie ihre materiellen Ressourcen sind dagegen hauptsächlich aus epigraphischen Resten ablesbar.

Während es für die Nachkommen von einfachen Veteranen schwierig war, in die politisch-militärische Führungselite aufzusteigen, lässt sich dies im Falle von Söhnen indigener Eliten öfters feststellen. Nur einem provinziellen Senator ist, wohl vor allem aufgrund seiner militärischen Leistungen, der Sprung zum Suffektkonsulat in augusteischer Zeit gelungen. Aber ebenso hier wie im ritterlichen Milieu ist die Situation von Provinzialen durchaus vergleichbar mit der von italischen Veteranensöhne bzw. *homines novi* insgesamt. Offenbar machte man sich zumindest bei Rittern auch ihre lokale Fachkenntnis bei der Übertragung von Posten im Umkreis ihrer Heimatregion nutzbar, etwa als Präefekte bei der Überwachung von Bautätigkeiten. Eine zentrale Rolle für den Aufstieg spielten die Patronagen, welche durch persönliche Verdienste an Kontaktstellen zwischen lokaler Elite und Vetretern römischer Administration geknüpft werden konnten, aber dann auch z.B. durch Heirat oder Adoptionen verstärkt wurden. Im einzelnen sind die Patronatsverhältnisse von Individuen jedoch nur in Ausnahmefällen nachzuvollziehen. Während bei den wenigen nachweisbaren Ehefrauen der provinziellen Aufsteiger lokale Bindungen den Vorrang haben, lässt sich das Bestreben, für die nachfolgenden Generationen den erreichten Status zu bewahren und wenn möglich zu verbessern, deutlich erkennen. Schäfer kommt zu dem Schluss, dass die Integration von Provinzialen in die Oberschicht durch Augustus nicht Krisensymptom oder notwendige Folge des Bürgerkrieges war, sondern durchaus auf einer zukunftsgerichteten Sichtweise beruhte.

Die zweite Hälfte umfasst den prosopographischen Katalog der im ersten Teil thematisch betrachteten 12 Senatoren, 30 Ritter und – als Anhang – 9 nicht-ritterlichen Prokuratoren und Kommandeuren nationaler Truppeneinheiten. Die alphabetisch angelegte, durchnummerierte Untersuchung umfasst Namen, Quellen und Literatur sowie Erklärungen zu Person und Karriere. Sie kann sicher zusammen mit dem ausführlichen Literaturverzeichnis und den Quellen-, Personen- und Sachregistern einen guten Ausgangspunkt zur weiteren Beschäftigung mit diesen Provinzialen leisten. Der Bezug auf die Katalognummern auch im ersten Teil, zumindest in den meist am Ende der Kapitel stehenden thematischen Tabellen, hätte die Arbeit mit dem Buch sicher noch leserfreundlicher gemacht, insgesamt ist es jedoch sicher ein brauchbares Werkzeug.

*Uta-Maria Liertz*

JAMES E. PACKER: *Il Foro di Traiano a Roma. Breve studio dei monumenti*. Ricostruzioni architettoniche di JOHN BURGE, JAMES E. PACKER e KEVIN SPARRING. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-7140-198-0. 235 pp., 171 figs., and a separate plan. EUR 30.98.

James E. Packer already published a three-volume book on the Forum of Trajan in Rome in 1992 (*The Forum of Trajan in Rome*), and almost a decade later an abridged version of it appeared both in English and Italian. The intention was to give the general public a version of the results of Packer's exhaustive study without the scholarly arguments. As such, this volume is a success. It is concise, but still offers enough information to understand the monument and its history, and is illustrated with a very large number of

excellent drawings, plans and photographs. More significantly, the book also contains new reconstructions based on computer modelling, which add to the previous results.

The excavations of the 1990s of the Imperial Fora have revealed new information, especially on the southern and northern parts of the area, but these are still in the process of being evaluated and then added to the vast amount of earlier information. While we wait for these results to be published in – hopefully – one volume, the scholar and the general public can be very well content with Packer's meticulous research.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part concerns the building and research history of the monument. The first two chapters offer a view to the building history of the area starting from antiquity and ending in the 19th and 20th century excavations, which revealed most of the known plan as well as a large amount of architectural members for making the reconstructions. The third and fourth chapters present the evidence for the buildings south and north of the Basilica Ulpia. The second part concerns the past and present graphic reconstructions of the Basilica Ulpia. The third part describes the construction and ideological content of the building.

At the end of the book, one finds the new reconstructions and the verbal descriptions of the changes and the reasons for them. The Forum of Trajan is curiously at the same time well known as a monument, but very difficult to reconstruct as we know relatively little of what existed above the floor levels. The 1992 graphic reconstructions were made by hand with certain compromises in regard to many details of especially the upper parts of the building.

For an exhibition at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles at the end of the 1990s, a three-dimensional computer model was made in order to show the visitors the original locations of each architectural piece exhibited. The original model was not a complete model of the entire building but it probably showed the advantages of computer modelling compared to drawing by hand. The modelled building can be viewed from any direction and it can be changed without having to start from scratch, as with drawings. Another model was later prepared by John Burge with the help of Kevin Sparring and Packer himself and the images printed in the book are from this model. The interiors are produced with amazing detail, but the exteriors remain more schematic. The advances of computer technology are truly amazing as some of the three-dimensional reconstructions look almost like photographs!

The only negative thing in the publication is the large plan of the monument which could have been more schematic. The various building techniques, marble types, etc. have been shown in what looks like a combination of realism and hatchings, but in the scale and printing quality of the reproduction, the lines are blurred and tiny details effectively lost. Nevertheless the book offers a good summary of all that is (or was) known of the monument before the new excavations and as such is a starting point even for the scholar, who can then turn to the larger volume for more detail.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

ROSSANA MANCINI: *Le mura aureliane di Roma. Atlante di un palinsesto murario*. Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma: Studi e Materiali dei Musei e Monumenti Comunali di Roma. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-7140-199-9. 239 pp., 50 ill. in b/n, 64 tavv. in b/n e a colori. EUR 67.

Le mura aureliane di Roma sono un monumento poco conosciuto, benché dalla loro fondazione (271 d.C.) esse facciano parte dello scenario quotidiano che si presenta ai romani e siano state continuamente sottoposte a lavori di adeguamento e di riparazione. Gli studi classici (ottocenteschi) di Antonio Nibby e quelli di Ian Archibald Richmond negli anni 1930 segnarono un buon inizio, mentre recentemente si è fatto un considerevole passo avanti in virtù del notevole impegno di Lucos Cozza le cui pubblicazioni sono andate verso una visione più completa che si estende cronologicamente dalla prima costruzione del circuito sino ad oggi. La sua ricerca, però, è stata dedicata solo ad una parte limitata del circuito e quindi rimaneva una colossale lacuna da colmare negli studi murari romani. Infatti il presente volume costituisce il primo studio completo e sistematico sull'argomento.

Il tema è trattato ad ampio spettro, dato che l'autrice non trae solo informazioni dall'analisi e dall'osservazione del monumento stesso, ma tiene conto altresì di diverse fonti indirette (documenti, cartografia, iconografia, ecc.). Così vengono giustamente considerati anche i fattori socio-culturali e politici a cui sono spesso riferibili gli interventi eseguiti.

Tra i maggiori risultati ottenuti possiamo citare la ridatazione alla seconda metà dell'VIII e al IX secolo di una serie di interventi in blocco di tufo sinora (dai tempi di Nibby) attribuiti a Belisario (VI sec.). Moltissime nuove osservazioni servono ad illustrare il ruolo decisivo che il Comune romano (a partire dal Medioevo) e i sommi pontefici (quali per es. Niccolò V e Pio IX) hanno esercitato nella storia evolutiva delle mura.

Un quadro riepilogativo di tutte le fasi storiche delle mura viene presentato attraverso un "Atlante cronologico" degli interventi. Si tratta di un utilissimo ausilio, realizzato in tavole con rappresentazioni grafiche dei prospetti della cinta muraria. Le successive stratificazioni sono individuabili tramite campiture differenziate cromaticamente (purtroppo non sempre in modo chiaro), essendo indicate in didascalie le fonti da cui derivano le datazioni (studi già effettuati, fonti bibliografiche e archivistiche oppure osservazioni dirette del monumento).

Con questo studio si consente finalmente al lettore di seguire tratto per tratto e periodo per periodo la storia delle mura aureliane, uno dei simboli più significativi della Città eterna.

*Mika Kajava*



MANLIO LILLI: *Lanuvium. Avanzi di edifici antichi negli appunti di R. Lanciani*. Occasional Papers of the Nordic Institutes in Rome 2. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-151-7. 88 pp., 190 figs., 1 plate. EUR 47.

The study of the ancient topography of the countryside around Rome has been the focus of many scholars, especially since the 1950s. The ground work was laid half a century before that time by the three greats of Roman topography: Thomas Ashby, Rodolfo Lanciani and Giuseppe Tomassetti. Each left behind a long list of publications, but also other unpublished materials; Ashby a large collection of photographs, Lanciani notes and drawings. Lanciani's notes are kept mostly in the archives of the Vatican library and those concerning the topography of Rome have been recently published (*Appunti di topografia romana nei Codici Lanciani della Biblioteca apostolica vaticana* 1–2, Rome 1997). This slim volume by Manlio Lilli promises in its title more published notes of Lanciani concerning the area of the ancient city of Lanuvium, ca. 35 km southeast of Rome on the Via Appia. Instead the reader will find a catalogue of ancient remains published following the stylistic example set by the *Forma Italiae* series. The actual notes of Lanciani are briefly described in the preface and referred to in the descriptions of the individual sites, but no full edition of all of them is given.

The area of study is the northern territory of Lanuvium on both sides of the ancient Via Appia. No description of the methods or aims of the study is given, but from the catalogue and the preceding chapters it seems apparent that the focus is on the still existing remains of classical buildings. The *Forma Italiae* publications provide the results of extensive surveys complete with artifact scatters and ranging from prehistoric to Medieval periods. Here no such completeness is attempted. As such, this collection of sites serves perhaps the purposes of preservation and protection rather than giving any kind of realistic picture of the habitation in the area in different periods of the past. A list and the possible location of the many possibly destroyed buildings could have been useful even for Lilli himself when making a synthesis of the habitation in the area.

The contents follow the example of the *Forma Italiae*: Preface, Introduction (with a long discussion of destruction processes), History of Research, Synthesis of Topography, and the Catalogue of sites, altogether 26 of them. Even though the focus is on the classical period, very few historical notes or mentions of possible inscriptions found in the area are made. The site descriptions themselves are usually fairly brief and give a description of the location and the structures found. Only a few sites seem to have yielded artifactual evidence. References to previous publications and to even quite rare archival material abound, but, curiously enough, the archives of the Archaeological Superintendency of Lazio are absent.

Each entry is accompanied by abundant photographs, both old and new ones, as well as plans of the structures themselves and of their exact locations. The plans have been edited to fit the columns whenever possible, which means that the direction of North varies. Sometimes this can cause confusion to the reader as well as to the draughtsman himself as, for example, in Fig. 16 the toponyms "Monte Cagnolo" and "Monte Cagnoletto" have changed place (cf. p. 12: they are, indeed, easily confused).

The descriptions are usually good and easily comprehensible, but, on some occasions, the discussion seems just a little incomplete. The most obvious example is site

5, the so-called villa of the Antonines on the slope of a hill belonging to two properties, La Villa and Pozzo Bonelli. The current remains consist of two cores of building remains at a distance of more than 700 metres apart, one at the top of the hill and the other at the bottom (cf. Fig. 33,5a & b). Lanciani's plan of the ancient remains in the area in Fig. 2 shows nothing between these two locations and his version of the site at La Villa also extends towards the Appia, not down the slope. At the top of the hill what remains today seems to consist of the ruins of a thermal complex. At the bottom of the hill there are the remains of a terrace. Lilli does not specify why he chooses to combine these two complexes forming even for the region of Rome a very large villa of 20 hectares – the largest known building complexes in the Campagna Romana are between 5 and 7 hectares. Perhaps there really are two sites instead of one?

Despite the occasional deficiencies of the publication, one has to admire anyone working in the area and actually managing to get results from their work. The vicinity of Rome is heavily built-up or under cultivation and finding remains hidden by vines, bushes or buildings requires much patience and determination. Lilli has also done plenty of archival work that is simply missing from most other survey publications. A slightly longer discussion of the old and new data as well as a fuller publication of the various notes would have accentuated the glory of the ancient remains more and served the readers, both scholars and locals, better.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

CATIA CAPRINO: *Rinvenimenti a Villa Adriana (Tivoli)*. Con contributi di RUDOLF KÄNEL, CLEMENTINA PANELLA e PETER ROCKWELL. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Monumenti Antichi, Serie Miscellanea, vol. VI-1 (vol. 57 della ser. gen.). Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1999. ISBN 88-7689-175-5. 47 pp., 9 figs., 17 plates. EUR 56.81.

Hadrian's villa at Tivoli must have yielded thousands and thousands of artifacts from both legitimate and illegitimate excavation for centuries. The volume by Catia Caprino presents only three finds which were found during restoration work conducted between 1964 and 1972 in the area between the Great Baths and the so-called Praetorium. The objects were found in three different rooms and are connected to the villa in very different ways.

The first artifact presented is a terracotta antefix featuring a figure of a woman easily recognizable as a familiar motif of the *potnia therôn*, sometimes also called the Persian Artemis. This type of antefix is known from the Archaic to the Imperial periods and in general it was used to decorate temple roofs. The only other domestic occurrence of the type is from the villa of Q. Voconius Pollio near Marino. Two questions arise from the find: was it specifically made for the Villa Adriana and why was it used in the area? Caprino describes the object and discusses its parallels. Its date and making are discussed in a separate chapter by Rudolf Känel. The result is that the antefix probably dates to the 1st century AD based on manufacturing and firing methods and that it was probably reused for some decorative purpose in the Palaestra of the Great Baths. Considering the Hadrianic revival of Greek art, using this type of etrusco-italic motif is an interesting

phenomenon.

The second artifact is a marble mould for a column base. Again, Caprino describes the object and seeks parallels in column bases from Rome and elsewhere. Only a few matches can be found for this particular type. In the next chapter, Peter Rockwell discusses the use of the mould. He arrives at the conclusion that the mould was used for casting stucco column bases in situ, a tool rather than a piece of decoration and probably a unique piece.

The third find is not really an artifact as such but the burial of a child in an amphora. The clay vessel is of African manufacture and probably made between 5th century and 6th century AD. The skeleton of the child disintegrated when exposed. The date of the amphora shows that the burial was made at a period when the Villa Adriana was already abandoned and illustrates its destiny similar to any other ruin in Italy.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

ALESSANDRO GALLO: *Pompei. L'Insula 1 della Regione IX. Settore Occidentale*. Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 1. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-150-9. 156 pp., 54 figs., XVIII plates. EUR 78.

In the recent decades, a great deal of work has been done in Pompeii to re-examine the houses and city blocks excavated in previous centuries. The results of this work are starting to be published, and this book by Alessandro Gallo is one contribution to the effort to better elucidate the probably best-known ancient city ever.

The area examined is the western section of the *Insula IX 1*, Houses 1 to 19 as well as 33 and 34. The contents of the book have been arranged in seven major chapters, the first of which describes the research history and the three next chapters introduce the buildings, their decorations and the artifacts recovered in them during the original excavations in the 1850s and 1860s. During the work conducted by Gallo, three small trenches were excavated in one part of the area and the results of this work are described in the next chapter. The last chapter discusses the urbanistic development of the *insula*. The latter part of the book deals mostly with the finds: first, a full catalogue of the finds from the new trenches and then, two appendices of tables present the material by find location.

A concise description of the complicated building histories very often present in Pompeii is never easy, and for the most part Gallo manages to do a very good job. The text is clear and easily comprehensible. It also maintains a certain order, which makes using the text fairly easy. The descriptions of the wall structures and decorative elements have been divided into two chapters, which, for the most part, seems unnecessary as only a few of the houses are so elaborately decorated that their treatment requires more space than one or two short paragraphs. The decoration chapter also includes the dating and phasing of the buildings. Arranged this way, the reader has to continuously go back and forth to see what was said of the walls in order to fully comprehend the phasing of many of the buildings.

The presentation of archaeological material very often benefits from lavish

pictorial display and this material is not an exception to this rule. Unfortunately, the figures and plates of plans and other drawings in this volume are not up to their task. The ground plan of the houses (Plate II) has been carefully drawn to the scale 1:100, but the reproduction reduces it to almost illegibility. The keys used to designate different building techniques are so similar that they cannot be easily differentiated in the published drawing. No sections have been published, which means that very few of the walls can be seen in any kind of image as the number of photographs is also quite limited for this part of the book. Moreover, the two most important plans, the old ground plan of the entire insula (Plate I) and the new ground plan in Plate II are printed in different orientations making their comparison quite difficult. Variations in floor levels could also have been indicated on the ground plan (or preferably in a separate plan) elsewhere than in the central eastern part, where the trenches were dug. The descriptive text overall receives very little visual verification.

House 12 is the unit receiving most attention as it is probably the oldest of the buildings at hand containing many *opus africanum* walls and other features possibly dating it to the 3rd century BC. Also, the excavated trenches were designed to verify and to date the association of rooms Q, T and V of House 20 to the House 12. The two blocked doors between room O of House 12 and rooms Q and V of House 20 already indicated a change in ownership. Trench "Alfa", below one of the blocked doors, yielded a small cistern built after the blocking of the wall. In trench "Beta", another cistern or small silo for grain was found along with a beaten earth floor and these are connected to the earlier phases of House 12. As the evidence for the phases of House 20 (The House of Marcus Epidius Rufus) is not presented, it is relatively difficult to assess Gallo's deductions. Could there have been a house on the next plot at the same time? The evidence from trench "Beta" in room T shows, in its latest phase, no connection to House 12. The solid walls running between the western sector of the block and House 20 in the north and south break only at room X of House 20, which is interesting and might have merited a trench in the middle of room X to see whether the division wall continued or not.

The chapter dealing with urban development deals mostly with the date, the planning and building of the so-called *Neustadt* of Pompeii, to which *Insula IX 1* belongs. After this longish and more general discussion, Gallo also describes the division of plots in the *insula*. The city block can be divided into three larger parts around the large House 20, which stretches through the entire block. The western section is then divided into five plots, the back wall of which is the western wall of House 20, irregular only in the middle in room X, as stated before. The divisions are based on long walls running more or less continuously through the sector examined. The only division which possibly could be questioned is the one drawn through House 8. There is an *opus africanum* wall between Houses 9 and 10 and this same wall also seems to form the natural northern border for House 12 (comprising, in its earliest form, also Houses 10, 11 and 13). Could there have been a further, narrow plot in the middle of the *insula*?

Gallo's book is interesting reading and provides a further source of information for Pompeian studies. We shall eagerly wait for the evidence from the rest of the *insula* and hope for slight improvements to that publication's layout.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

*Archäologischer Wegweiser durch Portugal*. Herausgeber THOMAS G. SCHATTNER. Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt, Band 74. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1998. ISBN 3-8053-2313-1. 236 pp., 5 maps, 204 ill., 19 colour plates. EUR 34.80.

Portugal is a familiar country to many tourists, but its ancient remains are probably not so very well known. This book, written by a group of German archaeologists who have worked extensively in the country, takes action towards making them better known and more easily approachable. To a certain degree the book is successful in that, but its use also requires, as the editor Thomas Schattner states in the introduction, a great deal of skill in finding the described sites based on very short route descriptions and on very simple maps showing only a general location of the sites. So, pack a good road map of Portugal!

The volume is small and relatively light, so it will travel easily. Its content is divided into two parts: first, the general outline of the prehistoric and historical periods starting with the Mesolithic and ending in the 14th century AD in six short articles, followed by a gazetteer of 305 archaeological sites which forms the bulk of the book. At the end of the volume, the reader finds a list of museums with archaeological collections, glossaries of archaeological and Portuguese terms, geographical and biographical indexes as well as a fairly extensive bibliography.

The general articles have a slightly odd emphasis on archaeological research history which, at least in the first article about the early prehistoric periods from the Mesolithic to the Copper Age, takes up far too much space and attention. One would assume that the most important thing is to give the reader a good idea of what the prehistoric period was like, instead of how its studies have developed. Also, the Palaeolithic is not even mentioned though the gazetteer presents at least two Palaeolithic rock art sites. Even for an expert reader, the effect of the general articles is slightly more baffling than clearly informative.

The site list is arranged geographically from North to South, and to a certain extent according to major river valleys. Geographical or administrative regions have not been used to separate the list into smaller segments, which might help the reader find the sites in the region he/she is in more easily. The list is ca. 150 pages long and because it continues without any kind of break, it looks a little uninviting. The indexes are not very helpful either in trying to organize the data provided by the list as any indexes (or even just lists of site numbers) by date and administrative regions are missing. The map at the beginning of the book helps a little at least in trying to find the sites in one region, but trying to find sites for a specific period requires quite a lot of effort.

A typical description starts with brief advice on how to reach the site followed by a short description of the remains with dates, etc. The text is supplemented by photographs of landscapes and artifacts as well as with, in general, very clear and informative maps and plans of the sites. The most important literature has also been mentioned. The descriptions have been written by five authors and the contents of the descriptions are mostly similar, and presented in a similar manner. It might have been an improvement if the texts would also have been edited to look alike, instead of showing a variety of styles.



It is obvious that producing a guide book of this extent, covering an entire country and its entire history, is not easy. One is nevertheless left with the impression that with a little more effort the book would have been easier to use as a guidebook and would invite even the lazier tourist to desert the beach in favour of the search for the distant past.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

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