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

EUGENIO AMATO

1. D. P. 702–712¹

Ῥεῖα δέ τοι καὶ τήνδε καταγράψαιμι θάλασσαν,
οὐ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπάνευθε πόρους, οὐ νηὶ περήσας·
οὐ γάρ μοι βίος ἐστὶ μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν,
705 οὐδέ μοι ἐμπορὴ πατρώιος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Γάγγην
ἔρχομαι, οἷά περ ἄλλοι, Ἐρυθραίου διὰ πόντου,
ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες, ἴν' ἄσπετον ὄλβον ἔλονται,
οὐδὲ μὲν Ὑρκανίοις ἐπιμίσγομαι, οὐδ' ἐρεεῖνω
Καυκασίας κνημίδας Ἐρυθραίων Ἀριηνῶν·
710 ἀλλά με Μουσάων φορέει νόος, αἶτε δύνανται
νόσφιν ἀλημοσύνης πολλὴν ἄλα μετρήσασθαι
οὔρεά τ' ἥπειρόν τε καὶ αἰθερίων ὁδὸν ἄστρον.

Per consolidata convinzione dei commentatori, il modello esiodeo di *Op.* 646–662 è alla base di questi versi della *Descriptio orbis* di Dionisio Alessandrino, in cui il poeta dell'età di Adriano,² nel trascorrere dalla descrizione generale delle popolazioni asiatiche alla realtà del Mar Caspio,

¹ Riproduco il testo edito da I. On. Tsavari, Διονυσίου Ἀλεξανδρέως Οἰκουμένης Περιήγησις κριτικὴ ἔκδοσις, Ioannina 1990, che viene a sostituire l'edizione classica di C. Müller nei suoi *Geographi Graeci Minores* II, Parisiis 1861 (rist. Hildesheim 1990), 104–176.

² Per un punto sulla biografia dell'autore, vedi I. On. Tsavari, *Histoire du texte de la Description de la Terre de Denys le Périégète*, Ioannina 1990, 27–31. Mi permetto, inoltre, di rinviare al mio "La descrizione dell'Italia nella Περιήγησις τῆς οἰκουμένης di Dionisio d'Alessandria", in E. Amato, G. Lazzaro e D. Viscido (a cura di), Σημεῖον Χάρπιτος. *Scritti e memorie offerti al Liceo Classico «F. De Sanctis» nel XXXV anniversario della fondazione*, Salerno 1998, 45–65, in part. 46–49.

introduce il *topos*, caro alla poesia greca, dei pericoli provenienti dalla vita di mare e il suo conseguente disprezzo;³ un *topos*, invero, che nei versi esiodei di introduzione ai consigli sulla navigazione indirizzati al fratello Perse trova il suo modello germinale, cui alluderà, certamente, con abile tecnica allusiva, Callimaco negli *Aitia* e nell'*Ecale*⁴ e la cui 'presenza', dunque, nella *Descriptio* di Dionisio è apertamente sollecitata ed autorizzata.

Accanto ad Esiodo sono stati giustamente indicati altri contesti che il Periegeta doveva avere ben presenti dinanzi a sé: per il v. 707 si rinvia a Nic. *Ther.* 1–4 (Ῥεῖα ... ἔμπεδα φωνήσαιμι) e *Alex.* 4–5 (ῤεῖα ...

³ Cf. F. Negri, *Guida per lo mondo di Dionisio Periegete*, Venezia 1838, 217; P. Counillon, *Edition critique de la Périégèse de Denys*, thèse de 3^e cycle, Université de Langue et Lettres de Grenoble III, 1983, 244 (in luogo di Hes. *Op.* 638–642 e 662 si legga, tuttavia, 648–649 e 662). Nell'apparato dei *loci similes* della Tsavari (n. 1), 85–86, vengono puntualmente indicati i vv. 649 (οὔτε τι ναυτιλῆς σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν) e 660 (τόσσον τοι νηῶν γε πεπεύρημαι πολυγόμενων) di Esiodo per il v. 710 della *Descriptio* e il v. 646 (εὐτ' ἂν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν) per il v. 711. Vedi, inoltre, D. D. Greaves, *Dionysius Periegetes and the Hellenistic Poetic and Geographical Traditions*, Ph. D. thesis, Stanford University 1994, 109–115, il quale richiama opportunamente l'adattamento di Call. *fr.* 178, 30 (τρ[ις]μάκαρ, ἧ πάυρων ὄλβιός ἐσσι μέτα, / ναυτι]λῆς εἰ νῆιν ἔ[χεις βίον) e 254 Pf. (οὐ γάρ μοι πενήη πατρώιος, οὐδ' ἀπὸ πάππων / εἰμὶ λιπερνῆτις), e O. Vox, "Noterelle di epica ellenistica", *Rudiae* 11 (1999) [in realtà 2001] 172, che indica in Hes. *Op.* 618 un altro probabile modello per D. P. 1053. Il dato, in realtà, compare già in Eustazio, che nei suoi *Commentarii* dionisiani al v. 707 così annota: "Ὅτι ὡςπερ Ἡσίοδος (*Op.* 648) ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πλέειν λέγει, ὅτι "λέξω οὔτε τι ναυτιλῆς σεσοφισμένος, οὔτε τι νηῶν· οὐ γάρ ποτε νηὶ ἔπλευσα," καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, διδοὺς νοεῖν ὅτι ὡς Μουσῶν ὑποφήτης οἶδε πάντα· οὕτω καὶ οὗτός φησιν, ὅτι "ῤῶόν σοι καταγράψομαι καὶ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν, οὔτε ἰδὼν αὐτήν, οὔτε νηὶ περάσας. Εἶτα πλατύνων θεατρικῶς τὸ νόημά φησιν, οὐ γάρ μοι βίος ἐστὶ μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν, οὐδέ μοι ἡ ἐμπορία πατρώιος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Γάγγην ἔρχομαι, οὐδὲ τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιῶ, οἶάπερ ἄλλοι ψυχῆς, φησὶν, οὐκ ἀλέγοντες, ἵνα πολὺν ὄλβον ἔλονται." Τοῦτο δὲ γνωμικῶς καὶ παροιμιακῶς ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ πλοῦ ἀφειδούντων λέγεται. "Ἄλλὰ με, φησὶ, Μουσῶν φέρει νόος", τουτέστιν αἱ ἐκ τῶν μαθήσεων γνώσεις, αἱ δύνανται δίχα πλάνης πολλὴν ἄλλα μετρήσασθαι, οὔρεά τε ἡπειρόν τε καὶ αἰθερίαν ὁδὸν ἀστέρων. Καὶ σημείωσαι ὅτι ὁ Διονύσιος τοιοῦτον βουλόμενος ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀκροατὴν τὴν παροῦσαν πραγματείαν ἐνεστήσατο, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὡς οἶα ὑπὸ Μουσῶν φερόμενος τῷ Διονυσίῳ τούτῳ ἔσται ὁμοῖος. (p. 343, 17–36 Müller).

⁴ Vedi nota precedente. Per l'ambito e la ricostruzione, cf. da ultimo G. B. D'Alessio, *Callimaco*, Milano 1996, I: *Inni, Epigrammi, Ecale*, 296, n. 40; II: *Aitia, Giambi, Frammenti elegiaci minori, Frammenti di sede incerta*, 561, n. 24.

αὐδήσαιμι);⁵ il v. 709 richiama alla mente l'*Odissea* (8,222: στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγακῆται νηὶ μελαίνῃ),⁶ da cui deriva anche ἐρεείνω di v. 13 (cf. 7,145);⁷ l'espressione di v. 716 πολλὴν ἄλα μετρήσασθαι, in luogo di περιηγήσασθαι, viene considerata, invece, una ripresa di *Od.* 12,428 (ὄφρ' ἔτι τὴν ὅλοην ἀναμετρήσαιμι Χάρυβδιν) da Eustazio,⁸ finora trascurata dagli studiosi moderni a favore del calco, forse più calzante, di A. R. 1,724 (ζυγὰ μετρήσασθαι) e, soprattutto, Mosch. 157 (τόσην ἄλα μετρήσασθαι).⁹

L'imitazione di diversi modelli non deve stupire perché rientra nella strategia allusiva che contraddistingue il dettato poetico di questo poema innodico-didattico, che contamina il modello più antico di tale genere, Esiodo, con i suoi naturali eredi ellenistici (Arato e Nicandro), compreso, però, in maniera più sorprendente, Apollonio Rodio, "interpretato evidentemente come esemplare 'periegetico'".¹⁰

Anzi, è da far risalire, probabilmente, alle *Argonautiche* (2,1095: Κολχίδα νῆ' ἐπιβάντες, ἴν' ἄσπετον ὄλβον ἄρωνται), piuttosto che ad

⁵ Cf. Counillon (n. 3) 245.

⁶ Cf. Counillon (n. 3) *ibid.*

⁷ Cf. Tsavari (n. 1) ad l.

⁸ Ὅρα δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὸ περιηγήσασθαι ἐνταῦθα καταγράψασθαι εἶπε καὶ μετρήσασθαι, εἰπὼν "καταγράψομαι θάλασσαν" καὶ "πολλὴν ἄλα μετρήσασθαι". Τούτω δὲ πάντως ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ γῆν μετρήσασθαι, ἐξ οὗ τὸ γεωμετρεῖν συντέθειται. Ὀμηρικὴ δὲ ἡ λέξις, ληφθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ "ὄφρα τὴν ὅλοην ἀναμετρήσαιμι Χάρυβδιν" (p. 343, 36–42 Müller). In tal senso, andrebbe forse rivista l'interpretazione dell'espressione nel *locus* omerico, comunemente intesa nel senso di 'attraversare di nuovo': vedi, e.g., A. Heubeck, che in proposito così scrive: "difficile spiegare l'immagine; il confronto con III 179 (πέλαγος ... μητρήσαντες) e con il v. 444 (δίηρεσα) suggerisce il significato di 'passare attraverso'" (*Omero, Odissea, II: Libri IX–XII*, Intr., testo e comm. a cura di A. H., trad. di G. A. Privitera, Milano – Verona 1983¹, 340).

⁹ Cf. Tsavari (n. 1) ad l.

¹⁰ Oltre all'ampio commento del Counillon e all'apparato dei *fontes* e dei *loci similes* nell'edizione della Tsavari, si veda per il passato M. Schneider, *De Dionysii Periegetae arte metrica et grammatica capita selecta*, diss., Lipsiae 1882, 21–23; U. Bernays, *Studien zu Dionysius Periegetes*, Heidelberg 1905, 26–46. Più di recente hanno ribadito la complessità dell'*imitatio* dionisiana, Greaves (n. 3) in part. 105–139 e O. Vox, "Dionigi Alessandrino e Apollonio Rodio: Cornici innodiche", in corso di stampa su *Lexis* 20 (2002) [ringrazio l'autore per avere messo a mia disposizione una copia corretta delle bozze]. L'espressione virgolettata è di Vox (n. 3) 163.

Hes. *Op.* 379, anche l'espressione ἴν' ἄσπετον ὄλβον ἔλονται.¹¹

Il caso dei figli di Frisso, che, obbedendo all'ordine del padre morente, si dirigono ad Orcomeno per impadronirsi dell'eredità di Atamante (2,1153: νεύμεθ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν κτεάνων Ἀθάμαντος ἕκητι), imbattendosi, così, durante la loro traversata, nella terribile tempesta che li getterà, afflitti e quasi vicini alla morte (1113: παρὲξ ὀλίγον θανάτοιο), nell'isola di Ares, dove verranno salvati dall'intervento estremo di Giasone, offre a Dionisio un ulteriore esempio dei pericoli che derivano dalla vita di mare.

Come si vede, la reminiscenza apolloniana non resta una semplice imitazione, che il poeta può desiderare o meno che sfugga al lettore, bensì diventa vera e propria allusione per un pubblico che ricorda chiaramente il testo a cui l'autore si riferisce. "Chi legge un testo nuovo viene guidato verso l'agnizione di frammenti più antichi mediati dalla memoria che accomuna autore e destinatario. Questa agnizione, non c'è dubbio, funziona come un incremento di senso: può suggerire nuovi aspetti, contrasti, conferme, sfumature, tensioni." E i versi presi in esame dimostrano come la compresenza di uno o più testi nella *Descriptio* di Dionisio non siano assolutamente esempi di *mimesis* esiziale. Al contrario, essi sottolineano quella sorprendente economicità dell'arte allusiva, del circuito intertestuale, che riesce a dire di più dicendo meno di proprio. "In questo modo il testo diminuisce la sua prevedibilità, aprendosi a un vecchio ospite inatteso."¹²

Va rilevato, infatti, che l'ascendenza esiodea non deve essere limitata ai soli vv. 646–662, bensì, come il caso presente autorizza ad ipotizzare, anche a v. 633, in cui, seppure non vi è ripresa stilistica o espressiva, Esiodo richiama alla memoria di Perse la necessità del padre di navigare sulle navi

¹¹ Cf. Counillon (n. 3) 245. Non è stato dato il giusto peso alla ripresa ovidiana di *Tr.* 1,2,75–80 (*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 / delicias videam, Nile iocose, tuas*), in cui mi sembra evidente la eco esiodea ed apolloniana. Me ne occupo dettagliatamente altrove.

¹² Le giuste ed efficaci affermazioni sono contenute nell'importante saggio di G. B. Conte e A. Barchiesi, "Imitazione e arte allusiva. Modi e funzioni dell'intertestualità", in G. Cavallo, P. Fedeli e A. Giardina (dir.), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica, I: La produzione del testo*, Roma 1989, 84. Sull'intertestualità e la riscrittura poetica si dispone ora di un importante saggio di C. Cusset, *La Muse dans la Bibliothèque. Réécriture et intertextualité dans la poésie alexandrine*, Paris 2002, le cui conclusioni, seppure relative alla poesia ellenistica, possono chiaramente adattarsi anche al nostro autore.

perché βίου κεχρημένος ἐσθλοῦ ("desideroso di una vita agiata"); per questo egli, salpato su una nera nave (ἐν νηὶ μελαίνῃ) dall'Eolia Cuma, non fuggendo certo prosperità e ricchezza, ma la malvagia povertà, dono di Zeus, giungerà ad Ascra.

Contrariamente ad Esiodo, che non esclude la possibilità di mettersi in mare per 'far ricchezze', a patto, però, di saper scegliere il tempo opportuno,¹³ Dionisio, che intende proporre al proprio lettore un viaggio 'alternativo' attraverso i libri, unica forma sicura di sapere scientifico, si sforza di negare validità a qualsiasi tipo di viaggio in mare, che non sia quello suggeritogli dalle Muse.¹⁴ Mentre, infatti, le Muse esiodee impartiscono al loro poeta un canto infinito che sostenga l'esperienza di vita di mare (sentita insufficiente rispetto a quella profonda, per gli spazi toccati e per il tempo passato sulle navi, del padre),¹⁵ in Dionisio le Muse divengono non ispirazione di canto, ma piuttosto guida sicura nella materia, perché esse possono misurare, senza viaggiare, il grande mare, i monti, la terraferma e il cammino degli astri celesti.¹⁶

Le espressioni καταγράψαιμι e μετρήσασθαι, sui cui Dionisio focalizza l'attenzione del lettore, rinviano senza dubbio alla polemica polibiana sulle fonti dell'opera storiografica, chiarendo, al contempo, la posizione e gli intenti programmatici che il poeta adrianeo perseguì nella stesura del proprio poema.

In effetti (lo rilevava già Eustazio), la *Descriptio orbis* si presenta come un accurato *enchiridion* poetico di tutti i dati scientifici che la ricerca geografica *stricto sensu* aveva prodotto nelle età precedenti. Δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι – precisa con acutezza Eustazio (p. 211, 23–33 Müller) – καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν παλαιῶν περὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ γεωγραφίαν καὶ χωρογραφίαν ἐσπουδακότων, ἦν μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων, ὡς λέγεται, γραφῆς ἠκριβώσατο, ... πάντοθεν ὁ Διονύσιος τὸ καλὸν ἠρανί-

¹³ *Op.* 641–642: τὴν δ', ὧ Πέρση, ἔργων μεμνημένος εἶναι / ὠραίων πάντων, περὶ ναυτιλίας δὲ μάλιστα.

¹⁴ Dionisio tende a presentare in maniera assolutamente negativa il viaggio (non solo per mare) anche nel passo relativo all'isola di Taprobane (596–605), l'odierna Ceylon, in cui, dopo aver enfatizzato la pericolosità dei fondali per i marinai a causa della presenza dei cetacei, conclude sentenziosamente affermando che "per mare e per terra la divinità riserva migliaia di sciagure agli empi".

¹⁵ *Op.* 660–662: τόσσον τοι νηῶν γε πεπεῖρημαι πολυγόμφων· / ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἐρέω Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο· / Μοῦσαι γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον ἀεΐδειν.

¹⁶ Cf. D. P. 651: Μοῦσαι δ' ἰθύντανον ἵχνος ἄγοιεν.

σατο, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸς ἐπιτεμὼν συντομωτάτην ταύτην καὶ ἀκριβεστάτην γεωγραφίαν ἐξέθετο εἰς ἐγχειρίδιον τοῖς βουλομένοις εὐσύνοπτον, οὐδέν τι τῶν τοῖς γεωγράφοις ὀφειλομένων καταλιπών.

Il poeta, dunque, sulla base delle esplorazioni dirette e dell'autopsia dei suoi predecessori può facilmente 'descrivere' (καταγράψαι) la sua οἰκουμένη, dal momento che le Muse (= i libri) gli daranno le coordinate e tutte le informazioni rilevanti sulla configurazione e la disposizione della Terra. Ecco, allora, che Dionisio diviene maestro di geografia (non, dunque, geografo), in quanto in possesso di un metodo di insegnamento della geografia a patto che il suo discepolo presti attenzione alle parole del maestro: "ché, se tu comprendi chiaramente questo mio percorso, potrai subito con abilità indicare ad altri i fiumi, il sito delle città, ogni singola regione" (D. P. 884–886).

Questi ammonimenti si ricollegano evidentemente ai vv. 170–173, in cui, come scrive il Counillon, viene precisato "pour la première fois le but que Denys assigne à son lecteur, être capable de retransmettre le savoir qu'il aura reçu":¹⁷ "Ora, ti esporrò l'aspetto intero della terraferma, di modo che, pur senza averla mai vista, tu possa averne una visione d'insieme chiara; in tal modo, otterrai considerazione e risulterai degno di maggior rispetto, se esporrai tutte queste nozioni a chi le ignora."

È un momento del poema fondamentale per penetrare e comprendere i complimenti sostanziali dell'opera, che fino a questo punto si era presentata quasi esclusivamente come un inno al mondo. Dionisio non intende scrivere per il politico o l'uomo d'azione, cui si rivolge Strabone nella sua *Geografia*, bensì egli guarda all'uomo colto, al πεπαιδευμένος, che nell'universo letterario del suo poema possa ritrovare, unicamente attraverso l'autorità del sapere libresco (di Omero, di Pindaro, di Callimaco, di Arato, di Apollonio Rodio, dei Tragici), le tracce precise e sicure di un viaggio attorno al mondo, da diffondere, a sua volta, ai futuri discepoli.

L'insegnamento(-avvertimento) è chiaro: "Se ti prende ancora il dolce desiderio di vedere (ιδέειν) i Persiani, io ti esporrò con arte anche la loro

¹⁷ Counillon (n. 3) 167. Il senso era chiaro già ad Eustazio (p. 246, 32–40 Müller): "Ὅτι τὸ τῆς περιηγήσεως ἐνταῦθα χρήσιμον ἐκτιθέμενος λέγει· "Ἐρῶ σοι τὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης εἶδος, ὄφρα καὶ οὐκ ἐσιδὼν ἔχοις εὐφραστον ὀπωπὴν (ἤγουν θεωρίαν), ἐκ δὲ τοῦδε γεραρός τε καὶ αἰδοιέστερος εἴης, τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τάδε πάντα περιηγούμενος"· ὡς εἶναι τὸ τῆς περιηγήσεως τέλος τὴν τοῦ μαθητοῦ γνῶσιν, εἶτα καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους ἀγνοοῦντας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίαν, τούτων δὲ τέλος αὐθις τὴν ἐκ τῶν διδασκομένων τιμὴν (si aggiunga p. 373, 4–13 Müller).

razza, il corso dei loro fiumi perenni e le loro catene montuose" (D. P. 1053–1055). All'esperienza si oppone con evidenza l'autorità del sapere delle Muse, alla pratica viva fa da ostacolo la teoria delle biblioteche, la fiducia nella carta geografica prende il sopravvento sui rilevamenti autoptici, la comodità del tavolino viene preferita ai pericoli del viaggio.¹⁸

Com'è noto, Polibio, che nel suo *excursus* geografico del libro XXXIV riconosce il contributo personale di Eforo nella storiografia delle origini,¹⁹ attacca nel XII gli storici che sulla scia di Timeo avevano privilegiato esclusivamente una tradizione di informazioni da biblioteca a detrimento dell'osservazione personale, dell'autopsia.²⁰ Tant'è che lo storico dichiara apertamente i siti geografici da lui personalmente visitati (la penisola iberica, le Alpi, l'Italia settentrionale, il Mare Adriatico), oltre a definirsi lui stesso αὐτόπτης.²¹

Credo sia importante ricordare con Didier Marcotte²² che, assieme a quella di Polibio, l'altra affermazione più antica della necessità dell'autopsia in campo scientifico venga dichiarata in maniera chiara nella Περίοδος γῆς dello Pseudo-Scimno, nel punto in cui, dopo aver presentato il catalogo delle

¹⁸ Per una valutazione complessiva del metodo di Dionisio, vedi C. Jacob, *La Description de la terre habitée de Dénys d'Alexandrie ou la leçon de géographie*, Paris 1990, 11–41; Id., "La geografia", in G. Cambiano, L. Canfora, D. Lanza (dir.), *Lo Spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, I: *La produzione e la circolazione del testo*, 2: *L'Ellenismo*, Roma 1993, in part. 424–425; Id., "Disegnare la terra", in S. Settis (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, 1: *Noi e i Greci*, Torino 1996, in part. 922–923. Di recente, ha ribadito la complessità del testo dionisiano 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.

¹⁹ Plb. 34,1,3 Büttner-Wobst.

²⁰ Plb. 12,25C–G, 25A–28A. Nel dettaglio vedi P. Pédech, *La méthode historique de Polybe*, Paris 1964, 575–577. Sul metodo geografico di Polibio, cf. F. W. Walbank, "The Geography of Polybius", *C&M* 9 (1948) 155–182; G. Zecchini, "Polibio, la storiografia ellenistica e l'Europa", in M. Sordi (a cura di), *L'Europa nel mondo antico*, Milano 1996, 124–134; E. Gabba, "Le Alpi e l'Europa", in G. Urso (a cura di), *Integrazione Mescolanza Rifiuto. Incontri di popoli, lingue e culture in Europa dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo*, Roma 2001, 145–150.

²¹ Cf. A. Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon* I, Berlin 1956, 261 (22 occorrenze).

²² D. Marcotte, *Géographes Grecs*, I: *Introduction générale. Ps.-Scymnos: Circuit de la Terre*, Paris 2000, 21, il quale richiama l'attenzione sull'influenza esercitata dal metodo della medicina empirista, come dimostrò K. Deichgräber, *Die griechische Empirikerschule*, Berlin 1930, 324–325.

proprie fonti (vv. 109–127), l'autore aggiunge di aver utilizzato anche l'ἐξέτασις personale (v. 128: ἰδίᾳ ... ἐξητακῶς).

L'affermazione, che ha ingenerato varie perplessità esegetiche, soprattutto, come vedremo, alla luce della difesa del sapere libresco dei vv. 98–102,²³ va spiegata probabilmente con l'impossibilità da parte dell'autore di poter utilizzare l'apologia dell'autopsia offerta da Polibio nel XII libro delle sue *Storie*²⁴ e, conseguentemente, con lo stadio non ancora avanzato del problema, che non consentiva allo Pseudo-Scimno di rifondare totalmente il problema della fonti.²⁵

Ciò, però, che più colpisce nella difesa delle fonti scritte dei vv. 98–102 è il rifiuto totale dei 'viaggi di Odisseo' a favore di una ricerca condotta nella quiete del tavolino, grazie alla quale il lettore, senza aver subito quel che raccontano i miti dell'errabondo Odisseo, non solo potrà conoscere i costumi stranieri, ma le città e le norme di tutti gli altri popoli.²⁶ Si tratta, afferma l'autore, di un'operazione volta a generare il piacere nel destinatario, il quale conosce, senza aver viaggiato, la precisa collocazione della sua patria, chi furono i primi abitanti, quali le città che vantano rapporti di parentela.²⁷

Alla luce di questo precedente possiamo, forse, formulare anche per la *Descriptio orbis* di Dionisio qualche osservazione più puntuale: le 'navi nere' celebrate da Dionisio al v. 708 rievocano sì il modello esiodeo di *Op.* 636, ma soprattutto, io credo, l'imbarcazione di Odisseo, il cui colore era il nero (*Od.* 8,222: cf. *supra*).

²³ Scrive opportunamente il Marcotte (n. prec.): "Épargner au lecteur les errances d'Ulysse et lui permettre de s'instruire en bibliothèque, ce double objectif est aux antipodes de ce que prescrit Polybe en son livre XII (notamment 12, 27); son affirmation prend aussi à rebours la défense de l'autopsie à laquelle procèdent les v. 128–136."

²⁴ Per la redazione del libro (scritto dopo il 146 o il 144 a.C.), vedi P. Pédech, *Polybe. Histoires (Livre XII)*, Paris 1961, IX–XIV.

²⁵ Cf. Marcotte (n. 22) 23, il quale conclude per una datazione della Περίοδος più alta rispetto a quella (110/100 a.C.) generalmente seguita.

²⁶ Ps.-Scymn. 98–102: Συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, οὐχὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως / ἀναδεξάμενος, ὡς φασιν οἱ μῦθοι, πλάνην, / ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας δὲ καταμένων εὐδαιμόνως, / οὐχὶ μόνον ἑτερόφυλον ἀνθρώπων βίον, / ἔθνῶν ὅλων δὲ γνώσεται ἄσθη καὶ νόμους.

²⁷ Ps.-Scymn. 92–97: ἦς (sc. τῆς περιόδου) ὁ κατακούσας οὐ μόνον τερφθήσεται, / ἅμα δ' ὠφελίαν ἀποίσειτ' εὐχρηστον μαθῶν, / εἰ μὴθὲν ἕτερον, φασί, ποῦ ποτ' ἐστὶ γῆς, / κὰν τίσι τόποις τὴν πατρίδα κειμένην ἔχει, / τίνων τε πρότερον γενομένην οἰκητόρων / πόλεσίν τε ποίαις συγγένειαν ἀναφέρει.

Ebbene, come lo Pseudo-Scimno, allontanando il pericolo del viaggio in mare, finisce col privilegiare un'informazione scientifica libresca, così Dionisio, che diversamente dal suo predecessore doveva senza dubbio aver notizia della polemica polibiana sulle fonti storiche, si inserisce nel filone tradizionale degli interpreti di Omero e dei poeti arcaici, rivelando il suo gusto allessandrineggiante per un sapere di stampo essenzialmente libresco. Laddove, però, lo Pseudo-Scimno – all'epoca del quale la difesa del metodo autoptico, erede della μεθοδική ἐμπειρία medica, non era stata ancora del tutto formulata, bensì cominciava ad essere dibattuta nei luoghi deputati – apriva timidamente le sue ricerche all'ἐξέτασις personale,²⁸ il Periegeta chiude le porte ad ogni tipo di verifica empirica.

Vi è di più: nel momento in cui Dionisio afferma di non essere mai stato sulle 'nere navi', finisce con l'identificare il suo ruolo con quello di novello Omero, mentre il lettore-discepolo, unico protagonista del viaggio attorno al mondo, riveste il ruolo di novello Odisseo. E Dionisio(-Omero), presenza immobile per tutto il tempo del racconto, non fa che indirizzare, stimolare, sollecitare, richiamare l'attenzione del suo nuovo eroe odissiaco; un eroe, che trova il compimento del suo 'viaggio' nell'autorità non già dell'esperienza autoptica, quanto in quella della tradizione letteraria e derivante dal piacere dei libri.

In tal senso, sembra esatta l'interpretazione catartica data alla *Periegesi* di Dionisio:²⁹ opera che si assume il compito di allontanare le tentazioni del lettore ad un viaggio reale, indicando nella letteratura l'unica fonte di garanzia e le sole bellezze dell'universo cantato.

2. *Vita Chis.* 11–12 Colonna (208–210)

Riesaminando il testo dell'anonima *Vita Chisiana* di Dionisio il Periegeta, conservata nel codice Chigian. R. IV. 20 (= gr. 20) del XIV sec., ho potuto notare quanto stranamente superficiali ed imprecise siano state le cure degli editori, in rapporto soprattutto alla brevità del testo.

²⁸ Nulla esclude che l'autore della Περίοδος abbia invocato l'esperienza personale per consegnare al dedicatario dell'opera (Nicomede II Epifane o Nicomede III Evergete) una diversa immagine di sé: cf. Marcotte (n. 22) 23.

²⁹ Cf. Counillon (n. 3) 20.

La *Vita*, edita per la prima volta nel 1874 da F. Rühl,³⁰ fu rivista, per via delle numerose mende, dopo soli due anni da W. Zipperer.³¹ Da allora è stato riedita nuovamente, in maniera pressoché definitiva, da A. Colonna.³² L'edizione del Colonna, a sua volta, seppure definitiva rispetto a quella del predecessore, oltre a vari refusi tipografici (l. 34 οὖν, l. 41 ζώων, l. 47 διηρημενον, l. 63 ὀνομασία *pro* ὀνομασία, l. 67 ποτέ), offre in un luogo una cattiva lettura del manoscritto, ciò a danno dell'interpretazione stessa del testo.

Riproduco il passo in esame, secondo il testo dato dal Colonna:

Σαφὲς τοῦτο ποιεῖ λέγων τὴν Κυρηναίων ἦτταν Λουκούλλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ πρότερον δολοφρονηθέντος, πῶς δὲ καὶ διὰ τί, προιόντες ἀποδείξομεν.

Non mi pare per nulla accettabile l'emendamento Λουκούλλου, in luogo dell'errato λουκτούλου del codice, proposto a suo tempo dal Rühl. Piuttosto, andrà letto Λεντούλου: cf. sch. in D. P. 210, p. 440, 18–19 Müller: Αὐσονὶς αἰχμή] Οἱ μὲν ὅτι Ῥέντουλον [*lege* Λέντουλον] Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν ἐδολοφόνησαν (la stessa testimonianza è offerta da Eustazio in D. P. 209 [p. 253, 8–9 Müller]: Ἀνεῖλον γὰρ [sc. οἱ Νασαμῶνες] δόλω Λέντουλον στρατηγόν τινα Ῥωμαίων, ἐκεῖ ἀφιγμένον). Vi è riferimento, infatti, all'uccisione del proconsole C. Cornelio Lentulo per opera dei Nasamoni sotto l'impero d'Augusto.³³

³⁰ "Dionysios Periegetes", *RhM* 29 (1874) 81–87.

³¹ "Zur Vita des Periegeten Dionysios", *RhM* 31 (1876) 627–628.

³² "Dionysii Periegetae Vita Chisiana", *BollClass* n.s. 5 (1957) 9–12. Una nuova edizione è stata data, per quel che so, anche da R. Kassel, "Antimachos in der Vita Chisiana des Dionysios Periegetes", in C. Schaeublin (hrsg.), *Catalepton. Festschrift für Bernhard Wyss zum 80. Geburtstag*, Basel 1985, 69–76, che, tuttavia, non mi è stato possibile consultare. Un'altra è annunciata dalla Tsavari (n. 2) 27, n. 12.

³³ Cf. J. Desanges, "Un drame africain sous Auguste: le meurtre du proconsul C. Corn. Lentulus par les Nasamons", in AA.VV., *Hommage à M. Renard II*, Bruxelles 1969, 197–213. Eustazio (p. 253, 10–12 Müller), lo Scoliate (p. 440, 19–25 Müller) e l'Anonimo autore della parafrasi bizantina nella redazione del *Paris. Gr.* 2723 (cf. app. di p. 440, 19 Müller) fanno, invece, riferimento a precedenti sconfitte inflitte dai Romani ai tempi di Scipione e delle guerre civili, con cui pagarono il fio di avere parteggiato per Catone contro Cesare. Ma queste furono sconfitte e non stermini come lascia intendere Dionisio, il quale pare riferire di una strage recente. Per parte sua, il Müller (ad v. 209), richiamando l'autorità di Eusebio (*Chron. ad an. Abr.* 2101, Ol. 216, 2), Zonara (9,19) e

Inoltre, come ho potuto personalmente verificare, il codice nella linea seguente ha δολοφονηθέντος (come conferma del resto lo scolio citato), nel senso di 'ucciso a tradimento' (cf. Plb. 32,5,11), e non δολοφρονηθέντος (di questo verbo è attestato solo il ptcp. pres. attivo, per lo più in poesia, nel senso di 'meditare inganni': cf., e.g., Hom. *Il.* 3,405; *Od.* 10,339).

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Sincello (p. 343 D) e seguendo in questo il Salmasio, fa risalire, erroneamente, la vicenda all'età di Domiziano.

MINIMUM CORINTHIUM

MIKA KAJAVA

In 1997, an interesting "bilingual" inscription on a small stele of white marble was discovered in the American excavations at Corinth. Only the right-hand side of the stone remains except that there is a lacuna in the top right corner (0.272 x 0.223 x 0.10 m; height of the letters: 0.04-0.05 m [lines 1-3], 0.02 m [line 4], 0.015-0.022 m [lines 5-6]). Unfortunately, since the stone was unearthed in debris of Frankish date, its original location, Corinth or the Isthmus, cannot be determined with certainty. The text has been recently published by Michael Dixon as follows (line 7: [τῶνος *sic*):¹

saec. II p.

- 1 [- - - -] . AE · C . [..?]
[- - - - - SAC]ERDOS
[- - - - P]ROSERPINAЕ
4 [- - - -] MARMOREA ·
[- - - ?] *vacat* (0.035 m)
[- - - - - στ]ῶν καὶ ναὸν Πλου-
[τῶνος - - τὰ] προσκομήματα ΔΗ
[- - - ?] *vacat* (0.02 m)

Though Dixon's discussion is generally pertinent and trustworthy, there are some points in the inscription that need to be reconsidered. It may be convenient to start with the Latin text. First, attention should be given to the name of the *sacerdos* which, according to Dixon, would be found at the end of line 1. He argues, moreover, that the name may, but need not, have

* For very useful comments on the archaeological evidence, I am most indebted to Elizabeth Gebhard, Director of the University of Chicago Excavations at Isthmia.

¹ M. D. Dixon, "A New Latin and Greek Inscription from Corinth", *Hesperia* 69 (2000) 335-342 (with photograph on p. 336 fig. 1).

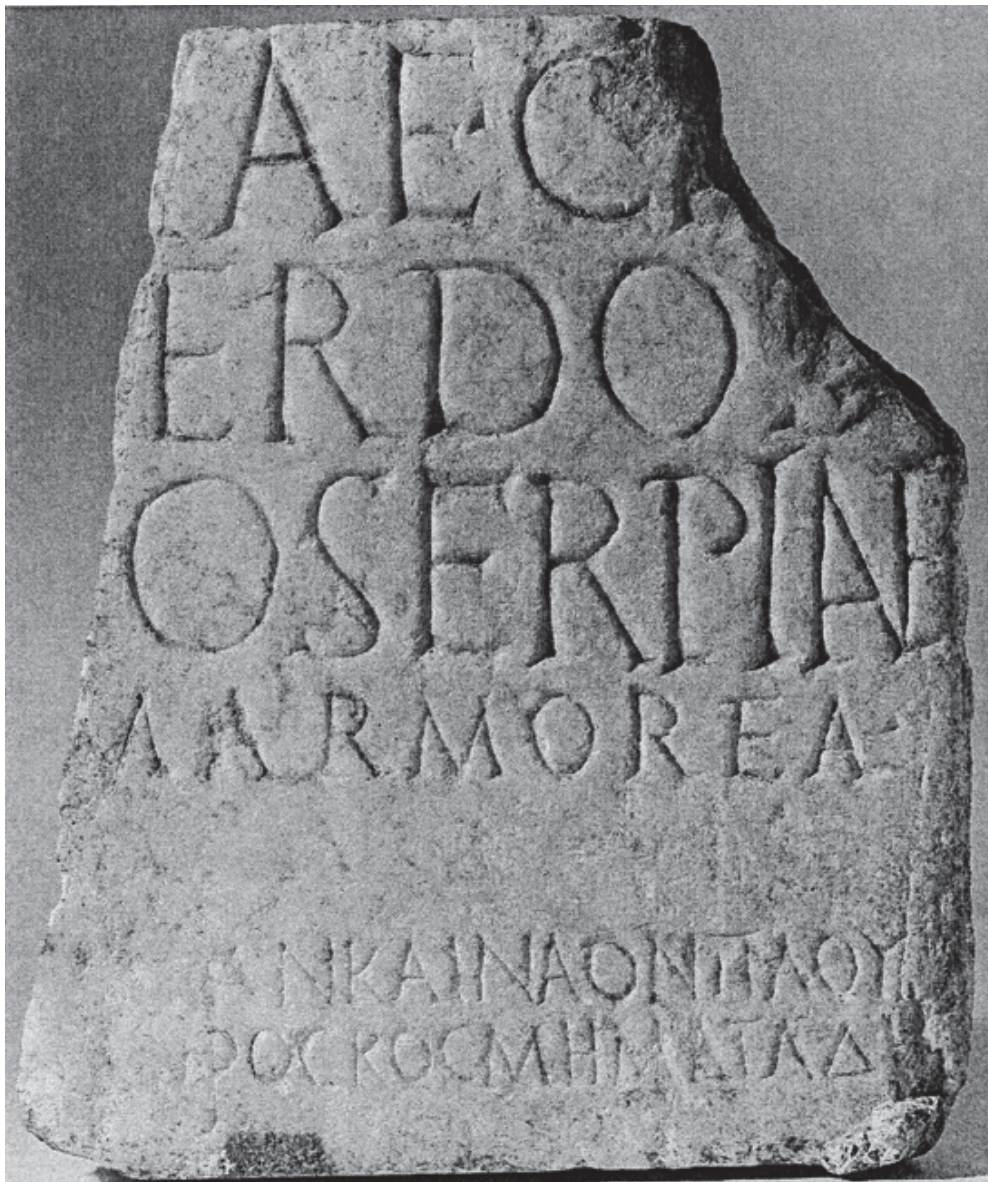


Fig. 1. From Dixon (cit. n. 1) p. 336. Photo by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti (courtesy T. Cullen, Editor of *Hesperia*).

continued in line 2. In the latter case, the *sacerdos* would probably have been identified by a very short individual name, for at the end of line 1, after the C, there is space for only two or, possibly, three letters. Therefore, if there was a name beginning with C at the end of line 1, one wonders whether it was the gentilicium of the *sacerdos*, either a short one (of perhaps four letters) or a longer one which continued in line 2. Since the letter following the C is either E or L (thus also Dixon [cit. n. 1] 337), and because the *sacerdos* (not only of Proserpina but, probably, also of Ceres) would

have been a female, one could think of names such as *Ceia*, *Claudia*, etc. There is a further problem, however. What should we do with the letters AE in line 1, which are preceded by a trace belonging to I, N, or H? Of these only I or N seem possible, and so one would expect a dative in either *-iae* or *-nae* since what would be recorded at the beginning other than the deity to whom something (cf. *marmorea* in line 4) had been dedicated by the *sacerdos*. Of course, a priestess of Proserpina may have dedicated something to Proserpina ([--- ? *Proserpi]nae*), but if this goddess had been named at the beginning, it does not seem very likely that her name was repeated in the priestly title soon after. It is true that there are parallels for this practice (the type "Saturno Aug. NN, sacerdos Saturni, etc."), but such an expression might appear somewhat clumsy in a public inscription at Corinth. Even less likely is the possibility that, in line 1, the name of Proserpina was followed by that of Ceres in the dative (e.g., [*Deae Proserpi]nae Ce[reri/que]*, divided between lines 1 and 2), despite the fact that the anonymous priestess may well have served the cult of both goddesses (*sacerdos Cereris et Proserpinae*).

One might rather imagine a deity like Victoria or Fortuna. Both are attested at Roman Corinth. It might be that one of them, or yet another female deity, recorded in the dative, was followed by the name of the priestess. On the other hand, Victoria, Fortuna and other similar, more or less abstract personifications, were often accompanied by epithets or any additional characterizations (Victoria/Fortuna Augusta, Fortuna followed by a genitive, etc.). Thus it would not be surprising that the letters AE were followed by such an addition. In the present case, however, having to be content with something beginning with either CE or CL, an easy solution is not available. In fact, the only reasonable alternative might be the abbreviated form of the name of the colony of Corinth, i.e., *c(olonia) L(aus) I(ulia) C(orinthiensis)* which would fit the lacuna perfectly. Such abbreviations are not rare, and in the extant public inscriptions from Corinth, at least *Laus*, *Iulia* and *Corinthiensis* are known to have been abbreviated with a single letter.² However, should the hypothesis of CLIC work, this

² *Corinth* VIII,2, 4: [--- *Apoll]inique Genio[que / coloniae et colono]rum L. I. C. sacrum*, etc.; VIII,3, 130 (*coloni[ae] L. / Iuliae / Corinthiensi*, etc.). In VIII, 3, 193, [*col. L. I.*] is restored, but I am not sure whether this is correct. The abbreviation *C. L. I. Cor.* is also found on brick stamps (*AE* 1997, 1382-93; also *Col. L. Iul. Cor.*, perhaps from the latter half of the second century A.D.). On the local coinage, CLIC (and CLI COR) is

would not recall Victoria, but a deity more naturally related to the colony and its welfare. A deity like Fortuna would sound much better. In any case, considering that, according to this hypothesis, the name of the priestess and that of Ceres should probably be restored in lines 2 and 3, respectively, one should find at least two words to fill up the gap that would remain before AE in line 1. Perhaps, then, something like [*Fortunae* or *Tutelae Aeter*]nae, [*Bonae Fortu*]nae, unless two deities were mentioned, e.g., [*Genio et Fortu*]nae, [*Saluti et Fortu*]nae, or [*Deae Tutelae Fortu*]nae.³ Whatever the wording, the deity would have been the recipient of the dedication made by the priestess, perhaps a [*signum* or *statuam cum basi*] marmorea, unless two deities had received two statues (e.g., [*bases et signa*] marmorea). Yet I repeat that if the hypothesis of CLIC is not correct, the beginning of the name of the *sacerdos* should most probably be found in the fragmentary top right corner. If so, many further possibilities for restoring the beginning would appear. For example, besides the name of a single divinity (type *Dianae*, well attested in Corinth), one could also see an expression like *Genio domus divinae*, etc.

documented from the Antonine period through the third century A.D. Otherwise, cf., e.g., *c(olonia) C(laudia) A(ra) A(grippinensis)*; *c(olonia) C(oncordia) I(ulia) K(arthago)*, etc. Abbreviations like *c(vitas)*, *m(unicipium)* and *r(es) p(ublica)*, followed by the city's name, are frequently attested in inscriptions.

³ Dedications to the Genius of a colony are well documented in the Roman world (at Corinth, cf. *Corinth* VIII,2, 4-5; cf. also *Genius Augusti* in VIII,3, 66-67; a priesthood of the Genius of the colony of Corinth is known from *AE* 1977, 770; moreover, the local Genius is represented on numerous coins). For the Fortuna of a colony or of some other community, cf. *AE* 1966, 597 (Auzia, Mauretania; together with the Genius of province), 1998, 724 (Salpensa, Baetica; *Fortuna Aug.* together with the Genius of *municipium*), 1999, 1047 (= Wuilleumier, *ILTG* 59, Fortuna of Lugdunum Convenarum), *CIL* IX 2597 (Terventum, *Fortuna municipi*), XII 656 (*Fortuna Arelatensium*), etc. At Corinth, cf. further Tutela (*Corinth* VIII,3, 193-194 *Tutela Augusta* - *Tutela* also in No. 317); Victoria (VIII,2, 11, 111; *Victoria Britannica* in Nos. 86-90); Salus (VIII,2, 110, priesthood of *Providentia Aug.* and of *Salus Publica*). As for Fortuna/Tyche, we know of a sanctuary of hers at Corinth (VIII,3, 128; A.D. 143-160, for the site, see C. M. Edwards, *Hesperia* 59 [1990] 537; M. Torelli, in: D. Knoepfler – M. Piérart (eds), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000* [Univ. de Neuchâtel; Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines 49], Genève 2001, 143 ff.). — One may note that in a Roman city, a god like "Fortuna (or Tutela, etc.) Augusta" could be the tutelary goddess not only of the Emperor but also of the whole civic community, see I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, Oxford 2002, 105 f., discussing the different connotations between the adjective *Augusta* and the genitive *Augusti*.

On the basis of these considerations, I would suggest that a *sacerdos* of (probably Ceres and of) Proserpina, who would have been a woman, had dedicated something made of marble to a female deity (possibly coupled with a *genius*). The possibility exists that the recipient was a divine personification related to the welfare and prosperity of Corinth. If this is so, the abbreviated form of the colony's name could be restored at the end of line 1. Among the many possibilities for restoration, I reproduce only one which is made with an eye on the photograph published by Dixon (note that, following this solution, the lines would be well centred):

[Genio et Fortu]nae c(oloniae) L(audis) [I(uliae) C(orinthiensis)]
 [---, sac]erdos
 [Cereris et Pr]oserpiâe
 [bases et signa] marmorea
 [dedit.]

This said, we may move to the Greek part of the inscription. In his article (p. 338), Dixon referred to the possibility "that the two texts are not contemporaneous, for the Greek may have been inscribed after the Latin", but he did not develop this idea any further. This is unfortunate because, in fact, the Greek text does seem to be a later addition. Observing that Greek inscriptions are very rare at Corinth before Hadrian's time, and that "the primacy of the Latin text suggests a date roughly around the time of Hadrian, or slightly earlier" (p. 338), and also because some palaeographical features of the Greek text could be dated between Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, Dixon suggested a Hadrianic date for the inscription, but did not exclude the possibility that it is post-Hadrianic.

Though the palaeographic argument is rather difficult in cases like this, it seems to me that there is a good probability that the Latin text is many decades earlier. While the Greek text is very likely to be post-Hadrianic, the Latin one might well date from the late first or the early second century A.D.⁴ Such a chronological relationship between the two

⁴ However, if the hypothesis of CLIC at the end of line 1 is correct, the Latin text should be later than Domitian, for under the Flavians, the name of the colony was *colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis*. The original name was restored some time after the death of Domitian. On the other hand, the Flavian element was probably an optional addition, for some coins of this period read COL IVL COR (and even COL COR), cf. now M. E.

texts would not only fit what we know about the percentual increase of Greek documents at Corinth from about Hadrian's time but it would also explain why the inscription is bilingual. If both texts had been inscribed contemporaneously, it would be difficult to see why two languages were used for two texts with different contents.⁵ If two building projects, or any enterprises, were mentioned in one and the same inscription, would there be any point to describe one in one language, one in another? This would be even more peculiar if the same person was responsible for both the dedication of something in marble (Latin text) and the construction or restoration of what is mentioned in the Greek text. This is not a "true" bilingual Greek and Latin inscription where the text is translated from one language to another. Therefore, it seems to me very likely that the Greek text was added in a later period, when the Greek language, along with the revival of Greek traditions, had become increasingly general at Corinth and when it was more widely used in such public contexts as this.

I imagine that the Greek text of the inscription reminds many readers familiar with Corinthian epigraphy of the remarkable building programme of P. Licinius Priscus Juventianus at the Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon. Dixon also duly discussed this evidence, but since it dates approximately to the second half of the second century A.D.,⁶ he considered it too late for the

H. Walbank, *ZPE* 139 (2002) 251 f.

⁵ Among the Corinthian epigraphic material, very few cases show both Greek and Latin on the same stone: *Corinth* VIII, 1, 71 (very fragmentary, but the Greek part might belong to a signature [of an artist?]), 130 (= Peek, *GVI* 1294; some personal names in Latin followed by three elegiac couplets in Greek); VIII, 3, 276 (a "true" bilingual text from the third century A.D.), 306 (governor's letter with concluding date in Latin; cf. below n. 12), 342 (very fragmentary). None of these cases is comparable with the new inscription which displays two different, and autonomous, texts in prose.

⁶ Juventianus's activity is usually dated after the mid-second century A.D. However, besides B. Puech, *REA* 85 (1983) 35 ff., who preferred the early second century A.D., note the view of M. Piérart, *Kernos* 11 (1998) 97 ff. In a discussion of the history of the cult of Palaemon at the Isthmian Sanctuary, he also opts for an earlier period (around A.D. 100), primarily because the Temple of Palaemon (which we know was built by Juventianus) is represented on a coin of Hadrianic date. However, there seems to be nothing in the archaeological evidence that militates against a later date. In fact, we know that the Palaemonium was remodelled several times during the second century A.D. and that the Hadrianic temple was either moved or rebuilt in a new precinct in the Antonine period (as shown by coins minted under Lucius Verus). Depending on how one wants to date Priscus's career and the inscriptions referring to him, he could have built either the Hadrianic temple or the Antonine one; for details, see E. Gebhard, in: T. E. Gregory

inscription (see also above). Moreover, he thought that, if the Greek text referred to Priscus, his name should be construed with the surviving letters in line 1. This is surely an erroneous inference, for under no circumstances should we expect Priscus to be mentioned in the Latin text. (Apart from the fact that the *sacerdos* would have been a female, one should note that Priscus's activity took place at a time when Greek was more widely used, as witnessed by the well-known inscriptions that refer to him [see below].) Dixon even adds that for Priscus, instead of the title of *sacerdos* in line 2, one would expect that of *archiereus* (we know that he was ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου). These arguments aside, I think that the Greek text may refer to Priscus Juventianus after all.

The key document is the well-known catalogue *IG IV 203* (= Stele A, cf. below) from the Isthmus (now in the Museo Maffeiiano in Verona), recording how Priscus Juventianus had contributed to the construction and restoration of a number of buildings and monuments at the Isthmian Sanctuary.⁷ Among the many items listed, we may cite those mentioned in lines 14-27:

- τὸν τε
- 15 περίβολον τῆς ἱερᾶς νάπης καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ
 ναοὺς ὕ Δῆμητρος ὕ καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύσου
 καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλ-
 μασιν καὶ προσκοσμήμασιν καὶ προνάοις
 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησεν ὕ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς
 20 τῆς Εὐετηρίας καὶ τῆς Κόρης ὕ καὶ τὸ Πλου-
 τώνειον καὶ τὰς ἀναβάσεις καὶ τὰ ἀναλήμ-
 ματα ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καὶ παλαιότητος δια-
 λελυμένα ἐπεσκεύασεν ὕὕ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ
 τὴν στοὰν τὴν πρὸς τῷ σταδίῳ σὺν
 25 τοῖς κεκαμαρωμένοις οἴκοις ὕ καὶ προσ-

(ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman Period* (JRA Suppl. 8), Ann Arbor 1993, 89-93; E. Gebhard – F. Hemans, *Hesperia* 67 (1998) 438-441.

⁷ An excellent treatment is provided by D. J. Geagan, "The Isthmian Dossier of P. Licinius Priscus Juventianus", *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 349-360. For a photograph, see T. Ritti, *Iscrizioni e rilievi greci nel Museo Maffeiiano di Verona*, Rome 1981, 30. The reading, here reproduced after Geagan 350, should be sound, though some final letters in lines 17-20 may no longer survive (cf. Dixon [cit. n. 1] 340 n. 13). I have seen the stone many years ago, but unfortunately on that occasion I did not copy it in detail.

κοσμήμασιν ὕπὲρ ἀγορανομίας
ἀνέθηκεν.

It is recorded in these lines (in Geagan's translation, p. 353 [cit. n. 7]) that Priscus "with his own funds constructed the peribolos of the sacred grove and the temples in it of Demeter and of Kore and of Dionysos and of Artemis and the statues in them and the ornaments and pronaoi. He restored also the naoi of Eueteria and of Kore and the Plutoneion and the ramps and foundations undermined by earthquakes and age. The same man also set up when he was *agoranomos* the stoa next to the stadium with its vaulted rooms and furnishings". Thus four⁸ newly built sanctuaries are recorded within an area called the Sacred Glen (ἱερὰ νάπη), while the three restored by Priscus are not given any topographical context. None of these sanctuaries has been located by modern excavations.⁹ It also remains uncertain whether Eueteria ('good harvest', 'abundance', 'prosperity') should be taken as an independent goddess or simply as an attribute of Demeter. Just as Kore had at least two cult places at the Isthmus, so it is quite possible that Demeter was locally worshipped not only with her proper name but also with the epiklesis of Eueteria.¹⁰

In any case, besides these undertakings, Priscus is referred to as having set up the stoa next to the stadium. Geagan (cit. n. 7) 354 seems to be right when he identifies this stoa with that of Regulus from the early Imperial period.¹¹ Another stele (= Stele B), found in 1934 and closely

⁸ However, if the vacant letter spaces used in the inscription (see Geagan [n. 7] 353) are taken to mark hierarchical divisions in the text, it may well be that the peribolos of the Hierá Nape contained only two temples, i.e., that of Demeter and another dedicated to Kore, Dionysos and Artemis.

⁹ Cf. O. Broneer, *Isthmia II: Topography and Architecture*, Princeton 1973, 113-116 (with Plan I), who argues that all the temples recorded in the inscription were located within the Sacred Glen. Moreover, he thinks that Demeter shared one temple with her daughter. However, such information is not provided by the inscription *IG IV 203*.

¹⁰ For Eueteria, see my article "Eueteria Sebasta in Mytilene", forthcoming in *Latomus*.

¹¹ For L. Castricius Regulus, the alleged constructor, and other Corinthian Reguli from the early Empire, see my observations in *CPh 97* (2002) 168 ff. According to another hypothesis (D. R. Jordan, *Hesperia* 63 [1994] 115 f. n. 7), the Regulian Stoa could have been located northeast of the Temple of Poseidon, where a building with a series of rooms has been excavated. This is based on the discovery there of a fragmentary inscription which records the name of Priscus Juventianus (*SEG XXVI 410*). In Jordan's view, if the inscription, a revetment of white marble, was originally attached to the

related to Stele A, reveals that the remains of the old stoa were purchased and subsequently restored by Priscus to provide fifty *oikoi* available to athletes at the Isthmian Games.¹² Furthermore, one may observe with Geagan (cit. n. 7) 354 that "the ramps and foundations undermined by earthquakes and age", which are grouped together with the three restored temples, are perhaps referred to in Stele B (lines 10-12) as "what has been stripped away beneath the stadium by earthquakes as well as what has been plundered by age" (τὰ [μὲν κα/τ]ὰ στάδιον ὑπὸ σεισμῶν ἐσκυλμένα τὰ δὲ [ὑπὸ πα/λ]α[ι]ότητος δ[ε]δαπανημένα). If this is so, the area close to and beneath the stadium would have been the object of considerable interventions on the part of Priscus. This makes me wonder whether at least the stoa and the Plutoneion are specified in the new Greek inscription because they had been restored by Priscus. As we have seen, he also restored the temples of Eueteria and Kore which might have been recorded in the lost part of the text. Whether the προσκοσμήματα of Demeter¹³ have to do with a restoration (of the sanctuary of Eueteria = Demeter?), or a new undertaking, remains unknown. Though we need not assume that every building restored by Priscus was listed in the text, it seems to me that the possibility should not be disregarded that the restored sanctuaries mentioned in Stele A could be sought somewhere in the vicinity of the stadium, presumably on the side facing the theatre and the precinct of Poseidon. Unfortunately, since the stadium area still remains unexcavated, this hypothesis cannot be verified.¹⁴

building, it could have marked one of the benefactions of Juventianus.

¹² *Corinth* VIII,3, 306; pertinent discussion in Geagan (cit. n. 7) 351 ff. (= *SEG* XXXIX 340).

¹³ As an alternative explanation for the letters ΔΗ at the end of line 6, Dixon (cit. n. 1) 338 suggested an abbreviation for *denarii*. The evidence adduced in favour of this (*I.Ephesos* 27, lines 111 f., 324, 362 f., 530 f.) are not close parallels, however, for in these cases the word προσκόσμημα (or προσκόσμησις) is followed first by the name of Artemis and then by the abbreviation of ΔΗ. (The expression εἰς προσκόσμημα / -σιν, followed by the name of a deity, is fairly common in inscriptions.) Moreover, the present inscription does not look the sort of text that would display the amount of money spent.

¹⁴ However, as Elizabeth Gebhard informs me (December 10, 2002), there is nothing in the archaeology of the area that contradicts this suggestion. In fact, in her view, the area of the East Field towards the fortress would be an attractive place for the Stoa of Regulus and the temples restored by Juventianus. She also points out to me that "there are some long Roman walls in the NE area of the East Field, near the fortress, that might some day with further excavation turn out to be a stoa, but not enough has been uncovered at

But why would another text have been added to an earlier inscription? One possibility is that originally the inscription had been erected in the area of, or close to, a sanctuary of Ceres (Demeter) or of Proserpina (Kore), or both, where the anonymous priestess served. It would have been no problem that the original dedication went to, say, the Genius and Fortuna of the colony, for it was fairly common in antiquity that a statue of a god was set up in or by the temple of another. However, by the time of Priscus, the building(s) would have been in need of considerable repairs. The building programme and the benefactions of Priscus Juventianus are well attested in the above-mentioned inscriptions, but one may assume, as was the normal way, that every intervention, whether a construction *e novo* or a restoration, was also marked by an inscription *in situ*. Thus it may be that the present Greek text, or a similar one, was inscribed in many places at the Isthmus. It would have been in Priscus's interest that his generosity was recorded in words wherever it was concretely manifested. If an old inscription already stood close to a sanctuary of Demeter or of Kore, it could well have been re-used for a new text. This was normal practice in antiquity. The mention of the stoa and of the Plutoneion suggests that these may not have been located far away.

As for the Greek text, it is difficult to restore it because we do not know how much wider the stone was originally. Yet I note that a short seventh line (of possibly two words) could be assumed. Who knows if the tenor of the text was similar to this (the last line would have been centred):¹⁵

[Ἰουβεντιανὸς ἱερεὺς τὴν Ῥήγλου στ]οᾶν καὶ ναὸν Πλού-
[τωνος ἐπεσκεύασεν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ] προσκοσμήματα Δή-
[μητρος ἀνέθηκεν.]

However, assuming that all the buildings restored by Priscus were recorded and that the stoa was identified topographically, without reference to Regulus, a solution might be proposed as follows:

present". For the site of the Isthmian Sanctuary, see Plan I in Broneer (cit. n. 9).

¹⁵ Priscus is styled Ἰουβεντιανὸς ἱερεὺς in *Corinth* VIII,3, 201, provided that the text really refers to him. Cf. also *IG* IV 202 = XIV 2543 (now in Madrid), showing a P. Licinnius Priscus who was ἱερεὺς, possibly Juventianus himself, or a relative (father?).

[Ἰουβεντιανὸς ἱερεὺς τὴν πρὸς τῷ σταδίῳ στ]οῶν καὶ ναὸν Πλού-
[τωνος καὶ ναὸν Κόρης ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ τὰ] προσκοσμήματα Δή-
[μητρος ἀνέθηκεν.]

At the end of his article, Dixon (cit. n. 1) 341 discussed the original location of the inscription. He is right to point out that the findspot in Corinth is not proof of its original site. Of the three alternatives presented by Dixon, I would prefer the first one: "the stone refers to monuments at Isthmia and was originally set up there". But I also have the impression that the Greek text is a later addition, referring to the benefactions of Priscus Juventianus. The conspicuous building programme, which was evidently carried out in the aftermath of earthquakes and because of other damage, would have extended over a period of years, even decades, in the latter half of the second century A.D.

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KYBELE BEI DEN MATRONAE VACALLINEAE? Eine Fallstudie aus der *Germania Inferior**

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Vor gut einem Vierteljahrhundert hat B. H. Stolte im Rahmen des *ANRW*-Bandes II, 18 zur Religion in den Provinzen die religiösen Verhältnisse in Niedergermanien dargestellt und eine zu diesem Zeitpunkt im Prinzip vollständige Sammlung aller dort vorkommenden Götter vorgelegt. Er kam dabei auf insgesamt 260 Göttinnen und Götter unterschiedlichster Herkunft und Verehrungsintensität. Seine Unterscheidung zwischen Göttern aus dem Orient, also aus Ägypten, Syrien, Kleinasien, einheimischen und römischen Göttern findet sich auch in mehreren anderen Beiträgen dieses *ANRW*-Bandes, in dem nach Provinzen und innerhalb der Provinzen sicher zurecht nach Göttern, bzw. Göttergruppen gesondert vorgegangen wurde.¹ In den sechziger und siebziger Jahren sind auch große Anstrengungen unternommen worden, Corpora zu einzelnen oder benachbarten orientalischen Gottheiten zusammenzustellen, erinnert sei nur an das monumentale Werk von Vermaseren, und für unseren Raum an Schwertheim, Walters und andere.²

* Dieser Artikel ist im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes "Interaction between the Greek and Roman World in Antiquity" der Akademie von Finnland entstanden.

¹ Z. B. in *ANRW* II 18, 1, 1986: E. Birley, "The Deities of Roman Britain", 3–112; S. Sanie, "Kulte und Glauben im römischen Süden der Moldau (Ostrumänien)", 1272–1316; für Spanien von vornherein in drei Aufsätze in einheimische, römische und orientalische Kulte aufgeteilt, usw.

² G. Grimm, *Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im römischen Deutschland* (EPRO 12), Leiden 1969; K. Schillinger, *Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung des Magna Mater-Kultes im Westen des Römischen Kaiserreiches*, Diss. Konstanz 1979; E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland* (EPRO 40), Leiden 1974; V. Walters, *The Cult of Mithras in the Roman Provinces of Gaul* (EPRO 41), Leiden 1974; et al.

Nun stellt sich aber immer mehr die Frage nach dem Verhältnis der Gottheiten verschiedener Herkunft zueinander: Handelt es sich um ein Nebeneinander, Nacheinander oder vielleicht auch ein Miteinander der Verehrung neuerer und älterer Götter? Mit anderen Worten, ist es möglicherweise eine Modefrage? Es mag überheblich scheinen, befriedigende Antworten auf diese Fragen finden zu wollen, zumal es kaum möglich ist, Intentionen und innere Überzeugungen von Verehrern einzelner Gottheiten auszumachen, denn unsere Informationsquellen beschränken sich auf Steindenkmäler, Votivgaben und einige archäologische Überreste. Dennoch soll hier ein Versuch unternommen werden, und zwar in Form einer Fallstudie.

Bei einer Wanderung in der Eifel im Sommer 2001 stießen wir auf einen Wegweiser zum sogenannten "Heidentempelchen". Vor Ort stellte sich heraus, dass es sich um die Reste eines Heiligtums der *matronae Vacallinehae* handelte. Die Beschilderung des in seinen Grundmauern recht gut erhaltenen Tempelkomplexes wies eines der Gebäude als Kybeletempel aus. Das hieße also, dass eine orientalisch-römische Gottheit, Mater Magna alias Kybele, in nächster Nähe und in einem gemeinsamen Tempelkomplex mit einheimischen Muttergottheiten, den *matronae* der Sippe der Vacalli kultisch verehrt würde. Ist dies möglich? Wenn ja, hätten wir ein fantastisches Zeugnis für die Integration importierter Göttinnen in eine indigene Kultur, die noch dazu abseits der großen völlig romanisierten Zentren der Provinz liegt. Oder handelt es sich lediglich um einen lokalpatriotischen Mythos?

Der einzige Weg zur Lösung dieser Frage führt über die Quellen selbst. Zum Heiligtum von Pesch findet sich zunächst der Ausgrabungsbericht von Hans Lehner, in dem auf erste Beobachtungen aus dem Jahr 1875 hingewiesen wird. Die beschriebenen Ausgrabungen fanden in den Jahren 1913 und 1914 statt und wurden 1919 veröffentlicht.³ Knapp vierzig Jahre später veröffentlichte Géza Alföldy die circa 300 mehr oder weniger fragmentarischen Inschriften aus diesem Tempelbezirk.⁴ Lehnerts Beobachtungen lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen:⁵ In einer ersten Bau-

³ H. Lehner, "Der Tempelbezirk der Matronae Vacallinehae bei Pesch", *BJ* 125 (1919) 74–162, mit 26 Tafeln.

⁴ G. Alföldy, "Die Inschriften aus dem Tempelbezirk bei Pesch (Kreis Schleiden)", *ES* 5 (1968) 33–89.

⁵ Da in allen einschlägigen Publikationen zum Tempelbezirk dessen Grundrisse abgebildet sind, wird hier auf eine weitere Kopie verzichtet.

periode entstanden innerhalb einer rechteckigen Einfriedung ein offener, ummauerter Hofraum (A), der auch eine Zisterne einschließt, zwei kleinere quadratische Gebäude (C' und K), möglicherweise Schatzhaus und eigentlicher Tempel sowie südlich des Hofes A ein Gebäude (N), welches Lehner als Getreidemagazin identifiziert. In einer zweiten Bauphase wird C' durch einen etwas größeren Raum L ersetzt und die Mauer des Hofes durch die Einfügung eines sechseckigen Monopteros durchschnitten, der nach Lehner als Basis für eine Jupiterstatue diente.⁶ Eine aus dieser Periode stammende 30m lange Mauer zeugt vom Verschwinden des Getreidemagazins. Die jüngste Phase scheint eine völlige Neubildung zu bedeuten: Der Hof A wird durch einen größeren ersetzt und in der Fluchtlinie desselben entstehen nördlich ein gallo-römischer Umgangstempel und südlich ein als Tempel oder Versammlungsraum interpretiertes Gebäude (B) sowie ein weiteres Gebäude D, wohl ein Schuppen oder eine Scheune. Diese Ergebnisse sowie ihre Rekonstruktionsvorschläge werden bis heute im großen und ganzen akzeptiert, ebenso wie die Datierung von der 2. Hälfte des 1. bis zum Ende des 4. bzw. Anfang des 5. Jh.⁷ Die in dieser Phase verbauten Matronendenkmäler aus den ersten Phasen bestätigen die Nutzung als Tempel von Anfang an, zumindest zur Verehrung der Matronen. Unklar ist jedoch der Gegenstand der Verehrung im 4. Jh. Follmann-Schulz stellt die Frage wie folgt: "Waren es weiterhin die Matronen, die wie in der Frühzeit nun wieder anikonisch verehrt wurden, oder sind andere Gottheiten hier eingezogen?"⁸ Problematisch ist die Antwort darauf, weil inschriftliche Zeugnisse im mittleren 3. Jh. aufhören und auch spätere Kleinfunde keine Auskunft geben.

Bleiben wir noch einen Moment bei der architektonischen Lage. Follmann-Schulz weist sicher zu recht daraufhin, dass in dem Komplex die Elemente des überdachten gallo-römischen Umgangstempels mit der ebenso typischen "open-air-Komponente" keltischer Religion kombiniert sind.⁹ Das interessanteste, weil in seiner Bedeutung umstrittene Gebäude B stellt daher in gewisser Weise den Kern der hier zur Diskussion stehenden Frage dar.

⁶ Lehner (Anm. 3) mit Parallelen 144–147, Rekonstruktionszeichnung T. XXXI und XXXIII.

⁷ A.-B. Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen in der Germania Inferior", in *ANRW* II 18, 1, 1986, 672–793, zu Pesch: 700–711.

⁸ A.a.O. 682.

⁹ A.a.O. 688.

Der Verehrung der *matronae Vacallinehae* diene wohl in erster Linie der Umgangstempel und der ummauerte Hof A, der gleichzeitig offensichtlich den Hauptversammlungsraum der Verehrergemeinde darstellte. Hier wurden auch die Reste von großen Gewandstatuen, aus denen eine Freigruppe der Matronen rekonstruierbar ist, gefunden. Lehner hält sie für das eigentliche Tempelkultbild¹⁰ und möchte sie in der Mitte der Tempelcella plaziert sehen. Allerdings scheint ihre Fundstelle eher für eine Aufstellung im Hof A zu sprechen. Die Besonderheit des von Lehner als Basilika mit Obergaden rekonstruierten und von W. Sage bei Nachgrabungen als dreischiffige, überdachte, einstöckige Halle¹¹ errechneten Gebäudes B liegt in dem Apsisartigen Anbau mit Kellerraum und Tribüne an der dem Eingang gegenüberliegenden Seite. Nach der Diskussion einer Reihe von vergleichbaren Bauten von Kultgemeinden vor allem aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperiums schließt Lehner auf eine Bedeutung als "religiöse Versammlungshalle" und zwar am ehesten als die einer Kultgemeinde der Kybele.¹² Bestätigt sieht er diese Annahme durch einige Fragmente einer Kybele-Statue. Auch Raepsaet-Charlier vermutet aufgrund der Originalität der Konstruktion einen Mysterienkult.¹³ Als Alternative ist aber ebenso die Benutzung des Gebäudes für die Versammlungen der Curia *Vacalla angeboten worden.¹⁴

Weitere Anhaltspunkte könnten chronologische Betrachtungen geben: Die Datierungen der Bauten basieren vor allem auf den 67 im Tempelbezirk gefundenen Münzen. Ihre Auswertung lässt die Anfänge des Bezirkes in die Regierungszeit Neros und Galbas setzen, was ebenso durch die Keramikfunde gestützt wird. Als Beginn der dritten Bauperiode mit ihrer grundlegenden Remodellierung des Gesamtkomplexes ist durch Kleinerze Constantins II. der Zeitraum von 330–335 n. Chr. bezeugt, das Ende

¹⁰ Lehner (Anm. 3) 119. Er führt viele Beispiele für parallele Konstruktionen mit Kultbild in der Mitte der Cella an, 139 ff.

¹¹ W. Sage, "Nachgrabungen in der Basilika des Heidentempels bei Pesch, Gem. Nöthen, Kr. Schleiden", *BJ* 164 (1964) 288–296, bes. 294 f. Vgl. auch Follmann-Schulz (Anm. 7) 707.

¹² Lehner (Anm. 3) 148 ff., insbes. 155 f. mit Hinweisen auf bezeugte Dendrophoren-Versammlungshäuser in Italien.

¹³ M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, "Gallia Belgica et Germania Inferior. Vingt-cinq années de recherches historiques et archéologiques", in *ANRW* II 4, 1975, 221 f.

¹⁴ Chr. B. Rüger, "Gallisch-germanische Kurien", *ES* 9 (1972) 259 Anm. 34.

Die Inschriften spiegeln also nur eine Phase in der Verehrung der *matronae Vacallinehae* wieder, in der sich die Verehrer der römischen Tradition der Votivinschriften auf Stein in lateinischer Sprache mit entsprechendem Formular bedienen, um ihrer Verehrung Ausdruck zu verleihen. Eine Analyse des Namensmaterials bestätigt zum einen die für das Gebiet typische ethnische Mischung der keltisch-germanischen Bevölkerung und andererseits Romanisiertheit, was Beherrschung der lateinischen Sprache und damit verbunden den Bürgerstatus angeht.¹⁹ Offensichtlich gehört dazu auch die Darstellung der verehrten Göttinnen in anthropomorpher Form. Gewahrt wurde jedoch ihre Identifizierung durch den Beinamen mit keltischer Etymologie²⁰ sowie die einheimische Tracht – selbst wenn sie auf das Vorbild der Aufanien zurückgreifen sollte.²¹ Und schließlich lässt sich auch im Dedicationsformular das in Niedergermanien sehr weitverbreitete *ex imperio ipsarum* (19 ×) und *ex iussu ipsarum* (3 ×) wiederfinden.²² Alföldy spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von einer unrömischen Vorstellung, die der römischen 'geschäftartigen' Vorstellung durch *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (in 29 Pescher Inschriften) entgegensteht.²³ Diese unrömische, typisch niedergermanische Formulierung findet sich aber gerade auch bei orientalischen Gottheiten wieder, die offensichtlich wie die keltisch-germanischen Göttinnen zu ihren Verehrern eher in einem familiären als geschäftsmäßigen Verhältnis stehen.²⁴ Könnte dies als Hinweis auf eine positive rezeptive Haltung gegenüber orientalischen Gottheiten verstanden werden? Dass in diese Blütezeit der römischen Inschriften und anthropomorphen Verehrung die erste Renovierungsphase des Bezirkes fällt, ist sicher kein Zufall. Aus einem durch die Anschaulichkeit der

¹⁹ Alföldy (Anm. 4) 79 f.

²⁰ K. H. Schmidt, "Die keltischen Matronennamen", in *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten* (Anm. 18) 145.

²¹ Vgl. dazu Rüger (Anm. 18) 12 sowie H. G. Horn, "Bilddenkmäler des Matronenkultes im Ubiergebiet", in *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten* (Anm. 18) 41 f.

²² Belege bei Alföldy (Anm. 4) Nr. 11, 30, 99, 104, 127, 134, 135, 145, 177, 192, 197, 201, 208, 222, 224–228 und 8, 109.

²³ A.a.O. 81 f., Nr. 2–4, 10, 14, 25, 60, 125, 131, 132, 147, 158, 162, 165, 173–175, 178, 188, 190, 200, 210, 212, 214–216, 229–231, 237–244. Die meisten Inschriften sind fragmentarisch. In 201 liegt eine Kombination beider Elemente vor.

²⁴ Vgl. eingehendere Betrachtungen zu diesem Thema in U.-M. Liertz, "Einheimische und importierte Göttinnen in Germania Superior", in *Acta XII Congressus internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae*, Barcelona 3.–8.9.2002 (in Vorbereitung).

Steindenkmäler verstärkten Selbstbewusstsein heraus entsteht der Wunsch und die Notwendigkeit der Verbesserung des Komplexes, welche durch den Bau L und eine Umgrenzungsmauer (a–b) erreicht wird.²⁵

Bevor wir uns dem kuriosen Sechseckbau M zuwenden, den Lehner ebenfalls der zweiten Periode zurechnet, sollten wir uns fragen, wie der Kult vor und nach seiner anthropomorphen Form aussah. Rüger hat u.a. eine theriomorphe Form aus einem Relief abgeleitet, in dem eine gebärende Ziege mit drei Körpern und einem Kopf hinter einem Baum dargestellt wird.²⁶ Am häufigsten auf Inschriftensteinen abgebildet sind jedoch Bäume mit Schlangen und/oder Vogelnestern, mit Opferdienern und z.T. mit Matronen auf dem Baum. Es muss sich also wohl ursprünglich um einen Baumkult gehandelt haben.²⁷ Besonders interessant ist Horns Hinweis auf eine Darstellung eines Rundtempels, der "von Ästen eingefasst (ist), auf der Spitze des Kegeldaches eine sitzende Matrone in einheimischer Tracht. Der Baum scheint dem Rundtempel zu entwachsen".²⁸ Könnte dies nicht auch eine Interpretation für das Hexagon M im Heiligtum in Pesch geben? Dem heiligen Baum wird in der zweiten Phase eine seiner Bedeutung entsprechende architektonische Umfassung gegeben. Dadurch würde sowohl seine eigenartige Plazierung in der Umfassungsmauer des Hofes A der älteren Perioden als auch seine Fortdauer in der dritten Phase, in der der Hof A in größerem Maßstab neu gebaut worden ist, eine sinnvolle Erklärung finden. Gleichzeitig gäbe dieser Sachverhalt Zeugnis von der Kontinuität des Kultes unter seiner ursprünglichen Form, die eben zeitweise von einer anthropomorphen Verbildlichung überlagert wurde. Es gibt jedenfalls bisher keine Gründe, ein Abbrechen des Matronenkultes als solchen zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt, etwa mit dem Abbrechen der inschriftlichen Überlieferung anzunehmen.²⁹

²⁵ Lehner (Anm. 3) 85 ff.

²⁶ C. B. Rüger, "A husband for the Mother Goddesses – some observations on the *Matronae Aufaniae*", in *Rome and Her Northern Provinces*, Festschrift S. Frere, Gloucester 1987, 211–221. Er bezieht sich auf *BRGK* 27 (1937) Nr. 151, datiert in das Jahr 185 n. Chr. Aufgrund der unübersehbaren Einheitlichkeit der ubischen Matronenverehrung gelten diese Ergebnisse zweifellos für alle Matronengruppen in diesem Raum.

²⁷ Sehr eingehend bei H. G. Horn (Anm. 21) insbes. 49 ff.

²⁸ A.a.O. 50, mit Foto Tafel 13.1, die Inschrift *Index MWG* (Anm. 18) 0165026.

²⁹ M. Zender, "Die Verehrung von drei heiligen Frauen im christlichen Mitteleuropa", in *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten* (Anm. 18) 213–228, fasst die Forschungsergebnisse bzgl. der Kontinuität einer Verehrung dreier heiliger Frauen im Mittelalter und später

Wie sieht es nun mit anderen Göttern, insbesondere mit einem Kybelekult in Pesch aus? In den Inschriften sind außer den Weihungen an die *matronae Vacallinehae* einige an andere Matronengruppen, die *Etrahenae* und die *Leudinae*, und möglicherweise eine an Epona in Verbindung mit den *Vacallinehae* überliefert, beides mit in der näheren Umgebung gepflegten, lokal-regionalen Kulturen.³⁰ Es wurde bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass sonst lediglich plastische Reste gewisse Hinweise auf andere Kulte geben. Zum einen handelt es sich um die Reste einer lebensgroßen Jupiterstatue, die in Stücke geschlagen im Inneren der Cella des Tempels C gefunden wurde. Lehner möchte sie als Kultstatue im Sechseckbau M sehen,³¹ ihr ursprünglicher Aufstellungsplatz war jedoch wohl eher dort, wo die Fragmente gefunden wurden, nämlich im Tempel C.³² Ähnlich beschränkt sind die Überreste, die auf einen Kybelekult hinweisen. Es handelt sich um einen in ein Relief einer sitzenden Kybele umgearbeiteten Block.³³ Dieses nach Lehner aus dem Oberschenkel einer Gewandstatue gearbeitete Relief wurde wiederum im Hof A gefunden und ist dem 4. Jh., also der dritten Phase zuzuordnen. Dies lässt am ehesten auf eine Votivgabe schließen.

Reicht dieser Befund gemeinsam mit Lehnerns vorsichtigen Vermutungen bezüglich der Basilika B, um einen wie auch immer gearteten Kybelekult³⁴ im Heiligtum in Pesch anzusiedeln? Sofern nicht eindeutiger

zusammen. Ein besonderer Schwerpunkt scheint gerade im Matronengebiet geherrscht zu haben, auch wenn das Kausalitätsverhältnis wohl nie endgültig zu fassen sein wird. Vgl. insbes. a.a.O. 216–219 und 228.

³⁰ *Matronae Etrahenae* Alföldy (Anm. 4) Nr. 150, *Leudinae* 147–149, Epona möglicherweise in 146.

³¹ Lehner (Anm. 3) 118 f. und 144 f.

³² So auch H. G. Horn in *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Stuttgart 1987, 345. Er datiert die Statue in die zweite Periode parallel zu der Inschriftenblütezeit und möchte sie im Vorgängerbau des Tempels C sehen. Ebenfalls Alföldy (Anm. 4) 84.

³³ Lehner (Anm. 3) 123 f. und Schwertheim (Anm. 2) 40. Schwertheim korrigiert einige der bei Lehner identifizierten plastischen Details: Statt Attis Löwe und statt Früchten Zweige oder eine Pinie. Ob sich Horn (Anm. 32) 281 auf dieses "Attis-Relief" bezieht, ist nicht nachvollziehbar.

³⁴ Rückschlüsse auf die konkrete Form des Kybelekultes sind hier nicht möglich. Eine unveränderte Übernahme der mit dem Kybelekult verbundenen phrygischen Riten ist kaum zu erwarten, eher wird es sich wohl um eine "salonfähig" gemachte Version handeln, wenn denn nicht überhaupt die Ortsansässigen ihre eigenen Vorstellungen geltend gemacht haben. All dies muss jedoch hier pure Spekulation bleiben.

Zeugnisse bezüglich der Basilika B ans Tageslicht kommen, wird vermutlich nie mit Sicherheit gesagt werden können, sie stelle einen Kybeletempel dar. Andererseits reichen diese Zeugnisse aber ebenfalls nicht, um eine Ablösung des Matronenkultes durch einen Kybelekult zu rechtfertigen.³⁵ Die Befunde in Pesch scheinen vielmehr für eine gleichzeitige Verehrung zu sprechen. Warum wäre sonst im 4. Jh. der gesamte Komplex einschließlich gallo-römischen Tempel erneuert und dabei der Monopteros im Hof A bewahrt worden? Weist dies nicht eher auf Gemeinsamkeiten dieser Muttergottheiten hin? Der Baum als offensichtlicher "Sitz" des Matronenkultes spielt auch im Kybelekult seine, wenn auch anders geartete Rolle. Die persönliche, eher familiäre Annäherungsweise, die ihren Ausdruck im Inschriftenformular auch der Mater Magna etwa durch *ex imperio*³⁶ findet, macht diese Affinität noch deutlicher. An anderer Stelle ist auf die – hier in Pesch leider nicht nachvollziehbare – Parallelität in der bildlichen Darstellung hingewiesen worden, welche auf eine Integration der nichteinheimischen Muttergöttinnen in den lokalen Verehrungshorizont weist.³⁷ Hinzu kommt, dass ja in Pesch die Verehrung von Mater Magna nicht erst plötzlich im 4. Jh. eingesetzt haben muss, selbst wenn frühere Zeugnisse fehlen. Im weiteren Umfeld finden sich solche Hinweise und zwar ganz überwiegend aus dem zweiten und dritten Jahrhundert, in Pier etwa die Motivinschrift eines Vereins von *consacrani* an Mater Magna,³⁸ eine Weihung aus Höningen, eine Reihe signierter Terrakotten aus Köln,³⁹ und ähnliches. In Pesch selber fehlen leider jedwede Hinweise auf Terrakotten, was schon Lehner aufgefallen war, und daher auch die Möglichkeit, Rückschlüsse auf gemeinsame Verehrungshorizonte zu ziehen.⁴⁰

³⁵ So etwa H. v. Petrikovits in *RAC* X (1978) 575 und 610 f.; und ders. "Zusammenfassende Bemerkungen" in *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten* (Anm. 18) 250. Ebenso Horn (Anm. 32) 281.

³⁶ Das geographisch nächste Zeugnis etwa in Köln *CIL* XIII 8249 = Schwertheim (Anm. 2) 28.

³⁷ Vgl. Liertz (Anm. 24).

³⁸ Schwertheim (Anm. 2) 34 = *CIL* XIII 7856.

³⁹ Schwertheim (Anm. 2) 7 = *BRGK* 40, 1959, Nr. 238; Terrakotten: Schwertheim (Anm. 2) 18.

⁴⁰ Lehner (Anm. 3) 107. Bei anderswo gefundenen Terrakotten sowohl von *matronae* als auch von Kybele ist aber eine erstaunliche Uniformität in Position, Charakteristika und materieller Ausführung. Vgl. als Beispiel die Abbildungen 107 Kybele und 422 Matronen bei Horn (Anm. 32). Die Zusammenstellung von G. Schauerte, "Terrakotten

Auf die eingangs gestellten Fragen darf man nun sicherlich folgendermaßen antworten: Vieles spricht dafür, dass die *matronae Vacallinehae* und Kybele in Pesch gleichzeitig und wenigstens nebeneinander verehrt worden sind. Selbst wenn gewisse Anhaltspunkte, etwa die gemeinsame Fundstelle im Hof A, auf ein Miteinander deuten könnten, wäre es doch zu gewagt, von einem gemeinsamen Kult zu sprechen. Dagegen kann man die Frage, ob es sich um eine Modeerscheinung handelt, sicher verneinen. Selbstverständlich gibt es ein Auf und Ab in der Begeisterung und in den Ausdrucksformen, die grundlegenden Überzeugungen sind jedoch offensichtlich durch einen langen Zeitraum die gleichen geblieben, genauso wie die Grundbedürfnisse der Menschen in einem agrarischen Umfeld, in welchem mütterliche Eigenschaften von großer Bedeutung sind. Ein Vergleich mit anderen Kultstätten und Verehrungsschwerpunkten in einem weiteren Bereich wäre ein vielversprechender Ansatz zu tieferen Einblicken in die religiösen und kultischen Lebensgewohnheiten der Provinzialbevölkerung.

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mütterlicher Gottheiten", *BJ* Beihefte 45 (1985) war mir leider nicht zugänglich.

ASPECTS OF THE TAXATION OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN HELLENISTIC ATHENS

MARIA NIKU

My purpose is to examine one of the most important features of the official status of the foreign residents of Athens, the tax obligations, in the Hellenistic period. I will concentrate on two taxes, μετοίκιον (*metoikion*) or metic tax, and εἰσφοραί (*eisphorai*). The most important question is, whether these two forms of tax survived among the tax obligations of the foreign residents in the Hellenistic period or not, and if so, for how long. Secondly, I will try to chart the changes that took place in the practices and regulations of these taxes, as far as it is possible.

Background: μετοίκιον and εἰσφοραί in the Classical period

Μετοίκιον was a regular, direct tax, directed at person and paid by every metic. Men paid 12 drachmae, women 6, in monthly payments.¹ As the metic population of Athens was considerable, the total sum of the yearly μετοίκιον payments constituted a relatively significant income for the state. As such, the tax was not a major financial burden to anyone but the very poorest metics. For the foreign residents themselves, the main significance of the tax was perhaps ideological: it emphasized their lower status in relation to the citizens. All the taxes paid by the citizens were indirect and targeted at property, not person. Furthermore, punishment for the avoidance of the μετοίκιον payment was harsh – slavery. Athenian citizens could not be submitted to slavery.

¹ S. C. Todd, "Status and Gender in Athenian Public Records", in *Symposion 1995. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Korfu, 1.–5. September 1995)* (Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 11), Köln – Weimar – Wien 1997, 113–114.

Εἰσφοραί were different in nature to μετοίκιον. They were emergency situation taxes directed at property. Originally, at least, only the assembly could decide on them, and their purpose was to cover war costs the city was not prepared for.² In the fourth century the assembly decided on the size of the εἰσφορά on each occasion, and the payment took place in groups called συμμορία (symmorai). Soon afterwards προεισφορά practice was introduced: 300 of the wealthiest citizens paid the entire sum and then collected the money from others.³ This new practice was definitely in existence in the 320's B.C.⁴ Metics seem to have been required to pay a sixth of the tax in each particular case.⁵ They paid their share through their own συμμορία,⁶ and apparently the συμμορία and the share of the entire sum of an individual metic depended on his wealth.⁷ The metic συμμορία had their own officials receiving the payments.⁸

The tax obligations in the last two decades of the fourth century

The latest reference to the metic tax is *IG II/III*² 545, from the 310's B.C. In the decree exemption from the tax is granted to Thessalian refugees. The latest inscription that uses the terminology μετοικία (*metoikia*), the system regulating the official status of the metics, is *IG II/III*² 554 from 306/5 B.C. or shortly after. In the decree Euxenides of Phaselis is praised for, among other things, having scrupulously paid all the εἰσφοραί the assembly has allotted to metics.⁹ The first-mentioned decree refers concretely to μετοίκιον, so the tax was obviously in existence. The same

² M. Hakkarainen, "Private wealth in the Athenian public sphere during the late Classical and the early Hellenistic period", in *Early Hellenistic Athens. Symptoms of a Change* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 6), Helsinki 1997, 11.

³ Hakkarainen (above n. 2) 11. R. Thomsen, *Eisphora: a Study of Direct Taxation in Ancient Athens*, Copenhagen 1964, 205–206.

⁴ Thomsen (above n. 3) 212.

⁵ D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, Cambridge 1977, 79.

⁶ Thomsen (above n. 3) 225.

⁷ Whitehead (above n. 5) 79–80.

⁸ Thomsen (above n. 3) 247. Whitehead (above n. 5) 78.

⁹ *IG II/III*² 554, l. 9–12: εἰσφορὰς ἀπ[άσ]τας ὅσας ἐψήφισται ὁ δῆμος ε[ἰ]σενεγκεῖν τοὺς μετοίκους ε[ὐ]τάκτως [ε]ἰσενήνοχεν.

conclusion applies to the second decree as well: the use of the word μέτοικος (*metoikos*), a term linked to the official status of the metics indicates that μετοικία was still in existence at the very end of the fourth century. Because μετοίκιον was a central part of μετοικία, it would not have been logical to abolish the tax while retaining the rest of the system. The conclusion is supported by a decree from the very end of the fourth century, which grants ἰσοτέλεια (*isoteleia*) to two foreigners.¹⁰ Ἰσοτέλεια was a tax privilege of foreign residents, which guaranteed exemption from μετοίκιον.¹¹

There are a few honorary decrees of individual foreign residents, which contain direct references to εἰσφοράι, from the last two decades of the fourth century. In some of them the recipient is praised for the scrupulous payment of εἰσφοράι.¹² In others the recipient is granted a privilege, which is expressed "... shall pay εἰσφοράι along with the Athenians."¹³ This meant identical payment of εἰσφοράι with the citizens. One of the decrees specifically refers to εἰσφοράι paid by metics: the decree of Euxenides of Phaselis mentioned above.¹⁴ These references naturally indicate that the foreign residents of Athens still paid εἰσφοράι after 323 B.C. Furthermore, they still paid εἰσφοράι according to a system that was somehow different from that of the citizens. This is indicated by the μετὰ Ἀθηναίων (*meta Athenaiion*) privilege. The grant clauses vary slightly in for instance the word order, but the content remains the same before and after 323.

Thus μετοίκιον and εἰσφοράι seem to have remained unchanged until the end of the fourth century. This conclusion is supported by events in Athens. After the death of Alexander the Great, some of his generals started fighting for control of Greece. Athens was almost continuously under Macedonian control until the end of the fourth century. During these two

¹⁰ *IG II/III*² 505 (302/1 B.C.).

¹¹ Whitehead (above n. 5) 11–12.

¹² *IG II/III*² 554, l. 8–12 (306/5), *IG II/III*² 505, l. 14–17 (302/1).

¹³ For the formula of the granting clause, see *IG II/III*² 360, l. 20–21 (from 325/4): εἰσφέρειν τὰς εἰσφορὰς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων. See also *IG II/III*² 505, l. 53–54 (302/1): τὰ[ς εἰσφορὰς] αὐτοῦς εἰσφέρειν μετ' Ἀθηναίων. In the latter case the word εἰσφορὰς has been restored, but considering the context and the fact that the rest of the formula has survived intact, the restoration is quite obvious.

¹⁴ *IG II/III*² 554, l. 8–12.

decades, its constitution varied between oligarchic (in 322–318 and 317–307) and democratic (in 307–301 B.C), supported by the outside force in control of Athens at either time. The Macedonians interfered in the Athenian affairs primarily by ensuring that politicians suitable for them governed the city. Their aim was to eliminate individuals, who might be willing to get rid of the Macedonian control. Foreigners were not a risk in this sense, because they did not have political rights and could not take part in political decision-making. In any case, they do not seem to have systematically influenced the way in which the daily routine administration was handled.¹⁵ The collection of the metic tax was one of these routine administrative activities, being a regular, annual tax.

Thus, the Macedonian rulers had no need to bring about extensive changes in the payment of *μετοίκιον*, much less to abolish the tax altogether. This applies to the leading Athenian politicians as well. The leading politicians of the oligarchic governments were wealthy conservatives. They had grown up in independent Athens. Their compliance to Macedonian rule was out of political realism, not because they were keen supporters of Macedon and wanted to abolish the central institutions of independent Athens, to which also the *μετοικία* system, and the metic tax as a part of it belonged. For the democrats it was natural to look to the closest example, the democratic system of independent Athens, the creation of which *μετοικία* was. For all the citizens of Athens it was self-evident that the citizens had to be in a privileged position in relation to the non-citizens. This was a feature of the Greek city state system, and it had nothing to do with how democratic or undemocratic the government system was or with the political views of individual politicians. Therefore, at the end of the fourth century, neither the conservative supporters of oligarchy nor the democrats would have had any reason to oppose a system that strictly defined the rights and obligations of foreigners living in Athens. The metic tax was central in this respect, because one significance of it was in the fact that it emphasized the lower status of foreign residents of Athens in comparison with the citizens.¹⁶

¹⁵ C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1997, passim.

¹⁶ Todd (above n. 1) 113–115. Whitehead (above n. 5) 75–77.

The ἰσοτέλεια cases of the early third century: connection with μετοίκιον

In the third century there are no direct references to μετοίκιον or some other tax of similar nature. At first glance this would seem to indicate that such a tax was not in existence anymore. However, there are some inscriptions with a possible connection to the metic tax: in some honorary decrees of individual persons the recipient is granted ἰσοτέλεια. In addition, in others ἰσοτέλεια appears as a title used by the person himself (ἰσοτελής).¹⁷ *SEG* III 122 from mid-third century mentions 'isoteleis stationed at Rhamnus.' At least in the Classical period ἰσοτέλεια included exemption from μετοίκιον.

The latest indisputable ἰσοτέλεια grants are from the early third century.¹⁸ *IG* II/III² 768 + 802 from mid-third century possibly included ἰσοτέλεια, but the relevant lines are entirely due to restoration and therefore questionable. Thus it can be said quite confidently that the content and the granting practice of ἰσοτέλεια survived unchanged over the turn of the century. There is no reason to believe that ἰσοτέλεια would have been changed to a mere honorary title without practical significance immediately after the end of the fourth century. There are no remarkable changes or breaks visible in the administration of Athens at the turn of the century. Ἰσοτέλεια, as well as other privileges granted to foreign residents in Classical Athens, were intended to bring practical advantage to the recipient. If this practical content had vanished after the end of the fourth century, why would the mere 'empty cell' have been retained in the honors category?

We know for certain that the Classical ἰσοτέλεια included exemption from the metic tax. The question about its other content is not equally clear. It is certain that ἰσοτέλεια did not include exemption from the other two important forms of taxation, εἰσφοραὶ and liturgies. For εἰσφοραὶ there was the μετὰ Ἀθηναίων privilege. According to Whitehead, the Classical ἰσοτέλεια included, in addition to μετοίκιον, some kind of market taxes paid by foreigners only, and possibly some other taxes of which we know nothing.¹⁹ He seems to base his assumption on the fact that, along with

¹⁷ For instance, *IG* II/III² 2859, l. 5 (third century B.C.) and 791, l. 10 (244/3 B.C.). Also in grave stones: *IG* II/III² 7862–7881.

¹⁸ D. Whitehead, *PCPhS* 212 (1986) 152.

¹⁹ Whitehead (above n. 5) 12.

μετοίκιον, the market taxes appear to have been the only taxes paid exclusively by foreigners.²⁰ They are known only from two mentions of Demosthenes. The first of these says that foreigners (ξένοι) were not allowed to do business in the Agora.²¹ The second chapter mentions taxes called ξενικά (*xenika*), the payment of which made practicing business in the Agora possible.²² We know nothing about the details of these taxes,²³ but it is logical to assume that they were required only from those who intended to do business in the Agora, not from all foreigners. If the ξενικά had been automatically included in the obligations of foreigners who lived in Athens, they would also have been automatically allowed to practice business in the Agora. Demosthenes would not have needed to mention separately the prohibition and the taxes annulling this.

In practice ἰσοτέλεια thus seems to have included taxes of two different types – an obligatory tax paid regularly by all the foreign residents, and other taxes paid only by some persons. This is not an impossible equation: ἰσοτέλεια could well have included exemption from the market taxes for those who paid them, along with exemption from the metic tax. If, however, the metic tax had been left outside ἰσοτέλεια, it is unlikely that the remains of the contents alone would have been considered important enough a reason to retain the privilege in the honour category. Ἰσοτέλεια was among the important honours granted only for significant services to the state. This principle survived until the second century.

One purpose of the honors was to persuade citizens and foreigners to carry out services to the state, services that were needed. The idea was to offer privileges that the persons capable of those services – the wealthy – considered worth striving for. For these persons exemption from some smallish taxes was not likely to be a big enough stimulus to do these services. Unlike μετοίκιον, the market taxes were not very significant in emphasizing the status differences of citizens and non-citizens. Avoidance of the payment of μετοίκιον was punishable by slavery.²⁴ Avoidance of the market taxes only resulted in the individual being prohibited to do business in the Agora. These taxes were naturally important for foreign businessmen

²⁰ Whitehead (above n. 5) 77.

²¹ Dem. 57,31.

²² Dem. 57,34.

²³ Whitehead (above n. 5) 77–78.

²⁴ Whitehead (above n. 5) 76.

in the sense that the Agora was, among other things, the center of business life in Athens and thus important for successful business. But for the wealthy businessmen – the potential recipients of *ἰσοτέλεια* – it was certainly a relatively insignificant economic burden, and exemption from them was not a thing worth striving for. As for the other taxes included in *ἰσοτέλεια*, they must have been relatively insignificant: no mention of them can be found in the sources of the Classical period.

There is no reason to assume that other taxes would have been added to the sphere of *ἰσοτέλεια*. Both citizens and foreign residents paid all the other taxes, therefore there was no need to 'liberate' foreigners from them from the point of view of the state. On the other hand, there is no indication that the Athenians adopted a new, significant tax that needed to be added to *ἰσοτέλεια*. Thus it seems clear that the most important content of the Classical *ἰσοτέλεια*, exemption from *μετοίκιον*, was still untouched in the early third century. The foreigners of Athens still paid metic tax. It can be assumed that the tax survived unchanged in its practical details. The period in question is short, no great changes or breaks took place in the functions of the administration during it.

Scholars have not been able to precisely date the *ἰσοτέλεια* cases known from the early third century. However, some theories can be presented.

In 287 B.C. the Athenians stormed the Macedonian garrison on Museum hill.²⁵ Demetrius Poliorcetes and his son Antigonos Gonatas were tied elsewhere at this time, and in the peace agreement Athens' independence was confirmed, even though Piraeus and at least some of the fortresses of Attica remained in Macedonian hands.²⁶

In Hermaios' honorary decree (early 3rd century) he is granted *ἰσοτέλεια* for, among other things, participation in military campaigns with the *demos* and paying all the *εἰσφοραί* required from him by the *demos* (*IG* II/III² 715). As far as the contents go, the inscription would fit the period of independence after 287 B.C. If the motivation clauses of an honorary decree mention military deeds, these have very likely taken place in time of war, in a situation that was of great importance for Athens. Peacetime guard duty in

²⁵ Habicht (above n. 15) 95. M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens 2* (Verhandelingen van de koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België. Kl. der Letteren, Jaargang 44), Brussel 1982, 264.

²⁶ Habicht (above n. 15) 97.

a fortress would hardly have sufficed for important privileges.²⁷ The storming of the Macedonian garrison was certainly a decisive event for Athens, since the Athenians regained independence after that. Hermaios could well have taken part in the assault. For several years following 287 B.C. most of Athens' power and resources were taken by the reorganization of corn supply and defense, and the restoration of diplomatic relations. The reference to the εἰσφοραὶ paid by Hermaios could mean εἰσφοραὶ ordered for these tasks. If we accept this suggestion for the dating of the decree, it would indicate that the metic tax was in existence after 287 B.C.

It could be thought that, when Athens was once again independent, the Athenians would have seen no reason to make extensive changes to their administrative system. Holding on to the administrative practices deriving from the independent times of the Classical period could have been understandable as a kind of indication of emphasizing of self-respect. Furthermore, in a situation where the organization of defence and corn supply and the restoration of political contacts took up Athens' resources for several years, the Athenians perhaps would not have found it necessary to alter such a detail as the metic tax, since the system had functioned earlier too.

Did Antigonos abolish μετοικία and μετοίκιον to humiliate Athens?

According to Whitehead, the Classical system regulating the official status of the metics survived until quite late in the third century. Its disappearance could have been caused by the Macedonians interfering in Athens' administration. In the 260's Athens began a war against Antigonos, which led to it becoming a satellite state of Macedon in 262/1. King Antigonos could well have wanted to humiliate Athens by destroying the mechanisms by which it had regulated the status of its foreign residents.²⁸ Antigonos indeed clearly wanted to show that he was in charge of Athens internally as well as externally. Macedonian troops occupied the Attic fortresses, and the garrison returned to Museum hill. A royal governor was

²⁷ Other instances of mentions of military service in motivation clauses of honorary decrees are *IG II/III*² 554 (l. 15–19) and 505 (l. 30–32, 36–40), from 306/5 or a little later and 302/1 B.C. respectively. Both apparently refer to the so-called Four Years' War (307–304 B.C.).

²⁸ Whitehead (above n. 18) 153.

appointed in charge of Athens. The regular offices survived, but with a greatly restricted mandate.²⁹ During the early years following the war, every motion required authorization by the royal governor. The assembly convened regularly, but its mandate was limited to the most routine administrative decisions.³⁰ Athens' own armed forces survived, but the king took them to his own service.³¹ In ca. 255 B.C. the Macedonian troops were drawn from the city. Athens regained some of its freedom in relation to other states, but the king retained his political control, and the Athenians could not act against his interests.³²

If the abolition of *μετοικία* had been among Antigonus' actions to restrict the political freedom of Athens, it probably would have meant abolishing the metic tax. However, Whitehead's theory contains problems: foreigners living in Athens did not have political rights, and therefore they could not have had any influence on the decision-making and administration. Antigonus seems to have restricted the function of precisely those mechanisms in which the citizens' influence on the care of Athenian politics and administration was most manifest. The Athenian *μετοικία* was indeed formulated in a time when Athens was independent, but it had no connection to how freely or restrictedly the citizens were able to exert their political influence in the care of public affairs. The system was primarily a practical administrative issue: the status of all the population groups living within the borders of the country had to be defined in law in order for the administration to function without problems.

If Antigonus had really intended to humiliate the Athenians as well as guaranteeing his political control over Athens, would the abolishment of the *μετοικία* system have really been suited to his purposes? The restriction of the citizens' central means of exerting their political influence would certainly in itself have been humiliating enough.

An additional problem is created by *SEG* III 122 which concerns the *ἰσοτελεῖς* stationed in the garrison of Rhamnus. Whitehead sees the inscription – following Pouilloux – as a sign of a development which detached *ἰσοτέλεια* completely from the context of foreign residents in its earlier, polis-orientated sense: according to Pouilloux, the *ἰσοτελεῖς* in question are

²⁹ Habicht (above n. 15) 150–152.

³⁰ Habicht (above n. 15) 158.

³¹ C. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*, Göttingen 1982, 13.

³² Habicht (above n. 15) 161–162.

mercenary soldiers to whom Antigonos had obliged the Athenians to grant this privilege.³³ If I interpret Whitehead correctly, he believes that this would have meant the disappearance of the practical content of ἰσοτέλεια or at least the diminishing of its significance. In my opinion Whitehead makes too rash conclusions on the basis of one single case. It has to be remembered that Athens was a satellite state of Macedon in the mid-third century. More likely the case of *SEG* III 122 should be considered an indication of Antigonos' intention to make clear Athens' subordinate status by also interfering in the regulations concerning the granting of important honors, rather than a sign of the natural development of ἰσοτέλεια dictated by the Athenian state and everyday life. It seems a reasonable assumption that if Antigonos really intended to humiliate Athens by means of interfering in the granting of honors, he would have intentionally chosen an important type of privilege.

From here we can go on to the assumption that the content of ἰσοτέλεια had not been altered by the decision of the Athenian administrative bodies, neither independently nor on Antigonos' demand. If the Athenians even had the chance to make this kind of a decision autonomously, there might not have been the motivation: in a situation where the Athenians' right to decide was restricted, the chances to also decide about grants of honors was limited. Antigonos, in turn, did not necessarily have the need to order the Athenians to alter the content of the honors. Thus ἰσοτέλεια would, at least in theory, still have included exemption from the metic tax. For the ἰσοτελής-soldiers of *SEG* III 122 ἰσοτέλεια of course did not have any practical significance. They were in the service of Antigonos. Thus they were not under the Athenian laws, and did not pay taxes to Athens.

The points I have presented above must necessarily remain hypothetical, because the sources do not allow them to be proved. In any case it seems that if during the satellite period (262–229 B.C.) the metic tax had been abolished, this would have been due rather to the will of Antigonos Gonatas than that of the assembly and the council. Even if the Athenians had had the chance to make such a decision, there might have not been the motivation to do so because of the political situation. On the other hand, one can doubt whether Antigonos would have had a motive to abolish the metic

³³ J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte: Étude de topographie et d'histoire*, Paris 1954, 118–120 (n. 7).

tax either. As noted before, this kind of an action would have been unnecessary as a means of humiliating the Athenians. Judging by the sources discovered so far it would seem that Antigonos did not oblige the Athenians to pay taxes. Thus one could assume that he would not have had economical motives to interfere in the metic tax.

It is quite plausible that the tax system of Athens remained unchanged, also with respect to the metic tax. Athens did not have the opportunity for diplomatic or military undertakings, so εἰσφοραὶ for instance were not needed. However, the daily routine administration still required resources. These were gained precisely from regular income, the metic tax being one of these. Due to the political situation it is unlikely that the Athenians even had the desire to reform the tax system, since the possibilities to use tax income were limited. Also for Antigonos it would have been simpler to leave the tax system as it was to ensure that there were enough resources for administration, rather than to abolish some taxes and perhaps end up giving money for this himself.

Could the metic tax have survived to the late second century?

The political situation changed again in 229 B.C. The Athenians took advantage of the unstable situation caused by the problems of succession in Macedon, and persuaded the commander of the Macedonian forces in Athens to hand over Piraeus and the fortresses of Attica. In this way Athens managed to regain independence without violence.³⁴

As there are no grants of ἰσοτέλεια from the late third century onwards, no firm conclusions can be made on the survival of the metic tax. However, it is possible to present some hypotheses based on what is known about Athenian history of this time.

From the time after 229 B.C., too, there are grave inscriptions in which the person in question has the title ἰσοτελής added beside the name. As Whitehead notes, these are most likely hereditary ἰσοτέλεια cases,³⁵ so they do not give any indication of the existence of ἰσοτέλεια after 229 B.C. However, I do not agree with Whitehead on his statement that in these cases ἰσοτέλεια had no significance beyond the purely honorific sense. Would the

³⁴ Habicht (above n. 15) 173.

³⁵ Whitehead (above n. 18) 152.

descendants of the ἰσοτέλεια recipients have held a mere title in such a high value that they would have wanted to proclaim it in the gravestone? Payment of the metic tax would certainly have been so significant a factor in view of status differentiation that the recipients of ἰσοτέλεια would have considered exemption from it important. The word ἰσοτελής appearing in gravestones may just as well be a sign of the fact that foreign residents held the practical advantages brought by ἰσοτέλεια in such a high value that they wanted to use the form with their name, thereby stressing the honor aspect of the privilege.

After 229 B.C. Athens, Piraeus and the fortresses of Attica were again free, and a programme was started in Athens to strengthen the walls of the city and Piraeus, and the Attic fortresses.³⁶ The work was financed partly by voluntary donations, ἐπιδόσεις (*epidoseis*), and possibly by εἰσφοραί, but Athens might have needed all available resources: the lack of resources is revealed by the fact that the Long Walls between Athens and Piraeus were left unrepaired.³⁷ It is impossible to estimate how significant a source of income the tax would have been, since there is no knowledge of the number of foreign residents nor of the practical details of the metic tax, but it is very difficult to understand why one important group of taxpayers, the Athenian foreign residents, would have been left without attention – freed from metic tax. One practical issue concerning the metic tax must be noted, though: whatever money there might have been in the state treasury gained from the previously collected metic tax could of course be used in this situation. In the sense of forthcoming income, a regular, annual tax could not have been very useful, since a large amount of money was needed quickly for the defense constructions.

As Athens was again independent, foreign rulers did not have direct influence on its internal administration. Macedon remained an external threat. Athens could not rely on her own armed forces, so the Athenians strived to maintain their independence by maintaining a neutral policy and good relations to as many directions as possible.³⁸ In 200 B.C. Athens went to the side of the Romans.³⁹ After this the situation continued unchanged in most respects until the beginning of the 160's B.C., when in the Third

³⁶ Habicht (above n. 31) 82. Habicht 1997 (above n. 15) 185–186.

³⁷ Habicht (above n. 15) 185–186.

³⁸ Habicht (above n. 15) *passim*.

³⁹ Habicht (above n. 15) 199–200.

Macedonian war Rome defeated Macedon, split the empire and abolished the threat formed by it in Greece for good. Rome gained decisive authority in Greece. The Romans did not, as yet, found garrisons, but in practice nothing significant could take place against their will.⁴⁰ Athens had maintained the favour of Rome throughout this time, and remained as its independent ally from then on.

In the life of Athens the second century seems to have been a time of peace both before and after the end of the Third Macedonian War. For instance the ephebic institution functioned regularly, public festivals were celebrated, and from the 160's onwards Athens minted a new type of coinage (the so-called New Style silver coinage). The administrative practices of the era are not very well known, but the main feature seems to have been continuity at least on the level of the normal daily administration. During a time of peace the Athenians perhaps did not have the need to make extensive changes in issues concerning foreign residents either.

When we come to the second half of the century, we see two significant changes taking place at some point, changes that seem to have altered the status of the foreign residents in an important way. Firstly, the individual's own desire to become citizen and his wealth replaced important services to the state as the main qualifications for citizenship. According to Osborne, the sons of wealthy foreign residents were admitted to ephebic service, and apparently gained citizenship through it.⁴¹ This did not mean that after these changes the foreign residents of Athens were automatically citizens. However, they clearly indicate that wealth had surpassed citizen status in importance for the definition of status differences. It is possible that in this situation the metic tax would have been considered useless and been abolished, because it had ideological significance in emphasizing the inequality between citizens and non-citizens.

Once again it must be stressed that all theories on the possible survival of the metic tax necessarily remain as hypotheses due to the scarcity of sources, and firmer conclusions can only be made in the event of the discovery of more sources. However, there is no particular factor to be seen before the second half of the second century, which would have led to

⁴⁰ Habicht (above n. 15) 219.

⁴¹ M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* 3–4 (Verhandelingen van de koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang 45), Brussel 1983, 144.

the metic tax being abolished. The political differentiation of citizens and non-citizens remained strong for very long, and the metic tax would have been a natural manifestation of this. There may of course have been breaks in the collection of the tax, but I believe these would have been the result of war (for instance the Chremonidean war in the 3rd century) or political situation (the satellite period of 262–229 B.C.), which created an interference in the normal functions, rather than the result of the actual abolishment of the tax by decision of the Athenian administrative bodies. We can assume that in the periods when Athens was controlled by an outside power, there was no motivation, or in some cases the chance, to make radical changes in the practical details of the metic tax.

**The μετὰ Ἀθηναίων privilege disappears:
standardized εἰσφορά regulations**

The third century inscriptions still contain references to εἰσφοράί paid by foreigners. The latest one is *IG II/III² 835*, from shortly after 229/8 B.C, a decree for a certain foreign resident called Apollas. Thus there is evidence of εἰσφοράί at a remarkably later date than that of the existence of the metic tax. The foreign residents of Athens, therefore, paid εἰσφοράί at least until the early 220's. The payment of εἰσφοράί was still obligatory. In Athens there was another way of financing exceptional costs of the state with private money, the ἐπίδοσις. These were voluntary donations originally collected for special needs such as military expenses and corn supply, when the normal methods of financing were insufficient. The earliest known ἐπίδοσις is from the very beginning of the fourth century. In the third and second centuries their usage was extended for instance to large building projects.⁴² If the payment of εἰσφοράί had been made voluntary, it would have become an identical donation system with that of the ἐπίδοσις. It would have been senseless to maintain two parallel financing systems, which were different in name but identical in practice. The εἰσφορά payment remaining obligatory for citizens but becoming voluntary for foreigners would have been against the Greek concept of the city state system and citizenship – the idea that citizens were to be in privileged position in relation to the non-citizens living in a polis.

⁴² Hakkarainen (above n. 2) 12–13.

The μετὰ Ἀθηναίων privilege seems to disappear from honorary decrees sometime during the third century. The inscriptions *IG II/III*² 715 and 744 from the first half of the third century have possibly included the privilege, but the former is cut in the middle of the section that includes the granted honors, and in the latter inscription no trace of that section remains. In the inscriptions where the section including the granted honors has survived, the privilege is lacking: *IG II/III*² 768 + 802 (252/1 or 251/0 B.C.), 835 (shortly after 229/8 B.C.), *SEG XXV* 106 (226/5 B.C.). Because the privilege was in earlier times a very common part of the honorary decrees of foreign residents, this is unlikely to be a coincidence. I do not believe that this means the payment of εἰσφοράι was made voluntary. It is rather a sign of changes in some practical details of the εἰσφορά system, for instance the paying arrangements. In my opinion these changes meant standardizing the εἰσφορά payment of citizens and foreigners.

The εἰσφορά practice of the Hellenistic period is not known. An interesting detail is the fact that Apollas' decree refers to προεισφοράι,⁴³ not εἰσφοράι, paid by him.⁴⁴ If the meaning here is the same as in the Classical period, it supports the assumptions of the standardization of the εἰσφορά payment of citizens and foreigners: as far as we know, in the Classical period the προεισφορά payers were citizens only, and Apollas is a foreign resident. He would fit in the picture in the sense that he seems to have been quite wealthy, because he paid a sizeable sum. Payment of εἰσφοράι may not have been considered equally important for emphasizing the status differences as the metic tax. There is no indication that in the Classical period the avoidance of the payment of εἰσφοράι was punished as harshly as the avoidance of the payment of μετοίκιον. The division of citizens and metics into distinctive συμμορίαί probably had something to do with status for the citizens, but for the state it was perhaps just a practical issue: since the citizens and the metics paid a different share of each εἰσφορά, it was simplest to divide them in different συμμορίαί to guarantee that all paid the share allotted to them.

Although we cannot find the exact date for the change, the following hypothesis is plausible. During the time when Athens was a satellite state of Macedon εἰσφοράι could not be collected, or in any case there was no need

⁴³ See above, p. 42 and note 3.

⁴⁴ *IG II/III*² 835, 1. 7: χιλί]ας? προεισήνεγκεν δρα[χ]μά[ς] ("paid *proeisphora* ... thousand? drachmas").

for them. This could explain the fact that *IG II/III*² 768 + 802 does not contain the *μετὰ Ἀθηναίων* privilege. When Athens became free of Macedonian control, the *εἰσφορά* payment of foreigners and citizens was standardized by legislation. After 229 B.C. there are some signs of legislation work concerning foreigners,⁴⁵ so the *εἰσφορά* reform would have fitted well in this context. A possible explanation for this reform may be found in the significance of *ἐπίδοσις*, which seems to have a connection with the development of *εἰσφορά*.

Ἐπίδοσις and the disappearance of εἰσφορά

All references to *εἰσφορά* disappear from the sources after the 220's. As with the *μετὰ Ἀθηναίων* privilege, this would not seem to be a coincidence but reflects a change that took place in the *εἰσφορά* system. After the 220's there are no sources mentioning the *εἰσφορά*, but *ἐπίδοσις* are mentioned in several decrees.⁴⁶

Originally *ἐπίδοσις* were used for exceptional military purposes and corn supply. In the third and second centuries their usage spread to civil purposes such as construction expenses. The usage of *εἰσφορά*, on the other hand, did not expand beyond their original usage. In the third century there were still situations where *εἰσφορά* were needed. Immediately after 287 B.C. the corn supply had to be secured and the defense system enhanced to secure the recently gained independence. In 229 B.C. a large sum was needed from the citizens to pay off the soldiers of the commander of Macedonian forces in Attica and liberate the fortresses.⁴⁷ Immediately after this the Athenians started restoration work of the city and port defenses.⁴⁸ In both cases *ἐπίδοσις* were needed along with *εἰσφορά*.⁴⁹ In the second century Athens no longer had possibilities for large-scale military undertakings.⁵⁰ On the other hand, enhancing the defense system or securing

⁴⁵ See Osborne (above n. 41) 144.

⁴⁶ For instance *IG II/III*² 2334 from the mid-second century, honorary decree for those who participated in an *ἐπίδοσις* for the construction work of a theatre.

⁴⁷ Habicht (above n. 15) 174.

⁴⁸ Habicht (above n. 31) 82.

⁴⁹ *IG II/III*² 715, 744, 835.

⁵⁰ Habicht (above n. 15) 199.

the corn supply was apparently not even needed. The Attic countryside generally did not come under threat in the wars of the 2nd century (the First and Second Macedonian war), and the forces of Rome offered military security.⁵¹ It is very much possible that εἰσφοράι vanished at some point after the 220's. When a greater amount of money was needed on each occasion mainly for building work it seems probable that εἰσφοράι became unnecessary. Extending their usage was no longer required, because ἐπιδόσεις were already available, and it appears that the wealthy citizens and foreigners of Athens were still willing to use their own money for the good of the city.

On the basis of what I have presented above, it is clear that the disappearance of εἰσφοράι affected the tax obligations of both citizens and foreigners, and no distinct actions were needed concerning the foreigners' payment of εἰσφοράι. Even though this development did not affect foreigners only, it is evident that the disappearance of εἰσφοράι had a significant influence on their tax responsibilities.

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⁵¹ Habicht (above n. 15) passim.

P. VOLUMNIUS EUTRAPELUS

MASSIMO PIERPAOLI

In questo contributo intendo analizzare la figura di P. Volumnio Eutrapelo, cavaliere romano contemporaneo di Cicerone e collegato ai personaggi più eminenti della storia della fine della Repubblica Romana. Una personalità estremamente sfaccettata, poliedrica, che per i suoi costumi può essere preso ad esempio per illustrare la tragica e contraddittoria epoca in cui visse: tanto è vero che anche Orazio lo nomina per i suoi costumi particolari. E proprio dal Venosino vogliamo iniziare per cercare di interpretare questo personaggio.

Nell'epistola 18 del primo libro, dedicata all'amico Lollio, Orazio riporta la curiosa abitudine di Eutrapelo (*epist.* 1,18,31–36):

*Eutrapelus cuicumque nocere volebat
vestimenta dabat pretiosa; beatus enim iam
cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,
dormiet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum
officium, nummos alienos pascet, ad imum
Thraex erit aut holitoris aget mercede caballum*

Un tale comportamento, quello cioè di offrire dei beni – in questo caso di regalare abiti sontuosi – per condurre alla rovina il malcapitato di turno, rientra nella tipologia oraziana: già nella settima epistola veniva presentato l'episodio di Volcazio Mena, un umile *praeco* al quale l'aristocratico L. Marcio Filippo (cos. 91 a.C.)¹ concede di sedere alla propria tavola, fino

* Per l'epistolario ciceroniano vedi le edizioni commentate a cura di R. Y. Tyrrell – L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero* I–VI, Dublin 1904–1933 (= T&P) e di D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* I–VI, Cambridge 1965–1967 (= SBAA); Id., *Cicero: Epistulae ad Familiares* I–II Cambridge 1977 (=SBEF).

¹ Il nobile L. Filippo è ricordato da Cicerone per la sua eloquenza aspra e arguta a un tempo (*Brut.* 173 e 186). Vedi la notizia prosopografica in J. M. David, *Le patronat judiciaire au II siècle de la République romaine*, Roma 1992, 732 s. (con bibl.). Sulla

a regalargli una somma di denaro per l'acquisto di un campo e di alcuni animali. Il povero Volcazio si logora per ottenere sempre nuove ricchezze e mantenere quelle già acquistate, finché, dopo una serie di sventure, non si precipita da Filippo pregandolo, anzi scongiurandolo, di riprendersi tutti i beni che gli aveva dato, in modo tale da tornare alla vita tranquilla di prima.² La morale della favola, diremmo così, è che non bisogna fare il passo più lungo della gamba: morale che si inserisce nel consueto topos della *mediocritas*, del *modus*.³

Del tutto simile è la fine del beneficiato da Eutrapelo:⁴ anche per costui l'esito è segnato fin dal primo momento, tra la vita agiata – espressa dalle abbondanti dormite diurne per compensare le veglie trascorse con le prostitute – e la rovina – la riduzione o meglio, degradazione a gladiatore o a misero salariato – il passo è breve, come dimostra la successione dei futuri storici che scandisce "le prevedibili fasi della decadenza progressiva del *cliens*", come annota Paolo Fedeli.⁵ Anche in questo caso siamo nel cuore della meditazione oraziana (basti pensare all'ode più celebre del Venosino, *carm.* 1,11,7–8: *spatio brevi / spem longam reseces*; o anche *carm.* 1,4,15: *vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam*) sulle aspettative dell'uomo:⁶ nutrire speranze in una vita migliore è debolezza dello stolto, non certo prerogativa del saggio, poiché la speranza turba la tranquillità con l'illusione che si finge. Speranza e timore sono in realtà le due facce della stessa medaglia, come osservava già Cicerone nelle *Tusculanae*: entrambi i sentimenti vengono definiti come *perturbationes*.⁷ E lo stesso Orazio nota che il corso della vita non è che una successione di affanni dovuti alla incapacità dell'uomo di staccarsi dalle cose che producono la sollecitudine

celebrità dei motti di spirito di Filippo, vedi anche N. Horsfall, *La villa sabina di Orazio: il galateo della gratitudine. Una rilettura della settima epistola del primo libro*, Venosa 1993, 64.

² Cf. Horsfall (*supra* n. 1) 65 s.

³ Cf. *epist.* 1,7,96–98 *qui semel adspexit, quantum dimissa petitis / praestent, mature redeat repetatque relicta. / metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est*.

⁴ Sull'interpretazione in generale di *epist.* 1,18 vedi A. La Penna, *Saggi e studi su Orazio*, Firenze 1993, 356 ss.

⁵ Q. Orazio Flacco, *Le opere. Le epistole. L'arte poetica*, testo critico e commento a cura di P. Fedeli, traduzione di C. Carena, Roma 1997, 1272.

⁶ Sul concetto di speranza in Orazio, vedi F. Citti, *Studi oraziani. Tematica e intertestualità*, Bologna 2000, 27–34, part. 31 ss. per il nostro passo.

⁷ *Tusc.* 4,80.

dell'animo.⁸ In particolare, la smania di ricchezza o solamente di un progresso sociale possono rivelarsi fatali per l'uomo, come si evince dai testi oraziani presi in considerazione, ai quali possiamo aggiungere un verso che ha tutta la forza di un proverbio (*carm.* 3,16,17): *crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam*.⁹ Speranza di ricchezza e di miglioramento, dunque: sono proprio i *nova consilia et spes* – il cui motore è stato senz'altro il comportamento del ricco Eutrapelo¹⁰ – che conducono alla rovina l'uomo poco saggio.

L'Eutrapelo¹¹ di cui parla Orazio è senza dubbio il cavaliere romano P. Volumnio Eutrapelo che troviamo nell'epistolario ciceroniano. Ci sono state conservate due lettere indirizzate da Cicerone a P. Volumnio Eutrapelo, una inviata da Laodicea nell'anno 50 (o 51?), all'epoca del proconsolato in Cilicia (*fam.* 7,32); l'altra da Roma nel 46 (*fam.* 7,33). Inoltre Eutrapelo viene menzionato nella XIII *Philippica* come *sodalis* di Marco Antonio. Più difficilmente possiamo identificare Eutrapelo con il P. Volumnio giurato nel processo contro A. Cluentio svoltosi nell'anno 66.¹² T. R. S. Broughton¹³ ha infatti assimilato, sebbene con cautela, questo giudice al *pontifex minor* citato da Macrobio (*Sat.* 3,13,10–11):¹⁴ in questo caso, non essendo egli incluso da Cicerone nella lista dei *pontifices* che compare in *har. resp.* 12, lista risalente all'anno 57, Volumnio deve essere morto prima di questa data

⁸ Vedi *epist.* 1,4,12–14, su cui cf. Fedeli (*supra* n. 5) 1061; Citti (*supra* n. 6) 54 s.

⁹ Cf. R. Tosi, *Dizionario delle sentenze greche e latine*, Milano 1991, 805.

¹⁰ *Locuples* viene definito dallo Pseudo Acrone (p. 268 ed. O. Keller). I commentatori antichi insistono sul carattere di corruttore di Eutrapelo.

¹¹ Vedi M. Malavolta, s.v. "Eutrapelus" in *Enciclopedia Oraziana* I, Roma 1996, 730 s.

¹² Cic. *Cluent.* 198: *Eadem spe sed maiore verecundia de te, P. Volumni, quoniam iudex es in A. Cluentium, dicimus.*

¹³ *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* III, Supplement, Atlanta 1986, 224.

¹⁴ *Refero enim pontificis vetustissimam cenam quae scripta est in indice quarto Metelli illius pontificis maximi in haec verba: (11) Ante diem nonum kalendas Septembres, quo die Lentulus flamen Martialis inauguratus est, domus ornata fuit, triclinia lectis eburneis strata fuerunt, duobus tricliniis pontifices cubuerunt, Q. Catulus, M. Aemilius Lepidus, D. Silanus, C. Caesar, --- rex sacrorum, P. Scaevola, Sextus ---, Q. Cornelius, P. Volumnius, P. Albinovanus et L. Iulius Caesar augur qui eum inauguravit, in tertio triclinio Popilia Perpennia Licinia Arruntia virgines Vestales et ipsius uxor Publicia flaminica et Sempronia socrus eius.* Sulla questione del collegio pontificale riportato nei Saturnalia, cf. L. Ross Taylor, "Caesar's Colleagues in the Pontifical College", *AJPh* 63 (1942) 385 ss.

e di conseguenza non può essere il Volumnio Eutrapelo ricordato da Cicerone nelle lettere né tantomeno nelle *Philippicae*. Il nostro Eutrapelo, inoltre, non doveva essere imparentato col senatore L. Volumnio, amico anch'egli di Cicerone, che è con buona probabilità, ma non con certezza, da identificarsi col L. Volumnio di cui parla Varrone (*rust.* 2,4,11)¹⁵ e forse anche con il L. Volumnio membro del *consilium* di Pompeo Strabone ad Asculum.¹⁶

Come abbiamo detto, Eutrapelo corrispondente epistolare di Cicerone è da identificare con l'amico di Antonio, "amico, dobbiamo aggiungere, al più alto livello"¹⁷ che faceva parte di quella eletta schiera di personaggi più o meno ambigui (almeno a detta di Cicerone) di cui si circondava Antonio (*Phil.* 13,3):

addite Antoni conlusores et sodalis, Eutrapelum, Melam, Pontium, Caelium, Crassicium, Tironem, Mustelam, Petusium: comitatum relinquo, duces nomino.

Il legame di Eutrapelo con Antonio è dimostrato anche dal fatto che nel 44 Cicerone cercò di parlare con Antonio riguardo a una *legatio*¹⁸ e per questo chiese l'intercessione di Eutrapelo (*Att.* 15,8,1 del 31 mag. 44):

... atque etiam scripsi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, si ad Dolabellam solum scripsissem, iracundus homo commoveretur. quod autem aditus ad eum difficilior esse dicitur, scripsi ad Eutrapelum ut is ei meas litteras redderet; legatione mihi opus esse. honestior est votiva, sed licet uti utraque.

Cornelio Nepote poi, racconta che Attico salvò Volumnio dalle persecuzioni contro Antonio e i suoi seguaci:¹⁹ *Atticus, cum Ciceronis intima*

¹⁵ Piuttosto scettico su ciò si dimostra S. Mazzarino (in un articolo fondamentale per la ricostruzione dei personaggi che prendiamo qui in considerazione), "Contributo alla lettura del Nuovo Gallus e alla storia della mima 'Lycoris'", *Helikon* 20–21 (1980–81) 15 n. 26.

¹⁶ Cf. C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, Stuttgart 1961², 150; E. Badian, "Notes on Roman Senators of the Republic", *Historia* 12 (1963) 142; Broughton (*supra* n. 13) 223s.

¹⁷ Mazzarino (*supra* n. 15) 14. Al contrario, H. Gundel, *RE* IXA 1 (1961) 875–879, distingue Eutrapelus (n° 11) dal Volumnius (n° 7) *praefectus fabrum* di Antonio.

¹⁸ In effetti Cicerone fu scelto da Dolabella, proconsole in Siria per il 43, come *legatus* (cf. K. Kumaniecki, *Cicerone e la crisi della repubblica romana*, Roma 1972, 507 s.). Vedi anche *Att.* 15,11,4 (su cui T&P V 335.)

¹⁹ Antonio fu dichiarato *hostis* dopo il 26 aprile 43 (*Cic. ad Brut.* 1,3a): cf. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1968², 174; H. Bengtson, *M. Antonius. Triumvir und Herrscher des Orients*, München 1977, 111.

*familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esset Bruto, non modo nihil iis indulisit ad Antonium violandum, sed e contrario familiares eius ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit, quibus rebus indiguerunt, adiuvit. P. vero Volumnio ea tribuit, ut plura a parente proficisci non potuerint.*²⁰ A sua volta, quando Antonio riuscì a riprendere il potere alleandosi con Ottaviano, Volumnio, nominato *praefectus fabrum* da Antonio, ricambiò ad Attico il beneficio ricevuto e lo protesse dalle proscrizioni dei triumviri, anche se la salvezza di Attico fu dovuta soprattutto al diretto interessamento di Antonio:²¹ *Conversa subito fortuna est. ut Antonius rediit in Italiam, nemo non magno in periculo Atticum putarat propter intimam familiaritatem Ciceronis et Bruti. itaque ad adventum imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem, latebatque apud P. Volumnium, cui, sicut ostendimus, paulo ante opem tulerat eqs.*²² Naturalmente, lo stesso riguardo non fu usato a Cicerone, nonostante l'antica consuetudine, e del resto il desiderio di vendetta nutrito da Antonio nei confronti dell'ormai anziano consolare non ammetteva deroghe. Probabilmente i rapporti tra Cicerone e Volumnio Eutrapelo si erano allentati quando la crisi con Antonio era oramai irrimediabile, comunque dopo la morte di Cesare. Il fatto che Cicerone includa Eutrapelo tra i *conclusores* di Antonio, è indice del mutato atteggiamento nei confronti dell'amico.²³

Infatti, dalle due lettere di Cicerone a Eutrapelo possiamo desumere che fra i due ci fosse una discreta familiarità: la prima lettera (*fam.* 7,32) è la risposta di Cicerone a una missiva di Volumnio. L'oratore dimostra di riconoscere ed apprezzare lo stile frizzante e gioviale del suo corrispondente, anzi, è proprio l'εὐτραπελία del tono della lettera che permette all'Arpinate di distinguere il mittente che, evidentemente, possedeva già questo *cognomen*:²⁴

²⁰ Nep. *Att.* 9,3–4.

²¹ Cf. R. Syme, *Roman Papers* II, Oxford 1979, 524; F. Hinard, *Les proscriptions de la Rome républicaine*, Roma 1985, 508.

²² Nep. *Att.* 10,1–2. Su questi passi di Cornelio Nepote vedi il commento di N. Horsfall in *Cornelius Nepos. A Selection, Including the Lives of Cato and Atticus*. Translated with Introductions and Commentary by N. H., Oxford 1989, 77 ss.

²³ In altre tre occasioni Cicerone fa uso del termine *conclusor*, sempre con tono fortemente dispregiativo: cf. *Phil.* 2,56 e 101; *Phil.* 5,13.

²⁴ C. Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (312–43 av. J.-C.)* II, Paris 1974, 1082 s., fa notare che il *cognomen* Eutrapelus non indica una origine greca del personaggio, bensì un soprannome derivante proprio dalla sua caratteristica principale.

Quod sine praeenomine familiariter, ut debebas, ad me epistulam misisti, primum addubitavi num a Volumnio senatore esset, quocum mihi est magnus usus; deinde εὐτραπελία litterarum fecit ut intellegerem tuas esse.

Εὐτραπελία è termine che troviamo attestato in Platone, ma è Aristotele a fornirne una definizione nel secondo libro della *Rhetorica* (1389b, 15–16):

καὶ [οἱ νέοι] ἐλεητικοὶ διὰ τὸ πάντα χρηστοὺς καὶ βελτίους ὑπολαμβάνειν [...], καὶ φιλογέλωτες, διὸ καὶ φιλευτράπελοι· ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπελία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις ἐστίν.

"[i giovani] sono portati a provare compassione, perché credono tutti gli uomini onesti e migliori di quanto non siano [...], amano il riso e per questo motivo sono anche spiritosi: lo spirito è infatti una forma di arroganza moderata dall'educazione".²⁵

"Cultured insolence", traduce in inglese Shackleton Bailey:²⁶ εὐτραπελία è quindi una sorta di insolenza o arroganza, temperata però dalla buona educazione;²⁷ è quella licenza concessa alle *gens d'esprit*, agli uomini di mondo e che sembra permessa, poiché insita nella loro natura, in special modo ai giovani e, più in generale, è "a social virtue [...], and one of the accomplishments of a gentleman".²⁸ Essa sembra tradursi nel motto di spirito salace ma espresso con particolare eleganza, rara qualità di cui pochi sono dotati. Cicerone doveva apprezzare istintivamente questa dote,²⁹ ed è

²⁵ Trad. di M. Dorati (Aristotele, *Retorica*, Milano 1996).

²⁶ SBEF I 452.

²⁷ Non sempre però l'εὐτραπελία (o l'aggettivo εὐτράπελος) possiede una connotazione positiva, sfumando nel senso di "scurrilità", "volgarità": Isocrate (7,49), in polemica con le usanze moderne, ricorda le persone del buon tempo antico: σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐμελέτων, ἀλλ' οὐ βωμολοχεύεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς εὐτραπέλους δὲ καὶ τοὺς σκόπτειν δυναμένους, οὓς νῦν εὐφρεῖς προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δυστυχεῖς ἐνόμιζον. Allo stesso modo S. Paolo (*Eph.* 5,9) condanna l'εὐτραπελία, ma qui il connotato deteriore è evidente. In Aristofane (*Vesp.* 469) εὐτράπελον λόγον significa "ragionamento scaltro", "sottile".

²⁸ E. M. Cope – J. E. Sandys, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle with a Commentary II*, Cambridge 1877 (= New York 1973), 150.

²⁹ L'εὐτραπελία però è attribuita anche al grande nemico di Cicerone, M. Antonio (e ciò può segnare un punto in contatto in più tra Eutrapelo e il Triumviro); Plutarco (*Ant.* 43,5), infatti, elencando alcuni tratti positivi della personalità del Triumviro quali εὐγένεια, λόγου δύναμις, ἀπλότης, τὸ φιλόδωρον καὶ μεγαλόδωρον, non manca di aggiungere ἢ τε περὶ τὰς παιδιὰς καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας εὐτραπελία. Tuttavia, è forse

naturale che la compagnia di Volumnio fosse gradita a colui che una volta Catone aveva appellato come γελοῖος ὑπατος,³⁰ e che al ridicolo e ai motti di spirito aveva dedicato una cospicua sezione del suo più ampio trattato sull'oratore:³¹ senza contare il fatto che Tirone (a quanto pare), dopo la morte di Cicerone, pubblicò tre libri contenenti le facezie e i detti spiritosi dell'Arpinate.³²

La definizione della *Rhetorica* deve tuttavia essere integrata con le indicazioni che lo stesso Aristotele offre nella *Ethica Nicomachea* a proposito del riposo e dello scherzo come parte della distrazione (1108a, 24–30):

περὶ δὲ τὸ ἡδὺ τὸ μὲν ἐν παιδιᾷ ὁ μὲν μέσος εὐτράπελος καὶ ἡ διάθεσις εὐτραπελία, ἡ δ' ὑπερβολὴ βωμολοχία καὶ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν βωμολόχος, ὁ δ'

necessario fare una distinzione, poiché qui la popolarità di Antonio si riferisce non a un "pubblico" raffinato, ma ai soldati – almeno il contesto riguarda un episodio di vita militare; cf. anche *Ant.* 4,4–5 (su cui vedi C. B. R. Pelling, *Plutarch. Life of Antony*, Cambridge 1988, 124 s.). Riguardo poi alle capacità oratorie di Antonio in generale, cf. G. Calboli, "The Asiatic Style of Antony: Some Considerations", in B. Czaplá – T. Lehmann – S. Liell (hrsg.), *Vir bonus dicendi peritus. Festschrift für Alfons Weische zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1997, 13–26.

³⁰ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 21,8.

³¹ Sul cosiddetto *de ridiculis* (cioè *de orat.* 2,216–290) cf. a cura di G. Monaco, *Cicerone. Il trattato 'de ridiculis'*, Palermo 1964 e soprattutto il commento al *De Oratore* di A. D. Leeman – H. Pinkster – E. Rabbie, 3. Band, Heidelberg 1989, 172–210. Nella sua ultima opera, Cicerone tornerà a dare una definizione del *genus iocandi*, inserito però nell'ambito del comportamento sociale più che in quello retorico (*off.* 1,104): *Duplex omnino est iocandi genus, unum inliberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obscenum, alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum, quo genere non modo Plautus noster et Atticorum antiqua comoedia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt, multaque multorum facete dicta, ut ea, quae a sene Catone collecta sunt, quae vocantur ἄποφθέγματα. Facilis igitur est distinctio ingenui et inliberalis ioci. alter est, si tempore fit, ut si remisso animo, <vel severissimo> homine dignus, alter ne libero quidem, si rerum turpitudine adhibetur et verborum obscenitas* (per un'analogia con questo passo vedi Sen. *tranq. an.* 17,4). Nel *De officiis* Cicerone, evidentemente, si è preoccupato di inserire il tema del γελοῖον nell'ambito del comportamento sociale più che in quello retorico (cf. anche Sen. *tranq. an.* 17,4), dimostrando di rimanere "nel solco della tradizione peripatetica" (M. S. Celentano, "Comicità, umorismo e arte oratoria nella teoria retorica antica", *Eikasmós* 6 [1995] 170). Sulla derivazione – concettuale e metodologica – da Aristotele di alcune tematiche presenti nel *De officiis*, vedi P. Cugusi, *Cicerone, De officiis libro II. Note di lettura*, in *Per Enrica Malcovati. Atti del convegno di studi nel centenario della nascita* (Pavia 1994), Como 1996, 125–52, part. 125–36.

³² Quint. *inst.* 6,3,3–5. Cf. Monaco (*supra* n. 31) 28 n. 18.

ἐλλείπων ἄγροικός τις καὶ ἡ ἕξις ἀγροικία· περὶ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡδὺ τὸ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ὁ μὲν ὡς δεῖ ἡδὺς ὢν φίλος καὶ ἡ μεσότης φιλία, ὁ δ' ὑπερβάλλων, εἰ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἔνεκα, ἄρεσκος, εἰ δ' ὠφελείας τῆς αὐτοῦ, κόλαξ, ὁ δ' ἐλλείπων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀηδῆς δύσερίς τις καὶ δύσκολος.

"Riguardo al piacevole nello scherzo chi sta nel mezzo si chiama spiritoso e la sua disposizione spirito, l'eccesso si chiama buffoneria e chi la pratica buffone, chi è in difetto si dice rozzo e la sua disposizione rozzezza. Per l'altro tipo di piacevole, quello che si trova in genere nella vita, colui che è piacevole come si conviene è un uomo socievole e la medietà è socievolezza; chi eccede, se lo fa senza secondi fini, compiacente, ma se lo fa per interesse proprio, adulatore; chi difetta ed è in tutte le occasioni sgradevole, si chiama litigioso e scorbutico."³³

È interessante rilevare che, in questa testimonianza, il filosofo pone la εὐτραπελία in un sistema di bilanciamento tra due vizi opposti: la persona di spirito deve guardarsi dall'eccesso, che lo condurrebbe alla buffoneria,³⁴ e dal difetto, che invece porta alla rozzezza, alla povertà di spirito. Siamo allora in linea col personaggio oraziano, che è ben consapevole (ma non compassionevole: Orazio specifica che Eutrapelo adottava quel comportamento di nociva prodigalità quando era intenzionato a rovinare qualcuno) dei limiti dell'uomo, conoscendone i difetti e le debolezze.

Come abbiamo detto, era proprio la finezza di spirito dell'amico che piaceva a Cicerone, tanto da proclamare *Volumnio procurator salinarum mearum*,³⁵ cioè il curatore delle facezie ciceroniane, quasi che dovesse esserne garantita l'autenticità durante la sua assenza dall'Urbe: la qual cosa fa pensare che Volumnio Eutrapelo possedesse una capacità critica non comune, se l'Arpinate dimostra di contare sul suo giudizio. Questo apprezzamento è confermato dalla seconda lettera a Volumnio, scritta solo quattro anni dopo, nell'estate del 46. Quattro anni, che però avevano visto mutare drasticamente l'assetto politico della Repubblica: Pompeo era stato sconfitto e la causa repubblicana stava morendo nelle sabbie dell'Africa. Cesare era stato nominato dittatore per la quarta volta e in quell'anno la carica gli venne attribuita per i successivi dieci anni. Cicerone, messo in

³³ Trad. di C. Mazzarelli (Aristotele, *Etica Nicomachea*, Milano 1993).

³⁴ Il βωμολόχος a Roma è in parte assimilabile alla figura dello *scurra*: vedi a riguardo le osservazioni di La Penna (*supra* n.4) 371 ss. Non dobbiamo dimenticare che *consularis scurra* era l'appellativo usato nei riguardi di Cicerone dai suoi nemici (Macr. *Sat.* 2,1,12).

³⁵ Il termine *salinae* è usato solo da Cicerone come sinonimo di *sales*, cioè "facezie", "motti di spirito".

disparte dagli affari di Stato, si dedica all'attività letteraria, scrivendo la storia dell'eloquenza romana in un trattato che ne è quasi l'elogio funebre. Interrotta per lui la vita forense,³⁶ rimane l'esercizio retorico della *declamatio*:³⁷ i beneficiari dell'insegnamento impartito da un così prestigioso oratore sono Irzio, Dolabella e Cassio³⁸ (*fam.* 7,33).

Quod declamationibus nostris cares, damni nihil facis. quod Hirtio invideres nisi eum amares, non erat causa invidendi, nisi forte ipsius eloquentiae magis quam quod me audiret invideres. nos enim plane, mi suavissime Volumni, aut nihil sumus aut nobis quidem ipsis displicemus gregalibus illis quibus te plaudente vigebamus amissis, ut etiam, si quando aliquid dignum nostro nomine emisimus, ingemiscamus quod eqs. (2) [...] nam et Cassius tuus et Dolabella noster, vel potius uterque noster, studiis iisdem tenentur et meis aequissimis utuntur auribus. opus est huc limatulo et polito tuo iudicio et illis interioribus litteris tuis³⁹ quibus saepe verecundiosem me in loquendo facis. mihi enim iudicatum est, si modo hoc Caesar aut patietur aut volet, deponere illam iam personam in qua me saepe illi

³⁶ Le orazioni per Marcello e in difesa di Ligario furono pronunciate solo in ottobre e novembre di quell'anno (cf. N. Marinone, *Cronologia ciceroniana*, Roma 1997, 192).

³⁷ Non è forse superfluo ricordare che Cicerone proprio in quell'anno, dopo la composizione del *Brutus*, riprende una trattazione dell'*ars rhetorica* in senso tecnico, come aveva fatto coll'opera giovanile *De inventione* (che era stata da lui ripudiata nel 55, all'epoca della grande costruzione retorico-filosofica del *De oratore*), anche se la sua attenzione è volta a sezioni particolari dell'*ars*, come i *Topica*, le *Partitiones oratoriae* e l'*elocutio* (nell'*Orator*).

³⁸ Come è confermato in *fam.* 9,16,7 (a Papirio Peto, lug. 46): *Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cenandi magistros; puto enim te audisse, si forte ad vos omnia perferuntur, illos apud me declamitare, me apud illos cenitare*. A. Irzio è l'ufficiale di Cesare, continuatore del *De bello Gallico*, morto da console a Modena nel 43; P. Cornelio Dolabella, *cos. suff.* 44, era allora genero di Cicerone. Cassio è l'uccisore di Cesare. A questi possiamo aggiungere anche C. Pansa (*cos.* 43), come ci informa Quintiliano (*inst.* 12,11,6): *Cicero [...] Pansam, Hirtium, Dolabellam <ad> morem praeceptoris exercuit cotidie dicens audiensque* (cf. R. G. Austin, *Quintiliani Institutiones Oratoriae liber XII*, Oxford 1965², 219). Così anche Svetonio (*rhet.* 25,3): *Cicero ad praeturam usque etiam Graece declamavit, Latine vero senior quoque et quidem cum consulibus Hirtio et Pansa quos discipulos et grandis praetextatos vocabat* anche se la notizia è in parte inesatta, perché Cicerone continuò le declamazioni in greco anche dopo la pretura, come si afferma chiaramente in *fam.* 16,21,5, una lettera a Tirone del 44 (cf. R. A. Kaster, *C. Suetonius Tranquillus. De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, Oxford 1995, 275 s.)

³⁹ Questa è l'emendazione di A. S. Wesenberg, *Emendationes alterae ad Ciceronis epistularum editionem*, Leipzig 1873, 18 (seguito da Shackleton Bailey, SBEF II 343 e da J. Beaujeu, *Cicéron. Correspondence VII*, Paris 1980, 93). T&P IV 409 sostengono invece la lezione *in eis*. I MSS. hanno *meis*, che J. Stroux, "Cicero an Volumnius (*ad fam.* VII 33)", *Philologus* 93 (1938) 408–11, ha cercato di difendere.

ipsi probavi ac me totum in litteras abdere tecumque et cum ceteris earum studiosis honestissimo otio perfrui.

Per prima cosa, c'è da considerare che questo passo presenta un problema testuale, perché la lezione *tuis*, che è stata accolta, per esempio, nelle edizioni di Shackleton Bailey e di J. Beaujeu è frutto di una emendazione di A. S. Wesenberg del 1873, mentre i manoscritti portano concordemente *meis*, difeso invece da J. Stroux: l'idea del Wesenberg è che il *meis* sia dovuto allo "scivolamento" del *meis ... auribus* della riga precedente.⁴⁰ Naturalmente la variante modifica sostanzialmente il significato del passo ciceroniano. Esaminiamo le due possibilità, prima accogliendo la *emendatio* e poi conservando il testo tradito.

Come ha rilevato Stanley Bonner, risulta che Cicerone negli ultimi anni si sia dedicato a declamazioni su argomenti filosofici, mentre i suoi primi esercizi declamatori (sia in greco sia in latino) riguardavano temi prettamente retorici, ovvero legati a controversie o a cause di argomento giudiziario.⁴¹ Entrambi i temi, comunque, rientrano nell'ambito dell'eloquenza: la presenza di Cassio, il futuro cesaricida, che in quegli anni si era "convertito" all'epicureismo,⁴² può forse suggerire un maggior interesse per la filosofia. Volumnio, amico dei discepoli di Cicerone,⁴³ si rammarica di non partecipare a queste lezioni, vere e proprie dimostrazioni di eloquenza, ma a sua volta Cicerone lamenta di non potersi valere del raffinato giudizio critico dell'amico, giudizio che, a quanto pare, doveva essere nato dalla frequentazione, assidua e profonda, di testi letterari, probabilmente di carattere squisitamente filosofico e forse anche poetico: almeno se così è da intendere l'espressione *interiores litterae*, utilizzata peraltro solo da Cicerone. La pri-

⁴⁰ A questa spiegazione tecnica, meccanica, possiamo aggiungere che forse c'è un motivo psicologico da parte del copista, il quale, non intendendo correttamente il significato dell'espressione ciceroniana, ha ricondotto l'aggettivo alla sfera del privato dello scrittore.

⁴¹ *Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire*, Liverpool 1969, 27–31.

⁴² Come dimostra una lettera del 45 a Cassio: *fam.* 15,16. Shackleton Bailey data la "conversione" al 49 o 48 nel commento a *fam.* 15,17,3 (SBEF II 378). Sull'ambiente epicureo frequentato da Cicerone in quegli anni, cf. N. W. DeWitt, "Epicurean Con-tubernium", *TAPhA* 67 (1936) 60 s.; C. J. Castner, *Prosopography of Roman Epicureans*, Frankfurt a.M. 1991², 89 s.; A. Momigliano, *JRS* 31 (1941) 151 ss. conclude che la scelta epicurea non era prerogativa dei cesariani, bensì, alla luce dei fatti, trovò adepti tra i sostenitori della *libertas* repubblicana.

⁴³ Cf. Syme (*supra* n. 21) 523.

ma attestazione si trova in una lettera dell'aprile del 50 indirizzata ad Appio Claudio Pulcro⁴⁴ (*fam.* 3,10,9): *quae tamen ego omnia in expetenda amicitia tua non astutia quadam sed aliqua potius sapientia secutus sum. quid? illa vincula, quibus quidem libentissime astringor, quanta sunt, studiorum similitudo, suavitas consuetudinis, delectatio vitae atque victus, sermonis societas, litterae interiores! Litterae interiores* si riferirebbero "to recondite writings, like those of Appius on the Augural System, and Cicero's on every kind of theoretical subject",⁴⁵ poiché Appio aveva composto un *liber de augurali disciplina*.⁴⁶ Nel *Brutus*, poi, parlando di L. Manlio Torquato,⁴⁷ Cicerone ricorda che in costui vi erano *plurimae litterae nec eae vulgares, sed interiores quaedam et reconditae*;⁴⁸ Torquato era un esponente della scuola del Giardino e difatti egli ne è il portavoce nel *de finibus* (*fin.* 1,13): *accurate autem quondam a L. Torquato, homine omni doctrina erudito, defensa est Epicuri sententia de voluptate*. E poco dopo: *quid tibi, Torquate, [...] litterae, quid historiae cognitioque rerum, quid poëtarum evolutio, quid tanta tot versuum memoria voluptatis affert?* Senza esagerare la portata della cultura di Torquato, possiamo però ipotizzare che avesse delle conoscenze specialistiche in filosofia e in argomenti ἐσωτερικοί, come l'espressione *litterae interiores et reconditae* può far pensare;⁴⁹ la stessa *iunctura* è nuovamente impiegata da Cicerone nel trattato sulla natura degli dèi, quando menziona *ii qui interiores scrutantur et reconditas litteras*,⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Su Ap. Pulcro, *cos.* 54, cf. David (*supra* n. 1) 825.

⁴⁵ T&P III 225.

⁴⁶ Cf. SBEF I 363.

⁴⁷ Era stato pretore nel 49 e si era schierato con Pompeo: morì a Tapso (cf. David [*supra* n. 1] 870 s).

⁴⁸ *Brut.* 265.

⁴⁹ Anche l'aggettivo *reconditus* merita attenzione: scrivendo a Trebonio in quegli stessi anni, Cicerone discute con lui dello stile di Licinio Calvo (*fam.* 15,21,4): *acute movebatur, genus quoddam sequebatur in quo iudicio lapsus, quo valebat, tamen adsequebatur quod probarat; multae erant et reconditae litterae. vis non erat*. Un uomo di varie e profonde letture, erudito, ma di stile poco vigoroso: si trattava poi della nota accusa rivolta da Cicerone agli "atticisti". Sulla polemica con i cosiddetti atticisti, cf. G. Calboli, *Cicerone, Catone e i Neoatticisti*, in *Ciceroniana: Hommages à K. Kumaniecki*, Leiden 1975, 51–103, part. 61 ss.; sui rapporti tra Calvo e Cicerone, vedi E. S. Gruen, "Cicero and Licinius Calvus", *HSCPh* 71 (1966) 215–233.

⁵⁰ *Nat. deor.* 3, 42.

cioè "professional theologians".⁵¹ Sappiamo che "nel secolo I a.C. avevano cominciato a prender piede, anche se in ambienti ristretti, dottrine di stampo neo-pitagorico intrecciate con interessi per l'occulto e l'astrologia, come nell'enigmatica figura di Publio Nigidio Figulo".⁵² Ora, possiamo congetturare che sia il pompeiano Manlio Torquato sia l'etrusco Volumnio Eutrapelo, facessero parte di quegli "ambienti ristretti"? Tyrrell e Purser, nel loro commento alle epistole ciceroniane,⁵³ così come Shackleton Bailey,⁵⁴ parlano, a proposito di Eutrapelo, di dottrina che compensava la superficialità delle conoscenze dell'Arpinate, ma non si dice di quale dottrina si trattasse. Certo è che Cicerone era in buoni rapporti con Nigidio Figulo⁵⁵ e la lettera di consolazione inviata a quest'ultimo dall'Arpinate (ca. agosto 46)⁵⁶ dimostra che tra i due vi era stata una corrispondenza più o meno regolare;⁵⁷ inoltre, Cicerone fa esplicito riferimento alla cultura di Nigidio⁵⁸ (*fam.* 4,13,4):

Ergo hoc ereptum est litterarum genus. reliquum est ut consoler et adferam rationes quibus te a molestiis coner abducere. at ea quidem facultas vel tui vel alterius consolandi in te summa est, si umquam in ullo fuit. itaque eam partem quae ab exquisita quadam ratione et doctrina proficiscitur non attingam; tibi totam relinquam. quid sit forti et sapienti homine dignum, quid gravitas, quid altitudo animi, quid acta tua vita, quid studia, quid artes quibus a pueritia floruisti a te flagitent, tu videbis.

⁵¹ A. S. Pease (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis De natura deorum* II, Cambridge, Mass. 1958 (= Darmstadt 1968), 1052; in un'ampia nota il Pease riporta tutti i passi simili all'espressione ciceroniana e ricorda l'osservazione di A. D. Nock, *CW* 42 (1948) 62, secondo cui "interiores means deep in the library, not deep in the shrine".

⁵² G. Cambiano, "I testi filosofici", in *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica* I, Roma 1989, 263. Su Nigidio vedi A. Della Casa, *Nigidio Figulo*, Roma 1962; P. L. Schmidt in *Der Neue Pauly* 8 (2000) 890 s., con bibliografia.

⁵³ T&P IV 409.

⁵⁴ SBEF II 343.

⁵⁵ Nigidio, senatore già nel 63, aveva appoggiato incondizionatamente Cicerone durante la congiura di Catilina. Pretore nel 58, si era schierato con Pompeo e dopo Farsalo non era più tornato in Italia. Morirà in esilio nel 45 (cf. T&P IV lxxxviii s.).

⁵⁶ Cf. Marinone (*supra* n.36) 198.

⁵⁷ *Fam.* 4,13,1.

⁵⁸ Nigidio è considerato da Gellio (4,9,1) *homo [...] iuxta M. Varronem doctissimus*. Sull'opera di Nigidio vedi anche E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in Republican Rome*, London 1985, 309 ss.

Nel commento di Tyrrell e Purser⁵⁹ le parole che abbiamo spaziato sono considerate come un'endiadi e tradotte nel seguente modo: "arising from any recondite system of philosophy". Anche qui ritornerebbe l'eco di una scienza occulta o comunque molto specializzata, non particolarmente affine a Cicerone, alla quale però egli aveva bisogno di accostarsi. Se poi vogliamo prendere in considerazione un altro esempio di questa terminologia ciceroniana, dobbiamo ricordare le parole del *Brutus* per qualificare la cultura di Cesare (*Brut.* 252): *Sed tamen, Brute, inquit Atticus, de Caesare et ipse ita iudico et de hoc huius generis acerrumo existimatore saepissime audio, illum omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime; nec id solum domestica consuetudine [...] sed quamquam id quoque credo fuisse, tamen, ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis litteris et iis quidem reconditis et exquisitis summoque studio et diligentia est consecutus.* Ora, che Cesare possedesse una discreta cultura filosofica, è un fatto riconosciuto,⁶⁰ ma nello stesso tempo non possiamo escludere, e anzi possiamo ragionevolmente pensarlo, che egli, pontefice massimo dal 63 e riformatore del calendario, non fosse del tutto digiuno di conoscenze, se non esoteriche, almeno scientifiche (astronomia)⁶¹ e sacrali, che quasi sempre andavano insieme. In questo caso, quindi, possiamo ipotizzare che Eutrapelo possedesse una cultura "esoterica" riconducibile a quella coltivata dai personaggi citati.

Naturalmente il discorso cambia se manteniamo la lezione *meis* dei codici, perché in tal modo andiamo a diminuire la figura di Eutrapelo, nel senso che le *interiores litterae* andrebbero attribuite a Cicerone: vero è che in questo caso diventa piuttosto duro spiegare il relativo, al quale dobbiamo conferire un senso locativo, non più strumentale; ed è effettivamente questo il punto in cui il tentativo di dimostrazione di Stroux appare più debole.⁶²

⁵⁹ T&P IV 431.

⁶⁰ Vedi al proposito U. Pizzani, "La cultura filosofica in Cesare", in *La cultura in Cesare. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Macerata-Matelica 1990 I*, Roma 1993, 163–189.

⁶¹ A Cesare fu attribuito un trattato *De astris*: sulla questione vedi P. Domenicucci, "Osservazioni sul *de astris* attribuito a Giulio Cesare", in *La cultura in Cesare (supra n. 60)* 345–58. Domenicucci (347 n. 14) giustamente ricorda che anche Cicerone aveva interessi e conoscenze astronomiche, come dimostrano la traduzione di Arato e quella del *Timeo* platonico.

⁶² "...diese *interiores litterae* sind nicht von Ciceros neuem Lebensplan zu trennen. Sie stehen im Dativ, zu *opus est* konstruiert, *et = etiam, illae* sind die bekannten, der

"...c'è bisogno del tuo giudizio ben limato ed elegante anche per quelle mie opere filosofiche (?) nelle quali mi rendi più moderato nello stile". *In loquendo* – e ciò è stato notato da Shackleton Bailey⁶³ – non riguarda le declamazioni o l'oratoria (in quel caso Cicerone avrebbe impiegato il termine tecnico *declamando* o *dicendo*). La collaborazione di Volumnio in questo caso non sarebbe sostanziale, ovverossia non porterebbe a Cicerone un contributo tecnico di filosofia o scienza in generale, poiché egli già possedeva *interiores litterae* (ricordiamo la lettera ad Ap. Claudio Pulcro), bensì si tratterebbe di un apporto puramente linguistico: in altri termini, Cicerone avrebbe potuto servirsi di Eutrapelo nel corso dell'esposizione filosofica alla quale il grande oratore aveva intenzione di dedicarsi in quegli anni di ozio forzato. È vero che proprio in quell'anno, il 46, Cicerone scrisse il *Brutus* e l'*Orator*, opere di retorica, ma già coi *Paradoxa stoicorum* si inoltrava in un terreno comune a eloquenza e filosofia,⁶⁴ e la massiccia produzione di testi di argomento filosofico nei due anni successivi (interrotta solo dalla orazione per Deiotaro e dalle *Filippiche*) induce a credere che egli si fosse dedicato particolarmente allo studio e alla preparazione del materiale filosofico.⁶⁵ Non che a Cicerone mancassero le parole per la formazione di un lessico adatto alla resa in latino di teorie greche, egli lo stesso lo riconosce in più occasioni: vedi per esempio *Att.* 12,52,3 (21 mag. 45): *De lingua Latina securi es animi. dices qui alia quae scribis. ἀπόγραφα sunt, minore labore fiunt; verba tantum adfero, quibus abundo.*⁶⁶

Ciceronischen *eruditio* eigenen, auf die er für einen neuen Lebensinhalt zurückgreifen kann. In *quibus* dagegen steckt der Fehler falscher Casus-angleichung, der Relativsatz bezieht sich auf *iudicio* zurück. Der Ausdruck *mihi enim iudicatum est* begründet mit perfektischer Entschlossenheit, was mit der neuen Aufgabe gemeint ist, und erst dadurch ist *enim* ganz erklärt." (Stroux [*supra* n. 39] 410). Sembra difficile che il *quibus* possa riferirsi a *iudicio* (e nel caso, con quale valore?).

⁶³ SBEF II 343.

⁶⁴ Cf. A. Grilli, *Politica, cultura e filosofia in Roma antica*, Napoli 2000, 375 ss.

⁶⁵ Cicerone lo dichiara in una lettera dello stesso anno 46 inviata a Papirio Peto (*fam.* 9,26,4): *cottidie aliquid legitur aut scribitur*. Che Cicerone si sia sempre interessato alla filosofia è confermato dal proemio del *De natura deorum* (1,6): *Nos autem nec subito coepimus philosophari nec mediocrem a primo tempore aetatis in eo studio operam curamque consumpsimus, et cum minime videbamus tum maxime philosophabamur; quod et orationes declarant refertae philosophorum sententiis et doctissimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus semper domus nostra floruit, et principes illi Diodotus Philo Antiochus Posidonius, a quibus instituti sumus.*

⁶⁶ Su questo passo vedi il commento di Shackleton Bailey, SBAA V 341 s. Simili

E l'anno dopo, nella dedica iniziale al figlio Marco nel trattato *De officiis*, dichiarerà di aver dato una adeguata veste stilistica in latino a concetti filosofici mutuati dal pensiero greco (*off.* 1,2): *Nam philosophandi scientiam concedens multis, quod est oratoris proprium, apte, distincte, ornate dicere, quoniam in eo studio aetatem consumpsi, si id mihi assumo, videor id meo iure quodam modo vindicare.*⁶⁷ Ma, nello stesso tempo, come abbiamo visto, egli non nega di *abundare*, di avere una riserva eccessiva di termini e per temperare questa *redundantia* (non più quella giovanile di cui parla nel *Brutus*, bensì quella che gli rimproveravano gli "atticisti")⁶⁸ il contributo di Eutrapelo con la sua eleganza e raffinatezza può rivelarsi prezioso.⁶⁹ Anche privilegiando questa lettura del testo, come fece Stroux, rimane un riconoscimento lusinghiero di Cicerone per il ricercato giudizio dell'amico: se quindi gli togliamo una profonda conoscenza, una vasta erudizione (cioè le *interiores litterae*), non disconosciamo a Eutrapelo una particolare raffinatezza e competenza linguistica, che si evince, del resto, anche dalla prima

affermazioni in *fam.* 2,11,1 e *fam.* 4,4,1

⁶⁷ Su cui cf. A. R. Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De officiis*, Ann Arbor 1996, 64 s.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Brut.* 316 e *orat.* 107 (su cui cf. G. Aricò, "Iuvenilis redundantia. Per l'esegesi di Cicerone, *Brut.* 313–316 e *orat.* 107 s.", in *Studi di Filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco* II, Palermo 1988, 817–828). Per le critiche degli "atticisti" a Cicerone, vedi *Quint. inst.* 12,10,12: *Quem [sc. Ciceronem] tamen et suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem et Asianum et redundantem et in repetitionibus nimium et in salibus aliquando frigidum et in compositione fractum, exultantem ac paene, quod procul absit, viro molliorem.* Anche Tac. *dial.* 18: *satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed supra modum exultans et superfluens et parum Atticus videretur.* Cf. le osservazioni di G. Calboli nella "Nota d'aggiornamento" a E. Norden, *La prosa d'arte antica. Dal VI secolo a.C. all'età della Rinascenza* II, Roma 1986, 1136.

⁶⁹ A prima vista gli aggettivi *verecundior*, *politus*, *limatulus* sembrano ricondurre al *genus elegans* degli oratori atticisti: il che farebbe pensare a uno stile sobrio, contenuto, da parte di Eutrapelo. La parte finale di *fam.* 7,33 tuttavia pare smentire tale ipotesi: *Tu vellem ne veritus esses ne pro libris legerem tuas litteras si mihi, quem ad modum scribis, longiores forte misisses; ac velim posthac sic statuas, tuas mihi litteras longissimas quasque gratissimas fore.* Ben diverso, per es., è il caso di uno scrittore *elegans* e *subtilis* ma assai poco ricco di sfumature come Servio Sulpicio Rufo, il grande giurista corrispondente e amico dell'Arpinate (cf. *fam.* 4,4,1). Ma qui forse non è necessario richiamare "la polemica fra i sostenitori della *copia dicendi* e della *brevitas*, sviluppata al tempo di Tacito e Plinio il Giovane. La lettera 20 del primo libro dell'epistolario di Plinio, lettera indirizzata a Tacito, ne è un documento significativo." (Calboli [*supra* n. 68] 1136).

epistola indirizzata a Volumnio (*fam.* 7,32,2):

sed quoniam tanta faex est in urbe ut nihil tam sit ἀκύθηρον quod non alicui venustum esse videatur, pugna, si me amas, nisi acuta ἀμφιβολία, nisi elegans ὑπερβολή, nisi παράγραμμα bellum, nisi ridiculum παρὰ προσδοκίαν, nisi cetera quae sunt a me in secundo libro de oratore per Antoni personam disputata de ridiculis ἔντεχνα et arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento contendas mea non esse.

Questi gli aspetti letterari che emergono dalla lettera di Cicerone a Volumnio Eutrapelo: non dobbiamo però tralasciare l'aspetto politico della questione, che cioè molto probabilmente questi personaggi che ruotano intorno a Cicerone – Eutrapelo, Irzio, Pansa – sono intermediari del rapporto con Cesare, il quale desiderava che "the senior statesman" ricominciasse l'attività politica collaborando con il nuovo regime.⁷⁰ Cicerone, invece preferì rimanere in disparte, nascondendosi nei suoi studi letterari⁷¹ nei quali poteva trovare un'intima soddisfazione.⁷² È vero, doveva, frequentare le feste e i conviti dei nuovi tiranni: *itaque non desino apud istos qui nunc dominantur cenitare*, scrive a Varrone nel maggio del 46.⁷³ Questo poteva costituire una diminuzione della *dignitas* e della *gravitas* di un anziano console, ma era il prezzo da pagare alla nuova situazione politica: *tempori serviendum est*.⁷⁴

E uno di questi conviti è raccontato da Cicerone in una lettera a Papirio Peto: luogo del convito la casa di P. Volumnio Eutrapelo. Questa lettera è importante per stabilire un altro tipo di interessi culturali (ma non solo...) di Eutrapelo, poiché egli contava fra i suoi liberti la famosa mima Volumnia Citeride.⁷⁵ Cicerone racconta di averla incontrata inaspettata-

⁷⁰ Cf. P. Boyancé, "Cicéron et César", in *Études sur l'humanisme cicéronien*, Bruxelles 1970, 172.

⁷¹ Cf. *fam.* 9,26,1: 'vivas' inquis 'in litteris.' an quicquam me aliud agere censes aut posse vivere nisi in litteris viverem?

⁷² Un'analisi del comportamento di Cicerone in J. Boes, *La philosophie et l'action dans la correspondance de Cicéron*, Nancy 1990, 20–26. Sul fatto che, comunque, Cicerone si sia dedicato all'*otium* letterario più per l'impossibilità di svolgere un ruolo dignitoso nella vita pubblica che per una scelta ideologica del βίος θεωρητικός insiste A. Grilli, *Il problema della vita contemplativa nel mondo greco-romano*, Milano – Roma 1953, 194 ss.

⁷³ *Fam.* 9,7,1.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*. Per questa fase della vita di Cicerone cf. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero*, London 1971, 186–200.

⁷⁵ Su di lei vedi, oltre all'art. di Mazzarino (*supra* n. 15) e alla scheda prosopografica di Ch. Garton, *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre*, Toronto 1972, 248, G. Traina,

mente durante un convito tenutosi in casa di Eutrapelo (*fam.* 9,26,1–2; nov.? 46):

CICERO PAETO S. D.

Accubueram hora nona cum ad te harum exemplum in codicillis exaravi. dices 'ubi?' apud Volumnium Eutrapelum, et quidem supra me Atticus, infra Verrius, familiares tui. [...] (2) Audi reliqua. infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit. 'in eo igitur' inquis 'convivio Cicero ille

"quem aspectabant, cuius ob os Grai ora obvertebant sua?"
non mehercule suspicatus sum illam adfore.

Santo Mazzarino ha rilevato che l'espressione *infra Eutrapelum ... accubuit* "insinua chiaramente che allora Cytheris era legata da rapporti amorosi col suo patrono Eutrapelus".⁷⁶ Ma la giovane mima ebbe rapporti con altri uomini ben più importanti del cavaliere Publio Volumnio Eutrapelo: essa fu cantata dal poeta Gallo col nome di Lycoris; Virgilio, che dedica la decima egloga all'amico Gallo, ricorda l'amore infelice di questi per la mima.⁷⁷ Volumnia fu poi l'amante ufficiale di Antonio, il quale non ebbe scrupolo di portarla con sé al pari di una matrona.⁷⁸ L'Auctor *de viris illustribus* (82,2) rammenta poi che Volumnia fu anche l'amante di Bruto. Oltre a tutti questi celebri personaggi è abbastanza naturale che Volumnia fosse anche l'amante del suo patrono, come pare appunto dimostrato dal racconto di Cicerone. Una cortigiana, dunque, Volumnia Cytheris, ma anche una donna di teatro e perciò molto popolare: per quanto il mimo costituisse una forma drammatica "minore" possedeva comunque una qualche dignità – lo spettacolo, non gli attori che lo interpretavano, i quali rimanevano pur sempre *infames* – soprattutto in epoca tardo-repubblicana.⁷⁹ A quanto sappiamo Volumnia recitò la sesta egloga di Virgilio e, secondo Servio, nel

"Licoride, la mima", in *Roma al femminile* a cura di A. Fraschetti, Bari 1994, 95–122. Le testimonianze su Volumnia sono raccolte da M. Bonaria, *Mimorum Romanorum Fragmenta II: Fasti mimici et pantomimici*, Genova 1955, 39–41.

⁷⁶ Mazzarino (*supra* n. 15) 5 n. 2. Non sorprende che fra le prestazioni d'opera di una liberta vi fosse anche quella di intrattenere il *patronus*. Vedi S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen in the Roman Republic*, Oxford 1969, 142.

⁷⁷ Cf. Serv. *ecl.* 10,1 (p. 118 Th.): *hic autem Gallus amavit Cytheridem meretricem, libertam Volumnii, quae, eo spreto, Antonium euntem ad Gallias est secuta.*

⁷⁸ Tutto questo è narrato impietosamente da Cicerone nella reboante *Seconda Filippica*.

⁷⁹ Sul mimo vedi H. Reich, *Der Mimus*, Berlin 1903 (= Hildesheim – New York 1974), 156–181; W. Beare, *The Roman Stage*, London 1964³, 149–158; M. Bonaria, *Romani Mimi*, Roma 1965 (raccolta di frammenti e testimonianze).

pubblico vi era anche Cicerone:⁸⁰ *cum eam* [cioè la sesta egloga] [...] *Cytheris* [...] *cantasset in theatro* [...] *stupefactus Cicero, cuius esset, requireret* eqs. La notizia di Servio ha un aspetto dubbio, giacché i commentatori antichi amavano collegare i grandi autori del passato e collegare Virgilio e Cicerone era un'ipotesi attraente. Bisogna però ammettere che la figura di Eutrapelo rende la cosa meno difficile da credere; in ogni caso, se la notizia di Servio è vera, dobbiamo ritenere che si trattò di una recitazione svoltasi in privato, dal momento che la pubblicazione delle *Bucoliche* è da datarsi nel 42, quindi dopo la morte di Cicerone.⁸¹ Possiamo allora pensare che lo stesso Volumnio Eutrapelo sia stato presente in quella occasione; o, se non altro, che egli non sia stato del tutto estraneo agli ambienti poetici, di quegli anni? Alcuni studiosi hanno identificato, o meglio non hanno escluso l'identificazione, del nostro Eutrapelo con il Volumnius poeta citato dall'autore del *De dubiis nominibus* (GLK V 574,1):

Cyma, alii cymam, ut Volumnius 'stridentis dabitur patella cymae'.

Certo, il frammento conservatoci è troppo poco per azzardare qualsiasi conclusione sicura,⁸² tanto più che in quegli stessi anni abbiamo un altro letterato P. Volumnio. Nella *Vita di Bruto*, infatti, Plutarco menziona un Πόπλιος δὲ Βολούμνιος, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ συνεστρατευμένος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Βρούτῳ.⁸³ A lui "il più nobile dei Romani" chiese aiuto per trovare la morte dopo la battaglia di Filippi, ma costui non ebbe cuore per soddisfare la tremenda richiesta dell'amico (Plut. *Brut.* 52,2–3):

τέλος δὲ τὸν Βολούμνιον αὐτὸν Ἑλληνιστὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὑπεμίμνησκε, καὶ παρεκάλει τῆ χειρὶ συνεφάσασθαι τοῦ ξίφους αὐτῷ καὶ συνεπερεῖσαι τὴν πληγὴν. (3) τοῦ δὲ Βολουμνίου διωσαμένου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως ἐχόντων, κτλ.

⁸⁰ Serv. *ecl.* 6,11 (p. 66 Th.).

⁸¹ Su questo problema, vedi la discussione di M. Bonaria, *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* I, Roma 1984, s.v. "Bucoliche: recitazione".

⁸² Su questo frammento vedi H. Dahlmann, *Zu Fragmenten römischer Dichter*, Wiesbaden 1983, 21 s.; cf. E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, Oxford 1993, 234 e J. Blänsdorf, *Fragmenta poetarum latinorum*, Stuttgart – Leipzig 1995, 189.

⁸³ Plut. *Brut.* 48,2. F. Hinard (*supra* n. 21) 549 s. ipotizza, seppur con cautela, che questo Volumnio fosse il figlio del giurato del processo contro Cluenzio e che il suo nome comparisse fra i proscritti. In ogni caso, il fatto che costui avesse seguito Bruto fin dagli inizi non ammette l'identificazione con il *sodalis Antoni*.

"Infine si rivolse a Volumnio stesso e, parlando in Ellenico, lo pregò, nel ricordo degli studi che avevano frequentato insieme, di aiutarlo con la mano a reggere la spada e ad infliggere il colpo necessario a morire. Volumnio respinse la sua richiesta; così fecero gli altri, ecc."⁸⁴

Un uomo di cultura, certo non uno schiavo, al quale Bruto poteva tranquillamente rivolgersi in greco, che scrisse una storia degli avvenimenti ai quali partecipò, opera che fu successivamente utilizzata dallo stesso Plutarco.⁸⁵ Però in questa circostanza i fili che lo collegano al nostro Volumnio Eutrapelo sono estremamente esili.⁸⁶

Più semplice, apparentemente, un altro caso. A Filippi era presente un altro Volumnio:⁸⁷ si tratta di un Βολούμνιος μῆμος che fu catturato dai soldati di Bruto prima della battaglia decisiva. Costui, che insieme al buffone Σακκουλίων non cessò di farsi beffe del comandante nemico pur essendo prigioniero, pagò con la morte la sua sfacciataggine.⁸⁸ Stavolta sembra abbastanza normale, diremmo quasi automatico, collegare il mimo al nostro Eutrapelo e indirettamente ad Antonio, nel cui campo questo Volumnio (e forse anche lo stesso Eutrapelo che, abbiamo detto, era *praefectus fabrum* del Triumviro) doveva trovarsi; e Antonio, stando a Cicerone, amava circondarsi di mimi, buffoni e ballerine, anche in una spedizione militare di cruciale importanza.⁸⁹

Dopo la guerra che chiuse definitivamente la causa repubblicana non abbiamo più notizia di Eutrapelo, tranne per la citazione oraziana, che però esula da un tempo determinato.

Dai vari elementi che abbiamo cercato di elencare, risulta assai composito il ritratto di questo personaggio: uomo conoscitore di retorica, filosofia, interessato al teatro, forse scrittore di poesia; in buoni rapporti con individui e ambienti i più estranei (ma forse solo apparentemente) fra di

⁸⁴ Trad. C. Carena, Milano 1965.

⁸⁵ Su quest'opera cf. H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* II, Stuttgart 1967, 52.

⁸⁶ Invece C. Castner (*supra* n. 42) 89, collega il Volumnio ciceroniano con questo storiografo.

⁸⁷ Non dimentichiamo che combatté a Filippi, in campo repubblicano, anche il cavaliere Volumnio la cui morte è raccontata da Valerio Massimo (4,7,4). Hinard (*supra* n. 21) 549 pensa che anche costui figurasse nelle liste di proscrizione dei Triumviri.

⁸⁸ Plut. *Brut.* 45,6–9. Dal testo di Plutarco si deduce che i due erano liberti: infatti gli schiavi prigionieri erano stati tutti uccisi (*Brut.* 45,4), mentre la punizione di Volumnio e Sacculione costituì un'eccezione fra i cittadini liberi.

⁸⁹ Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2,62 ss.

loro,⁹⁰ quali il console Cicerone e *le demi-monde* di cortigiane e mimi, il cesariano Antonio e il cesaricida Cassio, l'ambiguo Dolabella e il soldato e letterato Irzio; e fra questi non poteva mancare l'amico di tutti, Tito Pomponio Attico, che per varietà e gamma di interessi gli somigliava:⁹¹ il soprannome εὐτράπελος non poteva essere più azzeccato per un personaggio così versatile. Il ritratto che emerge dalle pagine ciceroniane non discorda con il cinico – un *sapiens*, a suo modo – riformatore di caratteri rievocato da Orazio: un cinico raffinato, però, brillante, che, con le dovute distinzioni, non avrebbe stonato nella società descritta impietosamente da Oscar Wilde nella quale un *dandy* poteva in maniera tranquilla e disincantata affermare:⁹²

"if you want to mar a nature, you have merely to reform it".

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⁹⁰ Cf. Syme (*supra* n. 21) 523 s.

⁹¹ Sulle amicizie e sulla cultura di Attico vedi il famoso ritratto di G. Boissier, *Cicerone e i suoi amici*, tr. it. Milano 1988, 170 ss., part. 173: "Aveva anzitutto molto spirito [...] e un genere di spirito particolarmente adatto ad essere gustato dalla società che frequentava. [...]. Aveva molti studi e solida cultura; non che fosse un vero dotto, questo titolo non è una gran raccomandazione nelle relazioni mondane. [...]. Ma senza essere veramente un dotto, Attico, nei suoi studi, aveva toccato tutto: le belle arti, la poesia, la grammatica, la filosofia e la storia. Possedeva su tutte queste materie delle idee giuste, a volte originali; poteva senza troppo svantaggio discutere con gli eruditi, e aveva sempre da insegnare a quelli che eruditi non erano qualche particolare da essi ignorato. Pascal l'avrebbe chiamato un galantuomo". Su Attico vedi anche M. Labate – E. Narducci, "Mobilità dei modelli etici e relativismo dei valori: il 'personaggio' di Attico", in *Società romana e produzione schiavistica* III, Bari 1981, 127–182 (sulla cultura part. 144 s.)

⁹² *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, cap. VI.

ON THE PROBLEM OF RECOGNISING AFRICAN BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS*

ARI SAASTAMOINEN

Introduction

It is well known that defining the function of inscriptions without sufficient data on their context is sometimes difficult. For instance, it is not always clear whether an inscription should be regarded as a *titulus honorarius* or *sepulcralis*.¹ Similarly, resemblances between building and votive inscriptions may cause problems² when the building project is not

* Prof. Olli Salomies and Prof. Heikki Solin read a draft of this article and I am very grateful to them for their many helpful comments. I want to express my acknowledgements to Margot Stout Whiting for correcting my English.

¹ W. Eck, "Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period", in F. Millar, E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects*, Oxford 1984, 132–133; I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina*⁴, Milano 1991, 221.

² See, e.g., G. Alföldy, *Römische Statuen in Venetia et Histria. Epigraphische Quellen*, Heidelberg 1984, 23. Cf., however, O. Salomies, "Some Observations on Consular Dating in Roman Inscriptions of the Empire", in H. Solin, O. Salomies, U.-M. Liertz (eds.), *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.–6. Sept. 1991 habiti* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 104), Helsinki 1995, 276: "But in many cases it would, at least at first sight, seem to be somewhat difficult to distinguish building inscriptions from votive ones ... However, this is not really a problem, for building inscriptions always refer in some way to the work done, and have usually the form of *tabula*. On the other hand, *tabulae* with votive formulas, but no reference to building, probably for the most part come from the votive monuments..." – I agree with Salomies that most of the *tabulae* which contain votive formulas but do not refer to building come from the votive monuments, but I think that there are many building inscriptions which do not refer to the monument (this is quite common on honorary arches, for instance) and the formulations of which resemble closely those used in the honorary or in votive inscriptions. Thus, for instance, *CIL* VIII 17852, which is carved on an *epistylum*, is phrased exactly as *CIL* VIII 17855, which has been affixed to a base. Both are fragmentary: the surviving width of the former is 4.10 m and the latter 4.54 m (it is

mentioned (the text is either fragmentary or the object is omitted) and when it cannot be specified on grounds of the archaeological context (the data is either lost or insufficiently transmitted). Let us look at the following fragmentary inscription:

Victoriis Au[gustis] / [Imp(eratoris) Ca]es(aris) M(arci) Claudi Taciti Pii, Felicis, Aug(usti), pont(ificis) ma[x(imi)-----]. / [Q(uitus) N]jumisius Primus aedilic(ius), du(u)mvirali[c(ius) ----- quam] / [ex] (sestertium) XVI mil(ibus) n(ummum) facere promiserat, mult[iplicata pecunia cum] / [Num]jisiis Praetextato et Primo, fili(i)s et Nonia[----- coniuge perfecit?] / [et cert]amina pugilum edidit. Quam et [-----].³

What was the activity described in the missing part of the stone? The erection of a statue or the building of a temple? Scholars disagree. Wesch-Klein supports the latter alternative while Lepelley and Duncan-Jones favour the former.⁴ In this article I shall consider how one could determine the function of some ambiguous inscriptions such as this one, and I will discuss what aspects could be useful in the identification process.⁵

An attempt to interpret the purpose of such inscriptions is not without significance because these definitions will affect our views on the quantity and the nature of ancient building. Moreover, even if the interpretation turns out difficult or impossible in many cases, it will have its own importance too, since this means that we must be even more cautious than before in our estimations on the amount of building activity.⁶ More important than these

probable, however, that the *epistylum* has been the wider of the two).

³ *ILPBardo* 389 (= *CIL* VIII 25836 = *ILS* 8926). Membressa, AD 275–276.

⁴ G. Wesch-Klein, *Liberalitas in rem publicam. Private Aufwendungen zugunsten von Gemeinden im Römischen Africa bis 284 n. Chr.* (*Antiquitas* 40), Bonn 1990, 139; C. Lepelley, *Les Cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire* II, Paris 1981, 141; R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge 1974, 94, n. 99. I shall return to this inscription at the end of this article. – Another example of the problem is *AE* 1909, 6 which is considered as a base by S. Turrenc, "La dédicace du temple du Génie de la colonie à Timgad", *AntAfr* 2 (1968) 218 no. 9 and as a building inscription by Y. Le Bohec, *La Troisième Légion Auguste*, Paris 1989, 386–387.

⁵ For practical reasons, I will limit this study to the material from Roman North Africa, that is, inscriptions coming from the provinces of Africa Proconsularis, of Numidia and of both Mauretaniae.

⁶ Cf. Y. Le Bohec, "L'armée et l'organisation de l'espace urbain dans l'Afrique romaine du Haut-Empire", *L'Africa romana* 10 (1992) 314 on the results of the vagueness of the inscriptional evidence for the defining of the extent of building activity of the *Legio III*

aspects are, perhaps, historical considerations: it is easily deduced from the sources that building inscriptions were seen as an important instrument for self-advertisement. Public *tituli* – and building inscriptions among them – were read and admired;⁷ sometimes they even aroused violent anger or contempt, as happened to Pliny the Younger, who wrote in his letters how he lamented the corruption of the Senate which had granted, as he found out, honours to Pallas, the emperor Claudius' financial secretary, and had even got the decree on the matter affixed to the statue of Julius Caesar: *parum visum tantorum dedecorum esse curiam testem: delectus est celeberrimus locus, in quo legenda praesentibus, legenda futuris proderentur.*⁸

Eck collected some documents with which he was able to demonstrate convincingly how valuable public inscriptions really were as an instrument of propaganda. He has noted that the *senatus consultum* issued in 46 BC decreed that the name of Julius Caesar should be carved on the Capitoline temple in place of that of Catulus;⁹ two years afterwards Caesar was praised because he gave away both the glory due to the construction of Rostra and its building inscription to Antonius;¹⁰ also Augustus emphasized in *Res Gestae* that he restored the Capitol and the theatre of Pompey without inscribing his own name on them: *sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei.*¹¹ "So great", Eck comments aptly, "...was the significance of having one's name on public buildings such as the Capitol that the credit could still be gained even from abstinence."¹²

Ammianus, on the other hand, has left us an example of the opposite behaviour when he described the vanity of the urban prefect Lampadius and

Augusta: "...il devient illusoire de chercher à établir des statistiques."

⁷ Cf., e.g., Hor. *carm.* 4, 8, 13–15, in which he talks about *incisa notis marmora publicis / per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis / post mortem ducibus*; Hor. *sat.* 1, 6, 15–17 mentions the *populus* which *stupet in titulis et imaginibus*. I owe these references to Eck (above n. 1), 155.

⁸ Plin. *ep.* 8, 6. "It was not deemed sufficient that the senate-house should be witness to this complicated disgrace; the most frequented spot in all Rome was chosen to display the inscription to that and future ages." The translation is taken from W. Melmoth (ed.), Pliny, *Letters* II (Loeb Classical Library), London – Cambridge 1915, repr. 1963. See also Plin. *ep.* 7, 29.

⁹ Dio 43, 14, 16.

¹⁰ Dio 43, 49, 1–2.

¹¹ *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 20.

¹² Eck (above n. 1), 131–132.

stated that *per omnia enim civitatis membra, quae diversorum principum exornaverunt impensae, nomen proprium inscribat, non ut veterum instaurator, sed conditor. Quo vitio laborasse Traianus dicitur princeps, unde eum herbam parietinam iocando cognominaverunt.*¹³

One could continue almost indefinitely, noting, for instance, the legal restrictions on having one's name carved on a building,¹⁴ but I think that these examples are sufficient for stating the obvious: the effort to assign as many inscriptions as possible to their proper context is an important task from a socio-historical point of view.

1. On the definition of a building inscription

Since my purpose is to deal with ambiguous texts that are not self-evidently either building or votive inscriptions, some words on the definition of building inscriptions are appropriate. It seems that there is a widespread consensus among epigraphists on the definition of building inscriptions. If one checks, for instance, the entries on the subject in epigraphic handbooks, one soon notices that, in most cases, the building inscription is said to be a text carved on the building itself, or on another monument in the immediate

¹³ Amm. 27, 3, 7. "In all parts of the city which had been beautified by the generosity of various emperors he had his name inscribed, not as the restorer of ancient buildings but as a founder. This is a fault under which the emperor Trajan is said to have laboured, and it earned him the satirical nickname of 'wallflower'." The English translation is taken from W. Hamilton (ed.), *Ammianus Marcellinus, The Later Roman Empire (A.D. 354–378)* (Penguin Classics), Harmondsworth 1986, 335.

¹⁴ See Ulp. dig. 50, 10, 2, 2: *Ne eius nomine, cuius liberalitate opus exstructum est, eraso aliorum nomina inscribantur et propterea revocentur similes civium in patrias liberalitates, praeses provinciae auctoritatem suam interponat*; Mac. dig. 50, 10, 3, 2: *Inscribi autem nomen operi publico alterius quam eius, cuius pecunia id opus factum sit, non licet*; Mod. dig. 50, 10, 4: *Nec praesidis quidem nomen licet superscribere*. See also J. Kolendo, "L'activité des proconsuls d'Afrique d'après les inscriptions" in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio I* (Tituli 4), Roma 1982, 358 (366, Jacques, Discussion); M. Dondin-Payre, "L'intervention du proconsul d'Afrique dans la vie des cités", in *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain (I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. – IV^e ap. J.-C.)*. Actes du colloque, Rome 1987 (Coll. EFR 134), Rome 1990, 342–343; M. Corbier, "L'écriture dans l'espace public romain" in *L'Urbs: Espace urbain et histoire I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. – III^e siècle ap. J.-C.* Actes du colloque, Rome (Coll. EFR 98), Rome 1987, 47; P. Veyne, *Latomus* 26 (1967) 746 n. 1.

vicinity in order to immortalize the name of the builder.¹⁵ The classical formulation of this definition is given by Cagnat: "Lorsqu'un particulier, une ville, une corporation, un empereur, faisait élever ou réparer un monument destiné à l'usage de tous ou même de quelques-uns seulement, on avait coutume de graver une inscription destinée à garder la mémoire de celui ou de ceux auxquels était due la construction ou la réparation de l'édifice."¹⁶

Some scholars have not accepted this definition. Gast, for instance, thought that all texts that begin with a dedication to the gods should be considered as "Weihinschriften", votive inscriptions.¹⁷ The same view was shared by Susini who stated that the *titulus sacer* "consisteva nell'offerta e nella dedica del monumento stesso, si trattasse di una semplice arula, o di una base ... o di un intero edificio, di una *aedes* o di un *templum*, del quale si celebra nell'iscrizione la *dedicatio* e la *consecratio*".¹⁸

The classification on grounds of dedication is, however, an artificial one. The main purpose of a building inscription was to eulogise the builder. He had benefited his *patria* by his building activity, and the building inscription was one of the ways by which he himself got benefit from his euergetism.¹⁹ Votive texts, on the other hand, are more closely and

¹⁵ See, e.g., P. Battle Huguet, *Epigrafia latina*², Barcelona 1963, 81–83; R. Bloch, *L'épigraphie latine*⁴, Paris 1969, 78–88; esp. 78–79; E. Meyer, *Einführung in die Lateinische Epigraphik*, Darmstadt 1973, 59–61. Cf. also J. E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy. An introduction to the study of Latin inscriptions*, Cambridge 1927, 118–142; esp. 118–119 and *DNP* 2, s.v. "Bauinschriften".

¹⁶ R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*⁴, Paris 1914, 263.

¹⁷ G. K. Gast, *Die zensorischen Bauberichte bei Livius und die römischen Bauinschriften*, Diss. Göttingen 1965, 41. I must note that at the time when I was writing my first article on building inscriptions (A. Saastamoinen, "Some Remarks on the Development of the Style of Roman Building Inscriptions in the Roman North Africa", *L'Africa romana* 13 (2000), 1685–1693) I was following Gast more closely and consequently I excluded many texts which are here classified as building inscriptions. As a result of this, some of my previous estimations on the incidence of certain stylistical phenomena have changed (most notably those on the frequency of the mention of the object).

¹⁸ G. C. Susini, *Epigrafia romana*, Roma 1982, 112. Cf. also Calabi Limentani (above n. 1), 254 and L. Braccesi, *Appunti di epigrafia latina*, Bologna 1966, 29–30.

¹⁹ See, for instance, G. Fagan, "The Reliability of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions", *PBSR* 64 (1996) 91: "The commemorative inscription was a vital element in the social contract of euergetism. Since it was often set up by the beneficiaries (that is, the local community), it represented the means by which the social prestige earned by the benefactor for the act of benefaction was publicly recognized." For the concept of

unambiguously related to religious practices. Setting up a votive stele or building a temple are, of course, both religious acts; but the difference is that the building of a temple is also a euergetic act in way that erecting an altar is not, and I tend to think that the euergetic aspect is here more important than the religious one.²⁰ It is not useful to equate an inscription describing, let us say, the building process of an expensive temple with a simple votive text carved, e.g., on an altar or on a stele and which mentions only the god to whom the dedication is made, the name of the dedicant and the formula *v.s.l.m.* – Of course it is true that texts on some altars and statue bases do closely resemble formulations used in building inscriptions,²¹ but this is not significant. It would be as erroneous to consider a text written on a tombstone to be a building inscription because it happens to use the phrase *faciendum curavit*²² as to consider an altar using similar phrases to be a building inscription as well. The original purpose of an inscription is important, not the wording of text.

Calabi Limentani has also stated that those building inscriptions which begin with a dedication to an emperor should be considered as honorific or even dedicatory,²³ but I find this even less acceptable. During the Empire, it was very common indeed to begin a building inscription either with a dedication or with some adulatory formula, such as *pro salute* with the name and titlature of the emperor in the genitive.²⁴ Surely this is a

euergetism, see P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*, Paris 1976. About the euergetism in general, see, e.g., *Actes du X^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes, 4–9 octobre 1992* (Série Histoire Ancienne et Médiévale 42), Paris 1997. About euergetism in North Africa, see Lepelley (above n. 4); Wesch-Klein (above n. 4); M. LeGlay, "Évergétisme et vie religieuse dans l'Afrique romaine", in *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain* (above n. 14) 77–88.

²⁰ A telling detail is that texts on altars mention very often the completion of a *votum*, but in the building inscription this seldom happens (for exceptions, see n. 70). Salomies (above n. 2), 276, has also noted that "many building inscriptions, not only those referring to the building or restoration of temples and the like, but also others, begin with votive formulas..." – Cf., however, M. Le Glay (above n. 19), 84–85.

²¹ For examples, see n. 62–65.

²² E.g. *CIL* VIII 21161.

²³ Calabi Limentani (above n. 1), 254: "Nei templi può apparire al dativo il nome della divinità cui esso è dedicato e si tratta allora di dediche del tipo visto tra i *tituli sacri*; al dativo può essere anche il nome dell'imperatore, e si tratta allora piuttosto di un *titulus* onorario o sacro."

²⁴ Saastamoinen (above n. 17), 1687.

sign of political loyalty,²⁵ but it does not mean that all those texts in which these expressions are included are honorific. The purpose of an honorific inscription is to honour someone, and often for some specific reason; the honoured person is receiving the main attention whereas the dedicators stay in the background.²⁶ In most building inscriptions just the opposite is true: despite the dedication to an emperor, the builder is the *actor primarum partium*. There are, however, cases where clear-cut classifications are not possible; the texts carved on honorary arches, for instance, can well be classified either as honorific or as building inscriptions.

On the other hand, I think that all those inscriptions that are set up to honour someone for the sake of his building activity are honorific.²⁷ These texts should be considered as honorific because the building activity is the reason for honouring someone whereas in building inscriptions, the building activity is the main subject. It is also important – and this is what Cagnat did not underline enough in his definition quoted above – that in a building inscription the composer advertises his own building activities while in honorific ones the dedicators praise the works of the honorand.

2. On recognising building inscriptions

The problem of 'recognising' building inscriptions, i.e., deciding whether a given text is a building inscription or not, arises from insufficient data on the context. This in turn is due either to a defective description of the stone (in older epigraphic publications the description is frequently omitted altogether) or to the nature of the object itself. A stone slab, for instance, might have been fixed to an altar or to the wall of a temple;²⁸ there are relatively few cases where the potentially ambiguous inscription is still *in situ* or the archaeological context is unambiguous. Despite these problems, however, one can resort to many other criteria in order to

²⁵ Cf. Le Glay (above n. 19), 87–88.

²⁶ Cf. O. Salomies, "Observations on the Development of the Style of Latin Honorific Inscriptions during the Empire", *Arctos* 28 (1994) 86.

²⁷ See, e.g., *CIL* VIII 23888; *CIL* VIII 24095; *IL Afr.* 276; *IL Afr.* 454; *IRT* 543; *IRT* 615. – Cf. Calabi Limentani (above n. 1), 221: "... quando la benemerenza ricordata è relativa ad un'opera pubblica, l'iscrizione può essere attribuita alla classe delle opere pubbliche."

²⁸ Cf. Eck (above n. 1), 132–133.

determine the function of an inscription. In this article, I will consider following aspects: first (related to the stone): monument type, line division, letter size; secondly (related to the contents of the inscription): terminology describing the setting up an altar or a base, and the price of the monument and, finally, the social standing of both the builder and the dedicator.

2.1. The stone

Most of building inscriptions were originally placed on the building itself: they were usually carved either on an architrave or on a slab fixed to the wall. For various reasons other types were used as well. Occasionally one can find altars,²⁹ bases³⁰ and even steles³¹ bearing building inscriptions. A very common type, inscriptions carved on an architrave,³² is the only unambiguous one; almost all³³ such texts are to be classified as building inscriptions.³⁴ Sometimes difficulties may arise if the archaeological context is inadequately transmitted. Thus, for example, neither the tenor³⁵ nor the description³⁶ of the inscription edited in *ILTun.* 684 seem to suggest anything other than an ordinary building inscription. In reality, we are dealing here with a funerary text.³⁷

²⁹ E.g., *CIL* VIII 4291 (= *ILS* 3063); *IAM* 2, 824.

³⁰ E.g., *CIL* VIII 828 (= *ILS* 5713); *CIL* VIII 18328 (= *ILS* 5520); *CIL* VIII 23991 (= *ILS* 5776); *IRT* 467.

³¹ E.g., *IRT* 338.

³² Architraves and slabs are the most common types, as I stated above, but their frequency in this material is not exactly estimable since epigraphic publications frequently omit the description of the stone. Cf. Salomies (above n. 2), 276: "building inscriptions ... have usually the form of *tabula*".

³³ See, however, *ILPBardo* 250 (= *ILS* 9015) which is an exception – an honorary inscription carved on a lintel.

³⁴ Cf. Lepelley (above n. 4), 208: "Il s'agit de deux fragments d'un entablement, remployés dans le fort byzantin, donc de la dédicace d'un édifice."

³⁵ *M(arcus) Tuccius M(arci filius), vet(eranus), Lib(eralis?) Felicio s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)*.

³⁶ "Linteau : 0^m, 32 x 3^m". Cf. e.g. *IL Afr.* 196: *C(aius) Cornelius Saturninus, L(ucius) Petronius Vi[ctor] por(ticum) d(e) s(uo) f(ecerunt)*. It is also "linteau" with following measurements: "0^m, 20 x 0^m, 35. Lettres : 0^m, 055".

³⁷ A. Chausa Sáez, *Veteranos en el África romana* (Instrumenta 3), Barcelona 1997, 156, no. 263.

If an inscription is carved on a slab, matters become much more complicated. The problem is that such slabs were affixed to buildings, to altars and to bases. The shapes of slabs vary considerably. As a general rule, the greater the breadth of a stone is in proportion to the height, the more likely it is that it is a building inscription. If the slab is very tall in proportion to its breadth, it almost always belongs to an altar or base.³⁸ Unfortunately, this rule does not apply in the reverse: some very broad slabs were fixed on bases. *CIL* VIII 17870 (= *ILS* 446), for instance, is almost four metres wide but it has been affixed to a huge *basis*.³⁹ It is possible that statue groups⁴⁰ or equestrian statues might have stood on such bases though Alföldy has pointed out that the inscriptions on the bases of equestrian statues can be normally found on the front, which was the shorter side.⁴¹ Eck has suggested that sometimes the base might have been for a *biga* or *quadriga*.⁴²

The situation is no better if the text is inscribed on a block. Some building inscriptions were carved on a single block⁴³ and, on the other hand, sometimes several blocks were used in a single base.⁴⁴ All in all, the monument type is not – except in the obvious case of an architrave – a very good indicator of the larger context to which it once belonged.

2.2. The line division

The length of the lines in proportion to their number or the breadth of the stone in proportion to the height is a criterion that has been sometimes used to determine whether a given text is a building inscription or not. Some scholars have based their assessment of the purpose of the inscription on this aspect. E.g., Kolendo writes on *ILAlg.* I 3636 (= *CIL* VIII 27953): "Des environs de Theveste ... provient une autre inscription gravée sur une pierre

³⁸ Cf. Alföldy (above n. 2), 25.

³⁹ The commentary in *CIL*: "... tabula ... rep(erta) ... iuxta basim suam." Cf. also *IRT* 117.

⁴⁰ Cf. *CIL* VIII 17726; Eck (above n. 1), 147–148.

⁴¹ G. Alföldy, "Beiträge zur Prosopographie von Concordia", *Aquileia nostra* 51 (1980) 273–274.

⁴² Eck (above n. 1), 162, n. 127. Cf. *IRT* 33: "... a large base, possibly for a quadriga ..."

⁴³ E.g., *AE* 1968, 586.

⁴⁴ E.g., *IRT* 33. – Quite often in epigraphic publications, the word "block" is used to denote a reused base (e.g., *AE* 1969–70, 697–702), which can be potentially misleading, especially if the text is fragmentary.

de 2, 37 m de longueur et 0, 30 m de hauteur. C'était donc une dédicace d'un édifice."⁴⁵ In this case, since the breadth of the stone is so much greater than the height, this conclusion seems justified.⁴⁶ Quite often, however, the line division does not offer any help since in some honorific or votive inscriptions the breadth exceeds the height by two or even three times. These inscriptions have been dedicated to emperors,⁴⁷ to gods,⁴⁸ and even to private persons.⁴⁹ Though in most honorary and votive inscriptions the height is clearly greater than the breadth, there are exceptions.

On the other hand, few building inscriptions are tall and narrow. Exceptional texts on bases apart,⁵⁰ the number of lines in building inscriptions generally do not exceed ten⁵¹ and breadth is usually greater than height. I think that a *titulus* is not to be classified as a building inscription if the stone is very tall in proportion to its breadth or if the lines are short or if their number exceeds ten.⁵²

⁴⁵ J. Kolendo, "Le culte imperial et la faute de lapicide : à propos d'un inscription des environs de Theveste (*ILAlg.* I 3715)", *L'Africa romana* 4 (1987) 334. Cf., e.g., Salomies (above n. 2), 276, n. 24: "...*CIL* III 3384 = *ILS* 4232 ... the *ordinatio* of the inscription, nine rather short lines, seems to imply that this is an *ara* or a *basis* rather than a *tabula*." Lepelley (above n. 4), 86, on *CIL* VIII 23878: "La formule convient mieux à la dédicace d'un édifice qu'à celle d'une statue, mais l'extrême brièveté des lignes exclut, semble-t-il, cette possibilité."

⁴⁶ The description given by *CIL* is completely different: "epistylum latum (altum?) m. 0.60, longum m. 1.20." It is probable that the description in *ILAlg.* is the more reliable of the two because S. Gsell, the editor, himself saw the stone, whereas the editor of *CIL* VIII 27953 did not.

⁴⁷ E.g., *CIL* VIII 17855; *CIL* VIII 17870 (= *ILS* 446): 3.89 × 1.03 m; *CIL* VIII 17871: 2.14 × 1.04 m; *AE* 1909, 6: 4 × 0.85 m. The measurements of *AE* 1909, 6 are taken from Turrenc (above n. 4), 218, no. 9. I give the dimensions in this order: breadth × height × depth. All measurements record maximum surviving dimensions.

⁴⁸ E.g., *IL Afr.* 254: 0.90 × 0.36 m; *CIL* VIII 17726: 2.0 × 0.50 m.

⁴⁹ E.g., *CIL* VIII 2392 (= *ILS* 1178): 3.50 × 0.82 m; *IRT* 117: 3.16 × 0.70 m.; *IRT* 335: 0.59 × 0.07 m (only two lines).

⁵⁰ E.g., *IRT* 467. Another example is the bilingual *IRT* 338 (25 lines of Latin and 4 lines of Neopunic) which is carved on a stele.

⁵¹ Some exceptions: *IRT* 427 (15 lines), carved on a wall; *AE* 1913, 225 (14 lines), no description; *IL Afr.* 525 (12 lines), slab; *ILAlg.* II 6225 (11 lines), slab.

⁵² Some examples of the texts which are not to be classified as building inscriptions on the grounds of their *ordinatio*: *AE* 1934, 66: *Iovi Aug(usto) / sacrum. / Cultores / Iovi<s> / de suo fe/cerunt et d(edi)c(averunt)*; *AE* 1907, 158; *CIL* VIII 12247.

2.3. Letter size

The validity of letter size as a criterion has been partly based on the legibility of an inscription. Eck has stated that if the inscription in question is written in very small letters, it was meant to be seen from approximately the eye-level of the viewer,⁵³ which seems to exclude the possibility that it could come from an architrave. Vice versa, it has been argued that an inscription carved in large letters belonged to a building.⁵⁴ The latter argument seems more reliable. I think that *tituli* written in letters over 11 cm high throughout the text can be classified as building inscriptions⁵⁵ since honorary inscriptions having letter size as great as this are exceptional.⁵⁶

The small size of the letters, on the contrary, does not prove the purpose of an inscription. The size of the letters varies greatly both in building⁵⁷ and in honorific inscriptions and many building inscriptions had actually smaller letters than honorific inscriptions did. It is more likely, of course, that a slab carved in small-sized letters was intended to be placed on a base rather than on a wall of a building. But the easy legibility of the text was not always taken into consideration, however. One can find many *epistylia*, architraves or lintels which were written in tiny letters. Some examples: *ILAlg.* II 2106, letter size 4.5 cm; *CIL* VIII 6048: 4 cm; *AE* 1968, 593: 3.5–4 cm; *AE* 1968, 599: 3.5–4 cm; *ILAfr.* 195: 3 cm; *AE* 1993, 1715: 2.5–3 cm; *ILPBardo* 328: 2–3.5 cm; *AE* 1968, 596: 1.8–4 cm. I have expressly presented letter sizes from *epistylia* because they were surely elevated some metres above the ground and were thus difficult or impossible

⁵³ Eck (above n. 1), 147.

⁵⁴ E.g., the commentary on *CIL* VIII 18511: "in fragmentis permultis humi iacentibus ... iuxta arcum ... Titulus litteris pergrandibus scriptus ... ad arcum ipsum procul dubio pertinuit." Lepelley (above n. 4), 387 on *ILAlg.* II 622: "Les lettres ont dix centimètres de hauteur, ce qui permet de supposer une inscription gravée sur un façade de monument plutôt que sur une base de statue."; other instances: 142, 185, 442.

⁵⁵ E.g., *CIL* VIII 8809, 18226, and 18511; *IAM* 2, 390; *ILAfr.* 265 and 271; *ILTun.* 821; *IRT* 232 and 269.

⁵⁶ An example of a fragment which can be classified as a building inscription on the ground of the letter size (14.5–16.5 cm): *ILPBardo* 377: [----- *invictissim*]orum prin[cipum -----] / [-----] proprio sumtu c[onstruxit? -----]. Further examples: *AE* 1980, 956; (the letter size is 34 cm); *CIL* VIII 976 (the letter size is 25 cm).

⁵⁷ Two examples: *ILPBardo* 520 (= *ILS* 9367): 0.7 – 0.85 cm; *CIL* VIII 26528a: 35 cm.

to read, but one can find similar letter sizes in other types as well.⁵⁸ Since the letters carved on many bases were actually bigger⁵⁹ than in building inscriptions, it is clear that letter size is not a certain criterion if the letters are small in size.

2.4. The terminology describing the setting up of an altar or base

Usually one can easily tell – the exception being the above-mentioned texts dedicated to an emperor – whether a *titulus* should be classified as an honorific or a building inscription.⁶⁰ In the case of inscriptions dedicated to gods, this is much less clear because many building inscriptions do not mention the building project⁶¹ (this was thought to be obvious from the context) and because the phrasing of some votive texts is undistinguishable

⁵⁸ E.g., blocks: *IRT* 359: 4–5 cm; *ILPBardo* 167: 3–5 cm; *ILPBardo* 240: 3–4 cm; slabs: *CIL* VIII 51 and *ILPBardo* 1: 4 cm; *ILAlg.* II 6094: 2.5–3.5 cm; *ILPBardo* 362: 1.5–4.8 cm.

⁵⁹ Some examples: *CIL* VIII 12379: 7–16 cm; *CIL* VIII 863: 7–13 cm; *AE* 1985, 876c: 10.5 cm; *CIL* VIII 959, *CIL* VIII 960, *CIL* VIII 17862, and *CIL* VIII 24584: 10 cm; *ILTun.* 250: 5–9.5 cm; *ILPBardo* 72: 7.5–8.5 cm; *ILTun.* 247: 7–8.5 cm; *IRT* 381: 7–8.5 cm; *ILAlg.* I 1298: 8 cm; *CIL* VIII 12288: 6–8 cm; *IL Afr.* 119 and *CIL* VIII 1439: 5–8 cm; *CIL* VIII 14364: 7 cm; *CIL* VIII 7970: 5–7 cm; *CIL* VIII 32 and *CIL* VIII 2742: 6.5 cm; *IL Afr.* 92: 6 cm.

⁶⁰ Cf., e.g., Lepelley (above n. 4), 203: "L'inscription I.L. Afr., 274 ... se présente sous la forme d'une dédicace à Valentinien, Valens et Gratien ; toutefois, elle était gravée sur une plaque de marbre et non sur un socle. Ce texte est beaucoup plus vraisemblablement la dédicace de travaux publics que celle d'une statue impériale ; les trois empereurs sont mentionnés conjointement, ce qui rend très invraisemblable l'hypothèse d'une inscription sur la base d'une statue."

⁶¹ E.g., *CIL* VIII 1471 (= 15513 = M. Khanoussi, L. Maurin (eds.), *Dougga, fragments d'histoire. Choix d'inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées (I^{er} – IV^e siècles)*, Bordeaux 2000, 87, no. 31): *Iovi Optimo Maximo, [I]uno[n]i Regin[a]e, Minervae Aug(ustae) sacrum. Pro salute Imp(eratorum) Cae[s(arum)] M(arci) [A]ureli [An]tonini A[ug(usti)] et L(uci) Au[r]eli [V]eri Aug(usti) Armeniacor(um) Med(icorum) Part(hicorum) max(imorum) to[tiusque div]ina[e] domu[s]. L(ucius) Marcius S[imple]x [et] L(ucius) Marcius Simplex Regillianus sua p(ecunia) f(ecerunt)*. The inscription was carved on the architrave of the Capitol in Thugga; *IRT* 269: *Cereri Augustae sacrum. C(aius) Rubellius Blandus co(n)s(ul), pont(ifex), proco(n)s(ul) dedic(avit). Suphunibal, ornatrix pat[ria]e, Annobalis Rusonis d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. The inscription was carved on 10 blocks in the cavea of the theatre of Lepcis Magna.

from that employed in building inscriptions.⁶² The similarities themselves are not problematic: many votive texts which imitate expressions or phrases peculiar to building inscriptions (like *a fundamentis*, for instance⁶³) do mention the object as well.⁶⁴ Sometimes, however, one can find inscriptions which do not mention the object and which are written in a style very similar to that used in building inscriptions. A good example is *CIL VIII 12379* (= 861):

*Patrici Liberi. / Plutoni Aug(usto) sacr(um). / Q(uintus) Cervius Tertullus / Celeris fil(ius) Pap(iria tribu) Felix Cele/rianus et P(ublius) Cornelius / Marcelli fil(ius) Pap(iria tribu) Dati/vus, aediles, sua libe/ralitate fecerunt et / ob dedicationem epu/las decurionibus / dederunt. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*⁶⁵

Only the last phrase, *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* distinguishes this text from a building inscription because building inscriptions only rarely employ it.⁶⁶ Thus, we must keep in mind the votive texts of this type since every now and then one encounters inscriptions with phrases which seem at first to justify their classification as building inscriptions⁶⁷ but which in reality are not classifiable on grounds of their phraseology.

The most typical verb describing the setting up of an *ara* or a *basis* is *ponere*. Now this is very useful as a criterion since this verb is very rarely used in building inscriptions – and when it is, the erection of a statue or a column is normally included in the building process, as the following examples show: *cellam cum p[o]rticib[us et columnas lapi]deas posuerunt* and *statuam et aedem ... posuit*.⁶⁸ – Of course other verbs were also used to describe the setting up of an altar or base, but they were frequently also used in building inscriptions (*fecit*, for example) and they are thus useless as a

⁶² Two examples: *CIL VIII 797* (= *ILS 6798*); *ILAlg. II 6866*.

⁶³ E.g., *AE 1913, 154*. Cf., however, Lepelley (above n. 4), 257 on *CIL VIII 16457*: "Les mots *a solo* montrent que le texte évoquait la construction d'un édifice public."

⁶⁴ E.g., *CIL VIII 840, 858, 958, 1321, and 20145*; *ILAlg. I 185 and 1236*.

⁶⁵ Other examples of bases written in the style similar to that used in building inscriptions: *CIL VIII 859, 863, 885, 4202, 14791, 14792, and 27374*; *ILTun. 714*.

⁶⁶ E.g., in *CIL 23991* (= *ILS 5776*), which is carved on a *basis*.

⁶⁷ E.g., the above-mentioned *ILPBardo 389*.

⁶⁸ *CIL VIII 26464*; *ILTun. 611*.

criterion.⁶⁹

Often the *tituli sacri* omit the predicate describing the construction of the monument. In these cases, the predicate is usually related to the completion of a vow. Mentions of the *votum* are made in wide variety of ways and they appear very often in an abbreviated form (like *v.s.l.a.*). In building inscriptions, however, such expressions are rare,⁷⁰ but not quite rare enough that all inscriptions mentioning a *votum* could be classified as *sacri*.

2.5. The monument's price

The inscriptions found in Africa Proconsularis and in Numidia mention with exceptional frequency the prices of both buildings and statues.⁷¹ Since so many inscriptions contain the mention of building costs, it would be tempting to use the price of the monument as an indicator of its type. This is a bit complicated, however. The reason for this is that many buildings cost less than the most expensive statues. Thus, for instance, an arch⁷² from Castellum Celtianum cost 3,000 sesterces, while a statue of Fortune⁷³ from Timgad was priced at 22,000 sesterces. To give another example: in Magifa a temple dedicated to the local gods⁷⁴ was constructed for the price of 8,000 sesterces, whereas a statue of Caracalla⁷⁵ in Cirta cost

⁶⁹ An example of a *titulus* that can probably be classified as a *sacer* on grounds of the predicate: *ILAlg. I 867: Iovi Opt(imo) Max(imo) Statori et Iunoni Aug(ustae) Reg(inae). / M(arcus) Gargilius Syrus, v(ir) e(gregius), f(lamen) p(er)p(etuus) et Iul(ia) Victoria eius / liberalitate et pecunia sua / posuerunt*. The measurements are: 1.50 × 0.55 m and the letter size is 7.5 cm. The inscription is carved on a slab and framed by a *tabula ansata*, which is more common on architraves than on altars (for parallels, see *IAM 2*, 358 and *IAM 2*, 359). Cf., however, Wesch-Klein (above n. 4), 326: "Wohl Bauinschrift."

⁷⁰ Some building inscriptions which mention a *votum*: *CIL VIII 993 (= ILS 4433): aedem, quam ... voverat; AE 1973, 646: v(otum), quo[d] ... promiserat ... solvit; CIL VIII 26464: voto susc[ep]to; CIL VIII 20251 (= ILS 4496): v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo); *ILTun.* 868; *ILAlg. I 2977; AE 1994, 1885*.*

⁷¹ Duncan-Jones (above n. 4), 63.

⁷² *ILAlg. II 2095*.

⁷³ *CIL VIII 17831 (= ILS 5400)*. This is an exceptional case since it records a much higher price for a statue (HS 22,000) than for an *aedes* (HS 4,400).

⁷⁴ *ILAlg. I 2977*.

⁷⁵ *ILAlg. II 570*. The total cost could have been higher since the inscription is fragmentary.

12,000 sesterces. If we look at the table of building costs in Africa compiled by R. Duncan-Jones,⁷⁶ we can calculate that 48.5 per cent of buildings cost between 3,000 and 50,000 sesterces, while 12.3 per cent of statues were priced between 9,000 and 33,000 sesterces. The cheapest price of a building mentioned by Duncan-Jones is 3,000 sesterces and if we encounter a price below this limit, we can safely assume that the object in question is a statue.⁷⁷ On the other hand, if the price is higher than 33,000 sesterces, we are very probably dealing with a building⁷⁸ since the statue prices above this limit are exceptional.⁷⁹ This means that the costs between 3,000 and 33,000 sesterces can relate to either a building or a statue and are accordingly worthless as a criterion. If we would apply this criterion to the building inscriptions collected by Duncan-Jones, we should be able to determine the function of a given inscription in about half of the cases.⁸⁰

2.6. The social standing of the builder and the dedicator

One might think – remembering that even a funerary inscription, let alone the erection of a building and having one's name inscribed on it, was an unaffordable luxury for most of the people in Antiquity⁸¹ – that the social standing of a donor of an inscription could be an useful criterion for distinguishing building inscriptions from votive ones. Thus a low social

⁷⁶ Duncan-Jones (above n. 4), 75.

⁷⁷ For an arch, 3,000 sesterces is exceptionally cheap. For possible explanations, see Wesch-Klein (above n. 4) 283–284.

⁷⁸ One must note that inscriptions mentioning the lowest prices come from outside the large centres which means that the above-mentioned criteria could perhaps be refined by taking into account the origin of a given inscription.

⁷⁹ There are still some higher prices (the highest price is mentioned in *IRT* 706: 100,000 sesterces for 16 statues from Lepcis Magna), but they seem to be inflationary or at least very exceptional. Duncan-Jones (above n. 4), 78.

⁸⁰ Four examples of *tituli* which can be classified as building inscriptions on the grounds of the price: *ILPBardo* 358a: [-----] *sac(rum)*. / [*Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caesaris* -----] *G]erm(anici) M[ax(im)i, tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) X]VI, Im[p(eratoris) -----] / [----- totius]que div[inae do]mus [-----] / [-----] ex IS cen[tum mil(ibus) n(ummum) -----] / [-----].; *ILAfr.* 489: [-----] / [----- *avoru]m suorum secutus exempla qui adsidu[e -----] / [----- am]orem civium ex HS C mil(ibus) n(ummum) solo p(ublico?) PI[-----] M M[-----].; *CIL* VIII 4364 and 4365.**

⁸¹ D. Lengrand, "Les inscriptions votives païennes des esclaves et des affranchis d'Afrique du Nord romaine", *L'Africa romana* 12 (1998) 959.

status would automatically mean that the inscription in question cannot be related to the building process. This is not the case, however. Private euergetism in Roman North Africa was concentrated in, but not confined to, the upper strata of society: the social status of the builders ranged from slaves to senators.⁸² Though the number of votive inscriptions erected by slaves and freedmen is modest⁸³ and though the number of building inscriptions attributed to them is still smaller⁸⁴, the latter are nevertheless common enough to prevent us drawing certain conclusions from the social standing of a builder. If a given inscription is set up by a slave or a freedman, it is probably to be classified as votive, but that is far from certain.

To move to the opposite end of the social scale, it is common knowledge that the proconsul played an important part as a dedicator of public monuments,⁸⁵ though it was very common, too, that a builder performed the task himself.⁸⁶ Since it is likely that the proconsul or his legate was personally present at the dedication ceremonies,⁸⁷ we might suppose that he or his subordinate would dedicate only important monuments,

⁸² About slaves and freedmen as builders of temples, see the list compiled by Lengrand (above n. 81), 966, n. 47. One must note, however, that there are two mistakes: *AE* 1957a is in reality *AE* 1957, 92b and *CIL* VIII 17050 and *ILAlg.* I 863 are editions of the same text. This text, by the way, has had the misfortune to be found in Oued Cherf, in the border zone between Proconsularis and Numidia. When it was edited in *CIL* VIII 10827, it was located in Nattabutes, in Numidia. The re-edition in *CIL* VIII 17050 placed it at Hr El-Hammam, in Proconsularis. This location was maintained in *ILAlg.* I 863 but when the text was re-edited by mistake in *ILAlg.* II 6138a, it was again placed at Civitas Nattabutum in Numidia. This mistake led H. Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans L'Afrique Romaine* (Études et Travaux 2), Strasbourg 1986, 210, 256 to regard *ILAlg.* I 863 and II 6138a as different inscriptions and so she located them according to *ILAlg.* and even dated them differently.

⁸³ Lengrand (above n. 81), 959 mentions that she has found 82 persons (slaves or freedmen) who had donated "inscriptions votives".

⁸⁴ Lengrand (above n. 81), passim, mentions 19 examples where a slave or freedman has acted as a builder. It is noteworthy that slaves were also able to build with their own money. See, e.g., *ILTun.* 868; *CIL* VIII 12314; *ILPBardo* 345.

⁸⁵ Kolendo (above n. 14), 357–358.

⁸⁶ To give but three examples, see *ILPBardo* 3; *ILTun.* 148; *IRT* 321. Sometimes the honour of the *dedicatio* was given to some other person enjoying a high esteem in the community where the building process took place, see, e.g., *Dougga* (above n. 61), no. 24 (= *CIL* VIII 1478 = 15503 = 26519).

⁸⁷ Kolendo (above n. 14), 357; Dondin-Payre (above n. 14), 342.

triumphal arches, theatres, temples, baths, and so on.⁸⁸ Generally speaking, this is true, but some exceptions do exist. Thus *CIL* VIII 994 records the dedication of a statue by a proconsul and *IRT* 318a likewise mentions the dedication of an altar by the same official. Despite these exceptions, I think that the *dedicatio* performed by the proconsul is a rather good indicator of the importance of the monument and accordingly of its function. Therefore, if a given inscription mentions that a proconsul made the dedication, we can suppose that the dedicated monument was a building.⁸⁹

Conclusions

We have now looked at some ways by which one can try to determine the function of the inscriptions which record the erection of a monument without specifying its character (the text is either fragmentary or the object is omitted) and which are undefinable on the grounds of their archaeological contexts (the data is either lost or insufficiently transmitted). It was shown that while some criteria are indeed useful in distinguishing building inscriptions from votive and honorary ones, some others are more problematic than has been previously thought.

First, the line division or the shape of the stone are not usable criteria if the *ordinatio* is approximately square. If the lines are not very long or if the breadth of the stone is less than three times greater than its height, the inscription might also have come from a *basis*. On the other hand, if a *titulus* is very tall in proportion to its breadth or if the lines are short or if their number exceeds ten, it is unlikely to be considered a building inscription. Only an *epistylum* indicates clearly the purpose of the inscription carved on it.

Second, the small size of the letters does not necessarily mean that an inscription could not have been carved on the building, but in the reverse case, if the height of the letters exceeds 11 cm, it can be classified as a building inscription.

Third, if the predicate describing the building process is *ponere*, it is very likely that text was related to the setting up of a statue or an altar.

⁸⁸ Cf. a list compiled by Kolendo, (above n. 14), 356–357.

⁸⁹ In my view, e.g., *ILAlg.* I 1230, 1231, and *AE* 1987, 989 should be classified as building inscriptions for this reason.

Mentions of a *votum* are rare in the building inscriptions, but still too common to allow their use as a criterion.

Fourth, the price of the monument is usable as a criterion if it is less than 3,000 sesterces or more than 33,000 sesterces. Inscriptions mentioning costs below HS 3,000 are to be classified as votive texts, while the *tituli* in which the sum exceeds the latter limit can be regarded as building inscriptions.

Fifth, the low social standing of a donor suggests that the object of his euergesies was probably not a building whereas the mention of the dedication by the proconsul means that we are very probably dealing with a building inscription since almost all inscriptions that record the *dedicatio* by the proconsul were related to edifice construction.

In the spite of the positive results that can be achieved by applying these criteria, there remain many cases where one – or at least I – cannot determine the function of an inscription. Let us return to the inscription cited at the beginning of this article (*ILPBardo* 389 = *CIL* VIII 25836). In *CIL*, it is described in the following way: "alta m. 0.53, lata m. 1, litteris cm. 6–5". The right-hand portion of the inscription is broken away and the text is divided onto six rather long lines. This means that it could just as well have been fixed on a *basis* as on a wall of a building. The size of the letters is 5–6 cm, which applies equally well to a building inscription or to an honorary or votive one. The predicate describing the actual building process is lost, but the phrase containing the promise to set up a monument can be also found on some bases.⁹⁰ The original price of the monument, 16,000 sesterces, is considerably more than average for a statue, but not exceptionally high.⁹¹ The social status of Q. Numisius Primus, who built the monument, does not offer any clue since he was a member of the local aristocracy. These features seem to suggest that the text is more probably a building inscription than not, but that is not certain. In the *ILPBardo*, however, the inscription is described as a "linteau" which means that it can be classified as a building inscription. Without the information on the archaeological context or a sufficient description of the stone, this inscription, like many others, must remain unclassifiable.

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⁹⁰ E.g. *CIL* VIII 4202: ... *statua(m), quam ex IS VIII (milibus) n(ummu) promiserat, faciend(am) dedicandamq(ue) curavit.*

⁹¹ Duncan-Jones (above n. 4), 78. The median average price was HS 5,000.

**ON THE ORIGIN OF
*DIE INSCRIFTEN VON PRUSA AD OLYMPUM NO. 52***

OLLI SALOMIES

The edition of the inscriptions from (or in some cases in) Prusa in Bithynia (now Bursa) by Th. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum*, consists of two volumes, *Teil I*, devoted to inscriptions "die mit ausreichender Sicherheit der antiken Stadt Prusa zugewiesen werden können" (p. ix), and of *Teil II* containing inscriptions of in some cases uncertain origin now in Bursa. In the first volume, no. 52 is an inscription which is introduced as a "Namenliste eines Kultvereins". The stone (illustrated in the edition by four photographs) is described as a "Platte aus Marmor" (the measurements are given as 39×105×18 cm). Only the central part of the original stone is left, the stone being fragmentary left and right and in the lower part, and the upper part having been sawn off, possibly at the moment when the stone was built into the steps of a mosque in Bursa, from where it has since been moved to the museum.

The inscription consists of three columns of which those on the left and on the right are fragmentary, although most of the latter column has been preserved. As for the *ipsa verba* of the inscription, what one finds here are names, most of them of the Roman type (the presence of Aelii and the absence of Aurelii, whether abbreviated or written in full, provides an approximate date), the names only once being interrupted by the term *μύσται* in col. b, line 8. Some of the names are followed by abbreviated titles of the type *βασι.*, *μυσταρ.*

As far as I can see, the origin of this inscription from Prusa has not been questioned.¹ However, even those with only a slight knowledge of

¹ This inscription is mentioned at least by P. Herrmann, *EA* 20 (1992) 72, and by Cl. Brixhe and A. Panayotou in *Bull. épigr.* 1994, 570, but these scholars do not disagree with the alleged origin from Prusa. In what seems to be the only review of the volume, that by G. Thür in *ZRG* 113 (1996) 476–8, this inscription is not touched upon.

Cyzicene epigraphical habits must recognize at once that this is another inscription from Cyzicus. That this is the case is in fact so obvious that this does not seem to be in need of demonstration. However, as this can be done easily and without using much space, let me present here the arguments leading to the inevitable conclusion. These are based partly on the abbreviated titles, partly on the personal names.

But let us start with a definition of the *genre* of the inscription: we are clearly dealing with a text belonging to the category of prytany lists, a category which is well attested in Cyzicus exactly in this period. It is true that it is somewhat difficult to get an overview of this material, as there is no modern comprehensive edition of the lists, but one may grasp a good picture of the nature of the texts by having a look at those lists published in *CIG* 3662 ff. and at some of the less fragmentary ones in *AM* (especially *AM* 16 (1891) 438 f. and 26 (1901) 121 ff.). The prytany lists begin with a prescript (e.g. *AM* 26 (1901) 121 ff., A, line 1 ff. Ἰππαρχοῦντος ..., γραμματεῦοντος δὲ ..., ἀρχιερέως δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τ[οῦ] ἐν Κυζίκῳ ..., ἄρχοντος τοῦ καλλίου ..., οἶδε ἐπρυτάνευσαν μῆνα ... καὶ κέκαλλίασαν μῆνα ...).² This is followed by the lists of names. In many cases, persons referred to as μύσται are grouped under this very heading at the end of a given list (e.g. in the inscription mentioned above this happens in line 45 ff.). Among the persons not described as μύσται many have abbreviated titles of the type βασι(λεύς). In the case of most of these titles, the number of people equipped with them varies; however, there does not seem to be a list mentioning more than one ἐπὶ τῶν θυμάτων. Furthermore, there is no list in which one would find all the various titles and, where one finds the more common ones, an exact hierarchy is not easily discernible; one sees, however, that the ἐπὶ τῶν θυμάτων (not appearing in all lists) normally comes after the μυστάρχης and before the βασιλεῖς.³

² The exact nature of a κάλλιον and of the activity referred to usually as καλλιᾶζω is not clear; cf. N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (1983) 205 with the refs. in nn. 1239 f.

³ Thus in *CIG* 3663, A, 15; *AM* 6 (1881) 43 ff., ii, b 16; *AM* 16 (1891) 438 f., i, line 18; *AM* 26 (1901) 121 ff., A, line 16 ff. (but note e.g. how one person designated as ἱερ. appears in line 12, whereas the rest of the persons with this title appear in line 29 ff.). In *AM* 6 (1881) 43 ff., i, line 26, the ἐπ(ὶ) θυ(μάτων) appears in the middle of persons without titles (but later than the μυστάρχης) and the βασιλεῖς, preceding the μυστάρχης, appear at the head of the list.

Now let us have a look at *I. Prusa 52*, the inscription to be discussed here. In column *a*, the first line which has been preserved opens with [--- Με]νεκράτης μυστάρ(χης). After one line, there is in line 3 [--- Συμ]φόρου (for the restoration cf. line 4) ἐπὶ τῶν θυ(μάτων),⁴ who is followed by five βασιλεῖς (line 4–8); in line 10, we find, as in many prytany lists from Cyzicus, a person described as ἱερ(οφάντης?).⁵ In addition to these, we also find two persons (in lines 2 and 4) referred to as φιλ(ότιμος).⁶ In column *b*, we find the heading μύσται in line 8 and their names in line 9 ff. In column *c*, there is perhaps a μυστάρχης in line 7 and βασιλεῖς at least in lines 11 and 12.

All this would be rather singular in a city like Prusa or, in fact, in practically any city. But if this is another fragment of a prytany list from Cyzicus, all details fit perfectly in with everything that is known from the other lists. It is true that there are some details for which there do not seem to exist parallels in other published prytany lists. However, this is certainly not a problem, since the lists tend to be fairly idiosyncratic and since most of the lists of which larger fragments have been preserved present features of their own, especially in the choice of titles attached to the persons appearing in the lists; one concludes that there was a great number of titles (and their combinations) in use.⁷ In any case, let us have a quick look at the novelties.

⁴ This person (e.g. [Δημήτριος Συμ]φόρου) is thus not a Roman citizen. The person in line 4 may well be a brother.

⁵ Thus H. G. Lolling, *AM* 13 (1888) 309; J. H. Mordtmann, *AM* 16 (1881) 438. (Boeckh in his commentary on *CIG* 3663 [p. 921; repeated by Ehrhardt, *op. cit.* (n. 2) 511 n. 1233] could not know that in inscriptions to be published later this title would appear alone and not followed by φιλ.) Persons with this designation also appear in *CIG* 3663, B, 10; *AM* 16 (1891) 438 f., i, line 19; *AM* 26 (1901) 121 ff. A, lines 12 and 28 ff.

⁶ The abbreviation φιλ., φιλ. φιλολ., appearing in almost all prytany lists, sometimes more or less sporadically here and there (e.g. *CIG* 3662 line 3; *CIG* 3664, i, line 50; ii, line 45. 48; *AM* 6 (1881) 43 ff., iii, 31; *AM* 16 (1891) 438 f., II, col. ii, line 9; col. iii line 4), sometimes in sequences (e.g. *CIG* 3664, ii, lines 16–8 and 23 f.; *AM* 16 (1891) 438 f., I, col. i, lines 6–8; II, col. i, lines 2–12; col. ii, lines 4–6; col. iii, lines 11 f.; *AM* 26 (1901) 121 ff., A, lines 37–40 and 48–50. 52; *JHS* 22 (1902) 205 f. lines 21–9) and attached also to persons included in the lists of μύσται, has been interpreted as φιλ(ότιμος) at least since Boeckh on *CIG* 3662 (although he adds "nec novi melius"). The book of F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (1910) is not very useful on the prytany lists, which are mentioned only in passing on p. 212 f.

⁷ Cf. H. G. Lolling, *AM* 13 (1888) 309, on the new titles appearing in the inscription quoted here as *AM* 16 (1891) 438 f.; C. Smith and R. de Rustafjaell, *JHS* 22 (1902) 207,

In line 4, we have a βασι(λεύς), φιλ(ότιμος), a combination not yet attested as such. However, we know that some persons could use more than one title (cf. *CIG* 3663, B, line 1 γραμματεὺς καὶ φυλ(άρχης)); and φιλότιμος also often appears in the lists of μύσται, cf. n. 6), and in any case there is a parallel in *CIG* 3663, B, line 10, βασ. καὶ ἱερ. φι. On the other hand, I cannot produce an explanation for the *Y* having been added after βασι. in col. *a*, line 8. Corsten in the commentary on *I. Prusa* 52 thinks (clearly without much enthusiasm) that it might stand for υ(ιός), the result being βασι(λέως) υ(ιός), but I am not sure the son of a *basileus* is needed here; if one operates with the assumption that *Y* stands for υ(ιός), one should perhaps rather think of a mechanical rendering of the latin *f(ilius)* added to names in order to point out that someone is the son of someone else (and often to be translated as "the Younger"). In this case, one should understand βασι(λεὺς) υ(ιός). However, this does not seem very convincing and the presence (apparently) of an inexplicable *I* after the name in line 9 may justify the application of a *non liquet* to these two letters.

There remains (in col. *a*, line 2) the worrying text [---]οίνου ὁ κὲ φιλ. One possible explanation could be that this is an error of the stonecutter and that a name is missing between κὲ and φιλ. (a parallel could be [--- ὁ] καὶ Κλαύδι(ο)ς φι. in *AM* 16 (1891) 438 f., ii, line 2). However, for some reason the prytany lists seem to produce men with extra names introduced by ὁ καὶ mainly in such cases when one has the name of one's father, e.g. Ὁνήσιμος β' ὁ κὲ Τελεσφόρος (*AM* 6 (1881) 43 ff., iii, line 41).⁸ More important is however that we do have a ligature of an *Y* and an *O* here, but not of the last two letters of the filiation but rather of the (alleged) final *Y* and the *O* of the (alleged) ὁ. However, is this really a ligature of an *Y* and an *O*? We have here a straight vertical bar running through the *O*, and this could of course be seen as the lower part of an *Y* (the upper part being placed above the *O*). On the other hand, an *O* with a straight vertical line inside can also be seen as a Φ , and the truth is that, if one pursues this line of thought, one finds that the ligature described above is used regularly in the prytany lists to render a combination of a Φ and a *Y*, not that of an *O* and an

on the inscription published *ibid.* 205 f.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.* line 45; *AM* 16 (1891) 438 f., ii, line 10; *JHS* 24 (1904) 34 f. line 2. On the other hand, note also *CIG* 3664 line 7, [---]πλήτου ὁ καὶ Εὐφήμου, where apparently an adoption is referred to (a similar case can be found in *AM* 26 (1901) 121 ff., B, line 50).

Y.⁹ What is even better, in *CIG* 3663, A, line 14, it is exactly this ligature which appears at the end of the slightly abbreviated title οἰνοφύ(λαξ). So I suggest that, instead of [---]οἴνου ὁ κὲ φιλ., the correct reading in *I. Prusa* 52 should be οἰνοφύ(λαξ) κὲ φιλ., this title again taking us back to Cyzicus.¹⁰

Although I am not sure this is really needed, I would like to conclude by pointing out how well the inscription in Prusa fits in with the material from Cyzicus also from an onomastical point of view. In the list, we find persons with the following nomina: *Aelius* (b 12 f., c 10); *Aurunculeius* (Αὐρουκκλήιος Φούλβι(ο)ς b 4); *Caecina* (Λ. Καικίνα Σωσίβις b 11); *Cassius* (Κ. Κάσσιος Ἰοῦστος b 9); *Cattius* (Μ. Κάττιος Ῥοῦφος c 7); *Claudius* (b 6); *Clodius* (b 2, 14); *Fabius* ([.] Φάβιος Εὔτυχος b 17); *Flavius* (c 13); *Iulius* (four instances; a P. Iulius in b 10); *Luceius* (Λ. Λοκκήιος Κρίσπος c 6); *Messius* (Γ. Μέσσιος Ζώσιμος c 5); *Ogulnius* (Μ. Ὀγόλνιος Ἀγάθων c 8); *Pomponius* (Πομπώνιος Κίσσος b 3); *Vibius* (Βείβιος Ἐρμῆς c 9). Now if one compares these names with the names in the index to *I. Prusa*, one finds that, if this inscription were from Prusa, the following names would be the only instances in Prusa: *Aurunculeius Caecina Cassius Cattius Fabius Iulius* (with the praenomen *P.*) *Luceius Messius Ogulnius Vibius*. Things change very much if one considers this to be an inscription from Cyzicus; indeed, except for *Aurunculeius Cattius* and *Ogulnius*, which I think now make their entrance into the repertory of Roman *nomina* in Cyzicus, all of the above names are attested in inscriptions from the same city published previously.¹¹

⁹ Cf. *CIG* 3663, B, line 5; *AM* 6 (1881) 43 ff., iii, line 5 (with the facsimile between pp. 44 and 45); *AM* 16 (1891) 437 f., I, col. i, line 16 and 20; II, col. iii, line 17 (see the facsimile in *AM* 13 (1888), between pp. 304 and 305). In these cases this ligature is used in the expressions φύλαρχος and ὑφάντης.

¹⁰ For the use of κέ (the ligature may perhaps also be regarded as a symbol of sorts representing καί), cf. *CIG* 3663, B, lines 1 and 10.

¹¹ *Caecina*: there are many instances (with the praenomen *L.* *I. Kyzikos* I 433; *AM* 16 (1891) 437 f., I, col. i, line 21). *Cassius*: *CIG* 3662, line 9; *CIG* 3664, col. ii, line 37; *AM* 26 (1901) 121 ff., B, line 63; *JHS* 22 (1902) 204 ff., lines 13 and 36. The praenomen *Quintus* does not seem to have been attested previously. *Fabius*: *CIG* 3664, col. ii, line 48. *Iulius* (with the praenomen *P.*): *JHS* 22 (1902) 204 ff. line 34. *Luceius*: *CIG* 3662, line 7 (*L.*); *CIG* 3665, col. i, lines 42 f.; *AM* 26 (1901) 121 ff., A, line 17; *JHS* 24 (1904) 34 f. (*L.*); *BMC* Mysia 58 no. 280. *Messius*: *AM* 16 (1891) 437 f., I, col. ii, line 24; *AM* 26 (1901) 121 ff., B, line 52 (?) (*C.*). *Vibius*: there are many instances in the prytany lists (note also e.g. *CIG* 3661; *I. Kyzikos* I 389). Note furthermore that *Pomponius*, attested in

My conclusion is, then, that *I. Prusa* 52 must be regarded as originating in Cyzicus and that it represents a category well-known there, that of the prytany lists. As the stone is not described as having been inscribed on both sides (a characteristic peculiar to many of the lists), it belongs to the same category as e.g. *AM* 6 (1881) 42 f. no. 1; *ib.* 43 ff. no. 2; and (possibly) *CIG* 3662. For inscriptions from Cyzicus which have ended up in Bursa, cf. e.g. *I. Kyzikos* I 2. 30. 34. 38. 45. 54 etc.; *SEG* 41, 1079, 1082; 43, 898.

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Prusa, is also attested in Cyzicus (*CIG* 3663, A, lines 13 and 15; possibly *AM* 16 (1891) 437 f., II, col. ii, line 9). As for the names now attested also in Cyzicus, *Aurunculeius* was previously known only in Ephesus (*I. Ephesos* 3016), *Cattius* in Thessalonica (*SEG* 43, 462; cf. *Cattianus* in Antandrus, *SEG* 46, 1559), *Ogulnius* in Ephesus (*I. Ephesos* 1629), Philippi (*BCH* 61 (1937) 419 no. 14) and Delos (*I. Delos* 2354bis, a latish inscription).

LAETINUS' FIEBERKURVE
Zur Textüberlieferung von Martial 12, 17, 9/10

WERNER J. SCHNEIDER

Unter denjenigen Epigrammen des zwölften Buches, die sich des gemeinsamen *cenipeta*-Motivs wegen zu einem kleinen Zyklus zusammenschließen,¹ nimmt 17 eine Sonderstellung ein, da Martial hier die Personifikation der *febris* als Mahlzeitenjäger einführt. Vor dem Hintergrund der bestens dokumentierten Geschichte dieser in Rom als Gottheit und Kultempfänger etablierten Gestalt² nimmt sich eine solche Idee, das Fieber als Gast und Teilhaber an allen möglichen Annehmlichkeiten des Lebens auftreten zu lassen, weniger bizarr aus als den Modernen zunächst vielleicht ersichtlich (Mart. 12, 17):

*Quare tam multis a te, Laetine, diebus
non abeat febris quaeris et usque gemis.
gestatur tecum pariter pariterque lavatur;
cenat boletos, ostrea, sumen, aprum;
5 ebria Setino fit saepe et saepe Falerno
nec nisi per niveam Caecuba potat aquam;
circumfusa rosis et nigra recumbit amomo,
dormit et in pluma purpureoque toro.
cui sit tam pulchre, quae tam bene vivat apud te,
10 ad Damam potius vis tua febris eat?*

So lautet der Text des Epigramms in Shackleton Baileys neuer Teubneriana und der dieser folgenden lateinisch-englischen Loeb-Edition.

¹ J. Scherf, "Zur Komposition von Martials Gedichtbüchern 1–12", in: F. Grewing (Hsg.), *Toto notus in orbe. Perspektiven der Martial-Interpretation* (Palingenesia 65), Stuttgart 1998, 119 ff. hier 132 und ders., *Untersuchungen zur Buchgestaltung Martials* (BzA 142), München – Leipzig 2001, 49.

² B. Schaffner, "Febris", in: *DNP* IV (1998) 455.

Das finale Distichon hatte in den bisherigen Ausgaben indessen recht anders ausgesehen, so bei Lindsay in seiner wegweisenden Oxoniana vom Anfang des Jahrhunderts, die bis in die 80er Jahre hinein Neuauflagen erlebte:

*cum recubet pulchre, cum tam bene vivat apud te,
ad Damam potius vis tua febris eat?*

Ein Blick in den app. crit. zu Vers 9 liefert Aufschluß:

*cui sit tam Shackleton Bailey : cum sit ei β : cum si te γ :
cum sit tam excerpta Parisina : cum recubet T*

quae Shackleton Bailey : cum Tβγ

Es ist in der Philologie nicht anders als in der Medizin: nicht immer setzt die heilende Hand des Experten am rechten Glied an; die Folgen können unabsehbar sein. So führt der doppelte Eingriff in den Text durch den jüngsten Editor als Resultat zu einem alles andere als eleganten Vers mit den zwei voneinander im Casus abweichenden Relativpronomina, während die handschriftliche Überlieferung doch zumindest in diesem Punkt völlig einhellig anaphorisches *cum – cum* bietet. Gewiß ist die Varianz der Handschriftenklassen im Abschnitt bis zur Penthemimeris ein Problem, doch verdient hier eher das an den vorausgehenden Pentameter anschließende *recubet* den Vorzug,³ was von Lindsay und anderen auch so eingeschätzt worden war. Ich möchte daher bei der Textkonstitution des Hexameters dem früheren Editor folgen.

Doch liegt nach meinem Dafürhalten in der Überlieferung des Schlußverses ein gewisser Anstoß. Dem Gang der Argumentation nach ist es nämlich nicht unbedingt plausibel, daß der Pentameter den Wunsch des Kranken mit einer Frage in Zweifel zieht, auf die es in diesem Zusammenhang nur ein *Nein* als zu erwartende Antwort geben kann. Was denn um alles in der Welt sollte der angeredete Laetinus dagegenhaben, daß die hartneckig bei ihm verweilende *febris* sich auf und davon macht zu Gott weiß wem, und wenn er denn Damas hieße und ein armer Teufel wäre! Man müßte sich schon mit einer Nuance in der Betonung oder dem Allheilmittel

³ Anders Shackleton Bailey, der im app. crit. der Teubneriana zur Überlieferung von T bemerkt: "interpolatum ex v. 7, post quem misere flaccet".

der Ironie behelfen, um die Dinge irgendwie erträglich zu machen, also etwa: Wo es doch das Fieber bei dir so gut hat, wie kannst du da nur wollen, daß es besser zu Damas ziehe?

Das Unbehagen, das ich meine, betrifft mithin die Wendung *vis* und wird möglicherweise bestätigt durch einen neuerlichen Blick in den app. crit., wo jedenfalls noch die ältere Edition von Lindsay es für nötig gehalten hatte, die Überlieferungsvariante *vir C^A* zu verzeichnen. Hinter diesem hier völlig sinnlosen Wort steckt, wie ich glaube, rudimentär noch die originale Lautung des Textes. Ich postuliere als die vom Autor beabsichtigte Form:

*cum recubet pulchre, cum tam bene vivat apud te,
ad Damam potius cur tua febris eat?*

Durch das jetzt in Hexameter und Pentameter gleichbleibende Subjekt gewinnt die Aussage an Eindringlichkeit und Prägnanz. Vor allem aber ist der oben aufgezeigte Widersinn beseitigt, daß Laetinus sich in seinem Verlangen nach Heilung den Blickwinkel der *febris* hätte zueigen machen sollen. Ihm kann es doch bei seinem Bemühen, das Fieber loszuwerden, ganz gleich sein, ob sich dieses bei ihm bisher wohlbefunden hat oder nicht!

Was am Ende für die (scherzhafte) Argumentation des Sprechers zählt, ist die vorgeführte Perspektive der *febris* und nicht die des Kranken. Und weiter: Das nunmehr im Fragesatz restituierte *cur^A* greift zurück auf die das Epigramm eröffnende Frage und rundet den Text im Sinn einer gelungenen Ringkomposition:

*quare tam multis a te, Laetine, diebus
non abeat febris quaeris et usque gemis.*

...

*cum recubet pulchre, cum tam bene vivat apud te,
ad Damam potius cur tua febris eat?*

Für die Verschreibung zu *vis* darf wohl das voranstehende *potius* verantwortlich gemacht werden. Einer ähnlichen Assimilation unterliegt der

⁴ An den Dialogpartner gerichtete Fragen mit *cur* und Konjunktiv abundieren in den valerianischen Epigrammen, wie ein Blick in Siedschlags Wortkonkordanz schnell zeigen kann; cf. e.g. 3, 99, 3/4: *cur ludere nobis / non liceat, licuit si iugulare tibi?*; 7, 87, 9/10: *blanda Cupidinei cur non amet ora Labycae, / qui videt haec dominis monstra placere suis?*; 10, 3, 11/12: *cur ego laborem notus esse tam prave, / constare gratis cum silentium possit?*

Überlieferungsfehler *cui C^A* für *cur* in 10. 50. 8 (vor *fuit*).

Zum Schluß noch ein Wort zum maliziösen Motiv der einer bespotteten Person fortdauernd anhänglichen *febris*: man wird als Parallele, vielleicht sogar als Anregung die Gottheit dieses Namens erwägen, die der skoptischen Phantasie Senecas zufolge dem Kaiser Claudius von Geburt an anhing, um auch im Tode nicht von ihm abzufallen und als das einzige göttliche Geleit ihm ins Jenseits zu folgen (*apocol.* 6).

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ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CIC. NEUE COGNOMINA UND KEIN ENDE

Hier wieder eine neue Auslese.

Ambitio: *C. Marcius C. f. Ambitio* hieß ein Mitglied der munizipalen Oberklasse in Venafrum, aus mehreren teilweise unveröffentlichten lokalen Inschriften bekannt (vorläufig *AE* 1999, 462. 563).¹ Sein Cognomen ist neu. Zur Bildung vgl. die Männernamen *Cognatio* (*AE* 1925, 61 aus Spalato),² *Natio* (*EE* VIII 531), *Optio* (Kajanto 320, dazu *CIL* X 3664, 9 corr.)³ (freilich ist mask. *optio* durchaus üblich). Anders steht der Typ *Auctio*, *Fortunatio*, *Speratio* usw., wobei der Name aus demjenigen auf *-tus* gebildet ist.

* Olli Salomies und Mika Kajava haben auf bewährte Weise das Manuskript durchgesehen und mich auf einige neue Cognomina aufmerksam gemacht. Jaime Curbera von der Arbeitsstelle "Inscriptiones Graecae" an der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften hat die Güte gehabt, Lesungen attischer Inschriften anhand von Abklatschen für mich nachzuprüfen. Jukka Tuominen hat mich bei Exzerpierung von epigraphischen Indices und CD-ROM-Konkordanzen unterstützt. Einen ganz besonderen Dank schulde ich Manfred G. Schmidt für die sprachliche Durchsicht des Textes; er hat auch die Güte gehabt, mir den Beleg den neuen Cognomens *Ballans* mitzuteilen.

¹ Vgl. M. Kajava – H. Solin, *Epigraphica Venafrana* (in Vorbereitung).

² Fehlt bei G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (BNF Beih. 4), Heidelberg 1969 und in *OPEL* II, es scheint sich aber, entgegen der Auslegung des Erstherausgebers Bulić, um einen Personennamen zu handeln, vgl. *AE* ad loc. Aufgrund der hier aufgezählten (und anderen) Parallelen bereitet es keinerlei Schwierigkeiten, einen Männernamen *Cognatio* neben fem. *cognatio* anzunehmen.

³ Statt *M. Maecius //ens*, wie es im *CIL* steht, ist *M. Maecius Option* zu lesen; das Cognomen *Optio* hat hier eine gräzisierungsendung, wie es zuweilen passiert. Ferner ist der Name des Schiffes, in dem der Soldat diente, *ex III Venere* statt *ex III III/SEO* zu lesen. Die Neulesung beruht auf einer Aufnahme der in Kelsey Museum befindlichen Inschrift.

Antoninianus: *Rep.* 293. *Arctos* 32 (1998) 236. Dazu *AE* 1999, 1584 (Hierapolis) τόπος Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντιο[χί]δο[υ]ς Μακεδόνοϛ Πολυδεύκοϛ Ἀνωτεινιανοῦ Ἰουδέου.

Augustulus: Kajanto 316 mit einem Beleg für den Männer- (der Kaiser Romulus) und 4 für den Frauennamen. Dazu *ICUR* 24770 (Männernamen).

Avitinus: *AE* 1999, 1129 *Titullius Avitinus* (Germania superior).

Ballans: M. G. Schmidt, in: *Studium declamatorium. Festschrift für J. Dingel* (BzA 176), München – Leipzig 2003 (im Druck) *M. Licinius Felix qui et Ballans* aus Thamugadi (etwa Anfang des 3. Jh. n. Chr.). Supernomen aus dem Partizip *ballans* gebildet wie die spätere Weiterbildung *Ballantius* (Kajanto 357 aus *CIL* VIII 4355); vgl. ferner *Ballator* Kajanto 361 aus *CIL* VIII 7960. Zu notieren sei, dass alle Belege aus Numidien kommen.

Βαριανή: *I. Magnesia am Maeander* 122, a, 10. b, 15. d, 8 Ἐφ(εσία) (4. Jh. n. Chr.). Kajanto 142 verzeichnet nur den Männernamen *Barianus* mit einem Beleg. Es liegt aber naturgemäß *Variana* vor, von dem Kajanto 158 sechs Belege registriert.

Βάριλλα: *I. Magnesia am Maeander* 122 d, 3 (4. Jh. n. Chr.). Vgl. *Varilla* Kajanto 242 mit 11 Belegen.

Βάσιλος: *I. Priene* 313, 200 (der Herausgeber datiert alle τόπος-Inschriften ins 1. Jh. v. Chr., was in Einzelfällen zu früh zu sein scheint). Vgl. *Bassillus Rep.*² 497.

Batavus: Kajanto 201 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 8802. *AE* 1999,1593b (308–310 n. Chr.), ein neuer Statthalter der Provinz Asia Οὐαλ(έριος) Βαταός.

Batriana: *RIU* II 540 (Brigetio) *L. Caecilia Batrianae* (sic); so zu lesen, vgl. E. Pochmarski, in: *Akten des Symposiums "125 Jahre Sarkophag-Corpus", Marburg 4.–7. Oktober 1995*, hrsg. von G. Koch (Sarkophag-Studien 1), Mainz 1998, 186 Nr. 31, Taf. 88,2 (anhand des Photos lässt die Lesung sich mit Sicherheit festlegen). Zum Gentilicium *Vatrius* zu stellen, das auch in Pannonien belegt ist (*CSIR Österreich* I 4, 456). Mika Kajava verdanke ich die Anregung zur Festlegung dieses neuen Namens.

Caecilides: Coripp. *Ioh.* 3, 47 *vester Caecilides illa de parte tribunus*; ferner 7, 375. 475. Zweiter Name von Liberatus, tribunus in Afrika etwa 545–548 n. Chr. *Caecilides* wird üblicherweise als Patronymikon von Liberatus angesehen;⁴ dieser sei also Sohn eines Caecilius.⁵ Dies kann

⁴ So etwa *PLRE* III 790; J. Blänsdorf, in: *Monumentum Chiloniense. Studien zur*

möglich sein; der Dichter hätte also die homerische Gewohnheit im Lateinischen imitiert und in Nachahmung klassischer Dichter wie Vergil das heroische Patronymikon anstelle von *tribunus* gewählt. Der Typ des heroischen Patronymikons ist in der lateinischen Dichtung gut bekannt, wie etwa *Alcides Atrides Pelides* zeigen, weniger entwickelt außerhalb des Kreises großer Heroen (bei Vergil sind belegt nur *Belides Epytides Larides Phillyrides*); von zeitgenössischen historischen Personen wird er nicht gebraucht. So würde Corippus Usus ein Unicum darstellen, weswegen man sich fragt, ob *Caecilides* nicht als zweiter Name des Tribuns gedeutet werden könnte. Corippus gebraucht abwechselnd alle drei Benennungen, *Liberatus*, *Caecilides* und *tribunus*, er zeigt also einen Hang zur *variatio*, so dass, wenn der Tribun mehr als einen Namen gehabt hätte, was bei einem Vertreter der Oberklasse sehr naheliegend ist, Corippus auf beide Namen zurückgegriffen hätte. Freilich ist einzuräumen, dass mit *-ides* keine Cognomina aus lateinischen Stämmen gebildet wurden; dagegen kennen wir aus dem griechischen Osten den Namen Ἰουλιάδης (s. *Arctos* 35 [2001] 203 und hier unten S. 112), dessen Träger gar nicht Söhne eines Iulius zu sein brauchen. Und in der Spätantike begegnet *Planciades* als Name eines zum Senatorenstand gehörigen Literaten Fabius Claudius Gordianus Planciades Fulgentius aus dem frühen 5. Jh. (*PLRE* II 488), bei welchem wir nichts über die Motive der Verleihung dieses Namens wissen; jedenfalls kennen wir keinen einzigen *Plancus* o. ä. benannten Senator aus der Spätantike; an sich könnte dieser Planciades den Anspruch erhoben haben, unter seinen Ahnen einen Plancus zu zählen, was auch für *Liberatus* zutreffen könnte. Andererseits kann aber hinter der Wahl von *Planciades* wie auch *Caecilides* eine ganz andersartige Motivation stecken.

Camerensis (?). Diesen Namen kann man mit gebotener Vorsicht aus στρατιώτ(ης) σπείρη(ς) Νίγρου Καμερησιανῆς *O. Tait* I 245 aus tiberischer Zeit erschließen. Die Kohorte hieß zur Zeit der Niederschrift der Urkunde *cohors Nigri*, behielt aber den Namen des früheren Befehlshabers in der adjektivischen Form *Camerensiana* bei.⁶ Zugrunde muss ein

augusteischen Zeit. Kieler Festschrift für E. Burck, Amsterdam 1975, 535 Anm. 17; Ch. O. Tommasi Moreschini, *Flavii Cresconii Iohannidos liber III*, Firenze 2001, 111.

⁵ *Caecilius* ist im Afrika des 6. Jh. belegt: G. Camps, *Ant. Afr.* 20 (1984) 217.

⁶ Vgl. M. P. Speidel, "The Eastern Desert Garrisons under Augustus and Tiberius", in: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II. Vorträge des 10. Int. Limeskongresses* (BJJ Beih. 38), Köln 1977, 511–515. H. Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrum quae*

Toponym liegen, entweder *Cameria*, Name einer verschollenen Stadt in Latium, deren Ethnikon auf Latein nicht überliefert ist (aber das senatorische Cognomen *Camerinus* kann daraus abgeleitet sein), oder eher *Camerinum*, Name der umbrischen Stadt. Ihre Einwohner hießen *Camertes*, aber dem Namengeber mag eine unbelegte Form *Camerinensis* vorgeschwebt haben (s. aber *Camerinenses* Flor. *epit.* 2, 11, 13 aus der sizilischen Gegend), die dann zu **Camerensis* abgekürzt wurde. Solche freiere Handhabung bei mit diesem Suffix gebildeten Namen ist nichts Außergewöhnliches. Ein Offizier der frühen Kaiserzeit konnte übrigens sehr gut aus Umbrien stammen, und nichts hindert uns daran zu denken, dass der Namensträger sein Cognomen aufgrund seiner Herkunft entweder aus Camerinum oder aus einer benachbarten Stadt erhalten hätte.

Caprasina: s. *Arctos* 33 (1999) 196 Nr. 59.

Comilianus: vgl. unten S. 139.

Exsuperator: Kajanto 277 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1999, 1089 (Belgica) *Iullinius Exuperator*.

Fructilla: Kajanto 352 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1999, 322 (Rom) *Claudia Fructilla*.

Φούσκιλλος: *IG* II² 2024, 104 (ca. 112 n. Chr.), Ephebe, Milesier. Kajanto 228 kennt nur den Frauennamen *Fuscilla*.

Gallitana: Kajanto 194 mit einem Beleg (aus Lukanien). Dazu *AE* 1999, 527 (Aecae) [*G*]allitana (die Ergänzung ist sicher). 637 (zwischen Caere und Veii) *Vetulena Gallitana*.

Γναῖος: Unbekannt als Cognomen oder Individualname in Rom,⁷ wird *Gnaeus* in der griechischen Welt gelegentlich verwendet.⁸ Besonders häufig ist es in Athen belegt: *LGPN* II verzeichnet 10 Belege, von denen die ältesten dem Ende des 2. Jh. v. Chr. gehören; der Rest stammt aus der späten Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit (der letzte genauer datierte Beleg weist

fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum IV, Suppl. 1, Leuven 1987, 1535.

⁷ Ganz unsicher als Zeugnis für ein Cognomen bleibt *ICUR* 18576, wo der Editor Ferrua *Gnaeus* (beim Vater) und *Gnaea* (bei der Tochter) eben als Cognomina deuten wollte; vielmehr handelt es sich bei der Tochter um ein Gentilicium, das sie nach dem Vornamen ihres Vater erhalten hätte. – In *CIL* VI 10179 *Gnaea Pompeia* liegt sicher kein umgekehrtes Cognomen vor, wie gelegentlich vermutet.

⁸ Fernzuhause ist der Männernamen *Cnaea(s)*, als Cognomen eines kilikischen Flottensoldaten belegt: *AE* 1985, 994a = 1986, 526 (158 n. Chr.) *Cn. Antonio Tuae f. Cnaeae Selinunt(e) ex Cilicia*. Mit anderen ähnlichen Bildungen (vgl. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 236) ist er eher als kleinasiatisch zu bewerten.

in die Jahre 108/109 n. Chr.). Vereinzelt Beispiele kennen wir von der Peloponnes und aus Mittel- und Westgriechenland,⁹ Makedonien und Thrakien,¹⁰ sowie von den Inseln des Ägäischen Meeres,¹¹ die vom 2. Jh. v. Chr. bis in die Kaiserzeit reichen. Nur ganz sporadisch belegt in Kleinasien,¹² Ägypten (*SB* 7169, 12 aus dem 2. Jh. v. Chr.)¹³ und in der Kyrenaika.¹⁴ Zuletzt sei an den Gemmenschneider erinnert, der in frühaugusteischer Zeit arbeitete und seine Gemmen mit Γναῖος oder Γναίου signierte.¹⁵ Die ältesten Belege kommen aber aus dem Westen, freilich aus oskischem Umfeld; aus den schon berühmt gewordenen Inschriften aus Entella des 3. Jh. v. Chr. tritt ein Archont Γναῖος Ὀππίου ins Tageslicht (*SEG* XXX 1121. 1123), und in Neapel begegnet uns ein Münzbeamter Γναῖος (4./3. Jh., *BMC Italy* 105 Nr. 106): Diese Fälle spiegeln zweifellos den in gräzisiertem Form geschriebenen entsprechenden oskischen Vornamen wider.¹⁶ Lateinische Praenomina wurden modisch in der athenischen Nomenklatur, wie etwa Γάιος, Μᾶρκος und Πόπλιος zeigen, die alle beliebte Rufnamen in Athen wurden.¹⁷ *Gnaeus* ist aber nicht so populär geworden, und zwar vornehmlich aus zwei Gründen: *Gnaeus* wurde in Rom selbst nicht als Cognomen gebraucht, und es war auch als Praenomen nicht unter den beliebtesten. Der

⁹ Achaia, Aigina, Dalmatia (s. *LGPN* IIIA), Thessalien (*IG* IX 2, 550).

¹⁰ Rizakis – Touratsoglou, *Epigrafes ano Makedonias* (1985) 12 (Elimeia, Supernomen, 153/154 n. Chr.); *IGB* I² 322 (Mesembria, claudisch, gehörte der städtischen Oberschicht an).

¹¹ Delos, Thera, Chios, Lesbos (s. *LGPN* I).

¹² Milet: *IG* II² 9869; Priene: *I. Priene* 313, 696 ὁ τόπος Γναίου τοῦ Μηνοφίλου (diese τόπος-Inschriften werden vom Herausgeber ins 1. Jh. v. Chr. datiert); Kaisareia in Paphlagonien: *SEG* XLIII 918 (Sklave).

¹³ Der Charakter des Belegs als Einzelname scheint festzustehen.

¹⁴ Name eines Juden in Berenike im 1. Jh. n. Chr. (s. *LGPN* I).

¹⁵ Zu ihm zuletzt ausführlich G. Platz-Horster, *JWAG* 51 (1993) 11–21. Schon in *CIG* 7174.

¹⁶ Etwas obskur bleibt *IG* XIV 900 aus Capri. Und auszuschließen ist *IG* II² 1009 IV, 107 (117/116 v. Chr.), ein Ephebe namens Γναῖος [---]ου Ῥωμαῖος; ganz gewiss ist Γναῖος Vorname, scheint aber von Osborne – Byrne, *Foreign Residents of Athens*, Lovanii 1996, 267 Nr. 6272. 396 als Einzelname aufgefasst zu sein. Jaime Curbera hat anhand eines Abklatsches feststellen können, dass in der Lücke Raum für das Gentilicium und den Vatersnamen ist, so wie zwei Zeilen später Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Αὔλου steht.

¹⁷ Dazu s. H. Solin, "Latin Cognomina in the Greek East", in: *The Greek East in the Roman Context* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 7), Helsinki 2001, 194 f.

große Unterschied in der Beliebtheit zwischen Γάιος und Γναίος in Athen in der Kaiserzeit erklärt sich ferner dadurch, dass *Gaius*, außer dass es als Praenomen viel üblicher war als *Gnaeus*, von mehreren Kaisern geführt wurde, was naturgemäß zu seiner Popularität als Rufname im Osten beitrug. Kein Wunder auch, dass Γναίος im griechischen Osten außerhalb von Athen nur sporadisch belegt ist.

Italio: vgl. unten S. 139.

Ἰουλιάδης: vgl. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 203 mit drei Beispielen aus Milet und den Kykladen. Dazu noch T. Ῥώσκιος Ἰουλιάδης *I. Priene* 230 (ein ἐργεπιστατῶν, also lokaler Beamter; severisch).

Larensis: Kajanto 207 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CILAndal.* IV 43 *Valerius Laresis*.

Laurilla: Kajanto 334 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1999, 881 (Caurium, Lusitania) *Laurilla Lauri f.*

Mamus: Kajanto 176. Dazu Μᾶμος *CIL* IV 1502.

Ματινιανός: J. Covel, *Voyage en Turquie, 1675–1677, texte établi, annoté et traduit par J.-P. Grélois*, Paris 1998, Nr. 58 (Nikomedea) Μαξιμιανός φιλόσοφος, dessen Name von D. Feissel, *Bull. épigr.* 2000, 33 (= *AE* 1998, 1286) aufgrund der beigegebenen Zeichnung zu Recht in Ματεινιανός korrigiert wird. Das führt zu einem neuen Cognomen *Matinianus* (nicht *Matenianus* oder *Maternianus*, wie Feissel vermutet, denn -ειν- setzt -in- voraus), aus dem gut belegten Gentilnamen *Matinius* abgeleitet. Zufällig war früher *Matenianus* als Cognomen eines Senators belegt (Kajanto 160), das einen unbelegten Gentilnamen *Matenius* voraussetzt (soweit die Lesung mit -e- stimmt). Hier muss aber wegen -ειν-, wie gesagt, *Matinianus* angenommen werden.

Medicus: Kajanto 320 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1999, 341 (Rom, christlich). Der Name könnte auch als griechisch gedeutet werden, als ein Ethnikonname Μηδικός.

Naevolus: Kajanto 246 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *CIL* IV 4430 *Naevol(us)*.¹⁸

Nigrianus: Kajanto 228 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *IG* II² 2776, 119 (ca. 120–138 n. Chr.) Νιγριανός.¹⁹

¹⁸ Der Editor Mau liest *Naev[os?]*, was ausgeschlossen ist. Meine Lesung entnehme ich dem beigegebenen Apographon.

¹⁹ Es leuchtet nicht ohne weiteres ein, woher der Mann stammt. Zur Stelle vgl. S. G. Miller, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 84 f., der mit zwei Alternativen rechnet: Nigrianos ist Sohn

Novilla: siehe unten 137.

Officiosus (?): Kajanto 255 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 24459. *AE* 1998, 587 (Altinum, frühe Kaiserzeit, vielleicht augusteisch). *P. Favoni P. l. Officio(si)*; so nach einem Vorschlag von M. Kajava in *AE* verstanden (der Erstherausgeber hatte *officio* aufgefasst, was ausgeschlossen ist, denn der Freigelassene braucht ein Cognomen). Diese Auslegung scheint mir evident (wie auch die Lesung anhand des freilich nicht guten Photos in der editio princeps).

Paterc(u)lianus: zweites Cognomen des Senators Ti. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus (H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum*, Göttingen 1979, 195 Nr. 125) sowie seines Sohnes C. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus (*PIR*² C 800) aus Pergamon aus severischer Zeit.

Petellinus: *AE* 1999, 301 (Rom, Bleirohr) *L. Lusius Petellinus*. Vgl. *Petelinus Arctos* 34 (2000) 150; *Petelina ICUR* 12325.

Pinarianus: Kajanto 153 mit zwei Männer- und einem Frauennamen. Dazu *AE* 1999, 1781 (prov. proc., Ritter).

Primaria: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 215 mit einem Beleg aus Kition auf Kypros. Dazu *AE* 1999, 639 (zwischen Caere und Veii), Grabinschrift von Zwillingenschwestern namens *Primaria* und *Secundaria*. Kajanto kennt nur den Männernamen *Primarius* (290 mit einem Beleg). Dieser bemerkenswerte Fall der Namengebung von Zwillingen ist in meinem Büchlein *Namenpaare* (1990) 64 nachzutragen. Die zwei Namen wurden nach der Reihenfolge der Geburt zugelegt, sofern es sich um richtige Namen handelt und nicht bloss einen Notbehelf, um den jung gestorbenen Kindern überhaupt Namen zu geben.

Πριγκιπίων: Πριγκιπίων Ἰαφροῦ *AM* 6 (1881) 43–47 Nr. 2, II (Vorderseite) *b*, 27 (Kyzikos). Seltener Bildungen aus dieser Namensippe sind auch sonst aus dem griechischen Osten bekannt, so *Principinus -a*: s. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 215.

Rivus(?): Kajanto 339 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1999,453 (Puteoli, 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Q. Tedijs Rius Ilvir*. Nun ist der Typ der metonymisch als Personennamen gebrauchten topographischen Begriffe im

Achrades aus Ionidai, oder aber der Name Nigrianos steht allein. Nach Osborne – Byrne, *Foreign Residents* 55 stamme Nigrianos aus einer sonst ganz unbekanntem Ortschaft Ἀχραδοῦς, was durch nichts bewiesen ist.

Latein sehr selten; Kajanto führt deren nur fünf an,²⁰ und auch von ihnen gehören nicht alle hierher.²¹ Was speziell *Rivus* anbelangt, so ist der von Kajanto zitierte Beleg aus Gallia Cisalpina (Pais 1080, 357) eher als keltisch zu bewerten, wie auch der Kajanto noch nicht bekannte Beleg *RMS* 35 (133 n. Chr., ein pannonischer Soldat) sicher keltisch ist. Das Cognomen des puteolanischen Duovirn aber wurde als lateinisch wenigstens empfunden, so dass wir hier den ersten irgendwie sicheren Beleg des aus *rivus* gebildeten Cognomens *Rivus* vor uns hätten, sofern hinter der Schreibung RIVS nicht etwas ganz anderes steckt.

Ῥουσιανή: Greg. Naz. *Testam.* 44 (381 n. Chr., wohl aus Nazianzos, wenigstens ist die Namensträgerin eine Verwandte des Gregorios).²² Wohl zunächst auf Gent. *Rusius* zu beziehen, das auch in Kleinasien belegt ist.

Ruso: *Rep.*² 503. Dazu noch *CIL* II² II 5, 688 *Cornelius Rus[o]*. Hier sei noch angemerkt, dass dieser Name, und zwar wohl sicher als lateinisches Anthroponym, im kleinasiatischen Raum öfters belegt ist, vgl. L. Robert, *Etudes épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris 1938, 170 f. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 446.

Secundaria: siehe oben unter *Primaria*.

Sparsianus: Kajanto 356 mit einem Beleg. Vgl. ferner *CIL* X 7447 (Thermae Himeraeae), wo dieser Name möglicherweise für *Parsianus* vorliegen könnte, dazu siehe *Arctos* 32 (1998) 246.

Spurius: *Rep.* 407. Dazu einige griechische Belege: dreimal auf Delos (s. *LGPN* I 411). Diese Fälle sind als Einzelnamen zu bewerten, nicht als Praenomina oder als Gentilicia. Wie ein Σπόριος Ῥωμαῖος *IG* II² 1938, 40 (ca. 149/148 v. Chr.) in diesem Zusammenhang zu beurteilen ist, stehe dahin; vielleicht ein Römer, der bei der Niederlassung in Athen dort mit seinem Vornamen gerufen wurde.

Superatrix (?): s. unten 123.

²⁰ Der Liste bei Kajanto hinzuzufügen ist andererseits *Campus* aus *AE* 1937, 64 = 1938, 110 aus Luceria; vgl. *Arctos* 32 (1998) 238.

²¹ Vgl. H. Solin, "Från Mons till Berg", in: *Språkets speglingar. Festskrift till B. Bergh*, Lund 2000, 291–293.

²² In der Edition von J. Beaucamp, in *Fontes minores X* (Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 22), Frankfurt am Main 1998, 1–100. Denis Feissel hat die Güte gehabt, mir diesen Beleg mitzuteilen.

Urbanillus: Kajanto 311 mit einem Beleg für den Männernamen (*CIL* VIII 6704); üblicher bei Frauen (Kajanto zählt deren 20, von denen 18 aus Afrika). Dazu *AE* 1999, 934 *Fabio Urbanillo* (ich hege aber den Verdacht, es sei *Urbanilla* zu lesen).

Vatiana: s. oben *Batrana*.

Ventica: *CIL* VI 34675 (Photo in Thylander, *Op.Rom.* 4 [1962] 139 Nr. 23 Taf. VIII) *Beiena Bentica*. An der Lesung ist nicht zu zweifeln. Wahrscheinlich ist *Veiena Ventica* zu verstehen; die Inschrift lässt sich etwa ins 2. Jh. n. Chr. datieren, als ein Wechsel zwischen *v* und *b* schon ganz üblich war. *Veienus* ist ein gut bezeugtes Gentilicium, *Venticus -a* bisher aber nirgends belegt. Zugrunde liegt wohl ein an sich unbelegter Gentilname *Ventius*, dessen Existenz durch *Venticus Ventidius Ventilius Ventinius* gestützt wird und der Vorbild auch für andere Cognomina war: *Ventianus* (*CIL* XIII 11145), *Ventinus natione Heduus* (Vollmer *IBR* 260). Ein Gentilname *Venticus* vielleicht in *CIL* VI 15478; s. Salomies, *Rep.*² 490. Das Suffix *-icus* in Ableitungen aus Gentilnamen ist nicht sehr produktiv gewesen. Kajanto 166 führt deren einige an; hinzuzufügen sind *Granicus* (*I. Ephesos* 3853) und *Metticus* (*CIL* VI 15035).

CC. ZU INSCRIFTEN AUS SCHWEDISCHEN SAMMLUNGEN

Das Erscheinen der Edition antiker Inschriften, die sich in Schweden oder in Italien in schwedischem Besitz befinden, gibt mir die Gelegenheit, einige Bemerkungen zu ihrer Exegese beizusteuern: *A Survey of Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections*, edited by Bengt E. Thomasson in collaboration with Monica Pavese (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, series in 8° XXII), Stockholm 1997.²³

Ich beginne mit der berühmten Sammlung Axel Munthe in der Villa San Michele auf Anacapri, deren Inschriften seinerzeit von H. Thylander, *Inscriptions latines de San Michele d'Axel Munthe*, *OpRom* 4 (1962) 129–157 mit XIII Abbildungstafeln veröffentlicht wurden; in dem von Thomasson besorgten Band sind sie von Monica Pavese aufs neue zusammengestellt worden. Der Publikation von Thylander haften aber große Schwächen an; einiges wurde schon von L. Moretti, *RFIC* 92 (1964) 328–331 = *Tra*

²³ Dazu die wichtige Besprechung von K. Korhonen, *Arctos* 31 (1997) 235–238 (hier unten "Korhonen, *Arctos*" abgekürzt).

epigrafia e storia. Scritti scelti e annotati (Vetera 5), Roma 1990, 276–280 richtiggestellt, doch bleibt noch Raum für weitere Beobachtungen. Pavese ist ihrerseits bemüht gewesen, die von Moretti vorgebrachte Kritik zu berücksichtigen, doch kommt sie nur selten über das hinaus, was schon Moretti gesehen hatte; schlimmer noch haften auch ihrer Edition ähnliche schwere Schwächen an.²⁴ Im folgenden werden die schon von Moretti, Pavese und anderen vorgelegten Bemerkungen übergangen.²⁵ Ich habe in den Jahren 1997 und 1998 mit Mika Kajava und Kalle Korhonen und im Jahre 2002 mit Mika Kajava die Lesung mehrerer Inschriften auf Anacapri kontrolliert, was auch den folgenden Bemerkungen zugute gekommen ist.²⁶

Thylander 5 = Pavese 80 (*CIL* VI 5747). Ich habe die Inschrift im Jahre 1997 gesehen und ihre Lesung nochmals im Jahre 2002 kontrolliert. *a* 5 liest Thylander ANNICVLA, während Henzen, der den Text mit Dessau und Gatti im Jahre 1877 aufnahm, ANNCYLA las, was Mommsen zufolge für ANNVCLA stehen sollte. Keine der der vorgebrachten Lesungen ist richtig. ANNICVLA ist nicht möglich, auch nicht mit einem Nexus von N und I, welchen Thylander anzunehmen scheint (aus seiner eigentümlichen Art und Weise zu schließen, den Nexus mit Supralineatur zu bezeichnen). Und der drittletzte Buchstabe ist kein Y, sondern ein etwas stilisiertes V mit nach außen gebogenen Schräghasten. Der Stein bietet eindeutig ANNCVLA, wohl eine fehlerhafte Schreibung von *annicula*. Das literarisch oft belegte Wort *anniculus* 'einjährig' mit Varianten ist nicht ganz selten im epigraphischen Gebrauch (*ThIL* II 109 f., vollständiger Olcott I 320 f.),²⁷ und man darf es mit den Editoren und Olcott ohne weiteres hier vermuten. Das kleine Mädchen führte zwei Gentilicia, von denen das zweite, *Attia* (nicht *Annia*, wie Pavese fälschlich wiedergibt) vielleicht den Gentilnamen der Mutter darstellt, der hier die Funktion des Cognomens eingenommen hätte (um diese Zeit dürfte eine Person aus den niederen stadtrömischen

²⁴ Auffallend ist die unkritische und oberflächliche Arbeitsweise in der Exegese einzelner Inschriften. Man fragt sich auch, wie es eigentlich mit der epigraphischen Fertigkeit der Editorin steht.

²⁵ In *Tyche* 4 (1989) 167 zu Nr. 514 wird nachgewiesen, dass Thylander 19 schon in *CIL* VI 28515 steht (die Identität wird auch von Pavese verkannt).

²⁶ Ein herzlicher Dank dem Personal der Villa S. Michele für die Gastfreundschaft und die Unterstützung bei unserer Arbeit.

²⁷ Hier sei auf ein in diesen Repertorien noch fehlendes Wort hingewiesen: *anniclatus* in *ICUR* 23155.

Schichten nicht mehr des Cognomens entbehren). Die Mutter des kleinen Mädchens dürfte eine freigeborene Frau gewesen sein, da das Mädchen selbst Freigeborene war (Freilassung im Alter von einem Jahr wäre etwas ungewöhnlich). – *b* 1–3: der *C. Iulius divi Aug. l. Felix* war Ex-Sklave eines Iuvatus, vgl. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 204. Was Pavese zu *I(u)vatianus* sagt, ist besser zu vergessen. Warum übrigens Thylander die Inschrift zwischen 14 und 50 n. Chr. ansetzt, versteht man nicht (er verweist auf sein berüchtigtes Buch *Etude sur l'épigraphie latine*, wo aber nur von wenigen Ausnahmefällen gesprochen wird; die Zeit der Inschrift kann getrost eingeengt werden).²⁸

Thylander 9 (fehlt bei Pavese). Die Inschrift existiert nicht mehr in der Villa San Michele, ist also wahrscheinlich gestohlen worden. Auch ein Photo (oder Negativ) ist weder in der Villa noch im Schwedischen Institut in Rom vorhanden, was die Kontrolle der umstrittenen Lesung beträchtlich erschwert, denn das von Thylander publizierte Photo reicht nicht zur Festlegung des Wortlautes aus. Thylander gibt, ohne ein Wort der Erklärung, die zwei letzten Zeilen wie folgt wieder: CIPPOS·ET·SVPRA·PVTIM / DATVM·TIBVRTINOS. Abgesehen davon, dass auf dem Photo die Trennpunkte nicht gut erkennbar sind, bleibt DATVM recht unsicher: was auf dem Photo erkennbar ist, scheint nicht ein D darzustellen, und davor scheint noch ein winziger Rest eines Querstriches zu sehen zu sein (freilich bleibt dies wegen der schlechten Qualität der Reproduktion bei Thylander etwas unsicher). Auch PVTIM gibt zu bedenken. Wenn die Lesung stimmt, mag PVTIM (einen Nexus von I und V kann man anhand des Photos nicht eruieren) für *puteum* stehen. Könnte an so etwas wie *supra puteum [l]egatum* gedacht werden, mit dem Zugeständnis, dass auf dem Photo ein G nur erraten werden kann? Der Sinn wäre, dass Sutorius Nestor und Mescinius Hilarus Grenzsteine des Grabgeländes und Travertinstücke aufstellten, die oberhalb, jenseits eines vererbten Brunnens lagen. *Putei*, die für die Wasserversorgung auf Friedhöfen von Belang waren, werden nicht selten in Grabinschriften erwähnt. So mag das Vermächtnis eines Brunnens auf einem Grabgelände und die Erwähnung eines solchen vererbten Brunnens in einer Inschrift sepulcralen Zusammenhangs nicht unangebracht sein. Die

²⁸ Der Mann war im Jahre 14 n. Chr. ungefähr 30 Jahre alt oder älter; im Jahre 50 wäre er also wenigstens 65-jährig gewesen; jedoch besteht kein Grund, ein so hohes Alter anzunehmen, sofern andere Kriterien hierfür fehlen. Vgl. meine Ausführungen 'Abuso dell'onomastica nella ricerca epigrafica', in *Usi e abusi epigrafici* (im Druck).

Inschrifttafel, die aus julisch-claudischer Zeit zu stammen scheint, ist an sich keine eigentliche Grabinschrift, war aber wohl an einer Wand auf dem Friedhofsgelände angebracht, wie die auf dem Photo zu erkennenden Nagellöcher zeigen. Einer der beiden Dedikanten, Mescinius Hilarus, ist auch sonst in sepulkralen Stiftungsangelegenheiten aktiv gewesen, wenn der aus *CIL* VI 5683. 107 = 5683 a = 30693 (aus dem Gelände der Vigna Codini) bekannte C. Mescinius C. l. Hilarus derselbe ist; dieser hat den *di inferi* einen Altar und 12 Ollen für sich und seine Frau geweiht (die Identität kann nicht nachgewiesen werden, ist aber plausibel, da der Gentilname *Mescinius* sich keiner besonderen Verbreitung erfreut hat). Die meisten Zeugnisse der gens Mescinia konzentrieren sich auf das Gelände zwischen der via Appia und via Latina; eine ansehnliche Gruppe ist aus Kolumbarien in S. Cesareo bekannt (*CIL* VI 22429–22432), unter denen sich eine Mescinia Hilara befindet (*CIL* VI 22430), eine andere aus der vigna Acquari (*CIL* VI 6816–6818).²⁹ Der in der vigna Codini aktive C. Mescinius Hilarus war möglicherweise mit den aus den zwei übrigen Stellen bekannten Mescinii irgendwie verbunden, wenn die Mescinia Hilara aus S. Cesareo etwas mit ihm zu tun hat (mit ihr könnte außerdem noch *Mesc[inia Hila?]ra* aus der vigna Acquari *CIL* VI 6818 identisch sein); ferner ist eine Beziehung zwischen den Mescinii aus S. Cesareo und der vigna Acquari feststellbar, wenn *Mescinia Prima* 22432 und *Mescinia L. l. Prima* 6817 identisch sind. Zuletzt sei noch darauf hingewiesen, dass die Herkunft der Inschrift in San Michele auch in dieser Zone gesucht werden kann, denn Axel Munthes Sammlung umfasst viele Inschriften aus römischen Kolumbarien. Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass C. *Mescinius Hilarus* möglicherweise ein wichtiger Exponent der gens Mescinia war, der im Namen anderer Geschlechtsmitglieder in Stiftungszusammenhängen von Grabangelegenheiten agierte.

Thylander 10 = Pavese 89: 1 vor NE ein E; 2 die vor PV ersichtlichen winzigen Buchstabenreste führen nicht zu I; 3 Thylander liest VI, Pavese VIII, der Stein hat deutlich VI_{II}; 4 vor TE wohl ein A; die ganze Zeile fehlt bei Pavese; 6–7 wohl *[fe]ceru(nt) [--- monu]men(tum)*, nicht *cerv* mit Pavese.

²⁹ Sonst *CIL* 37640 aus einer Kolumbarien der via Labicana, ein *Mescinius Primus*; hat er etwas zu tun mit *Mescinia Prima* (vgl. weiter unten)? *AE* 1985, 130 *Mescinia Euche* unbekannter Herkunft, etwa aus dem 1. Jh. oder aus dem Anfang des 2. Jh.

Thylander 11 = Pavese 4. Die Behandlung dieser Inschrift ist bezeichnend für die Kritiklosigkeit der beiden Editoren. Thylander wiederholt nur den kritischen Apparat des Corpus, ohne dazu Stellung zu nehmen, dass die Dienstangabe in Z. 9–10 ohne den geringsten Zweifel später hinzugefügt wurde; Pavese bemerkt dazu nichts, äußert sich aber sonst zu einzelnen Buchstaben dieser Zeilen. Schlimmer noch, wie sie mit der Datierung der Inschrift umgeht: einmal spricht sie vom 1. Jh. v. Chr. (!),³⁰ ein anderes Mal verfißt sie, aufgrund von Andréns Ausführungen, den (sicher richtigen) Ansatz in die hadrianisch-antoninische Zeit. – Drei Details: 9 DECV ist weder mit Thylander *decu(rio)* noch mit Pavese *dec(uriae)* aufzulösen, sondern *decu(riali)*. – 10 lies *curullium*, auch in *CIL* verkannt; auch sonst hat Henzen schlecht gelesen, indem er in 11 ME IV·H zu lesen glaubte, doch hat der Stein deutlich MEN·II (der vermeintliche Querstrich von H ist nur eine Verletzung auf der Schriftfläche). Schon Mommsen hatte hier richtig gelesen, so dass Henzens Festhalten an seiner falschen Lesung um so mehr wundert.

Thylander 12 = Pavese 3 = *CIL* I² 3042. Zur Inschrift vgl. demnächst K. Korhonen, *CIL* X² Velitrae mit vollständiger Bibliographie.

Thylander 13 = Pavese 11. Die Erklärung dieser bemerkenswerten Urkunde ist sowohl bei Thylander wie bei Pavese völlig ungenügend. Besonders die letztere bringt verwirrte und teilweise irrelevante Bemerkungen stilistischer Art; einmal definiert sie den Schrifträger als eine 'urna cineraria', ein andres Mal spricht sie über eine 'ara ossario'. Sie hat sich nicht einmal die Frage gestellt, wie eine Votivinschrift und eine Urne oder ein Ossuarium kompatibel sein können.³¹

Thylander 15 = Pavese 12 (mit *CIL* X 2344 verwechselnd und mit unverständlichen Bemerkungen). Wegen *CIL* X 2344 (die freilich misenatisch ist) vermutet Moretti puteolanische Provenienz. Und in der Tat ist die Inschrift puteolanisch; sie wurde im Jahr 1896 an der via Domiziana gefunden: W. Dennison, *AJA* 2. ser. 2 (1898) 380 Nr. 16. Ursprünglich in der bekannten Sammlung de Criscio, ist die Urne über den Kunsthandel in die Villa San Michele gelangt.

³⁰ Irrtümlich verweist sie auf André, *Op.Rom.* 5, 1965, 140 f., der aber das Denkmal ganz richtig in die Zeit Hadrians oder des Antoninus Pius datiert.

³¹ Erst recht unverständlich bleiben ihre Worte "non si può con certezza determinare la funzione funeraria, anche se nella quarta riga c'è la sigla *D.D.* indicante talora la formula *donum dedit*".

Thylander 17 = Pavese 8. Pavese bringt etwas verwirrte Bemerkungen zur Provenienz des Stückes, scheint also nicht recht verstanden zu haben, dass die veliternische Herkunft dokumentarisch feststeht.

Thylander 19 = Pavese 6 ist *CIL* VI 28515: H. S., *Tyche* 4 (1989) 167, der die Textform aufgrund einer guten Aufnahme des Photoarchivs des DAI Rom festgelegt hat. Der Text beginnt *d. m. Venusti*, nicht *M. Ulpus*, so dass die auch von Fr. Sinn, *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen*, Mainz 1987, 215 Nr. 514 verfochtene Datierung in trajanische Zeit hinfällig wird.

Thylander 22 = Pavese 88. Aufgrund von Autopsie (18. Mai 2002) lesen wir ohne Zögern [---]Æ DEAE (von dem ersten A ist der obere Teil erhalten). Wenn *deae*, wie es scheint, ein Wort für sich bildet, haben wir es mit einer Weihung, möglicherweise an die Bona Dea, zu tun.

Thylander 23 = Pavese 90 (= *CIL* VI 34675). Die Namen der Frau sind einmalig, lassen sich aber erklären (merkwürdigerweise denkt Pavese, dass der Gentilname irrtümlich geschrieben wäre). *Beiena Bentica* mag für *Veiena Ventica* stehen. *Veienus* ist ein guter Gentilname (Schulze *ZGLE* 251. 377), auch in Rom belegt. *Ventica* ist eine neue Bildung, doch leicht erklärlich als eine Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Ventius* mittels des Suffixes *-icus -ica*; vgl. oben 115.

Thylander 30 + 46 + 81 = Pavese 35. Auf sehr unanschauliche Weise gibt Pavese die drei Fragmente mit drei verschiedenen Editionen wieder. Ein Text hätte ausgereicht. – Die Anm. 123 von Pavese ist mir völlig unverständlich geblieben.

Thylander 31 = Pavese 41 (schon *CIL* VI 35005). Der Name der verstorbenen Tochter ist mit Henzen *Corelliae Secundine* zu lesen (das hat auch Korhonen, *Arctos* gesehen). Das Besondere in der Nomenklatur ist, dass der Vater nur mit dem Gentilnamen, die Mutter mit dem Cognomen bezeichnet ist, obwohl beide freie Bürger waren. Freie oder nachlässige Handhabung der Namenformel.

Thylander 33 = Pavese 37. Pavese liest [---]ssimo [trib?]u Collina, ohne die Frage zu stellen, warum die Tribusangabe ausgeschrieben ist und auf das Cognomen folgt, was doch recht ungewöhnlich ist. Der Typ findet sich doch, so dass Paveses Ergänzung das Richtige treffen mag, denn eine andere sinnvolle Erklärung kommt mir nicht in den Sinn (eine Erwähnung der Porta Collina scheint mir ausgeschlossen). Der Tribulis hieß etwa *Felicissimus*.

Thylander 37 = Pavese 42. Im ersten Teil der Inschrift errichtet ein C. Iulius Hermes seiner Tochter Iulia Hermione das Grabmal. Pavese hat einen Vater und eine Tochter mit denselben Namen in Venusia gefunden (*AE* 1973, 219) und meint, sie könnten zu derselben Familiengruppe gehören. Ein seltsamer Einfall.

Thylander 38 = Pavese 38. Man versteht weder IVLIA / ..S·HELPIIS (Thylander) noch [---]s Iulia / [---]s Helpis (Pavese). Wir haben die Inschrift am 18. Mai 2002 aufgenommen. Es handelt sich um eine Marmortafel in der Form einer Tabula pseudoansata mit zwei Spalten Text. Vom Text ist nur der rechte Teil vollständig erhalten (wie von den Ansaes die linke gänzlich verlorengegangen ist); dort ist *Iulia / Helpis* auf zwei Zeilen angebracht; von der linken Spalte ist nur der letzte Buchstabe des Namens und des Cognomens des Mannes erhalten: [---]s / [---]s.

Thylander 39 = Pavese 24. Wir haben die Inschrift in San Michele genau kontrolliert und beurteilen sie als zweifellos echt. Das vatikanische Exemplar, dessen Echtheit Henzen *CIL* XIV 2354 nicht anzweifelte, scheint mir aufgrund einer Autopsie im Jahre 2002 eine moderne Kopie zu sein; so auch Moretti und Di Stefano Manzella (bei Pavese, die nicht eindeutig Stellung nimmt).³² Was die Lesung des echten Exemplars angeht, so ist der Name der Verstorbenen ohne den geringsten Zweifel *Lu/ciscae coniu/gis castissimae* zu lesen; CI, das Pavese als verschollen angibt, lässt sich ohne Schwierigkeiten an der beschädigten Oberfläche nachweisen. Übrigens stehen die Ausführungen von Pavese in Anm. 91 in Widerspruch zu der von ihr gegebenen Textform; und völlig ausgeschlossen ist die von Pavese präsentierte Idee, dass hier ursprünglich *memoriae Elviae Priscae* (!) gestanden hätte.

Thylander 41 = Pavese 57. *Marcia C. l. Callityche sibi et C. Marcio Pisoni patrono praedicatori et suis* lautet diese bemerkenswerte Urkunde. Sie ist aber weder neu noch stadtrömisch; sie stammt aus Puteoli, gefunden an der via Campana im Jahre 1897, und war zuerst in der bekannten Sammlung de Criscio, wie Thylander 15: W. Dennison, *AJA* 2. ser. 2 (1898) 384 Nr. 28. Thylander übersetzt "son patron et bienfaiteur", zweifellos falsch. Nicht viel besser Pavese, die *patronus* und *praedicator* zusammenstellt und im Mann einen *causidicus* vermutet (welche Bedeutung auch dem Wort *patronus* innewohne). Paveses Gedankengang ist aber höchst obskur (und ihr Versuch, als alternative Lösung durch Konjektur das Wortpaar *patronus*

³² So jetzt auch Giorgio Filippi, der den Text noch einmal verglichen hat.

praediator zu gewinnen, abwegig). Gewiss bezieht sich *patronus* allein auf das juristische Verhältnis zwischen Marcia Callityche und C. Marcius Piso; *praediator* ist die Berufsbezeichnung des letzteren. Um was für einen Beruf es sich handelt, ist schwieriger zu bestimmen, auch mangels epigraphischer Parallelen; entweder war er eine Art Herold, Makler o. ä. oder aber einer, dessen Aufgabe es war, öffentliche Lobreden zu halten. Aber wie gesagt, mangels genauer Parallelen ist es schwierig, den exakten Sinn dieser Berufsbezeichnung zu eruieren.³³

Thylander 44 = Pavese 59. Die Abkürzung der letzten Zeile macht Schwierigkeiten. B V M, wie Pavese liest (Thylander las nur B M), wird von ihr *b(eneficiarius) v(ivus) m(onumenti)* aufgelöst, was völlig ausgeschlossen ist (Pavese scheint an einen 'beneficiario della tomba' zu denken!). Eine Abkürzung B V M lässt sich nicht deuten. Deswegen ist vielleicht das U-förmige Zeichen (das Pavese also als V deutet), als einen stilisierten Trennpunkt zu nehmen, der von zwei gewöhnlichen, kleineren Punkten flankiert wird. B M würde das schon oben stehende *bene merenti* wiederholen, was an einer nicht besonders gut ausgeführten Inschrift kein Wunder erwecken sollte. Etwas ungewöhnlich und unbeholfen gebraucht ist auch *memoriae* (auch wenn das alleinstehende *memoriae* nicht ohne Parallelen ist); man könnte etwa so interpungieren: ... *bene merenti; memoriae* (sc. *eius*) *fecit; b(ene) m(erenti)*.

Thylander 48 = Pavese 72. Aus *votum quem* kann nicht auf ein mask. *votus* geschlossen werden. Denn die Synesis des Genus ist gerade bei Relativpronomina im Spätlatein häufig.³⁴

Thylander 50 = Pavese 30. Ich will hier nicht näher auf die Erklärung des bizarren Textes eingehen, bemerke nur, dass nach den ausgeglichenen Erwägungen Morettis der Kommentar von Pavese diese und die neuen Vorschläge von Di Stefano (hat Pavese sie überhaupt richtig wiedergegeben?) unkritisch durcheinanderbringt. Und der Sinn der Anm. 109 ist mir gänzlich verschlossen geblieben. Die Schlussklausel, deren Lesung feststeht (L·A·E·O·II·), möchte ich wie folgt auflösen: *l(oco) a(ccepto)* oder *a(dsignato) e(mit) o(llas) II*.

³³ Der Beleg ist in dem im Jahre 1985 publizierten Wortartikel *praediator* von J. Ramminger (nicht Rammingen, wie bei Pavese), *ThLL* X 2, 548–551 nachzutragen.

³⁴ Klassische Behandlung des Themas durch E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, Uppsala 1911, 131 ff.

Thylander 51 (fehlt bei Pavese).VINVSIA / ...G SVO / ...ENTVM / F. So Thylander. Am Original lese ich ohne Mühe [---]a *Venusta* (so auch Korhonen, *Arctos*). In der letzten Zeile sieht man vor F den Bogen von P, also [monum]entum / [s(ua)] p(ecunia) f(ecit).

Thylander 53 = Pavese 65. Moretti hat ohne Zweifel Recht, dass es sich um ein christliches Epitaph handelt. Das wird von Pavese zwar zur Kenntnis genommen, sie hat aber aus dem christlichen Charakter nicht den richtigen Schluss zu ziehen verstanden (wie ihre Transkription [---]vik[---] verrät), dass nämlich hier ein Datum vorliegt: *VI K[al. ---]*.

Thylander 55, 57, 58, 63, 66: siehe unter 74.

Thylander 56 = Pavese 27. Aus den Buchstabenformen zu schließen handelt es sich um eine christliche Inschrift (so auch Moretti). Zu lesen ist also entweder [in p]ace oder [Cyri]ace. Pavese setzt unter A einen Punkt, doch ist die Lesung des A sicher.

Thylander 59 = Pavese 66. Moretti zufolge soll es sich um eine christliche Inschrift handeln. Das ist unwahrscheinlich, wie die Buchstabenformen verraten.

Thylander 67 = Pavese 68, zweifellos eine christliche Inschrift. Bemerkenswert ist *superatrix*. Aus dem Kontext geht nicht hervor, ob es sich um einen Eigennamen oder ein Appellativum handelt. Da ein Name *Superator Superatrix* sonst nirgends überliefert ist, wird es vorzuziehen sein, hier ein lobendes Epitheton sehen, das inschriftlich belegt ist (es fehlt dagegen in der literarischen Überlieferung): *CIL VI 13300 Aureliae Cleopatrae omnium retro temporis castarum superatrici* (etwa 3. Jh.). Möglicherweise hat die anonyme Frau irgendwie das Gemeindeleben gefördert, wie aus den Worten *cultu atque or[ationibus?]* hervorgehen dürfte.³⁵

Thylander 68: s. unter 74.

Thylander 69 = Pavese 61. Da die Inschrift wohl christlich ist (so auch Moretti), würde man hier für *Irene* oder *Irenaeus* plädieren, beides äußerst beliebt in der altchristlichen Anthroponymie. Namen auf *-irinus* usw. sind äußerst selten in altchristlichen Urkunden.

Thylander 72 = Pavese 20. Die Ausführungen von Pavese mit Anm. 82 bleiben recht kryptisch.

Thylander 74 = Pavese 26 [---]odora. Die Inschrift ist christlich, aus der Ausführung und den Buchstabenformen zu schließen, soweit dies

³⁵ Kaum *or[natu]*, denn dieser Ausdruck ist in den christlichen Grabinschriften nicht gebräuchlich.

anhand des von Thylander publizierten Photos möglich ist. Ich glaube auch ihre Herkunft herausgefunden zu haben: Sie stammt sehr wahrscheinlich aus der Priscillakatakombe, wenn die Identität mit *ICUR* 25662 gegeben ist, wie es scheint. Die Maßangaben stimmen im großen ganzen überein; nur die Breite der Tafel wird in *ICUR* als etwas größer angegeben, aber die Tafel ist wohl beim Entfernen aus der Katakombe etwas abgebrochen. Auch die Angabe der Buchstabenhöhe in *ICUR* stimmt mit derjenigen überein, die anhand des von Thylander publizierten Photos errechnet werden kann. *ICUR* 25662 wurde in der Katakombe nicht mehr nach der Abfassung des elften Bandes des *Giornale degli scavi* der Commissione di archeologia sacra im Jahre 1888/89 gesehen. Die Inschrift ist also früh aus der Katakombe entfernt worden. Ich bin auf die Spur der wahren Herkunft des Fragments von Villa San Michele durch die Arbeiten an der Neuauflage meines griechischen Namenbuches gekommen, als ich sicherheitshalber die zwei fragmentarischen Belege miteinander verglich, um den Eingang einer eventuellen Dublette in das Namenbuch zu verhindern. Nun, dies ist nicht der einzige Fall, dass eine Inschrift in der Sammlung Munthe als priscillianisch entpuppt wurde; schon Moretti, *RFIC* 92 (1964) 331 (= *Tra epigrafia e storia* 280) hat mit Hilfe von Diehl *ILCV* 3974 B adn. gesehen, dass Thylander 89 (= Pavese 34, ohne Kenntnis der Publikation im neunten Band der *ICUR*, obwohl dieser schon im Jahre 1985 erschienen war) ebenfalls aus Priscilla stammt (jetzt *ICUR* 25611). Durch die Entdeckung inspiriert, dass Thylander 74 und 89 aus Priscilla stammen, habe ich es vorgenommen, die übrigen christlichen oder als christlich anmutenden Fragmente der Sammlung Munthe darauf hin zu prüfen, ob sich unter ihnen möglicherweise noch weitere Stücke aus Priscilla befänden.³⁶ Und siehe, es ist mir gelungen, dreizehn weitere Fälle von Überführung priscillianischer Inschriften in die Villa San Michele aufzuspüren:

Thylander 55 = Pavese 52 = *ICUR* 25938 a

Thylander 57 = Pavese 51 = *ICUR* 25826

Thylander 58 = Pavese 53 = *ICUR* 25511

Thylander 63 = Pavese 33 = *ICUR* 25649 b

³⁶ Thylander zufolge soll die Sammlung Munthe nur eine einzige christliche Inschrift beherbergen (zu Nr. 97), doch hat schon Moretti gesehen, dass ein guter Teil der Fragmente aus römischen Katakomben stammen; freilich geht Moretti in seinem Eifer zu weit, Fragmente als christlich einzustufen, denn einige von ihm als christlich angesehene Stücke können das nicht sein, so etwa Thylander 90.

Thylander 66 = Pavese 15 = *ICUR* 25744
 Thylander 68 = Pavese 31 = *ICUR* 25895 *b*
 Thylander 76 = Pavese 32 = *ICUR* 25939
 Thylander 83 = Pavese 17 = *ICUR* 25168
 Thylander 86 = Pavese 73 = *ICUR* 25397
 Thylander 87 = Pavese 21 = *ICUR* 25938 *b*
 Thylander 88 = Pavese 19 = *ICUR* 25353
 Thylander 92 = Pavese 77 = *ICUR* 25564
 Thylander 93 = Pavese 75 = *ICUR* 25835 *a*

Die Identität all dieser Paare ist wohl über alle Zweifel erhaben (u. a. stimmen die Maßangaben, soweit vorhanden, im großen und ganzen überein).³⁷ Sie sind nur von den Ausgräbern der Priscilla-Katakombe gesehen worden, werden also vom Editor der Inschriften von Priscilla in den *ICUR* IX, Mazzoleni, als verschollen bezeichnet. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass sie gleichzeitig aus der Katakombe illegal entfernt wurden, um dann über den Antiquitätenmarkt in die Sammlung Munthe zu geraten. Über den Zeitpunkt der Entnahme der Fragmente aus der Katakombe sind wir nicht näher unterrichtet, auch nicht über ihren Urheber. Wenn die fünfzehn Inschriften gleichzeitig aus der Katakombe verschleppt worden sind, ist in dem Täter kein Tourist oder ähnlicher Besucher zu sehen, sondern vielmehr jemand, der mit den Ausgrabungen verbunden war. – Ein paar Bemerkungen zu diesen Fragmenten:

57: Man versteht nicht Thylanders Kommentar "Le fragment de l'inscription paraît très douteux", denn in dem Text [*in pa*]ce requiebit ist nichts Wunderliches, und auch in der Ausführung der Inschrift ist nichts, was dazu berechtigte, sie für suspekt zu halten. Wenn *requiebit* dem Editor ein Stein des Anstoßes gewesen ist, hätte er etwa dem Index der Diehlschen Sammlung (S. 583) entnehmen können, dass diese Form in altchristlichen Inschriften bestens belegt ist. – 58: der christliche Charakter der Inschrift bleibt offen, jedenfalls steht als Provenienz die Priscillakatakombe fest. Thylander und Pavese haben die zweite Zeile nicht gelesen, dort steht

³⁷ Der einzige Fall, in dem die Maßangaben nicht übereinstimmen, ist Thylander 58 = *ICUR* 25511; die in *ICUR* angegebene Breite der Tafel entspricht nicht dem heutigen Befund, sondern ist viel größer; wahrscheinlich ist nach der Verfertigung der Abschrift im Ausgrabungsbericht ein Teil rechts abgebrochen; darauf weist auch hin, dass von dem in *ICUR* angegebenen *farus* rechts auf dem von Thylander publizierten Photo nichts mehr zu sehen ist.

deutlich *Sep[---]* oder *Ser[---]*. – 63: der Name war *[Vin]centia* o. ä.; auf dem Photo sieht man den unteren Teil des C, das auch von der Abschrift in *ICUR* bestätigt wird. – 66: vielleicht *[---]tino*. – 68: *ICUR* druckt ...IS PIAE, zwischen IS und PIAE ist aber kein Zwischenraum da; Pavese ergänzt *[Cr]ispiae*, was keine gute Lösung ist (es existiert zwar ein Gentilicium *Crispius*, das man aber hier nicht an erster Stelle erwarten würde); man könnte aber einen Nexus von N und E annehmen (auf dem Photo sieht man, dass die Haste von E am Schrägstrich des vorhergehenden Buchstaben festsetzt), also *Crispiâe*. – 76: es könnte sich auch um eine heidnische Inschrift handeln. – 83: Pavese hat gut gesehen, dass Thylander das Fragment verkehrt publiziert hat. Es bleibt aber ungewiss, ob sie verstanden hat, dass *[F]elicitas* ein Name ist, daraus zu schließen, dass sie ihn mit kleinem *f* schreibt und dem Namenindex nicht eingefügt hat. – 86: TAESTRA Thylander falsch statt *[posi?]ta est Pa[---]*. – 88: die Abschrift im Ausgrabungsbericht gibt CONMPA[---] (so haben auch wir im Jahre 1997 gelesen), wohl zu recht, also ist *compari* zu verstehen. – 92: die erste Zeile ist VAL[---] zu lesen und als ein Name wie *Valer-* oder ein Name der Sippe *Valens* zu verstehen. – 93: in der ersten Zeile stand ein Name auf *[---]lusa* wie *Thallusa* o. ä.

Thylander 75 = Pavese 43. In der vorletzten Zeile las Thylander den einzigen erhaltenen Buchstaben als B, Pavese dagegen vermutet dort ein *theta nigrum*. Als Form für ein Theta wäre das Zeichen recht sonderbar, ganz gewiss hat Thylander Recht. Die letzte Zeile scheint AEC·VIX[---] zu bieten; so auch Pavese, die aber keine Erklärung gibt. Zu lesen sind die zwei letzten Zeilen wohl *b(ene) [m(erenti)]; h/aec* (oder *(h)aec*) *vix[it ---]*. Der Ausdruck *hic, haec vixit* ist in der sepulkralen Epigraphik Roms belegt: *CIL* VI 2907. 6620. 8034. 18743. 20366(?). 20546. 22856. 29465. – Hat Pavese verstanden, dass *Onesimus* ein Name ist? Man stellt sich die Frage, weil sie *on-* schreibt und den Namen im onomastischen Index weglässt.

Thylander 76: s. unter 74.

Thylander 77 = Pavese 36. Korhonen, *Arctos* hat für den bizarren Text eine plausible Erklärung gefunden.

Thylander 78 = Pavese 48. 4 *[sine (ulla) q]uerella*, nicht mit Pavese *Verella*, das seinen Weg auch in den onomastischen Index gefunden hat! – 10 *referrit* von Pavese ist kein Latein, ohne weiteres ist *referrri* zu verstehen (nach REFERRI findet sich ein Trennpunkt!).

Thylander 80 = Pavese 50. Statt -SEIDI haben wir -ISEIDI gelesen, wobei die einzige vernünftige Ergänzung [*Br*]iseidi ist (etwa Gentilicia auf -seidius stehen nicht zur Verfügung). *Briseis* ist ein wohlbekannter griechischer Name in Rom und auch anderswo in Italien.³⁸ Der Text ist ungefähr folgendermaßen zu verstehen: [--- *Br*]iseidi / [*coniugi opt*]imae / [---]us et / ---.

Thylander 82 = Pavese 28. Pavese liest [---]st *Aug(usti) n(ostri) pr[oc(uratoris)]*. Dabei bleiben anstößig der Anfang *st* und *Aug. n. proc.* (auch Moretti denkt an eine *Aug. proc.*), denn man sagte *proc. Aug.*, nicht *Aug. proc.* Thylander hatte ganz verkehrt verstanden. Ich frage mich, ob am Anfang nicht eher [---]si zu lesen sei; das wäre der Genetiv des Namens eines kaiserlichen Sklavens (die Angabe ihres kaiserlichen Herrn lautete seit dem 2. Jh. oft *Aug.* oder *Aug. n.*).

Thylander 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93: s. unter 74.

Thylander 90 = Pavese 63 soll Moretti zufolge den christlichen Inschriften einzureihen sein, was nicht stimmen kann, denn das Formular mit *libertis* und *posterisque eorum* ist eindeutig heidnisch.

Thylander 94 (fehlt bei Pavese): YSIS. Thylander gibt keine Abbildung und Angaben zum Erhaltungszustand. Trotzdem liegt es nahe, hier den auch noch in christlichen Urkunden bestens belegten Namen *Chrysis* festzulegen.

Die Edition der Inschriften der Sammlungen in Schweden stammt aus der Hand von Thomasson. Anders als bei Pavese sind die Erklärungen der einzelnen Texte minimal gehalten, was dem Leser die Erschließung der Inschriften gewiss erschwert. Auch vermisst man Überlegungen zur Provenienz einzelner Stücke; so muss man bei 163 zur editio princeps von Hermann Dessau greifen, um zu erfahren, dass die Inschrift wahrscheinlich afrikanischer Herkunft ist. Unten folgen einige Bemerkungen; zu griechischen Texten werden nur ausnahmsweise Beobachtungen beigesteuert, da das meiste schon in *SEG XLVII* und *Bull. épigr.* 1999 richtiggestellt worden ist.

Thomasson 97. 3 *pon(endum) [curavit]*, das der Editor von Mattsson übernimmt, passt nicht zum Stil der späten Inschrift, die frühestens ins 3. Jh.

³⁸ *Briseis* ist in Rom 25mal belegt (laut der Auflistung in der 2. Auflage meines griechischen Namenbuches). Es gibt noch einen anderen Namen auf [---]iseis, nämlich *Piseis*, der aber nur einmal in Rom belegt ist (*CIL VI* 8161).

zu datieren ist. Außerdem wäre *curavit* zu lang; also sollte man in diesem Fall *cur(avit)* schreiben. Viel eher *Pon[tio] Thodoro*.

107 aus B. Mattsson, *OpRom* 11 (1976) 111 Nr. 14. Der Herausgeber hat den Text kaum richtig erschlossen. Er löst *p(ie) f(ecit)* auf, was ganz singular wäre. Mir scheint folgende Auslegung die einzig mögliche zu sein: P F meint *parentes fecerunt*, wobei die Namen der Eltern unerwähnt bleiben, wie es geschehen kann;³⁹ danach folgt *Gorgonia alumna* (das vom Editor als Alternative präsentierte *Alumna* ist ausgeschlossen, schon weil *Gorgonius* kein Gentilname ist), wahrscheinlich als zusätzliche Todesanzeige dieser alumna. Wohl gemerkt ist P F mit größeren Lettern geschrieben, was auch darauf hinweist, dass es nicht mit *Gorgonia alumna* zu verbinden ist.

112. Merkwürdigerweise distanziert sich Thomasson von der richtigen Ergänzung *dulcissim[ae ---]* des Corpus.

121. Der Herausgeber übergeht die Edition von V. S. Mellace, *MGR* 18 (1994) 268 Nr. 90, wo die Ergänzungen vollständiger sind. 6 vor *Abur[nius]* muss das Praenomen gestanden haben, von dem auch ein winziger Rest erhalten ist; Mellace vermutet *L.*, was jedoch unsicher bleibt.

124. Unverständlicherweise wird die Inschrift in der Nachfolge von Mattsson mit Verweis auf *CIL* VI 32564 in die zweite Hälfte des 1. Jh. datiert, sie gehört aber in die Mitte des 3. Jh.! Wie es sich auch mit der vom Editor verfochtenen Identität des Aur. Titus mit dem in 32564 (die Identität ist möglich, wenn auch nicht ganz sicher [*Titus* ist ein übliches Cognomen in Soldatenkreisen]) verhalten mag, unsere Inschrift gehört deutlich in vorgerückte Kaiserzeit und ist sicher nicht vorseverisch.

126. 2 der Editor druckt mit seinen Vorgängern *C(aius) C(ai) scil. Romili) f(ilius) Iuncus*. Natürlich *C. (Romilius) C. f. Iuncus*.

131. Warum steht nach dem Frauennamen *Charitus* ein Ausrufungszeichen? *Charitus* stellt einen guten griechischen Frauennamentyp dar.

132. Der Textverlauf ist bizarr und der vom Editor gebotene Wortlaut kaum in jedem Punkt richtig.

133 ist nicht unveröffentlicht: S. Carlander, *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 16, 1 (1910) 107.

137 ist wahrscheinlich eine stadtrömische altchristliche Grabtafel. Den Namen der Verstorbenen könnte man versuchsweise z. B. *[T]aecus[ae]*

³⁹ Ein paar Beispiele aus Rom: *CIL* VI 13342. 15272. 15381. 15763. 17575. 19143. 19721. 19811 21675, 23726. 25716. 26230. 26910b. 28325.

ergänzen. *Tecusa* war auch in der christlichen Gemeinde Roms in Gebrauch (*ICUR* 2598. 10214 *a* [ebenfalls *Taec-* geschrieben]. 15840 *b*). 4 zweifellos *feceru[nt]*; 5 wie Thomasson bemerkt, sollte man den drittletzten Buchstaben als ein T nehmen, aber der Sinn fordert *filiae*. Der Text der Inschrift könnte etwa folgendermaßen gelautet haben: *dulcissimae T/aecusae quae / vixet [nicht vixit] ann(is) --- / fecerunt parentes / filiae ---*.

139. Korhonen, *Arctos* hat gesehen, dass Τερεντία, εἰρήνη σοι zu verstehen ist. So jetzt auch H. Pleket, *SEG XLVII* 2208.

149. Der Editor verliert kein Wort zur wahren Provenienz und zu den Wanderungen der Inschrift, obwohl man aus *CIL* erfährt, dass sie "ex urbe allata in museum Stockholmiense" war und dass möglicherweise antiatische Herkunft zu erwägen wäre. Drei Einzelbemerkungen: *a*, 1 *Acratus*, nicht *Acrates*. – *a*, 14 dass *lini praef(ectus)* verstanden werden sollte, bleibt höchst suspekt, denn erstens wäre der Ausdruck ganz ungewöhnlich und anomal, und zweitens sind uns keine Dienstbezeichnungen mit *linum* wie *a lino* (welche der Editor im Sinn hat) bekannt. Gewiss liegt hier das Cognomen *Linus* vor: [*ille*] *Lini praef(ecti sc. servus)*. Der Name *Linus* ist in julisch-claudischer Zeit in der kaiserlichen Dienerschaft verschiedentlich belegt; *GPN*² verzeichnet 11 Belege, von denen die meisten dem 1. Jh. angehören. (Man braucht also nicht, nimmt man *Linus* als einen Namen, "Linus's [sic!] prefect" zu verstehen, woran Thomasson Anstoß nimmt). – *b*, 11 warum *Corinna* vor *Corinthus* den Vorzug haben sollte, ist mir unerklärlich; die Namen enden rechts nicht auf derselben Höhe, wie dies der Editor geltend macht.

152. Dem Editor ist entgangen, dass hier der gute dakische Name *Diurdanus* vorliegt. Der Punkt zwischen D und IVRDAN stellt entweder eine Verschreibung des Steinmetzen oder eine Beschädigung der Schriftoberfläche dar. Zum Namen vgl. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien 1957, 142. 149 f. In *Dotis[---]* könnte ein dakisches Toponym stecken. – Am Anfang des Textes lies *D(is) i(nferis) m(anibus)*.

163. Die Erklärung ist dürftig. Man erfährt nicht einmal, dass der Erstherausgeber Hermann Dessau (*Klio* 17 [1921] 249 f.) die Inschrift für afrikanisch hielt, und zwar wohl zurecht (in *ILTun* 1108 aufgenommen). Die Lesung steht fest (aus dem von Dessau publizierten Photo, das besser ist als das von Thomasson abgedruckte, zu schließen), die Deutung des Namens ist aber um so verwickelter. Bei Thomasson wird auch nicht darauf hingewiesen, dass Dessau hier einen Gentilnamen *Caeletharida(s)* erkennen wollte

(so auch in unserem *Repertorium* 40). Eine solche Bildung wäre aber sehr suspekt und ohne Parallelen im afrikanischen Namengut; Dessau vermutet für die Familie Herkunft aus einer Gegend, die nicht oberflächlich romanisiert, sondern oberflächlich gräzisiert gewesen wäre und denkt dabei an Thrakien, an "dessen Namenschatz *Caelethar-* entfernt erinnert", doch ist es schwierig, genaue thrakische Parallelen anzuzeigen;⁴⁰ außerdem wäre die Wanderung eines solchen Namens nach Afrika zu begründen. Dessau neigt vielleicht deswegen zur Annahme dieses merkwürdigen Gentilnamens, weil darauf das Cognomen *Faustianus* folgt. Es ist aber viel besser davon auszugehen, dass der Jüngling zwei Cognomina geführt hat, wobei sein Name folgendermaßen gelesen werden sollte: *C. Caelei Haridae Faustiani* (es besteht kein Grund, den Buchstaben vor H mit Dessau als T zu deuten, wenigstens anhand des Photos würde man ohne weiteres I vorziehen).⁴¹ Das Tragen von zwei Cognomina ist eine alltägliche Erscheinung, und hier um so verständlicher, als *Faustianus* das gerade für die zusätzlichen Cognomina typische Suffix *-ianus* aufweist. *Harida -es* ist aber keine plausible Bildung, und afrikanische Parallelen scheinen zu fehlen. Der Vorschlag *(C)haridae* des Herausgebers ist absolut ausgeschlossen. Etwas besser bestellt wäre es mit dem Vorschlag, hier gr. *Thar(r)ides* zu sehen, wenn es erlaubt wäre, am Anfang einen Nexus T und H zu erblicken; vgl. etwa *Θαρρίας IG XII 9, 245 A, 176*, Kurzname aus der Sippe *Θρασυ-, Θαρσυ-, Θαρρυ-* (Bechtel *HPN* 211–213). Doch wird man am ehesten mit einem non liquet schließen müssen.

168. Wenn hier das Episeimon für VI wirklich vorliegt, so ist das eine bemerkenswerte Variante; Beispiele davon bei F. Grossi Gondi, *Trattato di epigrafia cristiana latina e greca*, Roma 1920, 201.

178. *Castricius Pius*, nicht *pius*.

180. Zu kaiserlichen Freigelassenen namens *T. Aelius Olympas* vgl. *Arctos* 27 (1993) 128.

186. Die Erwägungen zur Geschichte des Namens *Passien(i)us* sind

⁴⁰ Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien 1957, 221 übernimmt kritiklos Dessaus Deutung. – Nicht besser versucht M. Runes, *Klio* 20 (1926) 117, in Polemik mit Dessau, den Namen als Latinisierung von gr. *Καλητορίδης* nachzuweisen.

⁴¹ Dessau schließt die Lesung *Caelei Haridae* aus, weil der Trennpunkt zwischen den zwei Namen fehlt, während er sonst sorgfältig gesetzt wird. Dieses Argument ist jedoch nicht stichhaltig, denn es ist ein übliches Phänomen, dass in einer Inschrift sonst gebrauchte Punkte zwischen eng zusammengehörenden Elementen, wie es hier der Gentilnamen und Cognomen sind, weggelassen werden können.

mit Verlaub gesagt abenteuerlich.

200 ist *IG II² 3999*.

201. Der Editor sagt kein Wort zur Erklärung des Textes. Aus dem Wortlaut geht aber eindeutig hervor, dass die Inschrift aus Ägypten stammt, und das Photo zeigt, dass in den ersten Zeilen rechts nichts fehlt. Die Inschrift bezieht sich auf das siebente Regierungsjahr eines Kaisers und den sechsten Tag des Monats Pachon. 3–4 liest Thomasson καυστὰ [---]γαίου, was zu keinem Ergebnis führt. Zu verstehen ist zweifellos καύστ<ρ>α Γαίου νε[α]νίου. Das Wort καύστρα ist epigraphisch belegt, besonders häufig in Kleinasien.⁴² In Ägypten scheint es nicht bekannt zu sein, was teils daran liegen kann, dass es sich um ein kleinasiatisches Charakteristikum handelt, teils daran, dass Ägypten an Grabinschriften weniger reich ist als Kleinasien.

202. Die Herkunft aus Italien bleibt recht unsicher; es wird nur berichtet, dass die Inschrift zu einem größeren Geschenk von O. Montelius gehört, das aus italienischen Materialien besteht. Mir macht der Text den Eindruck, das Stück könne aus Africa stammen. In diesem Licht gesehen, könnte das merkwürdige Wort *Silitana*, dessen Lesung nicht Zweifel lässt, erklärt werden. Das Suffix *-tanus* lässt auf ein Ethnikon schließen, wie auch die Stellung nach dem eigentlichen Namen. Aber welches Toponym könnte dahinterstecken? Das einzige, das mir in den Sinn kommt, ist *Scillium* in der Proconsularis, dessen Ethnikon meist *Scilitani* (mit einem *l*) geschrieben wird. Ob hier aber das Ethnikon der Stadt Scillium wirklich vorliegen kann, bleibt sehr unsicher. Denn erstens war Scillium eine recht unbedeutende Stadt, geschichtlich allein wegen der Märtyrerakten von Bedeutung, und, soweit ich sehe, kein einziges Mal in der epigraphischen Überlieferung belegt.⁴³ Zweitens wäre *Si-* statt *Sci-* ungewöhnlich; allenfalls könnte man hier ein Beispiel von Assibilierung von *c* sehen, die aber nur dürftig auf späten (seit dem 5. Jh.) Inschriften bezeugt ist (z. B. *CIL VIII discessit* für *discessit*, *XII 2153 consiencia* für *conscientia*); und ob unsere Inschrift als so spät eingestuft werden kann, bleibt fraglich. Wegen der Schwierigkeiten, eine Ableitung aus *Scilla* zu begründen, gebe ich noch zu überlegen, ob *Silitana* sich auf *Sila* beziehen könnte. Sila war eine nicht unbedeutende

⁴² Außerhalb von Kleinasien *IG X 2, 1, 484* (Mitte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

⁴³ Eine recht ausgedehnte Sondage hat keine Belege ergeben. Fehlt auch bei M. Faust, *Die antiken Einwohnernamen auf -itani, -etani. Eine Untersuchung des westmediterranen Substrats*, Göttingen 1988.

Stadt in Numidien, deren Einwohner *Silenses* hießen. Man müsste also eine sonst nicht belegte Nebenform *Silitani* annehmen. Einwohnernamen auf *-itani* waren im römischen Afrika recht verbreitet,⁴⁴ und ein Fehlen an Belegen für *Silitani* kann auf Zufall beruhen (auch *Silenses* ist nur ein paar Male belegt).

CCI. VERKANNT E IDENTITÄTEN

CIL VI 26174 aus der Abschrift von Cittadini bei van Winghe, *Cod. Brux.* 17873 f. 38 c wiederholt die drei letzten Zeilen von 9625, seit Petrus Sabinus von mehreren Gewährsleuten angeführt, nach Manutius nicht aber mehr gesehen. Die Identität ist nur in Bangs Index nominum s. v. A. Sempronius Severus vermerkt. Die Lesung der beiden Fassungen ist identisch; nur bietet van Winghes Codex *VII* statt *VII* der Zeugen von 9625 (soweit der Apparat von 9625 darüber Aufschluss gibt). Aber die Zeilentrennung ist nicht dieselbe; welche vorzuziehen sei, kann kaum bestimmt werden. Ein exegetisches Detail: Dem Apparat von 9625 zufolge hat der Ambrosianus zwischen SEMPRONIO und SEVERO eine Angabe, die entweder als *N. f.* oder als *N. l.* gedeutet wird; wegen der unterschiedlichen Vornamen wäre die Filiation viel wahrscheinlicher.

CIL VI 35230 = *ICUR* 2239. Diese in der Galleria lapidaria (par. XLII, 18) der Vatikanischen Museen befindliche Inschrift ist zweifellos heidnisch. Der Editor des *CIL* hat den Text im Vatikan nicht gefunden, sondern gibt die Lesung von Marini, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 9124 f. 111 wieder, die exakt ist (heute fehlt R am Anfang der dritten Zeile). So begann der Text zweifellos mit *d(is) [m(anibus)]*, das in der Abschrift von de Rossi in *ICUR* 2239 fehlt.

CCII. FALSCH E NAMEN

Adsuperus. A. Garzetti – A. Valvo, *Mantissa epigrafica Bresciana*, Brescia 1999, 46 f. Nr. 9 publizieren eine interessante Grabinschrift eines germanischen Soldaten der *schola gentilium*, von den Editoren ins 4./5. Jh. datiert. Der Schlussteil heißt, so wie die Herausgeber ihn wiedergeben, *q(u)i*

⁴⁴ Vgl. Faust (s. vorige Anm.) 140 f.

vixit annus plus minus numero L. Adsuperus. Kein Wort Erklärung wird gegeben. In *AE* 1999, 733 wird davon ein Personennamen gemacht. Das ist ausgeschlossen. Nicht nur würde ein Name an dieser Stelle gänzlich in der Luft hängen bleiben, auch ist ein Name *Adsuperus* nirgends überliefert und wäre auch eine sonderbare Bildung. Zu verstehen ist zweifellos *ad superus* = *ad superos*. Dieser Ausdruck findet sich nicht selten in Grabinschriften, besonders in Grabgedichten (etwa *CLE* 84. 91. 186. 191. 434. 487. 502. 509. 970. 1048. 1082. 1141. 1223. 1245. 1257. 1277. 1288. 1600. 1823. 1848. 2114), seltener in der Prosa: *CIL* VI 2968 *fuit ad superos menses VII* mit unbeholfener Syntax in der Grabinschrift eines Kindes.

Bonadespotus. In *CIL* XI 3904 (Capena) ist von dem Namen des zweiten städtischen Magistrats [---]ius *Bonades*[---] erhalten. De Rossi hat seinerzeit das Cognomen zu *Bonades*[*potus*] ergänzt, ein seltsamer Einfall, doch wird die Ergänzung im Cognominaindex ohne Vorbehalt akzeptiert, und auch in *ThLL* II 2071, 51 f. liest man diese Form, freilich mit Fragezeichen. Die Lesung des erhaltenen Teils des fragmentarischen Namens dürfte feststehen (der Stein wurde von Bormann gesehen), was aber dahinter steckt, bleibt völlig in der Luft. *Bonadespotus* jedenfalls wäre ein nom fantôme ohnegleichen.

[*Chry*]sopa. Dieser Name wird im Cognominaindex von *CIL* XIV für 1841 (Ostia) festgelegt. Nicht nur ist die Ergänzung des akephalen Namens sehr unsicher; vor allem wäre eine solche Bildung anomal. Der Text lautet [---]diae b. m. / [---]sopaes / [---]t. Das ergibt die Grabschrift für eine Frau (oder u. U. ein Mädchen), deren Name auf [---]dia endete (falls es sich nicht um ein Epitheton handelt) seitens einer männlichen Person, möglicherweise des Mannes der Verstorbenen, der *Chrysopaes* hieß. Dieser Name ist allein in Rom 8mal belegt (s. *GPN*²); sonst s. *Analecta epigraphica* 57. 73. 141.

Cisbe. In der in *Bull. com.* 43 (1915 [1916]) 62 = *NSc.* 1915, 35 publizierte Grabinschrift steht deutlich FECIT CISBE (von mir am Original nachgeprüft). Ein Name *Cisbe* wäre aber ein ghost-name. Wohl *Thisbe*, ohne *h* geschrieben. In der Vorlage, die in der älteren römischen (halb)kursiven Schrift geschrieben sein mag, konnte eine Verwechslung zwischen T und C unschwer stattfinden.

Ebulidia. Dieser Name soll in *CIL* X 6167 (Formiae) vorhanden sein. Die verschollene Inschrift ist durch Iucundus und den Redianus liber überliefert. Iucundus hat EVBVLIDIE, Redianus IVBVLIDI. Mommsen wählt die erstere Lesart, doch wäre ein Name **Ebulidia* in der Zeit des

Prinzipats (die Inschrift gehört etwa ins 2. Jh.) etwas sonderbar, so dass ohne weiteres die Lesart des Redianus vorzuziehen ist. *Eubulis* lässt sich in Rom belegen: *CIL* VI 23605 aus dem 1. Jh.

Eudosia. Diesen Namen hat Bang, *CIL* VI 38300 ergänzen wollen; der Stein bietet seiner Wiedergabe zufolge EV..SIAE. Die Lesung *Eudosia* wurde ohne Vorbehalt akzeptiert von Vidman in seinem Cognominaindex, wo der Beleg dann unter *Eudoxia* eingeordnet wird. Es ist aber viel besser, hier *Eu[po]siae* zu ergänzen. *Euposia* ist ein üblicher Name in Rom, während *Eudoxia* nicht nur selten in Rom vorkommt, sondern auch eine typisch späte Bildung vertritt, während unsere Inschrift nicht spät sein kann – ich würde am ehesten an das 1. oder an den Anfang des 2. Jh. denken.

Logius. Dieses Cognomen ist von A. Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* XIII: 1, 20 S. 286 (2/3 n. Chr.) festgelegt worden. Ihm zufolge lautete der Name des Magister vici *M. Iunius* \mathcal{O} . *l. Log[i]us*. Ein Cognomen *Logius* ist in der römischen Namengebung sonst unbekannt (*CIL* VIII 2626 a, 15 bleibt im Zusammenhang unsicher, denn es kann sich um einen Gentilnamen handeln, wobei die sprachliche Herkunft anderswo zu suchen ist; das gleiche gilt für *CIL* IV 1287a, wo die Lesung nicht mit Sicherheit feststeht; im onomastischen Index auf S. 751 steht der Beleg unter *Logus*, freilich mit Asterisk versehen), ist aber ein plausibler Name und im griechischen Bereich ist $\Lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ belegt. Er fehlt freilich bei Bechtel *HPN*, lässt sich aber in Athen um 300 v. Chr. belegen: *AM* 85 (1966) 103 (ob aber Eigenname?); aus der Kaiserzeit *IG* XII 5, 173 (Paros, 3. Jh. n. Chr.); Bosch, *I. Ankara* 122, 105, 36. 130, 107, 16;⁴⁵ *TAM* III 533 (Termessos, 3. Jh. n. Chr.); *P. Agon.* 1 (wo ergänzt). 3 (= *P. Oxy* XXVII 2476, wo als $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ aufgefasst) unbekannter Herkunft aus claudischer Zeit.⁴⁶ Wegen der Einmaligkeit des Namens im Zweifel, habe ich während der Arbeiten an der Neuauflage des griechischen Namenbuches die Lesung am Original eigens darauf hin geprüft, ob der Name in Rom Existenzberechtigung hat. Die Autopsie ist am 3. Mai 2002 im Thermenmuseum erfolgt; unterstützt wurde ich bei der Suche der Lösung von Rosanna Friggeri und David Nonnis. Das Ergebnis

⁴⁵ E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları ser. 7, 46), Ankara 1967.

⁴⁶ Vgl. P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 13), Opladen 1986, 17 ff. Nr. 1 und 3. Der Auszug, in dem sich der Name findet, lässt sich ins Jahr 43 datieren. Von der Herkunft des Mannes, der in einer Gesandtschaft der dionysischen Künstler wirkte, kann nichts eruiert werden.

war, dass in Wirklichkeit *Loc[h]us* zu lesen ist. Der dritte Buchstabe scheint eher ein C, nicht ein G, zu sein, und in der Lücke ist mehr Raum als nur für ein I. *Lochus* ist in Rom belegt: *CIL* VI 4542 (augusteisch-tiberische Zeit); vgl. *CIL* VI 20112 Gen. *Lochi*, der auch zu *Lochius* gehören kann (dieser Name in Rom *CIL* VI 9059. 21441; so hieß auch der Mimograph Publilius Syrus: Plin. *nat.* 35, 199).⁴⁷ Schon in der griechischen Anthroponymie: Bechtel *HPN* 288 führt einen Koer aus *CGC Caria* 207, 138 (166–88 v. Chr.) an; er kommt auch sonst in Kos und Kalymnos vor: s. *LGPN* I 289 (wo ferner vier weitere Belege aus der hellenistischen und frühen Kaiserzeit). Sonst noch *IG* VII 1180 aus Tanagra (2./1. Jh. v. Chr.); *SB* 3170, rhodischer Töpferstempel in Alexandrien;⁴⁸ *ASAA* 22 (1939–1940 [1942]) 168 führt einen Λόχος Ἀντιοχεύς an (Anfang des 1. Jh. v. Chr.); *PP* 10. 195. 1940. 2088. 6387. 15218 (ein Strategos in Alexandrien in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. v. Chr.); *BGU* 2376. 2377 (Herakleopolis, 36/35 v. Chr.); *BGU* 2433, 69. 2443, 63. 2445, 24 (alle Herakleopolites, 1. Jh. v. Chr.; die zwei letztgenannten identisch); *P. Oxy* 264 (54 n. Chr.); *P. Oxy* III 493 Λόχος Λόχου (ein wenig vor 99 n. Chr.);⁴⁹ *P. Oslo* 95, 11 (Oxyrhynchos, 96 n. Chr.). Im Westen selten: *CIL* II² 7, 82 *M. Helvi Lochi* (es kann also auch *Lochius* vorliegen). III 1994 (Salona, Sklave).⁵⁰

Pertu(n)sa. Diesen Namen wollte J. Svennung, *Eranos* 62 (1964) 175 aus *CIL* IV 2311 δουμμος περτουσα gewinnen, wo ein Nominativ statt des Genetivus definitivus vorliege (also *domus Pertu(n)sae*),⁵¹ auch sonst aus Pompeii bekannt (etwa *CIL* IV 4853 *domus Lupercus*).⁵² Es ist aber wahrscheinlicher, dass hier einfach das Partizip *pertunsa* vorliegt; dies ist auch die communis opinio der überragenden Mehrheit der Forscher. Was *domus pertunsa* in der pompeianischen Kritzelei im einzelnen bedeutet, ist nicht hier zu erörtern – üblicherweise wird angenommen, sie sei von einem Schatzgräber o. ä. nach 79 n. Chr. verfasst worden, was mir recht

⁴⁷ Vgl. ferner *Loch[---]* *M. Lepid[i]* unbekanntes Sexus *Arctos* 3 (1962) 233 = *AE* 1971, 58 (Rom, augusteisch-tiberisch).

⁴⁸ Dieser Beleg fehlt im ersten Band des *LGPN*.

⁴⁹ Zur Datierung vgl. *Berichtigungsliste* IX (1995) 180.

⁵⁰ Der fragmentarische Belege *ILAlg.* II 4276 *M. Man[lius -] f. Loc[---]* kann auch anders beurteilt werden. Aber die Ergänzung *Loc[hias]* des Editors ist arbiträr.

⁵¹ Dazu im allgemeinen Szantyr, *Lat. Syntax* 27.

⁵² Dazu V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes* (Abh. Ak. Berlin 1958, 3), Berlin 1966³, 115.

unwahrscheinlich erscheint.⁵³ Sonst gibt es keine Hinweise für einen Personennamen *Pertunsus -a*,⁵⁴ so dass es vorzuziehen ist, ihn aus dem antiken Personennamenschatz zu entfernen. Es ist auch darauf hinzuweisen, dass aus semasiologischer Sicht ein Personennamenname **Pertunsus -a* recht merkwürdig anmuten würde.

CCIII. VERKANNTEN NAMEN

Eunois. Dieser Name liegt aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach vor in einer Inschrift, die sich in Montefalco in Umbrien in der Villa Pambuffetti befindet.⁵⁵ Ihre Provenienz ist unbekannt; die Herausgeberin äußert sich nicht zur Frage, während in der *Année épigraphique* zögernd stadtrömische Provenienz vermutet wird. Die Inschrift trägt aber keinerlei Merkmale stadtrömischer Fertigung oder Diktion, so dass sie eher der lokalen Produktion zuzuschreiben ist; Montefalco hat vielleicht zum Territorium von Mevania gehört (Bormann, *CIL* XI p. 733), und aus der Stadt sind auch andere antike Inschriften zutage gekommen, von denen einige sicher nicht-stadtrömisch sind, wie *CIL* XI 5043, die Inschrift eines Quattuorvirs. Es besteht also keine Notwendigkeit, für unsere Inschrift stadtrömische Provenienz zu postulieren. Die zwei letzten Zeilen lauten *Q. Apusius Felix et Ulpia / [-]unois paren[tes]*. Nach dem von der Herausgeberin publizierten Photo scheint vom Cognomen der Mutter nur ein Buchstabe zu fehlen.⁵⁶ So liegt es nahe, hier an den Namen *Eunois* zu denken. Kein anderer Frauenname mit dem Schlussteil *-unois* steht in der ganzen antiken

⁵³ Meine Stellungnahme findet sich im letzten Faszikel des neuen Supplements zu *CIL* IV, gegenwärtig bei der Arbeitsstelle "Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum" (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften) in Bearbeitung.

⁵⁴ *Pertu(n)sa*, worauf M. Ottink am Ende des Wortartikels *pertundo* *ThL* X 1, 1825, 24 mit dem Vermerk "*cf. Onom.*" verweist, ist ein afrikanisches (*Tab. Peut.* 5, 5) und ein spanisches (*Itin. Anton. Aug.* p. 391, 4) Toponym; vgl. noch einen weiteren Ortsnamen in *Ps. Aur. Vict. epit.* 9, 10. Ich danke herzlich Frau Dr. Ottink, die mir die genannten Belegstellen freundlicherweise zusammengestellt hat.

⁵⁵ S. Buccioli, "Reperti archeologici conservati nella Villa Pambuffetti", *Montefalco. Periodico dell'Accademia di Montefalco* 9, 1995, 2, 16–20. *AE* 1996, 268.

⁵⁶ Die bizarre Erklärung der Editorin (*die*) *V n(onas) O(ctobris) i(usserunt) s(epulcrum)* ist besser zu vergessen.

Namengebung zur Verfügung.⁵⁷ *Eunois* stellt ein durch die sexuelle Motion von *Eunus* gebildetes Oxytonon auf -ιδ- dar, ein Name, der im römischen Westen nur vereinzelt belegt ist,⁵⁸ in Rom überhaupt kein einziges Mal, im griechischen Bereich aber des öfteren.⁵⁹ Eine andere durch Motion entstandene Bildung ist *Eunoe*, auch sie vereinzelt im römischen Westen belegt.⁶⁰ Die Seltenheit von *Eunois* in der römischen Namengebung mag dadurch zu erklären sein, dass die Römer -vους < -vooς nicht ohne weiteres als die ursprüngliche Endung verinnerlicht, sondern -nus eher mit der normalen Männernamendung identifiziert haben,⁶¹ so dass für sie der dem *Eunus* entsprechende Frauenname auf -is eher die Form *Eunis* eingenommen hätte, ganz wie die mit dem Suffix -ianus versehene Ableitung natürlicherweise *Eunianus* heißt (*CIL* VI 18053), nicht etwa **Eunoeanus* oder **Eunoianus*.

Novilla. In *IG* II² 8953 (3./2. Jh. v. Chr.) lesen wir den Namen der Verstorbenen Νόιλλα Καμπανή (die Lesung ist sicher, von Jaime Curbera am Abklatsch nachgeprüft).⁶² Hier liegt wahrscheinlich ein neuer Individualname *Novilla* vor. Die Namensträgerin stammte aus Campanien

⁵⁷ Mir sind außer Εὔνοος Εὔνοος folgende Bildungen auf -vooς -vους bekannt: Ἀστύννοος Εὐθύνοος Εὐρύνοος Ἀστύννοος Εὐθύνοος, aber keine von ihnen kann einen Frauennamen auf -ίς aufweisen.

⁵⁸ Italien: *CIL* IX 5031 (Hadria). Hispanien: *CIL* II 145 = *ILER* 411 = *IRCP* 572 *pro Eunoide*. *CIL* II 4393 = *ILER* 4452 = *RIT* 464 *Perperniae Eunoidi*.

⁵⁹ Athen: *IG* II² 11441 (röm.). 11442 (4. Jh. v. Chr.). 11443. *DTA* 57, 7 (4. Jh. v. Chr., vgl. *ÖJh* 17 [1904] 115). Boiotien, Tanagra: *IG* VII 1007 (beiderseits um Christi Geburt). 1008 (3./2. Jh. v. Chr.). Delos: *I. Rhénée* 385 (röm., möglicherweise keine Delierin). Illyrien: *I. Apollonia* 251 (röm.). Kleinasien: *MAMA* X 385 (Synaos). *JHS* 17 (1897) 280 Nr. 35 (= *MAMA* IX P 91) aus Mysien (Tavshanli). *TAM* III 1, 418 (3. Jh. n. Chr.).

⁶⁰ *CIL* VI 35723 *Luceiae Eunue*. V 5709 *Eunoe*.

⁶¹ Andererseits sind in der römischen epigraphischen Überlieferung Formen belegt, die zeigen, dass die römischen Namengeber und Sprachteilnehmer sich der Länge von *u* bewusst waren: *Eunuti* *CIL* VI 17359 = 37868. 26733 vgl. *ZPE* 28 (1978) 78–80; *Eupluni* *AE* 1989, 196 vgl. *ZPE* 91 (1992) 183 f.; vgl. auch die heteroklitische Flexion Εὔνοι Dat. in Rom: *IGUR* 642. *ICUR* 26041 u. ä., dazu *ZPE* 67 (1987) 201–202. Dasselbe zeigen die Formen Εὔνοος u. a. in stadtrömischen Inschriften: *IGUR* 160 I c, 48; Εὔλους *IGUR* 160 I c, 23. 541. 800. Dagegen kann der Genetiv Εὔνου lauten: *ICUR* 5684 (aber Εὐπλόου *IGUR* 879).

⁶² M. J. Osborne – S. G. Byrne, *The Foreign Residents of Athens*, Lovanii 1996, 114 haben den Namen nicht verstanden, wie aus ihrer Wiedergabe Νοίλλα hervorgeht.

oder Capua.⁶³ So liegt der Gedanke nahe, ihr Name sei aus dem oskischen Vornamen und Gentilicium *Novius* abgeleitet. Mit dem üblichen *Novellus -a* (Kajanto 289) kann er nicht zusammenhängen, denn dieses Cognomen ist aus *novus Novus* gebildet.

Veteranus. "Another ghost-name: Οὐετρανός" heißt der programmatische Titel eines Aufsatzes von P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 255 f. Er will alle Belege des vermeintlichen Personennamens Οὐετρανός, d. h. lat. *Veteranus*, aus den Namenbüchern entfernen.⁶⁴ Er hat Recht darin, dass in allen von ihm behandelten Fällen in der Tat vom entlassenen Soldat die Rede ist. Doch ist *Veteranus*, zuweilen *Vetranus* geschrieben, ein gängiges Cognomen in der römischen Anthroponymie. Es ist sogar in ägyptischen Papyri belegt: in *P. Hamb.* 225, 27 (Philadephia(?), 2./3. Jh.) muss Οὐετρανός υἱός als Name aufgefasst werden, wie das nachfolgende υἱός zeigt. – Der auch im griechischen Osten in der Form Οὐετρανίος vorkommende Gentilname *Vetranus* gehört nicht hierher.

CCIV. RÖMISCHE BÜRGER IN PHILIPPOI

Ich hatte schon im vorigen Band dieser Zeitschrift die Gelegenheit genutzt,⁶⁵ auf verschiedene Schwächen der neuen von P. Pilhofer zusammengestellten Edition der Inschriften von Philippoi hinzuweisen.⁶⁶ Hier greife ich noch einen Fall auf, der wieder einmal die Unzulänglichkeit dieser Edition handgreiflich werden lässt. Der Editor publiziert die von einem Relief zweigeteilte Grabinschrift der Caesier 310 (S. 317 f.) wie folgt:

N(umerius) Caesius Opta/tus, Villia Secunda uxor prima / LIB Itatio
LIB / N(umerius) Caesius Cerdo I // N(umerius) Caesius Priscus, /
Prisca uxor, N(umerius) Caesius / Comilianus, N(umerius) Caesius /
Urbanus, Caesia N(umeri) <f(ilia)> / Saturnina.

⁶³ Bei Osborne – Byrne (s. vorige Anm.) ist der Herkunftsort Κάμπος geworden. Das ist ergötzlich.

⁶⁴ Ein weiterer auszuscheidender Beleg: in *I. Ephesos* 3287A schreiben die Editoren Λούκις Βετρανός (und führen Βετρανός im onomastischen Index an), aufzufassen ist aber zweifellos βετρανός.

⁶⁵ *Arctos* 35 (2001) 232 f.

⁶⁶ P. Pilhofer, *Philippi II: Katalog der Inschriften*, Tübingen 2000.

Von dem Wortlaut der Inschrift hat der Editor so gut wie nichts verstanden, wie etwa seine Übersetzung von 2–3 verrät: "Villia Secunda, seine erste Frau"; und die nachfolgende Zeile hat er als unverständlich ganz unübersetzt gelassen. Wegen der Einmaligkeit von zwei Namen im Text, *Italio* und *Comilianus*, habe ich mich um ein besseres Verständnis des Wortlauts bemüht und dabei vorläufig die editio princeps von Γ. Χατζηκυριάκου aus dem Jahre 1906 angesehen, wo der Text im großen ganzen einwandfrei mit Majuskelbuchstaben und Angabe der Trennpunkte gegeben wird. Daraus wird auch der Wortlaut so gut wie gänzlich sichergestellt. Der erste Teil ist zu lesen *N. Caesius Optatus, Villia Secunda uxor, Prima lib(erta), Italio lib(ertus), N. Caesius Cerdo I*. Nur das I nach CERDO bereitet Schwierigkeiten; wahrscheinlich ist *f(i)lius* zu verstehen, denn die Freigelassenen werden sonst ohne Gentile angeführt. Der Anlass aber, warum ich diese Note aufs Papier bringe, ist das neue Cognomen *Italio*, dessen Lesung wohl über alle Zweifel erhaben ist. Die zu *Italus* gebildete Cognomensippe ist nicht sehr produktiv geworden, hat immerhin einige gut bezeugte Namenbildungen zustandegebracht wie *Italicus* und *Italus*, ohne *Italia* zu vergessen. *Italio* ist zu *Italus* gebildet wie etwa *Latinio* zu *Latinus* (das freilich auch zum Gentilicium *Latinius* gehören kann), *Romanio* zu *Romanus* oder *Sabinio* zu *Sabinus*.

Im weiteren Verlauf des Textes fällt *Comilianus* auf, das ein Novum darstellt. Stimmt die Lesung überhaupt? Man könnte versucht sein, hier eine Verlesung etwa für *Comicianus* anzunehmen; das wäre eine Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Comicius* oder aus dem üblichen griechischen Κωμικός. Stimmt aber die Lesung dann muss *Comilianus* aus einem sonst nicht bezeugten Gentilnamen *Comilius* abgeleitet sein. *Comilius* neben *Comicius* *Comidius* anzunehmen bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten.

CCV. MINIMUM AESERNINUM

CIL IX 2758 lautet in der Abschrift alter Gewährleute EVNEA / FASTO / AVGVRI. Mommsen scheint den Text für interpoliert zu halten; ich schließe dies daraus, dass er ihn ans Ende des alphabetisch geordneten Teils der Grabinschriften verbannt hat, und dass er im Index *Euneia* mit Asteriskus versieht (die zwei restlichen Elemente scheint er aus dem Index gänzlich ausgeklammert zu haben). Der Text kann jedoch geheilt werden.

Der erste Name vertritt gr. Εὐνοία, das im Lateinischen durch *Eunia* und *Eunoea* wiedergegeben wurde; *Eunea* würde demnach nur eine freie Schreibung der letzteren Form darstellen (dieselbe Schreibung in *CIL* VI 5082. 26021). *Fastus* wiederum kann gut *Faustus* sein (*Fastus* als Cognomen wäre etwas sonderbar, pace Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 219). *Faustus* wäre dann ein lokaler Augur gewesen. Merkwürdig bleibt allerdings das Fehlen der Gentilnamen.

CCVI. VARIA URBANA

1. *CIL* VI 2261: Nachtrag zu *Arctos* 35 (2001) 236. Mein Verdacht hat sich bestätigt, dass die dort vorkommenden Namen *Galene* und *Galenus* lauten, nicht *Cal-*, wie Fox gelesen hatte. Die Inschrift ist heute nicht mehr auffindbar (von David Nonnis vergebens gesucht), aber anhand eines in der Archäologischen Soprintendenza von Rom aufbewahrten Photos kann *Gal-* bestätigt werden (freundliche Mitteilung von Rosanna Friggeri).

2. *CIL* VI 21381 ist eine zweizeilige Inschrift mit folgendem Text:

C. Livius C. l. Alexander
Apolloni Aemilia L. l. Glycera

Über der Inschrift sind drei Protomen abgebildet. Die Frage, die diese Bemerkung veranlasst hat, betrifft die Erklärung des ersten Namens der zweiten Zeile. Der Beleg fehlt in Vidmans *Cognominaindex*. Da die Grabtafel anscheinend drei Verstorbenen gewidmet war, wird man in APOLLONI zunächst den Namen der dritten Person suchen, wobei sich der Genetiv von *Apollonius* von selbst bietet. Da aber die zwei übrigen Namen im Nominativ stehen, könnte auch an die abgekürzte Form *Apolloni(us)* gedacht werden. *Apollonius* war wohl das Kind des Alexander und der Glycera und entbehrt des Gentilnamens, weil er tatsächlich Sklave war, oder wegen seines jungen Alters. Weniger ansprechend *Apolloni(anus)* als Agnomen des C. Livius Alexander, auch weil die Zahl der Protomen drei ist. *Apollonius* muss also in Vidmans *Index* nachgetragen werden.

3. In *ICUR* 23942 lautet der Name des Errichters in de Rossis Lesung *Ulpus Anter Florentius*. Für ANTER vermutet Ferrua *Anser*, geschrieben mit einem für die spätere Kaiserzeit charakteristischen kursiven S, in dem der obere Teil von einem getrennten obliquen aber geraden Strich gebildet

wird. Solche Formen von S können leicht mit T verwechselt werden; ein Beispiel bietet *ICUR* 610, deren Anfang de Rossi sch. 5321 MELISΓA druckt, woraus durch flüchtige Abschrift Silvagnis der falsche Name *Melista* in *ICUR* 610 entstand; die Frau hieß *Melissa*, wie übrigens schon einige alte Gewährsleute gelesen hatten.⁶⁷ Kann aber hier *Anser* angenommen werden? De Rossi hat ein deutliches T gesehen, wenigstens gibt das Druckbild der *ICUR* den Schein, T sei sicher. *Anser* ist ein nur selten belegtes Cognomen.⁶⁸ An sich sind aus Tiernamen gebildete Personennamen nicht unüblich in der römischen Anthroponymie, auch nicht in den christlichen Gemeinden; auch Vogelnamen gibt es darunter, aber *Anser* wurde nie ein beliebter Name. Wenn aber *Anter* gelesen wird, kann das nur *Anter(os)* sein. Die abgekürzte Form *Anter(os)* wäre aber in so später Zeit etwas ungewöhnlich und könnte nur dadurch erklärt werden, dass man den Namen als mit der Endung *-erus* versehen empfand, es also der Name *Antherus* vorlag; die Endung wäre dann, analog zu der üblichen Form *Agathemer* statt *Agathemerus*, zu *Anter* abgekürzt worden. – Der Name des Errichters ist auch in einer anderen Hinsicht interessant. Die Name seiner Mutter ist am Anfang der Inschrift folgendermaßen wiedergegeben worden: *Florentie / Apuleie Nigrine*. Hier ist *Florentia* ein sog. getrenntes Signum, oberhalb des übrigen Textes plaziert. Eine Generation später, in der Nomenklatur ihres Sohnes, ist *Florentius* schon ein integrierender Bestandteil seines Namens geworden.

4. In *ICUR* 25170 aus Priscilla gibt der Editor für den Namen des Verstorbenen und das darauf folgende Epithet folgenden Wortlaut: [---] *Ascl]epiadem [ben]emerenti*. Bei dieser Wiedergabe stört aber die Inkongruenz der Kasus. Ich habe die Inschrift zusammen mit Giorgio Filippi am 6. Mai 2002 an Ort und Stelle aufgenommen. Der Stein bietet in der Tat [---]EPIADEM. Da aber ein Akkusativ nun einmal in den Text nicht passt und ein Dativ verlangt wird, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass in der Vorlage ASCLEPIADENI stand, dessen zwei letzte Buchstaben der Steinmetz irrtümlich mit M wiedergab; eine einleuchtende Verschreibung. Die -n-Flexion ist gerade bei *Asclepiades* nicht belegt, aber sonst hier und da in

⁶⁷ Vgl. H. S. *Arctos* 11 (1977) 128 = *Analecta epigraphica* 91. Die Inschrift steht jetzt besser *ICUR* 23840, wo die von mir gegebene Lesung akzeptiert wird.

⁶⁸ Mir sind folgende Belege bekannt: ein Dichter aus der spätrepublikanischen Zeit (*RE* I 2336 = *PIR*² A 723); *CIL* XV 1379 *Q. Pontidi Anseris*; *LSO* 1142 *Anseris*; *CIL* XI 5725 *T. Hertorio Vib[i.f.] Ouf. Anseri*.

griechischen Männernamen auf *-es* nachweisbar: Formen wie *Anopteni(s)* (4mal in Rom), *Euantheni* (1mal), *Heliadeni* (1mal), *Hermenis* (2mal), *Pasicleni* (1mal), *Pharnaceni* (2mal), *Sotenis* (1mal), *Thaleni* (1mal) oder *Themistoclenis* (1mal) legen davon Zeugnis ab; vgl. ferner oblique Kasusformen orientalischer Namen wie *Maheni(s)* (2mal), *Sindenis* (1mal). Ein Dativ *Asclepiadeni* aus *Asclepiades* ist auch deswegen eine plausible Bildung, weil es keinen Frauennamen **Asclepiade* gibt und so kein Missverständnis über die Zugehörigkeit der obliquen Kasus auf *-n-* besteht (aus diesem Grund hat der überaus beliebte Name *Eutyches* keine obliquen Kasusformen auf *Eutychen-* [vom Akkusativ *Eutychen* abgesehen] aufzuweisen, weil solche Formen eher auf den Frauennamen *Eutyche* bezogen werden konnten, da bei den Frauennamen auf *-e* dieser Typ gebräuchlich war).

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INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN XENOPHON AND PLATO?

HOLGER THESLEFF

The problems of intertextuality in Greek literature are notoriously difficult. A case in point is the old Isocrates vs. Plato controversy which has not been satisfactorily resolved.¹ In recent years, Xenophon's and Plato's mutual relations have not attracted much attention. The facts are far from clear, however, and were already discussed in antiquity.²

A direct textual relationship is fairly certain in the cases of the two *Apologies* and the two *Symposia*, though the questions of priority are still partly open. Plato seems to have published his *Apology* before Xenophon wrote his.³ As for the *Symposia*, I have argued elsewhere⁴ that Plato used Xenophon's dialogue as one of his models, except for Xenophon's Chapter 8 which relies on Plato. Very reluctantly, I would accept the possibility of a sole common source for Xenophon (1–7) and Plato. Copies of both *Symposia* are likely to have circulated among the Athenians. Like all Xenophon's writings, Plato's *Symposium* is written for a larger audience than

¹ Some observations on this in H. Thesleff, *Arctos* 31 (1997) 162 f. and (in Swedish) in Ø. Andersen (red.), *Dannelse, humanitas, paideia*, Oslo 1999, 197–214. Cf. also F. Roscalla, *Athenaeum* 86 (1998) 109–132.

² Gell. *NA* 14.3.

³ See, e.g., A.-H. Chroust, *Socrates, Man and Myth*, London 1957, 39. Xenophon's *Apology* (an essay in the style of the *Memorabilia*), like *M I* 1–2, takes a stand on what was then known about Socrates' defense; this seems to have included Plato's *Apology* which was certainly published as a set of logographic speeches. In *M I* 2, Xenophon directs his defense against the pamphlet of Polycrates which seems to have been written later than Plato's *Ap*; cf. H. Thesleff, *Studies in Platonic Chronology* (Comm. Hum. Litt. 70), Helsinki 1982, 32 f.

⁴ In *BICS* 25 (1978) 157–170. I was then too confident about the literacy of the period. But G. Danzig (in letters) has provided additional support for my arguments.

Plato normally addressed with his dialogues.⁵ Furthermore, according to Gellius, Plato commented on the *Cyrupædia* in the *Laws* (III 694c). This, too, seems reasonable: Plato may have taken some interest in this romance because Xenophon had used in it ideas taken from Plato's Utopia, the early version of the *Republic*.⁶

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The case of the *Memorabilia* (here *M*) is more complicated but of considerable general interest.⁷ It is well known that Xenophon's collection abounds in themes, names, ideas, and points which also occur in Plato's dialogues. Though no synopsis of all the parallels seems to have been made, several scholars have listed and discussed various details.⁸ No proofs of the intertextual relationships have been offered, however. Sometimes the apparent makeshift of assuming common sources rather than direct quotation has been, loosely, accepted. Few have considered the priority of Xenophon as a serious solution.⁹ More often the priority of Plato is silently assumed or taken for granted. It is believed that Xenophon, of course, freely used the ideas that he took from Plato's writings, projected them onto his

⁵ H. Thesleff, "Plato and His Public", in B. Amden et al. (eds.), *Noctes Atticae ... presented to J. Mejer*, Copenhagen 2002, 289–301.

⁶ This is how I interpret Gell. 14.3; Thesleff (above n. 1), 1997, 150 ff. Danzig (above n. 4) suggests that several passages in *Lg* refer to the *Cyrup*. Somewhat similarly, the introductory sections of *Timæus* may somehow allude to Isocrates' *Busiris* (cf. above n. 1).

⁷ The other writings of Xenophon are practically irrelevant here. The *Oeconomicus* operates with some well-known Socratic topics; but, for instance, the musings on questioning as teaching, 19.14–19, are certainly not taken from any particular Platonic dialogue. The *Hiero*, like *Agésilas*, belongs to the 4th-century discussion of rulership without any clear reference to Plato.

⁸ Scattered notes and references, of varying weight, in, e.g., K. Joël, *Der echte und der Xenophontische Sokrates* I–II:1–2, Berlin 1893–1901, Chroust (above n. 3), H. R. Breitenbach, *RE* IX A 2 (1967), 1569–2051.

⁹ Especially Antisthenes, and also Aeschines of Sphettus, have been proposed as common (written) sources. The impact of Antisthenes was very much debated after Joël's books (above n. 8); see references in G. Giannantoni, *Socraticorum Reliquiae*, Napoli 1990², III 193 ff. After Joël, notably Chroust (above n. 3) 101–134 has collected additional indications of Xenophon's dependence on Antisthenes. The importance of oral information does not seem to have been seriously discussed (but cf., e.g., R. G. Tanner, *Prudentia* 18 [1986] 31–37). Xenophon as a source for Plato very occasionally occurs among the rich speculations of Joël (cf. above n. 8), also *Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* I, Tübingen 1921, 378.

own memories of Socratic discussions, and presented them in an easily palpable form for his own readers.

This would appear to be a good general explanation if we can be sure that Xenophon knew the relevant Platonic dialogues and thought it worth while to interpret and use them according to his own ends. These are, however, very crucial premises.

As a matter of fact it is quite probable that Xenophon did not know all, or even most, of Plato's dialogues in the form that we have them. Disregarding the chronological problems, I have argued elsewhere¹⁰ that Plato normally addressed very select audiences who did not make copies of the text. Most of his dialogues were not publicly available. If this is so, the likelihood of Xenophon's possessing such texts diminishes. But there are many additional difficulties.

Taking a closer look at Xenophon's alleged quotations from Plato, we may note at first two general, somewhat curious facts. Though many of the persons Xenophon introduces as Socrates' interlocutors are known from Plato's dialogues, they are almost never discussing the same themes as in Plato. And again, where the themes or points are the same or similar, they are usually peripheral in Plato, or mentioned in passing by him: the central arguments in Plato's dialogues are (apart from the *Apology* and *Symposium*) almost never taken up by Xenophon. If Xenophon had just reshuffled Plato's material to make his own pieces look more personal, we should perhaps expect him to have taken account of some of the central ideas too.

To take just one example. In *M I 4* Socrates protreptically (as is pointed out, 1) persuades Aristodemus, who is known to despise religion, that the universe is created by a benevolent, caring δαίμόνιον. In this chapter, Aristodemus ὁ Μικρός (2, cf. Pl. *Smp* 173b), and the notion of a cosmic δαίμόνιον, and the mention of reproductive ἔρως (7), may suggest to us Plato's *Symposium*, which is otherwise very remote here. The idea of a Creator, a σοφὸς δημιουργός as Aristodemus admits (7, cf. 9), and the reference to elements that compose the human body (8), may at first remind us of the *Timaeus*, though one may wonder at Xenophon's superficial interpretation of Plato's Timaeus' Demiurge as a conventional Super-God, a King of All; the *Politicus* (270a, 273b, etc.) has a more playful tone. Or, as has been sometimes suggested, would Xenophon rather be thinking of a passage in *Philebus* (28a–30d) where Socrates argues for the cosmic

¹⁰ See above, n. 5.

dominance of Νοῦς? For a start (28c), Plato's Socrates somewhat playfully adduces the common opinion of "all wise men" (supposedly including Anaxagoras) that νοῦς ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. Protarchos agrees (28e). Then Plato's Socrates proceeds as follows: the four elements, and the earlier discussed principles of πέραις and ἄπειρον, which contribute to the composition of the bodies of individuals and the universe, need the soul (ψυχὴ 30a) as a "cause" to make them function in the right order and proportions (αἰτία ... κοσμοῦσά τε καὶ συντάττουσα 30c5); and since wisdom and νοῦς belong to the soul (30c9), it is indeed correct to say that νοῦς is ultimately the leader of all. Possibly the argument is here to some extent built on the *Timaeus*, but the notion of a cause is emphasized. Xenophon's Socrates wants Aristodemus to see that his individual faculty of reason (φρόνιμον) must originate in the universe where the elements, just as in the human body, are combined and kept in order (συνήρμωσται) by invisible νοῦς (8, also ψυχὴ 9). The very brief argument appears as one shortened from a cosmological exposition which Xenophon need not have looked for in the difficult *Philebus* where it is embedded in very different issues. Among the four elements, Plato's Socrates focusses on fire which forms a natural bridge to the intellect. Xenophon's Socrates mentions only earth and water (ὕγρον), but refers to the enormous quantity of these in the surrounding world (τὰ ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρα; cf. *Phlb* 29c on cosmic fire: πλῆθει τε θαυμαστόν ...). Here the ἄπειρα directly evokes the *Philebus* where ἄπειρον is a key concept (14e, 16e ff.). On the other hand, this term is common enough in Presocratic philosophy of nature,¹¹ especially in Pythagoreanism (which provided Plato with the πέραις / ἄπειρον contrast), so it is likely to have been widely current in that sort of argument which both Plato and Xenophon use. The similarities are indeed likely to come from common sources. An additional difficulty with the assumption of *Philebus* as Xenophon's source is, of course, chronology: the tenor of the *M*, notably the first books, points to the early fourth century discussion of the impact of Socrates, instead of the 350s or later when *Philebus* was written.¹²

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¹¹ See the Wortindex in *DK* III. A pre-Platonic source for *M* I 4, and its cognate *M* IV 3, has sometimes been taken into consideration; references in Breitenbach (above n. 8) 1829 f.

¹² Nobody today would give an early date to *Phlb*. For the dating of *M*, see below, n. 23.

The following pages will be devoted to an analysis of two chapters in the fourth book of *M* where similar clusters of Platonic reminiscences may seem to occur.

M IV 2 presents Socrates discussing with Euthydemus (who often occurs in *M*) the uselessness of book-learning and the need for self-knowledge for a person who is intent on a political career. This Euthydemus is not the erist, but the Socratic (son of Diocles, cf. I 2.29, etc., Pl. *Smp* 222b; apparently not the "brother of Lysias", *R* I 328b). In general, this piece may recall *Alcibiades I* or *Theages*; and the criticism of empty learning may remind us of *Hippias Minor* and *Hippias Maior*.

1 Euthydemus (ὁ καλός, cf. the opening of *HpMa*) has, in order to acquire wisdom (σοφία), collected writings (γράμματα) of prominent poets and sophists. Cf. the introductory sections in *HpMi* and *HpMa*.

2–7 A bantering opening by Socrates on whether great leaders (such as Themistocles) have had teachers, as craftsmen have. This is a Socratic topos used several times by Plato (cf. e.g. *Grg* 503b–e, *Men* 93e–94e, *AlcI* 106d–109b, *Virt* 376c–378b, *Thg* 122e–125a). Nothing suggests an intertextual relationship.

8 Socrates is now alone with Euthydemus. Cf. *Clit* 406a10, *AlcI* 118b5, a point elaborated in *Smp* 218bc (cf. *Thg* 130e). Xenophon wants to emphasize the personal character of Socrates' teaching. This is a Socratic topos, certainly not taken from any particular Platonic dialogue.

8–9 Socrates comments on Euthydemus' collecting of texts: it is admirable that you prefer σοφία to wealth! Socrates uses the same phrase as in *HpMa* 291e, νῆ τὴν Ἑρᾶν ἄγαμαί γέ σου, where he, with exuberant irony, praises Hippias' kindly, εὐνοϊκῶς, helping him to give a third definition of τὸ καλόν. The adverb is hapax in the Platonic corpus, but Xenophon uses it, and in fact twice, in connection with ἄγαμαί in *M* II 6.33–34, in a context where Socrates is discussing friendship with Critobulus. Apparently, the latter combination is a 4th century colloquial idiom referring to a friendly attitude, and Socrates' approach to Euthydemus is pointedly friendly. The νῆ τὴν Ἑρᾶν oath is relatively common in both Xenophon and Plato as a more emotional variant of νῆ Δία.¹³ The fact that Hippias is both a mock-σοφός and a rich man, a fact emphasized at the beginning of *HpMa*, seems to make a specific point of contact between *M* IV 2 and *HpMa*. There are significant differences, however. Note in particular the following: whereas Plato's Socrates normally, as in *HpMa*, keeps an ironical distance from what people call σοφία, Xenophon's attitude to it is neutral or laudatory (even Socrates possesses it, 3); it is the acquisition from books of the σοφία (or ἀρετή or τέχνη, 11)

¹³ The νῆ τὴν Ἑρᾶν is not specifically a women's oath, as *LSJ* s.v. Ἑρᾶ claim.

required for leadership that his Socrates mocks. *HpMa* does not after all strike one as a very likely source for this idea or the idioms used. The opposite relation might, in theory, seem more natural.

9–11 Euthydemus does not wish to become that kind of craftsman or specialist whose wisdom (or excellence) can be learned from books, but a political leader. Socrates comments: so you want the finest ἀρετή which is called βασιλική τέχνη. The examples given of "technical" specialists include doctors, architects, geometricians "like Theodorus", astronomers, and rhapsodists. Theodorus' name may suggest the *Politicus* (rather than *Theaetetus*, since we are here concerned with the art of politics); but since he is not profiled as a mathematician in *Plt*, it is more probable that Xenophon adduces him because he occurred in Socratic traditions as a mathematician whom Socrates knew. The case of the rhapsodists is more interesting. Rhapsodists who know all Homeric epics by heart but are nevertheless stupid themselves, as Euthydemus adds of his own accord, automatically make us think of the *Ion*; there, at the end, Socrates in fact plays with the thought of rhapsodists as generals because they seem to "know everything" though they can only rely on a Homeric text and some doubtful inspiration. Xenophon's rhapsodists are simply stupid, not inspired. A Socratic topos, noted in passing by Xenophon but elaborated in the *Ion*, is again the best explanation. – Then, however, there is the "Kingly Art" which presents us with a curious dilemma. Plato refers to this "art" in the central section of his *Euthydemus* (!), in the digressional comments on what Clinias is supposed to have said (291b–292c); and the Kingly Art occurs frequently in the *Politicus* both as a τέχνη and as an ἐπιστήμη (cf. 259b, 296b, 300e, etc.).¹⁴ In another passage in *M*, II 1.17–18, the Kingly Art is suddenly introduced by Socrates' interlocutor who is here Aristippus. He remarks, speaking of happiness, that Socrates seems to consider this art as happiness (ἦν δοκεῖς μοι σὺ νομίζειν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι), in spite of the fact that even a king may suffer pain; Socrates answers by referring to free choice. This latter passage would at first seem to reflect Plato's *Euthd* where the discussion had touched on happiness in relation to the Kingly Art; but Socrates' standpoint is distinctly aporetic there, so Aristippus' remark must have another source (and Plato's Philosopher-King is out of the question). At *M* IV 2.11, however, the issue is about power and influence and being useful to the city: a good king must benefit the entire society, as Socrates says in *M* III 2.2, and as the Elean Stranger argues in *Plt*. This was a topic discussed among the Socratics; we know that Antisthenes treated it besides Xenophon and Plato.¹⁵ An intertextual

¹⁴ At 259c combined with οἰκονομική, as in Xenophon (11). Cf. further *Amat* 138bc and *Alc I* 120a–124b where the Persian king figures.

¹⁵ Cf. R. Höistad, *Cynic Hero and Cynic King*, Diss. Uppsala 1948, 195 ff.; Chroust (above n. 3) 155–162; further references in Giannantoni (above n. 9) III 191, 259 ff. Note also Xenophon's *Hiero* and *Agesilaus*, and Isocrates' Cyprian Essays and *Busiris*. Both

relationship between Xenophon's passages and the Platonic dialogues is again very unlikely. But: is it mere coincidence that the Kingly Art is mentioned both in the dialogue with Euthydemus the Socratic and in a dialogue named after Euthydemus the erist? I would suggest that there existed Socratic (oral?) traditions about young Euthydemus, Socrates' friend, looking for a teacher of political σοφία, as many of Plato's characters do, and indeed for teachers of βασιλική τέχνη. Xenophon developed the tradition in his own way. Plato, in his *Euthd*, transformed Euthydemus the Socratic into Critobulus in the frame for his story about Socrates' encounter with the erist of the same name. Such a play with names would be typically Platonic.

11–18 This section brings us back to issues connected with Hippias the sophist. Does Euthydemus know what is right (δικαιοσύνη, δίκαιος)? Socrates' reasoning here recalls *Dissoi Logoi* ch. 3 which may be a summary of a lecture by Hippias.¹⁶ Faint reflections of the same points and arguments can be found in Platonic dialogues (e.g., *R* I–II, *Clit*, *AlcI* 111a ff., *Just* 374b ff.), but obviously Xenophon's source here is not Plato; cf. on *M* IV 4, below.

18–20 Is voluntary deception better than involuntary? This piece of apparent sophistry corresponds to one of the basic themes in *Hippias Minor* (especially 370c ff., 372c ff.) where Socrates professes aporia. There the idea of δικαιοσύνη as a δύναμις or an ἐπιστήμη is, in passing, introduced towards the end (375d). Since δικαιοσύνη is in the foreground in Xenophon and his Socrates makes only a relatively brief reference to the sophism of deceiving, a direct connection between Plato and Xenophon is not particularly probable.

21–23 One who knows the truth does not speak differently about the same thing (μηδέποτε τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν), as slaves do. This point may recall Socrates' πλανᾶσθαι in *HpMi* 372de, 3766bc, but it is in fact a common Socratic theme, quoted with allusion to Hippias at *M* IV 4.6, where we may prefer to think of *HpMa* (see below).

24–40 The rest of the chapter has a protreptic bent that may generally bring to mind *AlcI* (or again *Euthd*), but has no close parallels with Plato.

Aeschines and Antisthenes have been considered as sources for *M* IV 2.9–11, see Breitenbach (above n. 8) 1827; K. Gaiser, *Protreptik und Paränese bei Platon* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 40), Stuttgart 1959, 77 ff. argues strongly for Aeschines. Plato seems to have secondarily added the notion of a Philosopher-King to his *R*; cf. Thesleff (above n. 1), 1997, 166.

¹⁶ M. Pohlenz, *Aus Platos Werdezeit*, Berlin 1913, 72 ff. Antisthenes may well have been the intermediate source. He has often been found lurking behind the *HpMi*; cf. e.g. A. Patzer, *Antisthenes der Sokratiker*, Diss. Heidelberg 1970, 173 ff., Thesleff (above n. 3) 221.

M IV 4 has Socrates discussing justice and lawfulness with Hippias the sophist. The choice of partner looks odd at first sight. Apparently Xenophon follows a tradition concerning this encounter (cf. below, on 5). But does Xenophon follow the Platonic version(s) of it?

- 1–4 Introductory praise of Socrates who always obeyed the laws. Here the same issues are loosely reflected as in Plato's *Apology* and the *Crito*, and also elsewhere in Xenophon, e.g., *M I 1–2*.
- 5 Socrates often spoke about law-abidingness. I (Xenophon) know (οἶδα) that he once discussed τὸ δίκαιον with Hippias, as follows (τοιόδε). Hippias had come to Athens after a long time (διὰ χρόνου, cf. below), and listened to Socrates who explained to some people how peculiar it is that there are teachers of all crafts and specialities, but not of justice. This is a common Socratic topos; cf., e.g., *Clit*, *Thg*, *AlcI* 124d ff., *Prt* 311b–e.
- 6 Hippias, jestingly: You are still saying the same as I heard from you a long time ago (πάλαι ποτέ). Socrates: It is more interesting (δεινότερον) that I not only say the same, but also speak about the same things (τὰ αὐτὰ, περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν); but probably you who are so learned (πολυμαθής, the same idea in *HpMi* and *HpMa*, though Plato does not use the word except in *Lg* and *Amat*) never say the same about the same (a variation of a Socratic topos, cf. below). Hippias: Naturally, I always try to say something new (καινόν τι).
- 7–8 Socrates: Do you try different answers about things you know, such as how many letters there are in my name, or what is 2×5? (Probably a Socratic topos; for the first example, cf. *AlcI* 113a, *Tht* 207e–208a, for the second, *Tht* 204bc, and more loosely *R I* 337a–d, *HpMa* 285e). Hippias: No, the same answer; but I can now say things that nobody can contradict about justice (τὸ δίκαιον; cf. *HpMa* 286b where he is prepared to give a new speech on πάμπολλα νόμιμα; for ἀντειπεῖν, cf. below). Socrates: By Hera (cf. *HpMa* 287a and above, on *M IV* 2.8–9), a great discovery, if you can stop people from contradicting (ἀντιλέγεσθαι, cf. below) each other about what is right (τὰ δίκαια)!
- 9 Hippias: But you must first tell me your own opinion about justice (τὸ δίκαιον) and stop teasing others (cf. *R I* 336c ff., and especially *Clit*).
- 10–12 Socrates: I have shown it by my actions, and I claim that lawfulness is justice (τὸ νόμιμον δίκαιον, cf. below).
- 12–18 Discussion of this; lengthy argument by Socrates (nothing specifically Platonic; cf. below).
- 18–25 Socrates argues: the gods have given us unwritten laws to follow (a common theme with reflections in some Platonic dialogues, too; cf. below).

The Platonic parallels to the above issues can be conveniently discussed under four headings: (a) Socrates' encounter with Hippias the sophist; (b) the opening phrase διὰ χρόνου; (c) Hippias' preparedness to give a new account of what is right; and (d) the idea of contradiction.

(a) Apart from this chapter, Hippias is mentioned only once by Xenophon, in his *Symposium* 4.6.2. There Socrates intimates that Antisthenes "the Procurer" has perhaps brought together Callias and Hippias from whom Callias has learned the technique of memorizing so that he never forgets whatever καλόν he has seen. This may point to some connection with *Hippias Maior*, where Hippias (called ὁ καλός at the opening),¹⁷ the specialist in many branches including τὸ μνημονικόν (285e10), turns out to be incapable of defining τὸ καλόν. Xenophon does not deal with τὸ κάλον in *M IV* 4, but there are other curious parallels with *HpMa* in this chapter. However, let us first note the possibility that it was Antisthenes who introduced Hippias as an interlocutor of Socrates.

It has been argued¹⁸ that a section in Dio Chrysostomus' *Third Discourse on Kingship* (III 25–42), which appears to freely reflect Xenophon's *M IV* 4, in fact derives from Antisthenes. Dio claims (27) that he is himself "always speaking the same" about what is expected from a good ruler, and he then goes on to report a discussion between Hippias of Elis and Socrates about justice (note especially the combination of νομίμως καὶ δικαίως 39, for which see below). The report has, as in Xenophon and *HpMa*, the opening phrase διὰ χρόνου (below) which Dio interprets, apparently misunderstanding his source, as if Hippias had been listening to Socrates "for some time". The notion of "always speaking the same" is a well-known Socratic topos used with several variations by Plato, in *Grg* 490e–491b in connection with τὸ δίκαιον.¹⁹ Xenophon, like Dio, emphasizes the repetition of the contents, not the form, of what is said. The "Cynic" tenor of the topos would suit Antisthenes (cf. also *M IV* 2.21,

¹⁷ Cf. Euthydemus at *M IV* 2.1, above. Joël (above n. 8), II:2, 1101–1106, argued in detail for Antisthenes' *Protrepticus* as the common source of Xenophon and Plato. Cf. above, n. 9. See now also D. Nails, *The People of Plato*, Indianapolis 2002.

¹⁸ References in S. R. Slings, *Plato: Clitophon*, Cambridge 1999, 90–98; note especially Joël (above n. 8) I:1, 391 ff., Chroust (above n. 3) 59.

¹⁹ Cf. L. Rossetti, *RSC* 22 (1974) 424 ff., H. Thesleff, *Studies in Plato's Two-Level Model* (Comm. Hum. Litt. 113), Helsinki 1999, 24. Note also Hippias' reaction in *HpMa* 304ab.

above), and Antisthenes is known to have reflected on the problem of justice and also, very probably, on the Ideal Ruler.²⁰

The question is involved with the problem of whether Dio knew and was prepared to use writings by the "Proto-Cynic" Antisthenes. Dio's *Discourse* XIII (especially 14–28), a protreptic speech, may be a case in point. It is sometimes believed that the τῆς (14), whom Dio here quotes almost verbatim, is in fact Antisthenes and not the very similar Platonic *Clitophon* (which does indeed sound Antisthenean). S. R. Slings, however, has recently argued²¹ that Dio quotes *Clit* with minor changes and alterations.

The problem is not easily solved. Dio also has other passages that might operate with Socratic sources other than Xenophon or Plato (e.g. LIV, LV 23, LX 10, LXX), and Antisthenes is here a very likely candidate. At least one is warned not to automatically take *HpMa* as one of Xenophon's sources. We saw above that both *HpMi* and *HpMa* may suggest themselves as sources for *M* IV 2, but with even less probability than *HpMa* does for *M* IV 4. Again the question of chronology arises. Those who consider *HpMa* a post-Platonic writing²² would presumably opt for Antisthenes as a common source. Or would they suggest Xenophon as providing material for *HpMa*?²³

(b) An encounter opening with the phrase διὰ χρόνου occurs in several Platonic dialogues (cf. *R* I 328bc, *Euthd* 273c, *Chrm* 153a, and similar ideas in the openings of *Grg*, *Ion*, *Prt*, *Smp*, and *Prm*); this is clearly a traditional topos. Xenophon (*M* IV 4.5) has ἀφικόμενος, *HpMa* has ἡμῶν κατῆρας (Dio, as we saw, interprets it differently). The point in *HpMa* is οὐ σχολή

²⁰ Above, on IV 2.9–11 and n. 15.

²¹ Above, n. 18. Cf. also Breitenbach (above n. 8) 1831.

²² Among them Kahn; cf. Thesleff (above n. 3) 226–228 where I argued for placing *HpMa*, as a semi-authentic dialogue, in the mid-4th century.

²³ The dating of the various books and chapters of *M* is very uncertain, to say the least. É. Delebeque, *Essai sur la vie de Xénophon* (Études et Commentaires 25), Paris 1957, is not reliable; some further suggestions in Breitenbach (above n. 8); V. J. Gray, *The Framing of Socrates* (Hermes Einzelschriften 79), Stuttgart 1998, argues for the relative independence of Xenophon. There existed a tradition that Xenophon was the first to publish Socrates' "talks" (τὰ λεγόμενα), DL 2.48. In fact there is much in *M* to point to the first decades of the 4th century; see especially H. von Arnim, *Xenophons Memorabilien und Apologie des Sokrates* (K. Danske Vid. Selsk., Hist.-filol. Meddelelser VIII 1), København 1923. The conventional datings depend to a considerable extent on the alleged chronology of Platonic dialogues, taken as Xenophon's models.

(Hippias is a very busy man); in Xenophon it is the fact that Socrates keeps "saying the same" over the years. The latter topos (cf. above) is not prominent in *HpMa*. Thus διὰ χρόνου is not a direct sign of Xenophon having *HpMa* in mind, though it may be felt as more natural in Socrates' greeting in *HpMa* than as the narrator's comment in Xenophon.

(c) In Xenophon, Hippias offers a new (7 νῦν, cf. 6 καινόν τι) speech on τὸ δίκαιον; in *HpMa*, he is prepared to speak on ἐπιτηδεύματα καλὰ (cf. Pl. *Smp* 210c), including νόμιμα (286ab, cf. *Grg* 474de, 488de). Hippias' preparedness to lecture must have been a well-known topos (cf., e.g., *Prt* 337c ff., 347ab, Clem. *Strom.* 6.15, DK 86 B 6). In Xenophon (7–8), his point is that the speech cannot be contradicted. In *HpMa* this is not his point from the start, though the question of ἀντίληψις is soon raised (cf. below, (d)). In Xenophon, Hippias is easily convinced by Socrates (18) that τὸ νόμιμον and τὸ δίκαιον are the same; in *HpMa*, he does not see the irony in connection with νόμιμον which was introduced as a preparatory sub-theme (284b), probably with reference to his claim elsewhere (cf. *Prt* 337d) that νόμος is a tyrant.

The connections between τὸ νόμιμον and τὸ δίκαιον, and their possible identification, were widely discussed in Athens, though Plato's Socrates, of course, never claims that they mean the same.²⁴ The analysis of what is νόμιμον in Sparta, in *HpMa* 284c–285b, is playfully ironical. It is hard to see how it could have inspired Xenophon to make Hippias and Socrates agree on τὸ νόμιμον as δίκαιον. In my view, *HpMa* represents a clear advance from the position of Xenophon (or his source), rather than vice versa (which would imply that Xenophon had read his Plato with almost stupid carelessness).

(d) In fact it seems that Antisthenes' notoriously problematic view of "contradiction" somehow lies behind both accounts, Xenophon's and Plato's (or whoever finished the *HpMa*). The οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντιλέγειν was a familiar Antisthenean dictum (Arist. *Top.* 104b19–21, etc.); and yet he was always prone to produce counter-arguments. Some of his speeches (or dialogues)

²⁴ Cf. M. C. Stokes, *Plato's Socratic Conversations*, Baltimore 1986, 5 ff. Rather, it corresponds to the "common opinion" in Athens; cf., e.g., the Athenian Laws at *Cri* 53c, Glaukon at *R* II 359e, Protagoras at *Prt* 327ab, the Athenian at *Lg* VII 801e. Similarly *Cyrup* I 3.17.

bear the subtitle ἀντιλογικός.²⁵ Xenophon lets his Hippias, always prepared to present new points, promise a speech on τὸ δίκαιον which cannot be contradicted (ἀντειπεῖν, ἀντιλέγοντες 7–8) by Socrates or anybody else; but in the end, he accepts without objection (τάναντία 18) Socrates' view of τὸ δίκαιον as τὸ νόμιμον. In *HpMa*, the sophist at first accepts, without objection (ἐναντιοῦσθαι 285b), Socrates' musings on τὸ νόμιμον, and then (286a) proposes to present his own speech on fine and lawful behaviour (καλὰ, νόμιμα). Socrates grabs at the notion of καλόν and introduces his "alter ego", an aggressive dissector (ὕβριστικῶς, ἀναμαχοῦμενος, etc.). Hippias is confident that his view of what is καλόν cannot be contradicted, but Socrates (or his "friend") goes on objecting (287a ἀντιλαμβάνωμαι, ἀντιλήψεων, cf. 286e, 287b ἐξελέγχειν, etc.). It has sometimes been noted that this "second Socrates" has something of Antisthenes in him.²⁶ The long discussion ends in an aporia (304b–e) very similar to the conclusion of *HpMi*. The tenor of the discussion in *HpMa*, however, is very much more sophisticated than in Xenophon; I also find it difficult to conceive that Xenophon had turned a pointedly destructive elenchus of Hippias' views of τὸ καλόν into a rhetorical argument about τὸ νόμιμον (especially 15–17) which Hippias quietly accepts. What the two pieces have in common, as far as "contradiction" is concerned, is Hippias' vague acceptance, explicitly without objection (ἐναντιοῦσθαι, τάναντία), of Socrates' argument about τὸ νόμιμον, and Hippias' assertion that his own view cannot be contradicted (ἀντειπεῖν, ἀντιλέγειν in Xenophon, ἐξελέγχειν, ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι in *HpMa*). The use in *HpMa* of ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι (ἀντίληψις), in the sense of "objecting", "attacking", seems to be a Platonic idiom.²⁷ In *HpMa*, however, Hippias is brought to accept (without objection) that the Spartans do not always obey the laws (285b), whereas in Xenophon the argument which Hippias accepts (without objection) starts with Socrates' claim that the Spartans do obey the laws (15). In *HpMa*, Hippias' assertion that his view cannot be refuted comes after his acceptance of Socrates' position, whereas in Xenophon he makes his own claim first and then accepts Socrates'. Xenophon has a slide from δίκαιον to νόμιμον without any mention of

²⁵ References to the dictum in Giannantoni (above n. 9) III, N 35 and 38. Among others, H. D. Rankin, *Antisthenes Sokraticos*, Amsterdam 1986, 47 ff., 74, argues that Prodicus is the ultimate source of the dictum.

²⁶ See, e.g., Thesleff (above n. 3) 227 f.

²⁷ It may or may not have Antisthenean roots; it is notably frequent in *HpMa*.

καλόν, whereas in *HpMa* the καλόν brings with it the subtheme of νόμιμον without any mention of δίκαιον. Is there an intertextual relationship? Plato (or one of his associates) could have amused himself by picking up Xenophon's Hippias' concessions to the νόμιμον position, and by developing Hippias' assurance of never being refuted into a series of ἀντιλήψεις by Socrates' alter ego. The cases of the *Symposia* and the *Cyrupaedia* tend to indicate that Plato and Platonists did sometimes read Xenophon. However, Xenophon's brief accounts sound as if he is using earlier, more detailed sources. Yet the *HpMa* does not seem to be likely as a source. Can we expect Xenophon, if he knew *HpMa*, to have just picked up single items of the issues of νόμιμον and contradiction without reflecting on the contexts and on Plato's points and aporias? And if so, he must have realized that other people had also seen the *HpMa* and had perhaps studied it less naively than he did.

A very reasonable alternative is, again, to assume the existence of a common source, a Socratic (perhaps oral rather than written) tradition about Socrates discussing with Hippias the sophist about νόμιμον and δίκαιον and ψεύδεσθαι (cf. *HpMi* and *M* IV 2.11–20) or contradiction. The role of Antisthenes here is an interesting open question.

The other points of alleged contact occur more sporadically.²⁸ I trust they would not substantially alter the above picture.

*

Neither Xenophon nor Plato had motivations to quote current texts verbatim. Xenophon the historian tried to reconstruct the personality of Socrates the teacher from his own recollections, and from oral and, probably, literary sources, but for apologetic, panegyric and moralistic ends. Plato the philosopher and literary artist presented his own thinking, partly as Socrates'. Xenophon can perhaps be expected to have profited from such Platonic material as suited his picture. Plato hardly needed to consult Xenophon for profit or polemics, though he may have playfully transformed Xenophontic material that he happened to come across (witness the *Symposium*).

However, what Platonic texts did Xenophon know at the time when he composed his *Memorabilia*? And was he careful enough to pick out from them only what he felt to be truly Socratic, or did he naively add Platonic

²⁸ E.g., *M* II 6.28 / *Chrm*, *Ly*; *M* III 1.1 / *Euthd* 271d and *La*; *M* III 5.13–17 / *Mx*; III 7.1–9 / *Chrm*.

ideas?

On the first question: We cannot now be confident about the early date of Plato's "Socratic" dialogues,²⁹ or about the relatively late date of the main body of the *Memorabilia* since its dating is largely based on the alleged Platonic reminiscences.³⁰ On the second question: Xenophon knew, of course, that Plato wrote dialogues. But even if he had seen the text of some – which is not so certain, if they were normally read from a unique manuscript to select audiences, as I have argued³¹ – he is likely to have realized that Plato's Socrates was not his Socrates. And why should he then have bothered to look for the "truly Socratic" in them, or just for commonplaces, if such information was available to him elsewhere?

We have seen that many of the points of contact between Xenophon's and Plato's dialogues are in fact Socratic *topoi* that Xenophon did not need to extract from Plato. Indeed, most of the parallels are likely to have been current Socratic traditions that either or both authors changed for their own purposes. I have not found a single item that Xenophon clearly took from a Platonic dialogue. Nor does Xenophon use Plato's literary devices, or Plato's ambiguities, or Plato's playfulness or irony, all of which could have added positively to his picture of Socrates as a friendly advisor to all kinds of people. It is true that the jesting tenor of his *Symposium* (though hardly taken from Plato)³² does not suit his own style. More important is the fact that Xenophon does not normally use, even if they had fitted into his picture, any of the philosophical issues, attitudes, or points, to which Plato gives particular weight.

I said "normally". Interestingly enough, towards the end of the *Memorabilia*, in book IV, chapters 6–7, there occur a number of points that seem to bring Xenophon's Socrates closer to Plato's. The first turns up just at the end of chapter 5 (12): Socrates, Xenophon says, recommended a "coming together" (συνιόντας) and a διαλέγεσθαι κατὰ γένη τὰ πράγματα as the best way to become good, happy and prominent men, able to use dialectic (διαλεκτικωτάτους). The teaching recommended here may reflect the

²⁹ See e.g. Ch. H. Kahn, *Plato and the Socratic Dialogue*, Cambridge 1996, 1 ff. and the references in Thesleff (above n. 19) 2.

³⁰ See above, n. 23.

³¹ See above, n. 5.

³² Rather from Antisthenes, according to the extensive arguments of Joël (above n. 8) II:2, 912 ff.; also Chroust (above n. 3) 148. Cf. above, n. 4.

methods of Plato's Academy, though the points are certainly not taken from a particular Platonic writing (such as *R VII* or *Plt*). Chapter 6, then, illustrates by pieces of dialogue with Euthydemus how Socrates made his associates (τοὺς συνόντας) "dialecticians" (διαλεκτικωτέρους, 1). Together with them, he searched for definitions of things (τί ἕκαστον εἶη τῶν ὄντων, διωρίζετο, 1). The examples given are εὐσέβεια, οἱ δίκαιοι, σοφία, τὰγαθόν, τὸ καλόν, and ἀνδρία (2–11). The "definitions" are reached by simple constructive questioning, rather in the manner of the Platonic *Virt* and *Just*. Though some details may recall passages in Plato (especially in the case of ἀνδρία), the pieces do not at all echo Platonic dialogues but rather some elementary oral training on the periphery of the Academy. There follows (12) a brief note on Socrates' classification of polities, which could be an Academic synopsis of what is said in *R VIII–IX* (cf. *Plt* 291c–292b) and *Lg III*. The chapter ends (13–15) with a curious demonstration of how Socrates used to meet counter-arguments (εἰ ... τις ... περί του ἀντιλέγοι): he brought the discussion back (ἐπανῆγεν) to the basics (ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν) on which both could agree; and he tended himself to argue from generally accepted opinions (διὰ τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις), like Homer's Odysseus (!). Here the ὑπόθεσις and the ἐπανάγειν³³ may somehow reflect Academic ideas. Chapter 7 points out that Socrates wanted his listeners to concern themselves with such subjects as geometry, astronomy, and cosmology only insofar as they are useful in ordinary life; researching into them is totally useless. This could be an indirect criticism of some Academic activities.

The last chapter of the *Memorabilia*, IV 8, returns to the circumstances of the death of Socrates. I can find nothing here that Xenophon could have taken from the *Phaedo* (or even the *Crito*).

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Thus, I would answer the question of my rubric negatively – excepting the cases of the *Apologias*, the *Symposia*, and the *Cyrupaedia*. On the whole, both authors use, independently, Socratic traditions to which Antisthenes had almost certainly somehow contributed. But the above evidence also hints that Plato, more manifestly than Xenophon, tended to manipulate the traditions for his own ends.

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³³ Cf. ἐπανάγειν in *Lg XII* 949b, *Ep7* 325a, and Aristotle's ἐπαγωγή. The reference to Odysseus, again, decidedly suggests Antisthenes; cf. Giannantoni (above n. 9) III N 26.

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Sicilia Archeologica. Anno 31, fasc. 96 (1998). "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISSN 0037-4571. 244 pp. EUR 34.

This fascicle of *Sicilia Archeologica*, sponsored by the Azienda Provinciale Turismo Trapani, is characterized by some novelties. While a new publisher was chosen in order to guarantee an ever-increasing readership, the journal itself, under the competent leadership of Vincenzo Tusa and together with the editorial board, has tried to change its profile by providing more in-depth reading on a wider variety of materials. One of the purposes of the new orientation is to engage the readers (cf. Tusa in his introductory "Editoriale", p. 5, "sono i lettori a "fare" una Rivista").

The contents are as follows: M. J. Becker, "Identifying an 8th-7th Century B.C. Cemetery at Mozia, Sicily: Evaluation of Redeposited Human Skeletal Remains to Test an Archaeological Hypothesis" (7-12); Id., "Human Skeletal Remains from the Settlement Area at Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale (Sicily), Italy: Iron Age Elimites and Their Activities" (13-16); H. P. Isler, "Monte Iato: la ventottesima campagna di scavo" (17-48: note the publication of a number of interesting brick stamps and graffiti); R. Giglio, "Mazara del Vallo. Nuove scoperte archeologiche in via Marina e nell'area del Palazzo dei Cavalieri di Malta" (49-57); E. Giannitrapani – M. Pluciennik, "La seconda campagna di ricognizione (settembre 1997) del progetto 'Archeologia nella valle del Torcicoda'" (59-69); V. Di Bella – F. Santagati, "Prospezione archeologica nel territorio costiero tra Agrigento e Siculiana" (71-104); P. Lo Cascio, "La Torre del Fico d'India" (105-140); G. Mannino, "Ricerche archeologiche nel territorio di Caccamo" (141-163); A. Filippi, "Le fortificazioni militari sul monte Erice durante la prima guerra punica" (165-184); M. Cavalieri, "Le fortificazioni di età ellenistica della Sicilia: il caso di *Tyndaris*" (185-208); G. Di Stefano, "Il Museo di Camarina" (209-231; note an elegiac couplet on a funerary cippus, p. 230); A. Italia, "Un museo per il territorio: l'Antiquarium di Entella" (233-238). – The volume concludes with a beautiful tribute by Vincenzo Tusa to Paolo Enrico Arias, the renowned archaeologist who died in 1998.

Mika Kajava

Noms, identités culturelles et romanisation sous le Haut-Empire. Éd. par MONIQUE DONDIN-PAYRE et MARIE-THÉRÈSE RAEPSAET-CHARLIER. Le Livre Timperman, Bruxelles 2001. ISBN 90-71868-55-9. 774 S.

Schon ein Blick auf den Titel des vorliegenden Werkes zeigt an, dass sich die Autoren viel vorgenommen haben, und die Namen der Herausgeber lassen eine vielversprechende Erwartung aufkommen. Dass in selbst einem so umfangreichen Band die gestellte Aufgabe sich nicht erschöpfend und für den gesamten geographischen Raum des

römischen Reiches erfüllen lässt, ist jedem klar, und eine kurze Durchsicht des Inhaltsverzeichnisses bestätigt die Beschränkung auf den gallisch-germanischen Raum. Beim ersten Durchblättern fallen auch bereits die zahlreichen Karten, Tabellen und Diagramme ins Auge, die zusammen mit dem gut 80-seitigen Index sicherlich ein wertvolles Hilfsmittel mit einem leichten Zugriff sowohl auf ganz spezifische Informationen erlauben, aber auch zu tiefgehenden Untersuchungen verschiedener Einzelaspekte führen.

Das Buch fasst die Ergebnisse einer Forschungsgruppe zusammen, die es sich in diesem Band zum Ziel gesetzt hat, Fragen der Romanisierung Galliens mit Hilfe onomastischer Studien zu klären, und zwar auf den Ebenen des zivilen Status einerseits und einer linguistischen Auswertung andererseits. Es gliedert sich in zwei Hauptabschnitte, deren erster geographische Studien umfasst. Der zweite Teil beinhaltet fünf direkt onomastische Beiträge.

Anhand der materialreichen, diachronisch gut fassbaren und, was die Landessprache angeht, wohlbekannten ägyptischen Onomastik zeigt Fr. Colin zunächst Methoden auf, mit denen die onomastischen Entwicklungsprozesse beim Aufeinanderstoßen einheimischer und fremder Kultur beschrieben werden können und ihrerseits zur Erhellung kultureller Identität beitragen. Im nächsten Beitrag analysiert M. Christol das Namensmaterial der Nekropole von Lattes, welche Grabsteine von Bürgern von Nîmes ab der Mitte des 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis weit ins 1. Jh. n. Chr. umfasst, und kann 5 Perioden in der Namensgebung unterscheiden. Er untersucht im Anschluss daran zusammen mit C. Deneux mit quantitativen Methoden die Latinisierung der peregrinen Namen in Nîmes während der Kaiserzeit. B. Rémy widmet sich eingehend der Analyse aller Personennamen in Vienne und zeigt, verdeutlicht in zahlreichen Diagrammen und Tabellen, den Gebrauch und die Schwankungen zwischen einheimischen, italischen und scheinbar lateinischen Namen und Namenskombinationen. Das karge Namenmaterial der Petrucorii untersucht J.-P. Bost, gefolgt von der Betrachtung des onomastischen Materials der zentralgallischen Stämme der Bituriger, Haeduer, Senonen, Carnuten, Turonen und Parisii durch M. Dondin-Payre. In der klar nach zivilem Status unterschiedenen Analyse werden besonders familiäre Beziehungen mit ihren Implikationen für die Entwicklung der Onomastik hervorgehoben. In ihrem ersten Beitrag unterstreicht M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier die Charakteristika und Besonderheiten des Namenmaterials der Treverer. Der zweite befasst sich mit dem, wie sich im Laufe der Analyse herausstellt, sehr fruchtbaren Vergleich zwischen der sehr unterschiedlichen Namenentwicklung in Gallia Belgica und Germania Inferior.

Der zweite Teil wird eingeleitet durch eine anregende Studie von S. Forier über die erstaunlich zahlreichen, aus Tierbezeichnungen gebildeten Personennamen in der Narbonnensis und den Alpenprovinzen. Ihr folgen eine erschöpfende Analyse des Namens *Secundus* und seiner Derivate in gesamten gallo-germanischen Raum durch M. Dondin-Payre und eine weitere von S. Lefebvre über die geographische und soziale Verteilung des Namens *Verecundus*. A. Deman beschäftigt sich im Anschluss mit dem Namen *Similis* und seiner doppelten "Identität" mit sowohl mediterraner als auch keltisch-germanischer Wurzel. Die Beobachtungen zu den Gentilizien der in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh. in Lyon stationierten Soldaten der Germanischen Legionen, welche F. Bérard vorträgt, zeigen Möglichkeiten auf, wie über patronyme Gentilizien einerseits und

kaiserliche andererseits außer Rückschlüssen auf regionale Gewohnheiten in der Namensgebung selbst auch auf Fragen wie etwa die der Rekrutierung von Peregrinen neue Kenntnisse zu gewinnen sind.

Im ganzen gesehen leistet das Werk seinem Titel Genüge. Jedenfalls handelt es sich um ein Buch, welches man öfters zur Hand nehmen wird.

Uta-Maria Liertz

Science antique – science médiévale. Actes du colloque international (Mont-Saint-Michel, 4-7 septembre 1998). Édités par LOUIS CALLEBAT et OLIVIER DESBORDES. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim 2000. ISBN 3-487-11042-3. 524 pp., 28 ill. EUR 99,80.

Ce volume rassemble les communications présentées au colloque international "Science antique, science médiévale", organisé du 4 au 7 septembre 1998, dans l'Abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel, avec le soutien du CNRS et à l'initiative du Centre de Recherche sur l'Antiquité de l'Université de Caen (CERLA). La thématique du colloque a été construite et développée autour du fameux manuscrit 235 d'Avranches, thématique d'abord liée à l'histoire du texte et à son contenu scientifique et technique: celui d'une connaissance théorique du monde et des instruments de cette connaissance, mesure du ciel, de la mer, de la terre et du temps: abaque, astrolabe, nocturlabe, sphère armillaire, sondeur des profondeurs, géométrie pratique, etc.

Répondant à la volonté de situer plus exactement ce type de florilège au regard à la fois de ses sources et de son environnement contemporain, d'en définir plus précisément l'histoire, les destinataires, la fonction, les travaux du colloque ont également porté sur une problématique élargie, intéressant notamment les questions suivantes: identification et caractérisation des modèles de référence; critères du choix et de la distribution des matières composant les florilèges; statuts de ces textes; circuits de diffusion; rôle effectivement tenu par des figures scientifiques qui apparaissent dans le manuscrit Avranches 235: Gerbert d'Aurillac, Fulbert de Chartres, Hermann, Hermann de Reichenau, Adélarde de Bath.

Le volume s'ouvre sur une magistrale étude codicologique du manuscrit Avranches 235 par Louis Holtz. Suivent d'autres communications de même importance, mais compte tenu de la difficulté de les énumérer toutes dans une brève recension, je me limite à constater le grand intérêt du volume en général. On saura vraiment gré à l'initiateur de ce colloque, notre ami Louis Callebat, qui lui-même a contribué au volume avec un excellent exposé "Le choix encyclopédique", d'avoir rassemblé autour de ce sujet une série contributions de haute qualité. Finissons par constater une chose curieuse: tous les titres des communications ont été donnés en français; toutefois, j'ai compté quatre communications écrites en espagnol et une en anglais; mais l'autre anglophone, Charles Burnett de Londres, s'est exprimé en français, comme l'ont fait tous les auteurs allemands. Etrange cette persistance des Espagnols à ne parler que leur langue qui, bien qu'elle soit internationale, ne compte par parmi des langues classiques utilisées dans le domaine des sciences humaines. Si les Allemands et les Anglais ont décidé d'utiliser la langue des organisateurs, on se demande pourquoi les seuls Espagnols ne l'ont pas fait.

Heikki Solin

GRAMMATIKI A. KARLA: *Vita Aesopi. Überlieferung, Sprache und Edition einer frühbyzantinischen Fassung des Äsopromans*. Serta Graeca: Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte, Band 13. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2001. ISBN 3-89500-222-4. 278 S. EUR 62.

Dieses Werk ist eine für den Druck durchgesehene und teilweise überarbeitete Version der Berliner Dissertation (2000) von Grammatiki A. Karla, und basiert auf einer gründlichen Untersuchung der rezeptionsgeschichtlich wichtigen Fassung des Äsopromans; diese Fassung der sog. *versio Westermanniana* geht wahrscheinlich auf das frühe 6. Jh. zurück. Planudes und Rinuccio da Castiglione d'Arezzos lateinische Übersetzung schöpften aus derselben Fassung, die in diesem Werk mit Siglen der fünf untersuchten Handschriften als BPT_hSA bezeichnet wird.

Der erste Teil des Buches besteht aus einer Einleitung, in der der Leser auf sehr gelehrte Weise über den griechischen Äsoproman (S. 1-17), über die handschriftliche Überlieferung (S. 19-45), über den Vergleich mit den übrigen Fassungen, Versionen und den Papyrusfragmenten (S. 47-68), über die Sprache (S. 69-126), und mit vielen Bemerkungen zur Ausgabe (S. 127-61) informiert wird. Eine so lange Einleitung scheint etwas zu ausführlich zu sein, aber wenn man sie durchliest, versteht man, dass, weil unser Text mehrere Fassungen und eine interessante handschriftliche Überlieferung aus dem 11. bis 15. Jahrhundert darbietet, es notwendig ist, eine begründete Darstellung zu schreiben. Der Text selbst mit seinen attizierenden und Koine-Varianten (γλωττα / γλωσσα, οἶσθα / οἶδας usw.) ist auch sprachlich interessant, besonders wenn man ihn mit der älteren und ein etwas längeren Fassung (der sog. Perriana) vergleicht. Umso willkommener ist die detaillierte Analyse der frühbyzantinischen Gräzität, speziell des Verbalsystems.

Der zweite Teil ist der Edition des Textes (S. 163–238), Διήγησις τοῦ Αἰσώπου, gewidmet. Vor dem Text sind notwendige Erklärungen zur Anwendung der Editio angegeben. Der textkritische Apparat ist zweckmässig klar, also nicht zu belastet. Zwischen dem Text und dem Hinweis auf die Handschriften für jeden Textabschnitt gibt es viel Raum für eigene Bemerkungen. Ich möchte hier nur auf ein paar Kleinigkeiten aufmerksam machen: auf S. 170, Z. 7 ist die Variante πάρεις der Hs. A nicht genannt – in den Text hätte ich eher die Präsensform πάρει von der Hs. P übernommen; auf S. 170, Z. 11 ist die Variante γένοιτ' ἄν der Hs. A nicht genannt; auf S. 221, Z. 8 schreibt die Hs. Th ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν, nicht ἀγαθὰ ποεῖν; auf S. 222, Z. 7 lese ich die Hs. Th παιδεύτας, nicht παιδεύσας.

Vor dem gründlichen Literaturverzeichnis und den Abkürzungen (S. 247-62) gibt es einen Anhang (S. 239-46) zur neuen Edition von Papatomopoulos aus dem Jahr 1999. Darin wird die kritische Einstellung der Verfasserin klar begründet.

Das vortreffliche Buch wird mit einem kurzen Register (S. 263-69) von einem *Index verborum memorabilium* (vielleicht wären ja die rund 190 raren und wichtigsten Wörter in einem vollständigen *Index verborum* verloren gegangen), von einem vollständigen *Index nominum propriorum*, von einem Namen- und Sachregister in Auswahl sowie mit Abbildungen aus den fünf untersuchten Handschriften abgerundet. Die sechs Abbildungen bieten gutes Übungsmaterial zum Lesen byzantinischer Handschriften: der neue Fund, nämlich Atheniensis, Benaki Museum 53 stellt die Kap. 4–15 dar, Londinensis Add. Gr. 17015 die Kap. 134–137, Mosquensis G. I. M. 436 das

Kap. 109, Thessalonicensis Bibliothecae Universitatis 86 die Kap. 110-111 und Vaticanus Palatinus Gr. 269 das Kap. 77b.

Erkki Sironen

Glossaria bilinguia altera (C. Gloss. Biling. II). Herausgegeben und kommentiert von JOHANNES KRAMER. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Beiheft 8. K. G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2001. ISBN 3-598-77542-3. ix, 128 pp. EUR 78.

Glossaria bilinguia altera is an important addition to the few collections of Greek-Latin bilingual material from antiquity. Kramer's first such collection, *Glossaria bilinguia in papyris et membranis reperta* (1983), contained 16 bilingual texts, and the present volume adds ten texts to this corpus. The aim of Kramer's glossary publications is to collect not only all the Greek-Latin glossaries written on papyrus or parchment, but also bilingual texts which belong to the context of language teaching.

The work falls into two parts, the Introduction (pp. 1-32) and the edition proper. The Introduction is much more informative than the one included in *Gloss. biling.* 1. In short chapters, K. outlines the positions of Egyptian, Greek and Latin in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt and the position of Latin in the education of Greeks. This outline of the situation seems valid and includes some excellent formulations, such as p. 12: "das Lateinische [hat] von der römischen Eroberung an immer eine gewisse, wenn auch nie überragend wichtige Rolle gespielt. Unumgänglich waren Lateinkenntnisse nie, aber andererseits noch hier und da nützlich". The Introduction also contains definitions of various types of glossaries. Kramer makes the useful distinction between practical glossaries (*Gebrauchsglossare, glossari popolari*) and school glossaries (*Schulglossare, glossari eruditi*), claiming that we are dealing with two completely different traditions (pp. 5-8). What we would like to point out here, however, is that it is questionable if a strict distinction can be made between practical glossaries and school glossaries in the context of a very vaguely definable institution such as the teaching of Latin in the Greek East. It is more likely that the material formed a continuum, ranging from erudite Alexandrine lexicography to simple word lists related, say, to wining and dining. This continuum naturally reflected the different grades of erudition achieved by the teachers.

According to Kramer, the existing school glossaries can be divided into three principal types: *idiomata, hermeneumata* and alphabetical dictionaries (pp. 13-18). For *idiomata*, we have the definition by the grammarian Charisius discussed on p. 13; they certainly belong to the lexicographical tradition, and seem a marginal group among papyrus finds. The *hermeneumata* case is more complex. The term does not belong to ancient grammatical terminology, but it has been in use since the 16th century. As A. C. Dionisotti has explained, it is "nowadays mostly applied to Greek-Latin school books designed to teach children vocabulary and idiom in both languages" (*OCD*³ [1996] 690; here p. 15 n. 46). But the problem discussed above is relevant here, too: the target group must have been wider than just children. Therefore, it seems reasonable to use the term *hermeneumata* in the meaning "bilingual language study material", and certainly not restrict its use to teaching language to children. Even if the attribute *Pseudodositheana* can still be found in literature, it is, in our view, preferable to drop it completely, and use

terms like "Leiden *hermeneumata*" and "three-book *hermeneumata*" instead. In this way, all the glossaries included in *Gloss. biling. 2* would fall into the category *hermeneumata*. The glossaries published in *Gloss. biling. 1* and *2* are datable from the first century BC to the sixth or seventh centuries AD; the majority are datable to the third and fourth centuries AD. The affinities between some of the papyrus glossaries arranged according to subject matter and those surviving in *hermeneumata* manuscripts had already become clear when *Gloss. biling. 1* was published. The new collection includes a fragment of an everyday conversation (no. 8 = *P. Prag. II 118*), the first clear case of such a text which is certainly related to a version surviving in a *hermeneumata* manuscript, the so-called *Colloquium Harleianum* (*CGL III* pp. 108-16 = pp. 638-44).

In the first volume of *Gloss. biling.*, Kramer excluded model alphabets, literary texts with translations, and word-lists of authors. In the present volume, model alphabets have been included (nos. 1-2, two Latin model alphabets for Greek speakers). The other texts are as follows: 3: a list of Greek verbs beginning with the letters α - γ , conjugated, with Latin translation on the right; 4: a Latin-Greek glossary of words connected to inns; 5: a Greek-Latin glossary *de moribus humanis* (written on papyrus as stated in Kramer's own *editio princeps*, not on parchment as indicated here); 6: a Greek-Latin glossary *de mercibus* and *de militibus*; 7: an alphabetical list of Greek words beginning with the letters π , ρ , and σ , with Latin translations; 8: a fragment of an everyday conversation (cf. *Colloquium Harleianum*, see above); 9: a similar fragment containing a discussion in a bath about animals and officials; 10: a fragment of the Aesopic fable no. 264. (There is a painful printing error in the Greek version of the fable, p. 101: the quotation mark " is used instead of $\hat{\omega}$. The error is due to the conversion of 'smart quotes' into 'straight quotes' with no regard for the font used.) The Latin text has often been transliterated with the Greek alphabet, but sometimes both languages have been written using the appropriate alphabet. Only one example (the latest) in all of Kramer's material has Greek transcribed in Latin letters. This practice differs from that of the MSS, where Latin is never written with Greek letters, and is obviously due to the fact that the papyri are Eastern, the manuscripts from the West.

All the texts have been published previously; even if the edition does not contain photographs, drawings of each text have been included. Kramer's commentary on these marginal but interesting texts is excellent. This useful edition concludes with an index of Greek and Latin words.

Kalle Korhonen – Marja Vierros

PATRICIA A. ROSENMEYER: *Ancient Epistolary Fictions. The Letter in Greek Literature*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001. ISBN 0-521-80004-8. 370 pp. GBP 45 (USD 64.95).

This intriguing book belongs to a genre nowadays popular in classical studies, namely to that of focusing on one rather specific, often everyday life-related aspect, of the Graeco-Roman world. Here, as often in these types of studies, the most rewarding way to approach the "common" world is (paradoxically) through literature. In fact, literature is the only relevant vehicle of research in this study since we are not dealing with letters as

"real" letters but letters as literary devices. This book is an extensive review of the different ways letters have been used in Greek literature and at the same time it explores the definition of "fictitious" and gives new interesting meanings to it.

The study is divided into four parts according to literary genres, beginning with Homer (surprisingly!) and ending with the second sophistic. The terminology in different categories ("epistolary novel", for example, is subdivided into chapters such as "embedded letters", "pseudonymous letter collections" and "epistolary novel") is somewhat confusing, but the structure is explained in the prologue. The prologue also includes a most interesting and thorough discussion about general definitions of a letter, as well as an overview of how letters have been categorized in previous studies. The author points out what kinds of difficulties there are in defining a letter: how to determine in few sentences what a tiny piece of papyrus (perhaps containing banal notes) found in the rubbish-piles of Oxyrhynchus, and a "letter" by Cicero have in common. As her starting point, R. takes the view of J. Sykutris (*RE* suppl. V, 1931): Sykutris suggested five different types of letters, including both "real" and fictive letters. Rosenmeyer also observes the importance of Roman epistolary literature, but wisely justifies her focus on Greek fictive epistolography with the lack of an adequate study on this subject.

Before the actual subject matter, there is an introduction to the "culture of letter writing", i.e., and the physical environment (writing materials and "postal services" as well as mental occasions which actualize letter writing. Intriguingly we get to know that, according to Hellanicus of Lesbos, Atossa, the queen of the Persians was considered as the "inventor" of letter writing.

Women, female deception in general, as well as magical powers are repeatedly connected with the history of the letter, beginning with the first mention of letter writing in Greek literature, namely the story of Bellerophon, King Proetus and his wife Anteia, told in the sixth book of the Iliad. Although the nature of the writing on the tablet Bellerophon carried is far from certain, it is said to contain σήματα λυγρά (*Il.* 6, 168), which definitely refer to some kind of writing. The story itself is a variation of the theme of Uriah and Batsheba and, above all, Phaedra and Hippolytus, where a letter also plays a central role and this passage is analyzed by Rosenmeyer in the chapter concerning drama.

After Homer, the book examines letters included in Herodotus, Euripides, and some "Hellenistic" authors. R. notes that, before the Hellenistic era, a letter embedded (an expression often used by R.) in literature emphasizes something curious, a phenomenon especially manifest in Herodotus, who also encounters the bizarre ways letters were delivered: e.g., tattooed on the messenger's scalp or placed in the stomach of a dead hare. This, on the other hand, is, of course, compatible with Herodotus' usual way of relating history. In drama, R. observes, letters do not occur before Euripides, but a messenger played the "part" of a letter. In Euripides' plays, letters are also placed "more often than not" in situations having to do with women. R. analyzes letters in Iphigenia in Aulis, Iphigenia in Tauris and, naturally, in Hippolytus. And once again it is shown how letters concern schemes, deceits and tricks (Agamemnon lies to Clytaemnestra in order to sacrifice his daughter, Phaedra writes the fatal suicide-note) and Euripides seems to have been the first to realize how ingenious dramatic device a letter can be.

Before going on to Hellenistic literature, we notice a change in literary culture:

Ptolemaic bureaucracy was more than familiar with all kinds of letters, and, e.g., travelers were expected to write to their families regularly, as papyri show. In Hellenistic literature this change does not, however, show as clearly as might be supposed. On the other hand, R. has chosen only a few examples of Hellenistic literature, and more occurrences of letter writing could, perhaps, be found (historiography?). In general, it is also difficult to draw a line between a "speaking object", common in epigrams, and a fictive letter, as, in principal, both bear the same function. The selection R. gives of Hellenistic epigrams is somewhat curious. Crinagoras or Rufinus can hardly be considered as the best representatives of the Hellenistic epigram, but they obviously show that invitation/gift letters belong to the Roman sphere rather than the Greek. There is also a long excursion on the theme "apple as letter", starting with "Plato's" epigram *AP* 5, 80 and concluding with three versions of the story of Acontius and Cydippe where an apple is used as a letter. As a means of deception, it also fulfills the conditions of an oath and a "performing speech act". This part of the study is most challenging, but in my opinion, at some level, also reaches a point of overinterpretation and truism: is it really necessary to remind the reader of the fact that "the impetus behind a letter is to create a bridge, to overcome distance and absence and to sustain human contact" (p. 116)?

The latter half of the book is dedicated to the letters found in the Greek novel and epistolary novel and letter collections. Embedded letters play a prominent role in Greek novels: we are shown that, besides the obvious use for correspondence (love letters between the main characters, letters of intrigue from the villain), letters in the novel often provide a central impetus for movement in narrative. For example, the letter from Chaereas to Callirhoe actually changes the direction of the narrative, although the letter itself reaches its recipient only rather late in the story. Heliodorus' lovers, on the other hand, are together and they have no need for love letters: it is the letters between Charicleia and her biological parents that play the central role in the unification of the characters. In this context, R. fascinatingly broadens the idea of a letter and suggests that the piece of cloth left with the baby can also be defined as a "letter", written from the mother to the child, and the birthmark could be taken as a final, genuine "letter", which proves Charicleia's true identity.

After the novel, R. investigates further variations of the epistolary prose form. The Alexander Romance belongs to the category, where first-person letters vary with third-person narrative. Pseudonymous letter collections, however, form the most thought-provoking genre of letters, but according to R., cannot necessarily be called "novels". In these mostly Hellenistic and later imperial letters it is question about sheer forgeries, but their intentions are not necessarily altogether bad. The writer takes the personality of a historical person or a "hero" and retells history from an anachronistic but "individual" angle. These letters may also have a mission, namely to present an apology for the hero's life or to gain admiration for him. The names associated with pseudonymous collections include some favorite types: Politicians, tyrants (Themistocles, Phalaris, Artaxerxes and Periander), wise men (Anacharsis, Apollonius of Tyana, Democritus and Hippocrates) and philosophers. In the case of philosophers, the letters were mainly written by their followers and, as in the case of Socrates, there are also two rival schools, that of Antisthenes and that of Aristippus. The complicated history of Platonic letters is (wisely, I think) mentioned only in passing. R. also notes the care with which the pseudonymous

letters were written. The feeling of authenticity was important, although has not been achieved in many instances.

The last chapters deal with the second sophistic and discuss the letters of Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus. These are separated from the previous examples by the fact that these letters do not cohere in a novelistic whole, but are brief glimpses into the lives of "ordinary" people. R. openly states that she aims to place Alciphron, for instance, in the proper context of epistolary literature, and to win more respect for his undervalued production (123 letters). She succeeds there, too. It is most interesting to see how much more it is possible to say about this author than, for example, the Cambridge History of Classical Literature does. This latter part of the book also elegantly rounds off the study. The theme "apple as letter" gets yet another variation in the letter of Philostratus, showing how much life this metaphor continued to have. R. also makes it clear that there remains a vast quantity of material (e.g., Aristaenetus and Theophylactus) that has not been included in the letters discussed in the study (for chronological reasons).

This study gives the reader a good idea of the vast field of letters in an imaginative and refreshing way. It also shows in how many different ways a letter can be defined, read and used: A letter could be taken as a sign of authority and integrity, but sometimes writers take advantage of the allusiveness of a letter. As an overall comment, however, it must be stated that it is the very aspect of the study that are both its strength and weakness: the term "fictive" remains perhaps too vague, and seems here to be used more or less as a synonym for the word "literary" which, in my opinion, is a too simplified interpretation. On the other hand, the study demonstrates excellently the flexible nature of a letter. Its important features are the peculiar relationship between the conventions of "real letters" and the imagination of the writer, as well as the possibility of different kinds of audiences (internal and external reader). All those who find interesting the questions concerning "fictitious" and intertextuality in ancient literary sources should read this study.

Tiina Puroola

Letteratura e propaganda nell'occidente latino da Augusto ai regni romanobarbarici. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Arcavacata di Rende, 25-26 maggio 1998. A cura di FRANCA ELA CONSOLINO. Saggi di storia antica 15. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-8265-094-4. 227 pp. EUR 114.

This volume contains the papers presented at the international conference on literature and propaganda in the Western Roman Empire held in Arcavacata di Rende in 1998. Although the title covers the time span from Augustus to the fifth and sixth centuries, most of the articles deal with Late Roman literature of the fourth century. The purpose of the conference was to discuss propaganda and its nuances, self-censorship and hidden criticism in Roman Antiquity as well as the problems that the application of the term 'propaganda' in the ancient world causes. Since Alan Cameron's monograph on Claudian in 1970 (see also below), which introduced the term in Late Antique studies, the word 'propaganda' has sometimes been used as an interpretative passe-partout in scholarly discussion. Nevertheless, everything, e.g., all panegyrics, cannot be taken as propaganda.

The articles of Mario Labate and Augusto Fraschetti treat the much-discussed Augustan propaganda. Labate surveys recent scholarship on the poets of the Augustan period and reminds us that no one today would argue in such a simplistic way as Ronald Syme in his *Roman Revolution* (1939), who saw Vergil and Horace as propagandists for the Augustan regime. Nowadays scholars pay attention not only to the ideological engagements but also to personal deviations and differences, nuances and variations and the polyphony of the culture of the Augustan period in general.

Catherine Schneider analyzes the Pseudo-Quintilianean *Declamations* (*Declamationes maiores*), dated to the last quarter of the fourth century. The declamations depict Marius, the victor over the Cimbri and Teutoni as an ideal *imperator*, and this causes Schneider to connect the declamations with the discussion and debate after the defeat of Adrianople in 378. The figure of Marius appears in several fourth- and fifth-century texts, e.g., in the *Historia Augusta*, in Symmachus' letters, and later, in Augustine's *City of God*. As a hero of the golden Republican period, Marius must have appealed to certain traditionalist circles in but I think Schneider's speculations on connections go a little bit too far as she hypothesises that the edition of declamations was inspired by the circle of Symmachus and that the pagan senators intentionally wanted to revive the memory of the Republican Marius to symbolize their ambitions. I am skeptical about this hypothesis since, except for the Marius theme, there is no further evidence to support it; not everything that exists or happens at the end of the fourth century is necessarily connected with Symmachus or Nicomachus Flavianus. Schneider is right in saying that the appearance of Marius in fourth- and fifth-century texts is hardly a coincidence but reveals a *correspondence idéologique* between texts. Instead of speculating with details, names and connections, it would be more fruitful to discuss what made Marius so important and interesting for writers – Christians and pagans alike. Furthermore, I think it is rather problematic to speak of the *réaction païenne*, the pagan senatorial class or the circle of Symmachus as if they were clearly confined phenomena; I would rather regard the 'pagan reaction' as a modern construction.

In her article on Ammian, Rita Lizzi analyses scrupulously the historian's account of the famous series of trials under Valentinian I. She pays special attention to Ammian's prefaces in Book 28 and Book 26; in both passages Ammian notes that he refrains from telling everything about the trials because he wants to avoid public censure. With the analogy with the fifth-century B.C. Athenian Phrynichus, Ammian skilfully implies the dangers an author might encounter without adequate self-censorship. Ammian also knew how to please the ruling powers. Lizzi illustrates the internal competition and conflicts within the Roman aristocracy and shows how Ammian, in praising Theodosius *magister militum*, the rehabilitated father, tried to please Emperor Theodosius I, the son, and in demonizing Maximinus as the main instigator of the trials, avoided mentioning the activities of the dominating families under Valentinian I.

Giovanni Polara returns to the funerary poem of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (*CIL* VI 1779) that he already analysed in an article in 1967 (*Vichiana* 4, 1967). What emerges in Polara's article and the interesting interpretation of the poem is Praetextatus' wife Fabia Aconia Paulina, a strong pagan matron who probably also composed the poem. Polara demonstrates the reactions that arose after Praetextatus' death: the erection of a statue by the Vestal Virgins, a project that was opposed by Symmachus but

supported by Paulina; the intense grief of the Roman people; and Jerome's criticisms of the senator and his mourning wife. Polara also makes a sensible suggestion on the interdependency between the funerary poem and Jerome's attack in *epist.* 23: Paulina's self-assurance in the poem (*felix ... felix*) might have been an answer to Jerome's malevolent words (*ut uxor commentitur infelix*). I did not come to think of this alternative in my article (*Arctos* 28, 1994) and in my recently published *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus – A Senatorial Life in Between* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 26, 2002).

Another retraction is Alan Cameron's article in which he revises some aspects of his *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* published in 1970. With a certain irony he looks back on the 60's when he "with the self-confidence of which only 22-year-olds are capable" and as "utterly innocent of theory" took up his research on Claudian. Despite this sarcasm at his own expense, he still defends most of his views of Claudian as a political propagandist of Stilicho and answers the criticism of Christian Gnilka and Siegmund Döpp, emphasizing that propaganda does not have to be crude, or even untrue, nor is it inconsistent with either art or deeply held convictions. He also stresses that people who read Claudian did not do it for his politics, but while they were enjoying his poetry, they could not help absorbing the politics. He admits that he now would use a different word from propaganda and furthermore, would not call Claudian an "official" propagandist because this may imply that Claudian was following direct instructions from his patron; the conception as well as the execution was Claudian's own.

Isabella Gualandri and Raffaele Perrelli also discuss aspects of Claudian's poetry. In her fascinating article, Gualandri examines the relationship between Claudian and Prudentius, which she calls "una sorta di dialogo, o meglio di polemica a distanza". She surveys the different interpretations of the famous battles of Frigidus (in 394) and Pollentia (in 402). Ambrose, Paulinus of Nola and Prudentius represent the view that regarded the battle of Frigidus as a clash between pagans and Christians – a construction that also prevailed in modern scholarship – with a divinely determined solution whereas Claudian interprets the battle from a secular point of view – a conflict between the legitimate emperor and a usurper. Likewise, in the differing interpretations, the battle of Pollentia was either won under divine guidance or by Stilicho's excellence. In her scrupulous reading of Claudian and Prudentius, Gualandri extracts hidden allusions and polemic between the two poets, e.g., in his *Contra Symmachum*, Prudentius reacts to Claudian's description of Pollentia in *De bello Getico*, and in his *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Claudian replies with insinuations about Prudentius' version. Sometimes Gualandri's detailed analysis of sources seems rather speculative; nevertheless, her final conclusions sound quite convincing.

Franca Ela Consolino, the editor of the *Atti del convegno*, surveys the panegyric poetry and propaganda at the end Western Empire and in the new kingdoms of Goths, Vandals, and Franks. She analyses the encomiastic poetry of Flavius Merobaudes and Sidonius Apollinaris as well as epigrams used as propaganda by Roman bishops. The rulers of the new Western kingdoms were in need of panegyrists such as Ennodius, who sang in praise of Theoderic, Dracontius and Florentinus, who extolled vandal kings in Africa, and Venantius Fortunatus, a wandering poet *par excellence*, who set his talent at the service of nearly everyone, Frankish and Gallo-Roman aristocrats, bishops and kings.

Maijastina Kahlos

Es hat sich viel ereignet, Gutes wie Böses. Lateinische Geschichtsschreibung der Spät- und Nachantike. Hg. von GABRIELE THOME und JENS HOLZHAUSEN unter Mitarbeit von SILKE ANZINGER. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, Band 141. K. G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2001. ISBN 3-598-77690-X. 213 S. EUR 88.

Das vorliegende Werk, dessen Titel *Es hat sich viel ereignet, Gutes wie Böses* die Worte Gregors von Tours *nonnullae res vel rectae vel improbae* zitiert, ist Ergebnis einer wissenschaftlichen Begegnung zwischen der Freien Universität Berlin und der Karlsuniversität Prag, in Berlin vom 13.-15.1.2000. Die zwölf Beiträge deutscher und tschechischer Forscher behandeln verschiedene Aspekte und Verfasser der lateinischen Geschichtsschreibung von der Spätantike bis in die Neuzeit.

Václav Marek behandelt die Position des Vegetius Renatus zwischen Heidentum und Christentum und untersucht, ob es möglich ist, die Tiefe des Glaubensbekenntnisses eines Schriftstellers auf die Probe zu stellen. Man kann nun fragen, ob diese vereinfachte Fragestellung vernünftig oder ergiebig ist, und auch Marek selbst kommt am Ende zu diesem Ergebnis. Marek führt eine Liste von Textstellen vor, wo der christliche Gott erwähnt wird, z.B. als *Deus Creator*. Hier muß man bemerken, daß die monotheistische Terminologie (wie *Deus Creator*) nicht unbedingt, wohl aber wahrscheinlich, auf den christlichen Gott hinweist. Marek hat recht, wenn er konstatiert, daß es sich nicht um die ganz persönlichen Worte eines Glaubensbekenntnisses handelt und es nichts spezifisch Christliches in den Werken des Vegetius gibt. Danach analysiert Marek die Stellung des Vegetius gegenüber den berühmten militärischen Katastrophen der Zeit, die bei Vegetius keine Folge einer Strafe Gottes, sondern menschlichen Versagens sind. Nach Marek unterscheidet sich Vegetius in dieser Beziehung von den anderen, spirituell ausgerichteten christlichen Schriftstellern. Hier sollte man präzisieren, daß es eine lange römische Tradition (z.B. Cicero) gab, nach der vernachlässigte und beleidigte Götter als eine Erklärung der Katastrophen gelten konnten, und daß es keineswegs eine christliche Besonderheit war, militärische Niederlagen als ein Strafe Gottes zu interpretieren. Weil Vegetius keine Geschichtsphilosophie oder Theologie gestaltet, sondern als ein pragmatischer Verwaltungsmann schreibt, sollte man keine religiös-ideologisch gefärbte Stellungnahme in diesem Genre erwarten. Wie Marek ganz richtig bemerkt, konnte ein Verwaltungsfachmann mit den religiösen Widersprüchen und dem ständigen Konflikt zwischen Heidentum und Christentum umgehen. Alle Gebildeten empfanden nicht unbedingt die religiösen Widersprüche als ein persönliches Problem. Dennoch beantwortet Marek nicht die Frage seines Titels "Vegetius: ein christlicher Heide?", mit Ausnahme von einer Fußnote am Ende des Aufsatzes (S. 36, A.6), wo er schreibt, daß Vegetius wahrscheinlich nicht zu den Menschen zu rechnen ist, die zwar zum Christentum übergetreten, in ihrem innersten Herzen aber Heiden geblieben sind.

Auch Felix Mundt und Julian Führer behandeln das Christliche und das Heidnische in der Geschichtsschreibung. Mundt beteiligt sich mit seinem Beitrag an den immer zunehmenden *Historia Augusta*-Diskussionen, indem er Spuren christlicher und jüdischer Literatur in der *Historia Augusta* ausgräbt. Der enigmatische Verfasser der *Historia Augusta* hat mangelndes historisches Wissen und Lücken im Quellenmaterial mit leicht verfremdeten Versatzstücken aus älteren römischen Autoren (Livius, Sueton, Juvenal) aber auch aus christlichen und jüdischen Texten (Altes Testament, Kirchengeschichten) gefüllt. Mundt betont, daß diese Fälschungen weder politisch noch religiös

motiviert sind, sondern Produkte freier Assoziation, die dazu dienen, Lücken auszufüllen und den Leser zu unterhalten und – so könnte man hinzusetzen, auch die Forscher der Nachwelt zu irritieren. Julian Führer behandelt die Einstellung zu anderen Glaubensgemeinschaften, Heidentum, Arianismus und Judentum, in den Werken Gregors von Tours. Führer zielt nicht darauf, eine Studie zur Situation des Heidentums, Arianismus oder Judentums des sechsten Jahrhunderts vorzulegen, sondern er möchte einen Einblick in Gregors Darstellungsabsichten zeigen. Was in Gregors Darstellung auffällt, ist eine Distanzierung vom Anderen. Die heidnischen Kulte werden entweder nur in bezug auf die Vergangenheit berichtet oder scheinen – entgegen anderen Zeugnissen – nur an Randzonen des Reiches zu existieren. Durch alle Passagen zieht sich die Absicht, daß Heiden fast immer bekehrt werden. Damit steht bei Gregor das Frankenreich als eine politische Einheit auf einer festen christlichen und katholischen Basis unter den merowingischen Herrschern.

Bohumila Mouchová erörtert in ihrem Aufsatz das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen Eutrop, Orosius und der *Historia Augusta* und entscheidet die umstrittene Frage der Priorität von Eutropius bzw. der *Historia Augusta* als Quelle des Orosius durch die Interpretation der Parallelen in der Mark-Aurel-Vita zugunsten Eutrops. Doch gibt sie zu, daß Eutrop und die *Historia Augusta* eine gemeinsame Quelle benutzt haben könnten.

Barbora Krylová analysiert dankenswerterweise das Latein Ammians, dessen Muttersprache Griechisch war. Sie betont, daß, was oft ein Merkmal unzulänglicher Sprachkompetenz angesehen wird, eher als eine wohlbedachte stilistische Strategie zu interpretieren ist. Leider wiederholt Krylová das schon lange in Frage gestellte und unbeweisbare Klischee, daß Ammian zum Symmachus-Kreis gehört hätte.

Fritz Felgentreu behandelt ein viel diskutiertes Thema, das Verhältnis zwischen den Werken Claudians und der sogenannten historischen Wirklichkeit. Die Dichtung Claudians ist nach *Claudian. Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (1970) von Alan Cameron als reine Propaganda betrachtet worden und diese Ansicht hat das Bild des Dichters in der Forschung ziemlich einseitig gemacht. Es ist unstrittig, daß Claudian ein Propagandist war. Jedoch sollten die Texte auch über den aktuellen Anlaß ihrer tagespolitischen Zielsetzungen hinaus interpretiert werden. Kunst und Propaganda schliessen einander nicht aus, wie Felgentreu betont, und die Propaganda ist für hier und heute, die Kunst ist für immer. Interessant ist die Analyse des Dichters, der sich dieser Doppelfunktion seiner Dichtung bewußt war.

Der Aufsatz von Kaspar Elm beleuchtet die Darstellungen der Eroberung Jerusalems 1099 in der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung und besonders in den *Gesta Tancredi* des Raoul von Caen. Elm stellt die Darstellungen der Eroberung Jerusalems und der Kreuzzüge in eine lange Tradition, die bis auf die Anfänge der Menschengeschichte zurückgeht und keineswegs auf den judäo-christlichen Kulturkreis beschränkt war. Die christlichen Chronisten verwenden Worte und Bilder aus den Schriften des Alten Testaments. Mit ähnlichen Worten und Bildern hatte sich der assyrische König Tiglatpilesar I. seiner Siege am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v.Chr. gerühmt, die er im Dienste des Gottes Assur über die Feinde, die Dämonen des Urchaos errungen hatte. In einer derartigen Sakralisierung von Kampf und Krieg, die auch heutzutage in der politischen Rhetorik auf allen Seiten sichtbar ist, galten die Kämpfe als eine Art Gottesdienst gegen das Dämonische und das Böse selbst. Die *Gesta Tancredi* in

expeditione Hierosolymitana des Raoul von Caen, die von der Teilnahme des Normannen Tankred von Tarent erzählt, weicht bemerkbar von anderen Chroniken ab. Von einem von Gott gewollten Heiligen Krieg ist explizit nicht die Rede; statt alttestamentlichen Szenen kämpfen die Helden Raouls wie Hektor und Achilleus und triumphieren wie Caesar, Marius und Sulla. Elm erklärt diesen Unterschied als eine Variante des Heiligen Krieges von einer anderen Konzeption, als eine Auseinandersetzung mit Konstantinopel und dem oströmischen Reich, mit der die Normannen ihre Interessen und Machtpolitik legitimieren könnten.

Deug-Su I behandelt den Begriff "Europa" im Mittelalter und am Anfang der Neuzeit, von Isidor von Sevilla bis zu Lorenzo Valla. Bemerkenswert ist, daß der antike Mythos von der kretischen Königstochter Europa, die so wichtig für die moderne EU geworden ist, dagegen im Mittelalter ohne Bedeutung für den Europabegriff blieb. Dagegen sind Japhet, der Sohn Noahs, und Aeneas mit seinen Trojanern in mittelalterlichen Texten wesentlich präsenter. Jan Kalivoda analysiert den tschechischen hagiographischen Text *Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmille*, der ohne Frage das am meisten erforschte und debattierte Dokument des tschechischen Mittelalters ist. Kalivoda stellt den Text in die Umgebung des Bischofs Adalbert in den Jahren 992-994, weil, obgleich zuallererst die *Vita et passio* als eine historische Schilderung der Anfänge und der weiteren Geschichte des böhmischen Christentums erscheint, der Text auch die kirchenpolitischen Fragen und Konflikte zwischen dem Bischof Adalbert und der böhmischen Gesellschaft erhellt.

Angelika Lozar behandelt die Geschichte der Zisterzienserabtei Himmerod von Nicolaus Heesius (im 1640). W.-W. Ehlers erörtert Jacob Wimpfeling, einen Intellektuellen des 16. Jahrhunderts und die Wirkungsgeschichte der im 1455 wiederentdeckten taciteischen Germania. 1501-1502 nahm Wimpfeling an heißen Debatten über den Status des Elsaß teil. Für Wimpfeling war der Elsaß deutsch sowie Karl der Große ein Deutscher, und das römische Reich hatte sich in das Deutsche Reich verwandelt. Es ist verwunderlich, die Betrachtungsweise Wimpfelings und seiner Zeitgenossen nationalromantisch (S. 182) zu nennen. Aus dem Gesichtswinkel des Historikers ist dies ein Anachronismus. Gleichermassen ist es ungenau, von der tschechischen Nationalkultur (S. 204) im Kontext des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts zu sprechen, wie Martin Svatoš in seinem Beitrag über dem Begriff *patria* und die patriotischen Tendenzen in der lateinischen Historiographie und Hagiographie in den böhmischen Ländern. Später spricht er doch sachgemäßer von Landespatritismus und Vaterlandsliebe und konstatiert selbst, daß der lateinische Ausdruck *patria* in dieser Zeit häufig als Herkunft, Geburtsort, Heimatgemeinde, Heimat verstanden wurde.

Das Ziel des vorliegenden Werkes ist es, eine Brücke von der Geschichtsschreibung der Spätantike hin zum Mittelalter und zur Neuzeit zu schlagen und meiner Meinung nach verwirklicht sich diese Zielsetzung ausgezeichnet.

Maijastina Kahlos

KATHRYN A. MORGAN: *Myth and Philosophy from the Pre-Socratics to Plato*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. ISBN 0-521-62180-1. viii, 313 pp. GBP 40.

Morgan's monograph has a lot to recommend it. Although there has been much discussion about both *mythos* and *logos* in ancient Greece and about Platonic myths, a general and thorough, philosophically and philologically up-to-date discussion of myth inside Greek philosophy is very welcome. Morgan sets as her task to show that, after starting as the rejected 'other' of philosophy, myth takes its place at the heart of the philosophical works of thinkers from Xenophanes to Plato. She analyses myths as part of philosophical thought and demonstrates that they have an essential role to play there, which (once again) undermines the traditional views of birth of philosophy as a simple and enlightened journey from the irrationality of *mythos* to the rationality of *logos*.

The philosophical myths studied in this book are a subgenre of philosophical literature. The main point they make, and thus the general thread of Morgan's argumentation, centers around the limits of language. After the critique and appropriation of the myths of the poetic tradition, the first philosophers found in them a useful vehicle for importing their thoughts about nature and abilities of language. The myths did not access truth and reality, but the philosophers had serious doubts that language did not either. Thus the philosophical myth as a self-conscious but disquieting narrative was an appropriate method for problematising issues of language and communication. Morgan connects this development with the advent of literacy. Textualisation of the earlier poetic tradition made a continuous critical tradition possible, which meant loosening the bond between word and reality.

The book has one theoretical chapter concerned with literacy and the rise of philosophy on the one hand, and with deconstruction and other modern philosophical worries about language on the other hand. After this follows one chapter on the pre-Socratics, one on the sophists, and one transitional on (Plato's) Protagoras, and finally three chapters on Platonic myths.

The chapter on the pre-Socratics argues briefly that, in addition to ethical and epistemological doubts about the poetical tradition, Xenophanes and Herakleitos shared suspicions about language in general. The former reacted with a new theology and metaphysics which implied new criteria for truth and the latter with an oracular style that tried to express the cosmic *logos* and avoided too much and too little signification. Based on a unified reading of Empedokles' fragments, Morgan argues that, because of the privileged epistemological viewpoint of a prophet, singer, doctor and leader, he manages to incorporate the new philosophical outlook with the older poetic tradition. Parmenides receives the fullest treatment with an interesting interpretation through a careful reading of the proem. Morgan sees as the basic problem that in the world of *Aletheia* there is no room for language or the poem itself and interprets the traditional crux of Parmenides' philosophy, i.e. the relation between *Aletheia* and *Doxa*, as parallel to the relation between *Aletheia* and the proem. Although one feels some slight uneasiness about anachronism when the pre-Socratics are read linguistically, Morgan is aware of the dangers and reaches interesting interpretations with her approach.

Morgan takes allegory and rationalisation to be, in the first place, strategies to defend superior poetic wisdom in the face of philosophical critique. The sophists,

however, put these tools together with philological exegesis to work for their own ends. They see the myths as conventional and use them for rhetorical display. The great speech of *Protagoras* is analysed carefully as a transition from the sophistic to the Platonic use of myth. The argument is very deep and illuminating, and Morgan shows, among other things, that in the dialogue, in spite of his words to the contrary, Protagoras could only start his exposition concerning his ability to teach *arete* with the *mythos* because the logic of his argument is not adequate. Although Morgan considers the myth of the Protagoras' great speech to be essentially Protagorean in origin, she argues that Plato's understanding of it is deeper than Protagoras'. The many layers and the open-endedness of the Platonic use of myth suggest the interactive dialogue form while simultaneously demonstrating the limits of the sophistic mythological displays.

The diversity of Platonic myths is well known. After a careful analysis, Morgan ends up classifying the Platonic myths by context because both too stubborn a search for a unifying definition of them and a lexical approach based on the words *mythos/logos* do not seem to capture Plato's practice. Her classification is loose and non-exclusive. It contains traditional myths such as those related by poets, educational myths like the Noble Lie of the *Republic* and philosophical myths which are tied to logical analyses. Morgan treats the encouraging and edifying (*paramythic*) stories separately as they have no consistent connection with mythologising.

Morgan's treatment of Platonic myths, in line with most recent commentators, emphasises their philosophical meaning. The myths are not just a foil for the philosophical content but an essential part of the dialogues. Although the characteristic features of the myths are play and childishness and their main aim is often exhortation, they have an important philosophical content. Their function is often tied to questions concerning the limits of discourse. Morgan seems sometimes to take the risk of over-interpreting the philosophical function of the Platonic myths, but the risk is worth taking for a deeper understanding of them.

Morgan analyses what she calls Plato's synoptic or (re)collective use of myth via four myths of the soul. That the myth follows and supplements the logical argument is typical of the myths of *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Republic*. In *Phaedrus*, the concentration on how we should speak and write makes the myth of the dialogue paradigmatic and central in a way that none of the other myths of the soul are. In her discussion of Socrates' second speech and the myth of the soul as a charioteer, Morgan manages to clarify and give important interpretations about many key issues in current Plato studies, including the questions of love, *anamnesis*/memory, image/resemblance and the method of division and collection. Her argument is that the myth systematises Socrates' intuitive grasp of truth which is a result of contemplation of the Forms and can hardly be expressed in language.

Morgan notes that, in the later dialogues, philosophical theories, like Protagoras' relativistic doctrine of man as measure in *Theaetetus*, are often called *mythos*. By doing this, Plato further blurs the boundaries between *mythos* and *logos* and ties myth firmly into the philosophical context. Thus he forces us to realise that all language is a story that interprets reality, with greater or lesser degrees of success. Taking Plato's point and interpreting it radically, and maybe without Plato's emphasis on the higher level of reality, Morgan ends the book with important advice for philosophers of any age:

"'Mythological' philosophy teaches the important lesson that philosophical knowledge cannot shine transparently through the medium in which it is expressed. *Mythos* is the condition of the world we inhabit".

Eero Salmenkivi

Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion. Hg. von HUBERT CANKIK und JÖRG RÜPKE. Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 1997. ISBN 3-16-146760-4. 318 S. mit Abbildungen und Fototafeln. EUR 69.

Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms. Hg. von WOLFGANG SPICKERMANN in Verbindung mit HUBERT CANKIK und JÖRG RÜPKE. Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2001. ISBN 3-16-147613-1. 447 S. mit Abbildungen und Fototafeln. EUR 84.

In den letzten Jahren lässt sich ein gesteigertes Interesse an der römischen Religion feststellen. Dies macht sich auch in neuen Titeln und Forschungsprojekten sowie Tagungen bemerkbar. Der Abgrenzung der Fragestellungen, Methoden und Begriffe war die Tagung "Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion" gewidmet, deren Beiträge im ersten der hier zu rezensierenden Bücher zusammengetragen vorliegen. Als Anwendung der Ergebnisse der im ersten veröffentlichten Resultate versucht dann das zweite, hier nur kurz angeschnittene Buch diese anhand der germanischen Provinzen zu überprüfen.

Die bewusst interdisziplinär gehaltene und auf unterschiedlichen wissenschaftlichen Kulturen basierende Tagung hat sich zur Aufgabe gestellt, neue Grundlagen für die Forschung dieses komplexen Themenbereiches zu eröffnen. An den Anfang werden daher konsequent "systematische Versuche" gestellt: J. Rüpke stellt zunächst die "begriffsgeschichtlichen" Positionen von Hartung, Mommsen, Wissowa und in der kirchengeschichtlichen Diskussion vor und schlägt unter methodischem Aspekt eine Betrachtung von römischer Religion oder besser Regionalreligion als Kommunikation vor. G. Kehrer und A. Bendlin prüfen verschiedene sozialwissenschaftliche Ansätze auf ihre Tauglichkeit zur Behandlung römischer Religion. Während das "Civil religion"-Modell sich als nicht adäquat erweist (Kehrer) und auch das "core-periphery-model" sich zumindest in seiner Grundform zu stark auf sozioökonomische Aspekte beschränkt (Bendlin), scheint es sich eher um eine "additive extension of religious choices" als um religiöse Akkulturation zu handeln. Nach dem Versuch der Periodisierung wiederum unter dem Aspekt "Kommunikation" von provinzieller Seite, insbesondere als Konsequenz nicht-religiöser Interesseneinflüsse von seiten der provinziellen Oberschicht stellt Bendlin schließlich zur Diskussion, dass sowohl die scheinbare Homogenität der römischen Religion in den ersten Jahrhunderten als auch ihr Auseinanderfallen im dritten Jahrhundert vor allem mit dem Wettstreit der provinziellen Führungsschichten zusammenhängt und das Modell "additive extension" geeignet ist, die römische Religion im Imperium als ganzes zu beschreiben. Sicher sind viele angesprochene Details diskutierbar, aber die hier aufgeworfenen Fragen sind in der Auseinandersetzung mit römischer Religion nicht mehr zu umgehen.

Im zweiten Teil werden sehr anregende "Querschnitte" dargeboten, und zwar von G. Woolf über die Polis-Religion, von Chr. Frateantonio über religiöse Autonomie in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike, von A. Blomart über das interessante Thema der *evocatio* und

von I. Haynes über gemeinsame und provinzialspezifische Aspekte in der römischen Heeresreligion. Sie hier im einzelnen zu besprechen würde den Rahmen sprengen. Gemeinsam mit dem dritten Teil aber, der schließlich Lokal- und Regionalstudien gewidmet ist, leisten sie dem Titel des Buches auch in der Hinsicht genüge, als eine Erfassung von Religion in einem so facettenreichen Imperium wie dem römischen weder auf große gemeinsame Linien, wie sie in den Querschnitten gezeichnet werden, noch auf intensive regional verankerte Forschungen verzichten kann und darf. Die Regional- und Lokalstudien befassen sich mit der Repräsentation von Provinzen in Rom – hier verdeutlicht H. Cancik die Verknüpfung von Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion –, mit der sogenannten *interpretatio* im Nordwesten (W. Spickermann), Architektur und Kult auf der iberischen Halbinsel (A. Nünnerich-Asmus), Liber Pater in Apulum (A. Schäfer und A. Diaconescu), Pausanias in Achaia (Ch. Auffahrt), Herrscherverehrung und Festkultur im Osten (P. Herz) sowie die Ausbreitung des Christentums in Palästina (Ch. Marksches).

In *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms*, welches ebenfalls auf einer Tagung beruht und mit zum großen Teil denselben Teilnehmern rechnen finden wir wiederum zu Beginn "Grundlagen": W. Spickermann bettet den Untersuchungsraum in sein religionshistorisches Umfeld ein, H. Cancik analysiert des Tacitus' Beschreibung der germanischen Religion im allgemeinen Tenor der Germanenbehandlung als des idealisierten Naturvolkes und kontrastiert dies mit Tacitus' Behandlung der jüdischen als einer "Gegen-Religion". In der Folge entwirft J. Rüpke ein mögliches Modell zur Erklärung von religiösen Integrationsprozessen auf provinzieller Ebene.

Der zweite Teil unter dem Oberbegriff "regionale und überregionale Kulte" beginnt mit einer Übersicht über verschiedene Dedikationstypen und Dedikantengruppen des Heeres in Germanien durch P. Herz, der in diesem Zusammenhang sicher die Diskussion um das Zeremoniell um Drusus und Germanicus in Mogontiacum mit neuen Erkenntnissen anregt. G. Woolf interpretiert auf überzeugende Weise den Vorgang der Errichtung von Jupitersäulen als Kult, und auch R. Wiegels beschäftigt sich zur Erhellung der Problematik einer *Geographia sacra* mit dem Jupiterkult im unteren Neckarraum. Die Kulte des Xantener Raumes und ihre Forschungsproblematik stellt Ch. Frateantonio dar und M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier stellt mit ihrer Übersicht in einem klaren geographischen Rahmen über Dedikanten, Götter und Inschriftenformular wertvolles Material zu einer adäquaten Kontextbestimmung zur Verfügung.

"Transport- und Ausbreitungswege" ist der dritte Abschnitt überschrieben, und besonders anregend ist die Studie von U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, die im Zusammenhang mit Wegen im Totenkult anhand des Testamentum Lingonis, der Weidener Grabkammer und der Entwicklung von Totenmahldarstellungen sowohl Traditionenmischung als auch bewusste Trennung bzw. eigenständige Adaptation nachweist. A. Schäfers Forschungen zu rheinländischen Göttern in Dakien und Pannonien zeigen, dass eine solche "Wanderung" zwar vorhanden ist, aber nicht über Einzelercheinungen hinausgekommen ist. Unter einer solchen Überschrift dürfen Betrachtungen zu orientalischen Göttern nicht fehlen. N. Belayche analysiert das Vorkommen von Jupiter Dolichenus, praktisch dem einzigen syrischen Kult im Nordwesten, und interpretiert ihn vor allem als romanisierten, dem militärischen Umfeld zugeordneten "patronus" und Siegesgott. Gestützt auf eine Bemerkung des Tacitus (*Germ.* 9, 1) stellt M. Haase Überlegungen zum Beginn des Isis-

Kultes in Germanien an und kann seinen Anfang um ca. 50 Jahre vorrücken. I. Huld-Zetsche berichtet über Neufunde bezüglich des Mithraskultes in Germanien und deren Implikationen für die Rekonstruktion und Neuinterpretation von Kultbildern und -stätten. Im letzten Beitrag beschäftigt sich W. Boppert mit der Ausbreitung des Christentums in Obergermanien und insbesondere in Mogontiacum. Aufgrund der dürftigen Quellenlage muss man sich jedoch auf die Gesamtsituation in vor- und nachkonstantinischer Zeit sowie v.a. einige frühmittelalterliche Dokumente beschränken. Einige burgundische Grabsteine in dem Gebiet zeigen jedoch, dass das Christentum auch bei einsickernden Germanen Eingang fand.

Die Indices hier wie auch im ersten besprochenen Band helfen des weiteren zur Erschließung des Inhalts. Beide Bände geben sicher neue Anregungen und Erkenntnisse für eine vertiefte Auseinandersetzung mit römischer provinzieller Religion.

Uta-Maria Liertz

KARIN KULNEFF-ERIKSSON: *On 'have' in Ancient Greek. An investigation on ἔχω and the construction εἶναι with a dative as expressions for 'have'.* Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 7. Lund University Press, Lund 1999. ISBN 91-7966-564-0. 192 pp. SEK 207.

This book, a published doctoral dissertation from the University of Lund, is an analysis of the use of ἔχω and ἔστι μοι in the meaning of "have" in linear B texts from Pylos and Knossos, Iliad 1, 3, 4, 20, and 24, Odyssey 1, 9, 10, 11, and 12, Herodotus 4, and 8, Euripides' *Hippolytus* and *Bacchae*, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, and Isocrates' *Helen*, *Against the Sophists*, *Panegyricus*, *To Philip*, and *Panathenaicus* (22). The choice of data is representative as regards chronology and genre. The aim of the book is to accomplish a semantic analysis of the expressions of possession in Greek, but the linguistic motivation for this kind of study seems to remain slightly obscure. The semantics of ἔχω and other expressions denoting "have" receive the greatest emphasis, but the pragmatics of sentences with "have" expressions are studied to some extent (18–20). This is good, but there could have been even more discussion on pragmatic aspects. The analysis and discussion are usually well presented and argued, and generally Kulneff-Eriksson has a good knowledge of her subject.

However, the book is slightly cumbersome. If it had been thoroughly re-written after having been presented as a dissertation, it would have gained both with regard to its quite formal and mechanical contents and subtlety of argument. The schematic form impacts negatively on a few interesting results K.-E. sometimes presents, for example, on the differences of "have" constructions between the Iliad and the Odyssey. A thorough discussion would have given more weight to the conclusions which now remain banal: "the difference is more likely to be explained for example by a chronological distance between the poems or by the fact that two different poets have been at work (66)."

Sometimes K.-E. gets caught up in conceptual difficulties. On p. 15 the discussion of the dative is somewhat misleading, since from the native speaker's point of view the dative always has a clear grammatical use. For the native speaker a dative is

never *possessivus*, *commodi*, *incommodi* or *iudicantis* as defined in traditional grammars. It is the case which is used to express something which typically is expressed with that specific case. A native speaker usually has more than one grammatical construction to choose from for a given expression. The use of a case is strongly connected with the verb whose complement the given noun is. The verb's lexical meaning is important, largely governing the possible cases a nominal argument can have, e.g. the dative constructions. It is problematic to assume that a normally used ἔχω had different lexical meanings in the native speaker's mind (cf. 'hold' and 'have' in English with respect to ἔχω, 30–31). Rather we could assume that the same meaning was extended to different usages depending on sentential semantics. A lexeme's semantic and pragmatic function as well as its lexical meaning all play a role in a linguistic analysis. In that respect, the discussion would have been improved if syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic analysis had been applied more carefully than has been done.

Some chapters are not very illuminating (e.g. ἔχω as an auxiliary, 36-39, linear B, 50-64). One also wonders why the etymology chapter (25-29) has been included, as it does not serve well for the understanding of Greek ἔχω, a fact which the author is ready to admit herself (29). All in all, a more strict editing would have increased the usefulness of this book, which, however, still has some solid analysis concerning individual texts.

Martti Leiwo

THORSTEN FÖGEN: *Patrii sermonis egestas. Einstellungen lateinischer Autoren zu ihrer Muttersprache. Ein Beitrag zum Sprachbewußtsein in der römischen Antike. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, Band 150.* K. G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2000. ISBN 3-598-77699-3. 279 pp. EUR 80.

General linguistic research has several branches which are sometimes very far from each other as regards methodology, sources and objectives. Traditionally, classicists have little to do with this research, even if some knowledge of it would not do harm to anyone. A branch which has, however, received some attention during the last three decades is sociolinguistics with its many subcategories. Research on language contacts, language attitudes and language awareness has been very active among linguists in general. Even many classicists have concentrated lately on studies of identity, ethnicity and the like in different fields of ancient studies. Quite frequently these studies have drawn methodological help or support from other subjects, for example cultural anthropology and sociology.

Thorsten Fögen has set out to study the attitudes of Roman authors towards their own native language by using as methodological help sociolinguistic research on language awareness and attitudes of speakers of modern languages. This cross-methodological approach has without any doubts been very fruitful as it has uncovered even more than before the fact that Roman writers were just ordinary language users and Latin was just a normal language like any other language in the world with different language registers and linguistic variation, of which the good writers were very aware.

Fögen has his focus on four Roman authors of different nature: Lucretius, Cicero, Quintilian, and Aulus Gellius. In addition, he makes some shorter comments on later writers such as Augustine, Jerome and Boethius. Of these, Cicero receives the most thorough analysis (77–141). Fögen has many interesting observations, and is able to open new lines of thought even if he has to use data known to most classicists. The book is generally quite enjoyable, but the extensive use of footnotes, especially concerning references to the modern linguistic literature, is slightly tiresome for the reader. One cannot avoid the feeling that there are references for the sake of references. Although central in their own field, some linguistic literature cited by Fögen has little or no use for the classicist who has to work with written data only. Even if one could try to find some positive use of this literature in analysing corpus languages, it seems to be quite useless, as theories based exclusively on speech and discussion are far from the problems faced in written corpus language. In addition, the arrangement of the bibliography is strange, as there is much duplication, which is only confusing.

Martti Leiwo

ESPEN KARLSEN: *The Accusativus cum infinitivo and Quod Clauses in the Revelaciones of St. Bridget of Sweden*. Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters, Band 33. Peter Lang, Bern 2001. ISBN 3-906767-34-5. 253 pp. EUR 38,20.

In ancient Latin literature the *accusativus cum infinitivo* (a.c.i.) continued to be used according to the model set by the classical authors for centuries afterwards. Therefore, the ancient authors do not, for the most part, offer suitable material for a study on syntactic variation and the competition between the a.c.i. and finite subordinate clauses which finally replaced it in the spoken registers. Mediaeval Latin, on the other hand, was characterized by a frequent use of *quod* clauses as the object of *verba sentiendi et declarandi*. Still, as Espen Karlsen notes, not much research has been done on this subject even in the field of mediaeval texts.

In the present study, Karlsen examines the use of these two constructions in one text corpus, the *Revelaciones* of St. Bridget of Sweden. The text is a translation from an Old Swedish original and although comparable syntactic variables exist in Old Swedish as well, Karlsen has found no evidence for any external influence in the language of the *Revelaciones*.

Firstly, Karlsen notes that the two groups, *verba sentiendi* and *verba declarandi*, differ from each other with regard to the most frequently used subordinate constructions. With *verba declarandi*, the *quod* clauses are used in a majority of instances (*quod* 69%, a.c.i. 27%, double accusative 4%) whereas, with *verba sentiendi*, the a.c.i. together with other non-finite constructions (the a.c.p. and double accusative) is used with more than half of the occurrences (*quod* 45.5%, a.c.i. 35%, a.c.p. 13%, double accusative 6.5%).

Karlsen shows that stylistic, syntactic and semantic factors are all relevant for the choice of construction. On the stylistic level, the choice can aim at variation and antithetic expression on the one hand and parallelism of subsequent clauses on the other. For example, *quod* clauses are preferred in enumerations, where several subordinate

constructions are dependent on the same verb. In complex structures, the a.c.i. is often used in cases where the governing verb appears in a subordinate clause, and *quod* clauses for their part are more frequent when other subordinate clauses are attached to the dependent construction (the a.c.i. or *quod* clause). Co-reference between the logical subjects of the main and subordinate clauses is a condition that clearly favours the a.c.i.

Of semantic factors, the most important is assertivity which has been pointed out in research on ancient material as well (P. Cuzzolin, *Sull'origine della costruzione DICERE QUOD: aspetti sintattici e semantici* [Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Pavia 72], Firenze 1994). With assertive expressions *quod* clauses predominate strongly. Typical assertive idioms are *dico quod* and imperative forms of *scire* (e.g. *scias quod* and *scito quod*), which are usually uttered by Christ or the Virgin Mary. Although *scire* otherwise is not assertive to the same extent as *dicere*, the imperative mood renders these expressions assertive.

With regard to the nature of syntactic variation Karlsen observes that the a.c.i. and *quod* clauses in the indicative are semantically equivalent. When the *quod* clause is in the subjunctive, however, it conveys modal information as well, and therefore *quod* clauses in the subjunctive mood may be found where this modal information is crucial. This happens mainly in conditional contexts. The subjunctive is not found as a general *casus obliquus*.

Karlsen's approach, which takes into account all possible factors pertaining to syntactic variation, is very fruitful. He does not claim that semantic factors, such as assertivity, although important, are alone responsible for the variation but carefully analyses other reasons as well. By doing this he is able to show how the different levels of linguistic usage interact in determining the final form of an expression. In this way his study illustrates well the complex nature of syntactic variation without trying to reduce it to a too simplistic picture. For example, even though co-reference was found to promote the a.c.i., in expressions like *in veritate mea ... iuro quod iudicabo*, the co-reference in the first person singular favours the *quod* clauses instead, because of the strong assertive nature of these expressions (p. 108).

Karlsen mentions several times the formulaic nature of the latinity of the *Revelaciones* (generally p. 56), e.g., the assertives *iuro quod*, *dico quod*, *scias / scito / sciendum est quod* (pp. 70-72) and the use of the active periphrastic conjugation (p. 147, 165). This feature could result from the fact that Latin was not the native language of the mediaeval writers (though of course the effect of the genre should not be forgotten). In this connection it might have been interesting to have some discussion on the relationship between syntactic variation, formulae and the model of language use in a situation where the language under study was no longer spoken. Still, the same semantic properties (e.g., assertivity) seem to be relevant in both mediaeval and ancient material, despite the different status of Latin in these periods (non-native vs. native).

Hilla Halla-aho

Sicilia epigraphica. Atti del convegno di studi, Erice, 15-18 Ottobre 1998. A cura di MARIA IDA GULLETTA. Scuola Normale di Pisa, Annali della Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, Quaderni 7-8 (Serie IV: Quaderni 1-2), Pisa 1999 [2000]. ISSN 1128-1510. 600 pp., 342 ill. f. t. EUR 80.

Dal punto di vista dell'epigrafia lapidaria greca e latina, non è esagerato chiamare la Sicilia una terra povera. Rispetto ad altre regioni, le iscrizioni lapidarie greche o latine sono poco numerose e poco verbose, anche se ci sono alcune eccezioni importanti, come i resoconti di Taormenio, i decreti di Entella e il patrimonio epigrafico paleocristiano delle catacombe di Siracusa. Quindi, era naturale che lo scopo del convegno *Sicilia epigraphica*, tenutosi a Erice nell'ottobre del 1998, sarebbe stato più ampio. Gli Atti del convegno coprono un arco cronologico di oltre due millenni, dall'introduzione della scrittura alfabetica alle iscrizioni tardomedievali. Oltre alle iscrizioni lapidarie, vengono discusse le epigrafi magiche su tavolette di metallo, l'*instrumentum* e le monete, e oltre ai materiali iscritti in latino e greco, anche quelli in cui vengono usate lingue indigene e semitiche. Così, emerge un'immagine "multilingue" dell'isola. Sono usciti rapidamente i due bei volumi degli Atti, a cura di Maria Ida Gulletta.

In somma, viste le molte facce del materiale, le competenze di chiunque scrive una recensione di *Sicilia epigraphica* sono limitate. In ogni caso, vorrei sottolineare che il fatto che non è stato escluso alcun tipo di cultura epigrafica costituisce il punto forte degli Atti. Le novità più interessanti riguardano proprio i "margini" dell'epigrafia antica – è di notevole interesse, ad esempio, l'intervento di Vittoria Alliata, "Le epigrafi islamiche su pietra da Monte Iato" (pp. 15-32).

Per quanto riguarda il contenuto dei singoli contributi, gli autori sono stati scelti in modo eccellente; gli articoli formano gruppi impressionanti. Come esempio di un tale gruppo si possono segnalare i contributi di Gabriella Bevilacqua, "Le epigrafi magiche" (pp. 65-88), di Jaime Curbera, "*Defixiones*" (pp. 159-86) e di Alberto Bernabé, "La laminetta orfica di Entella" (pp. 53-63). (È, comunque, difficilmente sostenibile la disposizione degli articoli secondo l'ordine alfabetico, che non è adatto per una materia così divergente. Quindi, tra questi tre articoli, quello di Curbera è stato separato dagli altri due. Per prendere un altro esempio, il lettore trova il contributo già segnalato della Alliata verso l'inizio del primo volume, ma il discorso più generale sull'epigrafia araba soltanto a p. 197, a cura di Maria Amalia De Luca.)

Naturalmente sono inclusi anche due interventi generali sull'epigrafia greca e latina pagana, a cura di Giacomo Manganaro (pp. 417-24) e Livia Bivona (pp. 113-27). Tutti e due si concentrano sulle pubblicazioni posteriori ai corpora di Berlino, la Bivona sugli ultimi cinquant'anni. Visto, comunque, che si tratta di una pubblicazione che dovrebbe servire come base per gli studi futuri, almeno chi scrive chiede perché non è stato preso in considerazione anche il materiale pubblicato nei corpora.

Chi si interessa del contatto linguistico guarderà con interesse l'articolo di Renato Arena, "Interferenze linguistiche e grafiche nell'epigrafia greca di Sicilia". Si tratta, comunque, soltanto delle possibili interferenze delle lingue preelleniche nel materiale greco arcaico – un problema molto spinoso. Altrimenti, non ci sono molti accenni al contatto linguistico. L'eccezione più notevole è l'intervento di Chiara Micheli, "Reimpiego di iscrizioni a Segesta" (pp. 439-48). A Segesta, gli scavi degli anni Ottanta e Novanta hanno portato in luce interessantissime epigrafi della prima età imperiale,

talvolta con manifestazioni del bilinguismo. Già era nota l'iscrizione onoraria di L. Iulius C. f. Agrippa, *euergeta*, con la parola *platea* (p. 441; ma faccio qui notare che *platea* non è una testimonianza chiara del bilinguismo, visto che è attestata anche nell'Africa romana; la parola viene segnalata anche dalla Bivona, p. 117). Più recentemente è emersa un'altra epigrafe, dedicata da L. Caecilius A. f. Martiales (!) APETAIVS, *praefectus*, che *deos forenses reposuit templumque eis sua pecunia adornavit*. APETAIVS stà evidentemente per Ἀπεταῖος, come propone la Michelini, pensando ad un termine; ma all'avviso di chi scrive dovrebbe trattarsi di un altro nome (la parola non risulta attestata come un titolo). Queste epigrafi erano state riutilizzate nelle successive fasi edilizie del Foro di Segesta.

L'epigrafia paleocristiana viene discussa da Mariarita Sgarlata (pp. 483-97). Il suo contributo, che si avvia con una breve discussione dei contesti monumentali, è illuminante. Forse si potrebbe aggiungere un'indicazione della quantità delle epigrafi di Siracusa, visto che l'autrice fa cenno a un "campione statisticamente rilevante" (p. 483). A p. 484 si fa riferimento ad Antonio Ferrua (1938) sulla distribuzione delle iscrizioni greche e latine; anche se è sempre valida l'affermazione di Ferrua, qualche specificazione in più non guasterebbe. Nella letteratura si parla anche di molte migliaia di epigrafi di Siracusa, anche se il totale delle epigrafi paleocristiane finora pubblicate è di 1000 ca. La tarda antichità viene toccata anche nel contributo di Shlomo Simonsohn, "Epigrafia ebraica in Sicilia" (pp. 509-29). Qui sono interessanti le notizie sulle epigrafi tardomedievali finora trascurate (con l'eccezione dell'infaticabile Orsi). È inclusa anche un'edizione di tutte le epigrafi degli Ebrei. (Ma stupisce la mancanza degli accenti nelle epigrafi greche. Perché non sarebbe stato sufficiente un riferimento alla recente raccolta di David Noy (*JJWE*)? Su alcune iscrizioni ebraiche conservate a Catania, vd. adesso *Arctos* 35 [2001] 90-94.)

L'intervento di Stefania De Vido, "*Corpora epigrafici siciliani da Gualtherus a Kaibel*" (pp. 221-50), illustra la creazione del vol. XIV delle *IG*, a cura di Georg Kaibel. Si discutono anche molti corpora anteriori. Si tratta di un elogio del Kaibel, naturalmente non ingiustificato. Non sembrano, comunque, accettabili affermazioni come "non c'è studioso locale che non sia citato da Kaibel" (p. 226), anche se l'autrice ammette che sta esagerando. È noto che Kaibel non poteva conoscere tutti gli studiosi locali (per citare un solo esempio, la raccolta siracusana di Cesare Gaetani), e trascurò in molti casi la testimonianza di un autore come il catanese Francesco Ferrara. Per quanto riguarda la silloge epigrafica del principe di Torremuzza, discussa a pp. 231-32, il suo contesto storico viene chiarito e riconosciuto il valore dell'opera. Chi scrive avrebbe volentieri trovato un commento alla critica devastante di Mommsen nei confronti dell'opera (vd. *CIL* X p. 716). Nel contributo sono inclusi anche appunti utili sulla sopravvivenza dei documenti scritti non in greco o in latino (p. 223). Prima dell'Ottocento, un documento scritto in una lingua semitica poteva scappare all'attenzione degli studiosi, perché rimaneva indecifrabile, mentre la lingua greca garantiva il "salvataggio dal naufragio". Ad avviso di chi scrive, se nel futuro si pubblicheranno ancora dei corpora delle località siciliane, sarebbe essenziale prendere in considerazione, per ogni località, i documenti antichi scritti in tutte le lingue, per mettere in evidenza il grado di multilinguismo.

Concludono l'opera le discussioni (pp. 559-600) e le illustrazioni. C'è, quindi, un'omissione notevole: mancano completamente gli indici. Questo è imperdonabile in

un'opera così importante. Speriamo, quindi, che esca ancora un altro volumetto, anche dell'aspetto esterno più semplice, con gli indici degli Atti. Sarebbe così completo lo strumento fondamentale per gli studi futuri sull'epigrafia siciliana.

Kalle Korhonen

MARTIN LANGNER: *Antike Graffitzeichnungen. Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Palilia 11. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2001. ISBN 3-89500-188-0. 172 S., 163 Tafeln + CD-ROM. EUR 49,90.

Ich zögere nicht, dieses Buch, ursprünglich eine Kölner archäologische Dissertation von 1996/97, als eine sehr willkommene und bedeutende Leistung zu bezeichnen. Noch nie hat man die über 2500 aus der griechisch-römischen Antike bekannten figürlichen Graffiti vollständig vorgelegt. So betritt die Arbeit wirklich Neuland. Sie besteht aus zwei Teilen, aus einer ausführlichen Einleitung und aus dem Tafelteil, in dem eine große Menge der zugrundeliegenden Zeichnungen, wie Köpfe, Büsten, Strichmännchen, Gladiatoren, Tiere, Schiffe usw. abgebildet ist. Freilich ist nur ein Teil der Objekte zeichnerisch wiedergegeben; über die fehlenden Abbildungen gibt die CD-ROM Aufschluss (freilich ist es nicht immer leicht, die diesbezügliche Information auf der Diskette zu finden).

In der Einleitung wird auf verschiedenste Fragen eingegangen, und das Meiste liest man mit Interesse und Gewinn; in der Tat ist hier viel Stoff zusammengestellt worden, was auch für normale Altertumswissenschaftler von Belang ist. Darunter kommen auch verbale Graffiti vorzüglich zur Sprache, die ja für Nichtarchäologen am ergiebigsten und psychologisch oft hochinteressant sind.

Eine so massive Untersuchung kann nicht frei von geringeren Versehen sein. Hier einige Kleinigkeiten. S. 23 Anm. 103 *Procamus* ist nicht *Plocamus*; S. 24 Anm. 109 statt *lubet* lies *iubet* (so lese ich auf der Wand, und das wird auch von der Sprache her gefordert); S. 25 Anm. 113 Zeile 1 schreibe Ἐρμούτιμον; S. 26 links oben (Anm. 127): *CIL* IV 1650 wurde im Raum neben dem Eingang von VII 7, 23 gefunden; S. 26 *Sabinio hic* heißt nicht "Dem Sabinus hier", denn *Sabinio* ist Nominativ; S. 47 Statt "Samnites" muss es sein "Samnes"; S. 61: 1261 (= *CIL* IV 4566) heißt exakt (sofern wirklich *tormentare* verstanden werden kann) "Felicio, du sei gequält!"; S. 69 Anm. 433 hier wie auch anderswo ist Langner den zügellosen Vermutungen Della Cortes zu unkritisch gegenüber, wenn er dessen Gedanken akzeptiert, *Numen* und *Honor* seien Schiffsnamen; S. 130 schreibe Ἀ[ρτεμί]δωρος; S. 150 zu *CIL* IV 5448-5450: 16 Anm. 19; S. 159 statt VII 2, 30 schreibe VII 3, 30. - Im Abbildungsteil wäre es von Vorteil gewesen, wenn bei den verbalen Graffiti die Nummer der Inschriftenpublikation genannt worden wäre.

Heikki Solin

SERGIO LAZZARINI: *Lex metallis dicta. Studi sulla seconda tavola di Vipasca*. Minima epigraphica et papyrologica – Separata 2. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-144-4. 223 pp. EUR 104.

La c.d. seconda legge di Vipasca, identificata come una *lex metallis dicta*, è un documento epigrafico scoperto nel 1906 ad Aljustrel nel Sud del Portogallo. La tavola di metallo non è da confondere con un'altra tavola rinvenuta già nel 1876 nella medesima località ("la prima legge di Vipasca"), di cui veniva inizialmente considerata come parte integrante. Il testo della seconda legge contiene regole sulla coltivazione mineraria e sui connessi diritti fiscali. Si tratta originariamente della colonna destra di una tavola di più ampie dimensioni, che era seguita da un'ulteriore tavola. La "legge" fa parte di un'*epistula* indirizzata ad Ulpius Aelianus, probabilmente un liberto imperiale funzionante come *procurator metalli Vipascensis*. Il nome del mittente dell'*epistula* era stato inciso sopra la prima colonna, purtroppo perduta. Dunque, gli studiosi hanno attribuito il testo a vari funzionari: l'autore propone l'identificazione con l'equestre *procurator provinciae Lusitaniae*.

La legge Vipascense è stata pubblicata numerose volte, le pubblicazioni più recenti provengono da Flach nel 1979 e da Domergue nel 1983. Il presente libro contiene il testo latino e una traduzione italiana (senza introdurre alcuna novità), seguiti da osservazioni generali sulla coltivazione mineraria e metallurgia romana in Hispania. È incluso un lungo capitolo sull'organizzazione delle miniere d'argento di Laurion. L'ultima parte consiste di commentari sostanziali su certi paragrafi del testo (per i *procuratores metallorum*, vedi ultimamente anche Chr. Bruun, *Phoenix* 55 [2001] 343-68). Non sono in grado di fare una critica approfondita degli argomenti particolari, ma ritengo che in un libro confezionato in un modo così elegante le fotografie del testo stesso dovrebbero essere più chiare. La fotografia in copertina e a p. 9 ha qualche utilità per lo studio del documento, ma tuttavia mi sembra aver uno scopo più decorativo che pratico.

Antti Arjava

LOTHAR WIERSCHOWSKI: *Fremde in Gallien – "Gallier" in der Fremde. Die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr. (Texte – Übersetzungen – Kommentare)*. Historia Einzelschriften 159. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2001. ISBN 3-515-07970-X. 526 S. EUR 80.

Vor 7 Jahren erschien Wierschowskis Studie *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1.-3. Jh. n. Chr.* (Historia Einzelschriften 91). Hier nun legt er eine Zusammenstellung der dieser Studie zugrundeliegenden Inschriften einschließlich weiterer einschlägiger Belege für "gallische" Mobilität vor. Da sein Hauptinteresse der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte gilt, sind aus dem Corpus zum einen Zu- und Abwanderer aus dem militärischen Bereich ausgeschlossen (es sei denn der Ortswechsel fand eindeutig als Privatperson statt), und zum anderen auch Amtsträger etwa des Kaiserkultes oder in administrativen Aufträgen Reisende, deren zeitweilige Migration der Autor als nicht relevant für seine Fragestellung ansieht. Ansonsten strebt der Katalog jedoch Vollständigkeit an.

Das durchnummerierte Corpus der nahezu 700 Inschriften ist nach Inschriftenpublikationen geordnet und folgt so, außer was die Inschriften aus der *AE* angeht, gleichzeitig einem gewissen geographischen Muster. Jedem Text sind eine Übersetzung, nähere Bestimmung des bzw. der Namen bezüglich der Herkunft, Ausgangs- und Endpunkt der Migration, sozialer Status sowie eine (Grob)datierung beigelegt. Der vielleicht wichtigste Bestandteil ist der ausführliche Kommentar zu den jeweiligen Personen und Orten mit oft sehr konkreten Vermutungen über Situationen und Tatsachen, welche jedoch eigentlich nicht belegbar sind, so z. B. in Nr. 438 bezüglich der Todesart und des Alters des Ehemannes der Verstorbenen. Weiterführende Angaben finden sich auch in den zahlreichen Anmerkungen. Eine gewisse Inkonsequenz scheint mir darin zu liegen, dass Hinweise auf andere Inschriften innerhalb des Corpus nicht auf dessen eigene Numerierung zurückgreifen, sondern die jeweilige Hauptedition nennen.

Es folgt eine ausführliche Bibliographie sowie Indices mit Stellenverzeichnis, Namen, Orten und allgemeinen Begriffen, hier mit Hinweis auf die Seitenzahl und nicht auf die Corpusnummer, was ein schnelleres Auffinden des gesuchten Begriffes ermöglicht hätte. Abgesehen jedoch von solchen kleinen "Schönheitsfehlern" bietet das Buch eine willkommene Ergänzung zu dem eingangs erwähnten Band und läßt sich auch unabhängig davon in vieler Hinsicht heranziehen und auswerten. Die Arbeit hat sich ganz bestimmt gelohnt.

Uta-Maria Liertz

The Cambridge Ancient History XI. The High Empire, A.D. 70-192 (2nd ed.). Eds. A. K. BOWMAN, P. GARNSEY, D. RATHBONE. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000. ISBN 0-521-26335-2. xxi, 1222 pp. GBP 95 (USD 160).

This massive volume, the result of the efforts of three editors and 29 contributors, contains 35 chapters divided in six parts: I. Narrative, II. Government and Civil Administration, III. The Empire, IV. Rome, Italy and the Provinces, Va. Economy and Society, Vb. Art and Culture. Around 1000 pages of text are followed by some 150 pages of Bibliography and an Index comprising a further 60 pages (the first edition had a total of 997 pages). As is obvious, no single author could have mastered all the topics of the book, and no single review can do the enormous accumulation of material justice; certainly not in only a few pages. (See G. Bowersock, *JRA* 15 [2002] 511-15 for an ambitious attempt, voicing mixed feelings.)

The contributors are, with very few exceptions, well known to practitioners of Roman history. The *CAH* contributes to the immortal glory of Cambridge, but, perhaps surprisingly, only three writers give Cambridge as their academic affiliation. Five are from "the other place", three from London, and five from the rest of the United Kingdom. The international participation is not negligible, with five scholars from German universities (of which one is of English and one of Hungarian origin), four from universities in the USA (one British, one Canadian), three from France, and one from Dublin. Italian scholars are conspicuously absent. In comparison, the first edition relied to a much larger extent on authors from British universities (11, among whom Ronald Syme from New Zealand), as well as three Germans, and one each from Belgium,

France, Hungary, Sweden, and the USA (M. Rostovtzeff).

It would be wrong to say that the new volume replaces the first edition since *CAH* XI from 1936 did of course long ago cease to be of any particular use. But from a historiographical point of view it might be of some interest to briefly survey the changes that have taken place. The Rise of Christianity, Roman Law, and Latin Literature had separate chapters in 1936; the editors point out that the two former topics are now dealt with in *CAH* X and XII, while for Classical Literature there is a separate Cambridge history.

In total there were 21 chapters in 1936, of which 6 provided a chronological narrative, 7 dealt with the provinces, 2 dealt with the empire and its administration, and, in addition to the three mentioned above, 3 dealt with particular topics (Greek intellectual life, Social life in Rome and Italy, and Art). There are surprises: in a world not yet striving to get away from Romanocentrism and ridden with post-colonial guilt, would one expect the first edition to have had as chapter 2 "The Peoples of Northern Europe: the Getae and Dacians", followed by a chapter on "The Sarmatae and Parthians"? These "barbarian" peoples do not have their own spokespersons in the new *CAH*, although their interactions with the Romans are treated with predictable competence in the narrative section by Miriam Griffin and Anthony Birley; they appear briefly also in the provincial surveys.

Changes in the structure of the new *CAH* were to be expected and are welcome. A chapter such as Brent Shaw's fine "Rebels and outsiders" could not have been written in 1936; it is now part of the "Empire" unit in which one also finds chapters on "Frontiers", "The army", and "Local and provincial institutions and government". A major innovation is the emphasis on social and economic history in the new *CAH*, and to some extent also on cultural history (e.g. "Literacy" by Greg Woolf). Chapters on "Land", "Trade", "Industry and technology", "Commerce and finance" deal with topics that scholars were working on already well before 1936, but which found little place in the previous edition. The chapters on "Demography" (Bruce Frier), "Status and patronage", and "Family and household" (both by Richard Saller) in part deal with subjects and methods with which few classicists were very familiar in 1936. With the unfortunate exception of the chapter on "Industry and technology", these contributions provide valuable additions to the view on Roman history presented by the *CAH*.

The *CAH* is intended to be of lasting value, and the editors point out that the contributors were "asked to write accounts which summarize current knowledge and generally held views" (xxi). In order for the various chapters to be comprehensive and, at the same time, present a text that is readable, references are held to a minimum. In this day and age it is rare to see a serious work on Roman history with only one or two lines of footnotes following forty lines of text. References to primary sources appear with some frequency and are by their nature precise. But the contributors have apparently been instructed to follow a different system when referring to modern scholarship, for like scholars in the social sciences they mostly refer only generally to a particular work, without indicating chapters or pages. A reader wanting to follow up or check the accuracy of a secondary reference would often be facing a daunting task. The *CAH* of course intends to be a work of reference and does not seem to expect unexpert readers to proceed any further.

What does this "short version" in fact mean for the user? The authors were "not requested to suppress any reference to heterodox beliefs", as the editors point out (p. xxi), and of course we all know that once one starts thinking deeply about a particular historical phenomenon, there is rarely only one view that matters.

One would have to conclude that only prolonged use of the *CAH* by scholars engaged in serious study will show how well it serves their particular purpose (there are also, to be sure, many other uses and users to which it caters), were it not for the fact that a test case exists. Werner Eck's four admirably succinct chapters on the imperial administration, which together make up all of part II "Government and Civil Administration" and comprise almost a hundred pages, include the customary two or three lines of references and additional commentary per page. But that is not the whole story. It is greatly to the credit of the publisher that Professor Eck was allowed to publish an expanded version of his work in German. Due to a delay in the publication of the *CAH* (the editors are candid about the fact that most of the book was written in 1991-94; some later revision was carried out, p. xxi), the German version of the four *CAH* chapters actually appeared first, in W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge 2* (Arbeiten zur römischen Epigraphik und Altertumskunde 3), Basel – Berlin 1998, 3-145, but there are very few later additions in the *CAH* (see however note 22a on p. 201). In his "Vorwort", Eck characterizes the German version as a "wesentlich erweiterte Fassung", and continues "vieles, was dort [in the *CAH*] vor allem aus Platzgründen nicht möglich war, auch ausführlichere Anmerkungen, sind nunmehr in die Kapitel 1 A-D aufgenommen". Any reader will immediately realize that this is indeed the case, which of course means that, in the future, a serious scholar will immediately be recognized from his/her quoting the German version, not the *CAH*.

It is likely that most contributors had similar feelings about the text they submitted to the editors: the restricted space allotted to each must often have been the source of intense frustration. Experts will probably always find missing details; nobody is perfect even when the space is unlimited. One chapter, however, seems to me not only to lack details but also some important topics that needed to be treated. The chapter on "Industry and technology" (741-68) is very heavily slanted towards the archaeological evidence (to the detriment of epigraphical evidence, which provides most of the sources from which this kind of history can be written) and technology. The latter aspect is of course dictated by the rubric, but one wonders why manufacture could not be given a chapter of its own. A comparison with William Harris' thorough chapter on "Trade" illustrates the kind of opportunity that was missed here. There is no denying the importance of Rome the Capital (Rome and Italy receive over 40 pages by Nicholas Purcell elsewhere in the book), and the brick industry of Rome and Central Italy would have deserved more attention than 25 words and one reference (to Helen 1975 and Champlin 1983, p. 258 (sic)). Where is the work of E. Margareta Steinby, and where is at least a mention of the vivid discussion on the role of senators in the brick production? The next sentence moves on to a new subject and contains a reference to "the Sestii", "their" villa at Settefinestre, and the involvement in "shipping, wine, bricks and *terra sigillata*". But who are "the Sestii"? There is no word on whether we are dealing with senators, equestrians, common *ingenui*, or freedmen, nothing on possible, and likely,

developments over time, nothing on the vivid scholarly debate in the matter of organization of manufacture and commerce. (One looks in vain for *instrumentum domesticum* in the Index of this volume.)

To be fair, urban brick stamps are mentioned once more, on p. 971 in the chapter on Roman art, in connection with Nero's "sensible building regulations" after the fire: "a mass of commercial and domestic structures arose, identifiable by brick stamps which, in the efficient Roman manner, often bear stamps indicating date". That loose passage does not save the day. (The proceedings from the international colloquium on "Interpretare i bolli laterizi di Roma: tra amministrazione, storia economica ed edilizia" at the Ecole Française and the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae in March 2000 will address a number of important topics.) For information on Roman manufacture I will not recommend the *CAH* to my undergraduate students.

It would however definitely be wrong to end on a negative note. It is a praiseworthy accomplishment to have brought this international project of co-operation to its conclusion (and soon the 2nd edition of the *CAH* will be complete). In a time when collective publications and proceedings from conferences and colloquia, often with important contributions, are ever more common, one more difficult to find than the other, the *CAH* has its firmly established place in the libraries, and vol. XI will provide useful guidance for many decades to come in the hands of whoever acquires it.

Christer Bruun

ATTILIO MASTROCINQUE: *Studi sulle guerre Mitridatiche*. Historia Einzelschriften 124. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1999. ISBN 3-515-07418-X. 128 pp. EUR 32.

King Mithridates VI Eupator "the Great" of Pontus undoubtedly belongs to a select group of "greatest enemies of Rome", along with Hannibal, Jugurtha, Decebalus, and perhaps a few more. He reigned from ca. 113 B.C. until the eventful year 63 B.C. and fought three wars against Rome; he undoubtedly warrants attention from every student of that period.

Mastrocinque begins his investigations around the year 100 B.C. and takes the reader down to ca. 80 B.C.; his study is thus located in the era of Marius and Sulla. Much has been written on these decades, but the work here under review is by no means superfluous. Historical problems relating both to Mithridates' life and times – as well as to the interaction of Marius and of Sulla with events in Asia Minor – persist, not least because of a lack of a comprehensive source for the period, and regardless of studies such as B. C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus* (Leiden 1986) and works on Rome's policy in the East by Badian, Gruen, Ferrary, and Kallet-Marx.

The work consists of 21 brief chapters subsumed under six headings (here in English translation): "Mithridates and Apuleius Saturninus", "From the Asian mission of Sulla to that of Aquilius", "The victories of Mithridates", "The sources for Appian's *Mithridateios*", "Athens and Aristion", and "After Dardanus".

Mastrocinque gives the recent publication of F. De Callatay's work on Asia Minor numismatics (*L'histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1997) as one reason for his undertaking. Many dates of rulers in the

region (which have caused problems in the past) can now be established more securely. The author himself contributes to clearing up other problems in various sources, for a considerable part of the book in fact consists of careful investigations in the tradition of "Quellenforschung". In particular, the sources used by Appian for the *Mithridateios* are analyzed. Mastrocinque concludes that, on events involving Sulla, Sulla's own *Memoirs* constituted the ultimate source (perhaps via Cornelius Sisenna) for Appian, whose crucial work he considers the most pro-Sullan account to survive. The conclusion might seem surprising when one considers several blatant pro-Sullan passages in Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*, which expressly refers to Sulla's autobiography in several places, but Mastrocinque points out that Plutarch's biography also contains criticism of its subject.

Based on the author's thorough knowledge of the sources for the period, several cases of mixed identities are addressed in the book. For instance – and of a certain importance for the historical events – Mastrocinque argues that the Cappadocian king Ariarates IX is identical to Mithridates' son Arkathias. This was suggested over a century ago by Reinach, but the idea was out of favour in the 1900s. Another confusion of names and identities concerns the pro-Mithridatic leader of Athens during the siege by Sulla. Was he called Aristion or Athenion and were there, in fact, two leaders? Mastrocinque convincingly shows that only one politician called Aristion was operating in those years.

Insights to be had from this book concerning larger issues relate to, for instance, the involvement in the East of Marius and his followers, many of them *equites*; this is considered one factor that ultimately led to war with Mithridates (p. 27) (one wonders, though, if the author perhaps puts too much weight on the existence of clearcut "Marian" and "Sullan" cliques during the 90s). Another important point considers the Second Mithridatic War, conducted by Murena in 83-81 B.C. and often maligned as a Roman robbery raid. Mastrocinque argues that Appian used a different source for his narration of these events, namely a Pontic one. This explains the bad press Murena has received for a campaign that, in some sense, was justified (Mithridates did not uphold the Dardanus treaty he had struck with Sulla) and certainly politically necessary for Sulla (even his own soldiers almost accused him of treason after letting Mithridates off nearly scot-free at Dardanus).

All in all, Mastrocinque's short but dense, learned and very useful Mithridatic study is a welcome addition to scholarship on the subject. The bibliography at the end of the book is selective; much other scholarship is mentioned only in the footnotes.

Christer Bruun

Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire. Edited by SIMON GOLDHILL. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001. ISBN 0-521-66317-2. viii, 395 pp. GBP 45 (USD 69.95).

The title of this book approximately presents its contents. Admittedly, in his introduction the editor already questions the subtitle, though lets it stand for lack of a better one. The following contributions are included: "From Megalopolis to Cosmopolis: Polybius, or there and back again" (John Henderson); "Mutilated messengers: body language in

Josephus" (Maud Gleason); "Roman questions, Greek answers: Plutarch and the construction of identity" (Rebecca Preston); "Describing Self in the language of the Other: Pseudo (?) Lucian at the temple of Hierapolis" (Jas Elsner); "The erotic eye: visual stimulation and cultural conflict" (Simon Goldhill); "Visions and revisions of Homer" (Froma I. Zeitlin); "'Greece is the World': exile and identity in the Second Sophistic" (Tim Whitmarsh); "Local heroes: athletics, festivals and elite self-fashioning in the Roman East" (Onno van Nijf); "The Rabbi in Aphrodite's bath: Palestinian society and Jewish identity in the High Roman Empire" (Seth Schwartz). Almost all of the nine contributions thus discuss literary authors, ranging from Polybius and Josephus to Plutarch, Lucian, and their contemporaries. The focus is on the ways the "hyper-literate elite" conceived and represented its Greekness, especially in relation to imperial pressures. It is probably significant that in the only article which utilizes inscriptions to a large extent, van Nijf suggests that the literary and rhetorical culture was not the only way to define Greek identity, and for many people it may not even have been the most important way (334).

Since this book is very much about insiders and outsiders and is so well aware of the many subtle ways in which people, often unconsciously, expose their identities and attitudes, "affirming Self through contrast with, even implicit criticism of the Other" (141), it is not without interest to examine the self-positioning of the book itself. Quite clearly, the Self is defined by modern approaches to cultural study and by implicit criticism of those who would be naive enough to use concepts like "second sophistic", "culture" and "identity" without raising their eyebrows (14-20). Thus, the analysis is firmly placed floating in the currents of the latest scholarship. The accepted meaning of expressions is constantly negotiated and renegotiated, e.g., Vespasian's use of bound human bodies for a flotation test in the Dead Sea is adduced as an example of "body language" (50-1). Such self-confident manipulation of terminology serves to strengthen the cultural superiority of the insiders, who share a similar view of language as an ever-changing vehicle of self-expression, which loses its fascination as soon as it has become fixed and comprehensible to the masses. The references are naturally not restricted to the classics: it would be difficult to imagine a wider reading than that displayed in the footnotes. Even the Middle Earth of *Elves* and *Hobbits* has become part of the book's cultural topography (29). However, this all-embracing inclusiveness is matched by other, implicit exclusions, based on language and civilization. Beyond the obvious point that all the articles have been written in English by scholars who have been affiliated with British or American universities, it appears that English has become "a language of advancement and a key sign of the cultivated [scholar], the [English] language transcends [...] ethnic origin in the determination of affiliation and status" (cf. the similar role of Greek, 13-14). Accordingly, almost four-fifths of the bibliography is composed of works in English. Foreign influences are not denied, though preferably these have been glossed, explained and naturalized by a writer in English (18 n. 53). The investigation of the past is linked with contemporary issues familiar to many Britons, Americans and civilized outsiders (154-5). The message is delicate but unmistakable: only such discourse has some claim to importance which takes place in the English language within the Anglo-Saxon world.

There is, of course, no fault in this. Every text has to be addressed to some

audience. Someone has to buy it, and it would be eccentric to demand that a book meant for Anglo-Saxon hyper-literate readers would try to tie its discourse to issues which are debated by commoners in, say, Scandinavian, Asian or Arab societies. Such issues would undoubtedly have seemed to the authors not only foreign but also in some sense disturbingly old-fashioned and naive. The writers of this book have faced similar problems as those Greek authors they discuss – and have solved them no less satisfactorily.

Antti Arjava

MAURO CRISTOFANI: *Etruschi e altre genti nell'Italia preromana. Mobilità in età arcaica*. *Archaeologica* 120. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1996. ISBN 88-7689-126-9. 183 pp., xi tavole. EUR 180,76.

Mauro Cristofani collected eight papers published in diverse journals and books during the years 1991-95 into a volume of the *Archaeologica* series which appeared before his untimely death in 1997. They have a central theme indicated by the subtitle: we have either merchants from the Eastern or Southern Mediterranean in Etruria or in contact with the Etruscans, or Etruscans outside Etruria proper. This archaic mobility, both commercial and colonial, has been much in focus during the last decades; Cristofani clearly had a more ambitious research plan, but other duties forced him to satisfy his readers with this collection of articles. One would have naturally hoped for a comprehensive, systematic presentation by Cristofani on this theme, but due to the author's too early demise, we are left with this book.

As it is, we must be content with the discussion of some of the most interesting aspects of the theme: Sostratos at Gravisca, Phoenicians at Pyrgi, an Etruscan "letter" at Pech Maso, early Etruscan colonization in Campania, Etruscans at Pompeii, and the rich Etruscan colony at Spina which has not been handled too often in recent years. There is also a new Introduction discussing the distribution of early Etruscan inscriptions outside Etruria. Cristofani's discussion of these subjects is acute and well founded, sometimes raising objections, but always interesting.

Jorma Kaimio

Sordes urbis: La eliminación de residuos en la ciudad romana. Actas de la reunión de Roma (15-16 Noviembre de 1996). Ed. XAVIER DUPRÉ RAVENTÓS & JOSEP-ANTON REMOLÀ. *Bibliotheca Italica* 24. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-8265-082-0. xv, 150 pp. EUR 82.

The accumulation of waste is a universal problem, perhaps today more so than ever before. Waste and rubbish are also the bread and butter of archaeology: a dump can tell us more about life in a house or in a community than buildings in themselves or even texts can. The relationship of human beings and their waste has not been explored very thoroughly – at least not in the archaeological context. The work of William Rathje (e.g.

with C. Murphy, *Rubbish! The Archaeology of Garbage*, 2001) on modern waste production which combines the archaeology of waste with interviews with the producers of waste is a great landmark in the conceptualization of waste, but still remains relatively alone in the field.

The *Sordes urbis* conference was organized in 1997 by the *Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología* at Rome in order to explore the waste problem in the ancient world, especially in connection with ancient cities. The twelve published articles are supplemented by short introductory and concluding chapters by the conference organizers and editors of the volume, Xavier Dupré Raventós and Josep-Anton Remolà. The geographical and chronological range of the papers is vast: from Jerusalem to Spain and from classical antiquity to modern times. The sources are also not limited to any one type: archaeology, law, literature, inscriptions, art, and even the Bible are used. Many of the articles collect information from different sources and, seemingly, for the first time try to synthesize this information. Some are more concentrated on methodological and theoretical aspects: What is waste? How is it produced? Where does it accumulate? How can it be used as a source for ancient studies?

Archaeological evidence for waste and its disposal is treated in four articles. Sauro Gelichi has collected the evidence from northern Italian cities and traces the changes from the classical to the medieval period. There is plenty of evidence for systemized waste disposal, sewers, etc. from the classical period, and in many cases these systems continued in use even much later – some of the sewers have been used even in modern times. The fall into disuse of the ancient systems resulted in the birth of the *terre nere* or dark earth, meaning very dark cultural layers rich in organic material, a phenomenon also well known elsewhere in Europe. Gemma Jansen's article is on the disposal of waste and excreta in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia. She presents some results of her own fieldwork, examining the sewers, cesspits and street layout of the three towns. She demonstrates very convincingly how the geological and topographical conditions were taken into consideration while designing and realizing the waste disposal systems. The third archaeological example comes from Tarraco in Spain, where Francesc Tarrats explores the waste dumps of the city and the material found in them. Topography has influenced the waste disposal here also, but the excavation of dumps in pits where clay had been dug also provided abundant material for study of the city's commercial relationships with the rest of the Mediterranean. Piero Gianfrotta's article is a survey of the *sordes* under water. He explores some concrete evidence as well as sites where waste could be found.

The formation of waste at a slightly more conceptual level is considered by three writers. Josep-Anton Remolà explores the ways of producing waste as well as how and where waste dumps are formed. He uses the abundant Spanish material and compares the topographical locations of known ancient dumps to modern unauthorized waste dumps and finds them very similar indeed. Emilio Rodríguez Almeida writes about recycling of materials, a phenomenon well known in the ancient world. What we do not find in waste dumps is equally significant to what we actually find. Daniele Manacorda's article takes us closer to modern times, as he describes the organization of waste disposal in medieval and modern Rome. The excavation of Crypta Balbi at Rome required knowledge of the system behind the archaeological finds. Manacorda states that their meticulous and equal

attitude to all things found during the dig caused some criticism at the time, but the end result speaks for itself. The museum of Crypta Balbi is one of the best museums in Rome, presenting materials that simply cannot be seen anywhere else!

The theme of the organization of waste disposal is also studied by Silvio Panciera and Wolf Liebeschuetz using literary sources. Panciera concentrates on ancient Rome, where he tries to show that waste disposal was organized by the city, and that it was not only the responsibility of the individual landowners. The problem is the lack of direct evidence. Liebeschuetz's point of view is wider, ranging from the ancient Near East to Italy. His opinion is contrary to Panciera's: the homeowners took care of the cleaning of streets.

A more symbolic meaning of waste is presented by three papers. Andrea Carandini points out the ideas of death and impurity connected with waste and how this might effect its treatment. Natalio Fernández Marcos has studied the Gehenna at Jerusalem and how the existing, actual waste heap got its symbolic meaning as a place of cult and part of a mythical geography. Eric Moormann's article is on the depiction of waste in art, especially the famous "unswept room" mosaics. He connects the few known images to the ideology of representing ugliness and degradation: the artistic rendition turns the foul motifs into beauty and luxury that could be observed with horror and admired at the same time.

The various approaches of the book are very interesting and delightful to read. Further attention to editing and language editing might have improved the texts even more. The book is suitably published with the generous help of AMA, *Azienda Municipale Ambiente*, which takes care of the waste in modern Rome. The ancient and modern waste do go hand in hand, even in this respect!

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

MIREILLE CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI: *Les magistrats des cités italiennes de la seconde guerre punique à Auguste: le Latium et la Campanie*. Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Fascicule 299. Roma 1998. ISBN 2-7283-0525-0. xi, 310 pp. EUR 53.

This book is the published version of the author's *thèse de doctorat* dating back to 1987. Some explanation for the lapse of 11 years between the *soutenance* of the *thèse* and the emergence of the published version is given on p. ix f., mainly by references to the author's other occupations, some of them "important" (expression used on p. ix of an exposition of which the author was the director). In any case, one could see that this book was on its way, as the author has been busy with things related to her subject for many years.

One might wonder about the choice of the name of the book; there seems to be no clear reason for using the term *italiennes* in the title, as the author limits her scope to Latium and Campania. On the other hand, as there is not really very much source material for these areas in the period treated by the author, one might also wonder why she never considered covering the whole of the Italian peninsula in the same period, for this would no doubt have made the book much more attractive and useful. (At least one

would have expected her to explain the restriction of her scope to the two areas and to the period defined in the title, but there seems to be nothing on these points.)

But in any case this is a rather useful book. The approach is prosopographical (p. 4; cf. Ch. I, "Choix d'une méthodologie: la prosopographie", p. 9ff.), and it is hard to see how this could have been otherwise. However, there is not a "prosopography" of the magistrates at the end of book. The advantage of this is that now the book is much shorter than the normal French monograph with a *thèse* background; on the other hand, the lack of a numbered list of the magistrates to which reference can be made forces the author to quote the complete list of sources (in some cases fairly long) whenever she refers to a certain magistrate which, in the case of more prominent persons, happens quite often.

The book is divided into lengthy sections called "partie" which are subdivided into chapters. The exposition seems to cover all the aspects on which something can be said on the basis of the sources. Partie I is on "les magistrats dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions" (with Chap. III on the careers and Chap. IV on "euergetism"), Partie II is on the "ressources économiques" (with chapters on agriculture, "industry" and financial activities), Partie III is on the "vie sociale, publique et privée" of the magistrates (with chapters on "amitiés et clientélisme", "alliances matrimoniales et familiales", the "promotion politique" of municipal men to higher positions, and on the relations of the same men with equestrians and senators). At the end, there is a conclusion and the normal items; among the indices, there is one on the literary sources but none on the inscriptions (which must be accessed through the index of persons).

All this is very good and useful. However, to tell the truth, there are few places where one has the feeling that the author has been writing in a state of great inspiration, and she does not seem to be making many altogether revolutionary observations. Of course it is true that there is not really very much one can do with only this limited source material at one's disposal, and the utility and the worth of this book, which no one will deny, is clearly based on the fact that it summarizes the results of earlier studies rather than on its new approaches to questions.

However, there are some less attractive things in this book, many of them to be explained by its long evolution process and some possibly by the fact that the author may not always have thought it a good idea to produce a published version (cf. p. x). Moreover, this version, too, like its predecessor (cf. p. ix), seems to have been produced in rather a hurry. The bibliography, although including many references to more modern work, cannot help giving the general impression of something dating back a few years (isn't there, for instance, a newer version of Moeller's book on the wool trade of Pompeii, referred to here only as a "Diss. dact." of 1962?). And then there is the impression of vagueness and imprecision here and there. To say nothing of German titles of books which are hardly ever spelled correctly, the author can make mistakes even in the rendering of the names of scholars prominent in her own field (e.g., p. 17 n. 46 "Mouristen"; 139 n. 5 "Frederisken"). Some references are extremely sloppy; what is one to do with "voir ... Mario Torelli sous presse" (154 n. 55), if this is not explained in the bibliography? But even worse are those references in which the author only says that much has been written on a subject. For instance, on p. 129 n. 128, work after 1986 on the *lex Flavia municipalis* is summed up – not very helpfully – as "D'innombrables (sic) articles

sortent de presse chaque année sur cette loi (cf. en particulier dans *ZPE*, *JRS*, *Historia*). On p. 217 (where the father of Livia is called "M. Livius Drusus Andronicus"), n. 27, Aufidius Lurco, a difficult person, is furnished with the following annotation: "Il existe une imposante bibliographie et des discussions à propos de l'origine et du nom très controversés du grand-père de Livie", with references to Suetonius (sic!) but none to the famous article of 1974 by J. Linderski who settled all the problems. And there are many more signs of sloppiness; on p. 50 n. 20, "Solin" is credited with having written something which I am almost certain I wrote, and many Latin quotations are given in a curiously abbreviated form; e.g., p. 31 n. 75 "in oppido Padula agri", where *agri* is meaningless without a definition; p. 93 "senatus filio stipendia mereta", where the addition of *esse iousit* (following on *mereta* in the inscription) would have clarified the scenario.

The question is, of course, whether one should let these little unpleasantnesses obscure the fact that the book is after all a reasonably competent and comprehensive discussion of an important subject. Personally I am inclined to think that what matters here is above all the fact that we now have this book at our disposal, and so I think I must conclude by thanking the author for having decided to have her *thèse* published. It is true that, at the same time I cannot help wondering why the author did not allow herself some more time to give finishing touches to the book.

Olli Salomies

Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World. Edited by SUZANNE DIXON. Routledge, London – New York 2001. ISBN 0-415-23578-2. xvi, 282 pp. GBP 50.

This volume was put together to honour Professor Beryl Rawson's celebrated work on the Roman family. It includes the following chapters: The 'other' Romans and their family values (Suzanne Dixon); Children as cultural symbols: imperial ideology in the second century (Beryl Rawson); Children and dreams (Keith Bradley); Child exposure and abandonment (Mireille Corbier); Children among the dead: the influence of urban life on the commemoration of children on tombstone inscriptions (Janette McWilliam); Reconstructing lower-class Roman families (Paul Weaver); *Familia Veturia*: towards a lower-class economic prosopography (Suzanne Dixon); Emperors and houses in Rome (Andrew Wallace-Hadrill); Women, burial data and issues of inclusion: the problems and potential of Romano-British cemeteries (Fiona Crowe); The value of epithets in pagan and Christian epitaphs from Rome (Hanne Sigismund Nielsen); A Roman funerary monument with a mother and daughter (Michele George); Adoption and its function in cross-cultural contexts (Hugh Lindsay); Nearest and dearest: liability to inheritance tax in Roman families (Jane Gardner); On becoming a parent in later life: from Augustus to Antonio Agustín via St Augustine (Tim Parkin).

It would be impossible to discuss or even to summarize the contents of individual contributions in a short review. Most of the authors are already distinguished experts in their own field. Although one might disagree with some individual interpretations or conclusions, there is generally little to complain of in the manner the writers handle their material. I might just record a couple of more than trivial printing errors: the figures in

Table 10.1 do not seem to tally with the text on p. 168-9, probably due to some confusion of the lines; on p. 231 bottom *Codex Theodosianus* 6.58.12 should be *Codex Iustinianus*.

In comparison with most other *Festschriften*, this volume is thematically homogeneous. It aims to have a readership among specialized scholars, among undergraduates and among "intelligent lay readers" who are interested in the past and future of the family. The authors have set out to accomplish this difficult task in different ways. Some contributions present new evidence or new analyses, some illuminate their theme with a few case studies, some argue a new theory, some again offer cross-cultural comparisons. In my view, all the writers have successfully addressed at least one section of the intended large audience but, inevitably, it is hard to simultaneously present novelties for informed colleagues and reveal even part of the "big picture" for the general public. For this reason, and because they are not meant to cover the field in any comprehensive way, either individually or together, I suppose that the articles will, in practice, be used separately rather than as a whole. All are highly readable.

Antti Arjava

ANNE KOLB: *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich*. Klio Beihefte N. F. 2. Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2000. ISBN 3-05-003584-6. 380 S. EUR 64,80.

Welche Machtmittel in einem politischen System essentiellen Charakter haben, variiert in vielen Fällen systemabhängig in beträchtlichem Maße. Stets gehört jedoch die Kontrolle über die Kommunikationswege und -prozesse zu diesen besonders wichtigen Ressourcen. Dieser wichtigen Thematik sowie dem zivilen Transportsystem hat für das Imperium Romanum nun A. Kolb eine systematische Studie gewidmet. Eine institutionelle Verbindung dieser beiden Themen wurde in der Kaiserzeit dabei partiell durch den *cursus publicus* (im weiteren = CP; der Terminus ist allerdings erst spät belegt) hergestellt, dessen Erforschung auch im Zentrum von K.s Arbeit steht. K.s Studie geht aber über den CP hinaus und untersucht auch andere Formen und Methoden der Informationsübermittlung und der Personen- und Güterbeförderung; der Transport von Gütern im Zuge der Heeresversorgung bleibt aber ausgespart.¹ Zeitlich deckt ihre Studie alle drei Großepochen römischer Geschichte ab, wenn auch die Kaiserzeit (inklusive der späten) im Mittelpunkt steht.

In einem ersten Kapitel (pp. 15-48) geht K. auf vorrömische Ausprägungen von Nachrichten- und Transportsystemen ein. Im Anschluß referiert sie den Forschungsstand bezüglich der Informationsübermittlung und der Personen- und Güterbeförderung in der römischen Republik. Das längste Kapitel, II (pp. 49-226), ist dem CP gewidmet. Die Untersuchungen der Autorin bestätigen auf diesem Gebiet bereits zuvor gemachte Beobachtungen, etwa daß der Begriff "Post", da er Kommensurabilität mit der modernen Institution evoziert, als Charakterisierung des CP abzulehnen ist oder daß der prinzipats-

¹ Siehe zuletzt P. P. M. Erdkamp, *Hunger and the Sword. Warfare and Food Supply in Roman Republican Wars (264 – 30 B.C.)*, Amsterdam 1998; J. P. Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 B.C. – 235 A.D.)*, Leiden et al. 1999; F. Mitthof, *Annona militaris. Die Heeresversorgung im spätantiken Ägypten* (Pap. Flor. 32), Florenz 2001.

zeitliche CP kaum über Personal verfügte und daher keinen Transport- oder Kurierdienst, sondern nur eine Infrastruktur gebildet hat. Die Autorin betont zugleich, daß es nur ein, bereits seit Augustus bestehendes, staatliches Nachrichten- und Transportsystem gegeben hat. Im zweiten Abschnitt geht sie auf die Nutzungsrechte an dieser Institution ein. Dieser Teil ist v.a. als Kommentar zu dem wichtigsten einschlägigen Text, dem Edikt des galatischen Statthalters Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus, *SEG XXVI 1392*, gestaltet. K. weicht dabei verschiedentlich in Details von dem Kommentar des Editors St. Mitchell (*JRS* 66 [1976] 106ff.) ab. Allerdings stehen uns oft nur wenige einschlägige (Parallel-)Zeugnisse aus dem Prinzipat zur Verfügung, so daß die Reinterpretationen innerhalb der fast immer bestehenden Marge von Deutungsmöglichkeiten bleiben. Inwieweit etwa der Provinzprocurator logistische Aufgaben bei der Heeresversorgung wahrgenommen hat, läßt sich anhand unserer Zeugnisse kaum erkennen (vgl. auch p. 240). Daß das galatische Statthalteredikt, wie Mitchell meinte, auf die Involvierung des Procurators hindeutet, wird von K. aufgrund der geringen Transportkapazitäten, die dem Fiskalagenten nach Ausweis des Textes zur Verfügung standen, in Zweifel gezogen. Allerdings gab es in tiberischer Zeit in der von dem Edikt primär betroffenen Region keine größeren Truppenkonzentrationen, so daß für die Heeresversorgung in dieser Region auch kein großer Wagenpark notwendig war.² Doch bieten auch die übrigen (allerdings sehr spärlichen) Quellen zur Truppenversorgung im Prinzipat keine Anhaltspunkte dafür, daß die zuständigen Stellen für die notwendigen Transporte auf den CP zurückgreifen konnten.³ K.s These, daß ein Konnex zwischen einer staatlichen / kaiserlichen Aufgabe und dem Nutzungsrecht am CP bestanden habe, wird dagegen kaum Diskussionen auslösen. Aus der Spätantike sind durch die Rechtskodizes sehr viel mehr Zeugnisse überliefert, die wesentlich weniger Interpretationsschwierigkeiten beinhalten; in entscheidenden Fragen läßt sich dabei Kontinuität zu der vorhergehenden Zeit plausibel machen. Die Autorisierung, den CP benutzen zu dürfen, in Form von *diplomata* (vgl. pp. 109f.) erteilte, wie bereits zuvor in der Forschung gesehen⁴, im Prinzipat nur der Kaiser; in der Spätantike (pp. 101ff.) konnten auch hohe Funktionsträger *evectiones* (zur Terminologie siehe p. 110) ausstellen; das gilt sicher für den PPO und zeitweilig für den PU. Über welche Kompetenzen der *magister officiorum* im vierten Jahrhundert auf diesem Gebiet verfügte, wird wohl auch in Zukunft umstritten bleiben. Abschnitt II 2 behandelt die typischen Mißbräuche, die während des gesamten Bestehens der Institution CP nachweisbar sind. Der folgende Abschnitt ist dem schwierigen und besonders wichtigen Feld der Finanzierung des CP gewidmet. K. resümiert (145): "Der Unterhalt des *cursus publicus* wurde seit der Einrichtung der Institution über eine Leistungsverpflichtung der Bevölkerung finanziert, die in Form von Sach- und Dienstleistungen aufzubringen war. Prinzipiell änderte sich diese Struktur während der Spätantike nicht, auch wenn der Staat dann vorschrieb, dass die Leistungen in Form von *munera civilia*, die auf unterschiedlichen Personengruppen lasteten, zu erfüllen waren." Während dieses Resultat zu überzeugen vermag, sind bezüglich einer Reihe der Detail-

² St. Mitchell, *JRS* 66 (1976) 130; vgl. dens., *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor I*, Oxford 1993, 78; 122.

³ Vgl. Mitthof (wie Anm. 1), 37ff.

⁴ W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Vestigia 28), München 1979, 106.

analysen Zweifel durchaus berechtigt. Dies gilt speziell für die Frage, ob Italien in der hohen Kaiserzeit hinsichtlich der Finanzierung des CP eine Sonderstellung eingenommen hat. Im Sinne einer solchen Sonderstellung hatte W. Eck vorsichtig die Münzlegende *BMC Emp.* III 21f. Nr. 119 = *RIC* II Nr. 93, *vehiculatione Italiae remissa*, aus der Zeit Nervas gedeutet, die er versuchsweise mit erstmals unter Caracalla bezeugten Pächtern und Zugtierversmietern (*mancipes et iunctores iumentarii*: *CIL* VI 31338a; 31369; 31370), die Aufgaben im staatlichen Transportwesen erfüllten, in Verbindung setzte und diese Zeugnisse gemeinsam dahingehend interpretierte, seit Nerva seien die Kosten der Gemeinden vom Staat getragen worden, der die praktische Abwicklung der anfallenden Aufgaben Privatunternehmern übertrug. Daß ein solches Resultat hypothetischen Charakter trägt, braucht kaum eigens betont zu werden.⁵ K. lehnt eine solche Interpretation des Quellenkomplexes mit Hinweis auf die Inschrift D. 9018 ab, da in diesem Text aus der Mitte des dritten Jahrhunderts ein *advocatus fisci at vehicula* im norditalischen Raum bezeugt wird. Da dieser *advocatus fisci* nur für Probleme zwischen dem *fiscus* und den Trägern der finanziellen Lasten, i.e. den Gemeinden, zuständig gewesen sein könne, habe eine dauerhafte Kostenübernahme durch den *fiscus* offensichtlich nicht stattgefunden (141; vgl. 184). Nun ist zum einen festzuhalten, daß Thesen bezüglich der römischen Administration, die auf Quellenzeugnissen aus der Zeit von Nerva bis Caracalla beruhen, ohnedies nicht für sich in Anspruch nehmen können, zweifelsfrei auch noch für die Mitte des dritten Jahrhunderts Gültigkeit zu besitzen. Davon abgesehen hat D. 9018 aber keineswegs unabdingbar die von K. angenommene Aussagekraft. Wir wissen nur sehr wenig über die Funktion *advocatus fisci* und noch weniger über das konkrete Aufgabengebiet des in D. 9018 geehrten A. Vitellius Felix Honoratus. Sicher ist nur, daß Vitellius den *fiscus* in Prozessen, die sich aus der Organisation des CP ergaben, repräsentierte. Daraus läßt sich keineswegs die Zahlungs- oder Leistungsverpflichtung der Gemeinden ableiten. Ebenso gut könnte Vitellius die Interessen des *fiscus* speziell in Rechtsstreitigkeiten mit Beteiligung der *mancipes* vertreten haben. Die Funktion könnte aber auch eingerichtet worden sein, weil die italischen Gemeinden trotz der Tätigkeit der Pächter und Zugtierversmieter vor Ort anfallende Kosten mit dem *fiscus* verrechneten. Angesichts dieser Unklarheiten sollte D. 9018 gar nicht oder jedenfalls nur nach intensiver Analyse in die Diskussion um die Bedeutung von *BMC Emp.* III 21f. Nr. 19 einbezogen werden. Auch die folgende Deutung K.s der *HA*-Stellen H 7, 5 und S 14, 2 ist nicht unproblematisch. Beide Texte deuten auf eine Übernahme der Kosten, die für die Bürger aus dem CP erwachsen, durch den *fiscus*, welchen Begriff K. hier mit "Staatskasse" übersetzt. Der Terminus *fiscus* ist aufgrund seiner semantischen Polyvalenz schon in zeitnahe an den Ereignissen verfaßten Texten oft schwierig zu deuten. Zeugnisse für diese Kasse aus einer so umstrittenen Quelle wie der *HA* unkommentiert als einwandfreie Belege für eine nicht näher definierte "Staatskasse" zu verwenden, muß um so riskanter erscheinen, als der Begriff *fiscus* in der Spätantike eine weitere semantische Differenzierung erfuhr.

Der folgende Abschnitt (II 4 pp. 152ff.) ist der Organisation des CP gewidmet. Die Ergebnisse dieses Teils sind v.a. negativer Natur, indem K. Postulate der älteren Literatur, meist mit der Begründung, die Quellenbasis sei für derartige Thesen unzu-

⁵ *Ibid.* 96.

reichend, zurückweist oder in Zweifel zieht. So läßt sich eine umfassende Zuständigkeit der Provinzprocuratoren für den CP ebensowenig belegen wie eine Unterstellung der diversen Kuriere oder der *stationes militares* unter die *praefecti vehiculorum*. Auch das genaue Tätigkeitsfeld der im dritten Jahrhundert regional im Imperium Romanum operierenden *praefecti vehiculorum* läßt sich nicht eruieren. K. kann zudem wahrscheinlich machen, daß die Obliegenheiten der in Italien agierenden *praefecti* nicht, wie i.d.R. angenommen, im vierten Jahrhundert von den *praepositi cursus publici* übernommen wurden, sondern wohl nach der endgültigen Aufgabe Roms als Kaiserresidenz – in Analogie zur administrativen Praxis im übrigen Reich – in den Zuständigkeitsbereich der italischen Statthalter übergangen. Auch die *communis opinio* zu dem im Stab des Prätorianerpräfekten tätigen *regendarius* vermag die Autorin zu revidieren. Ein Abschnitt über das infrastrukturelle Substrat, Transportwege, -mittel und Stationen steht am Ende dieses Kapitels. Kapitel III (pp. 227–263) ist dem außerhalb des CP organisierten Transportwesen gewidmet. Hierzu gehört die Beförderung der *annona*, Reisen und Transporte des Kaiserhofes sowie Dienstreisen römischer Funktionsträger. Im ersten Teil der Untersuchung kann K. zeigen, daß die sonst oft in der Forschung vertretene These, die *annona* sei auch und gerade in der Spätantike mit Hilfe des CP an ihre Bestimmungsorte befördert worden, keine Basis in den Quellen findet.⁶ 252ff. folgt eine Analyse der seit dem dritten, v.a. aber im vierten Jahrhundert in den Quellen belegten Institution der *bastaga*; ähnlich wie R. Delmaire⁷ sieht K. eine klare Unterscheidung zwischen *bastaga* und CP: Während der CP auch in der Spätzeit eine reine Infrastruktur geblieben sei, habe die *bastaga* die konkrete Abwicklung von Beförderungsmaßnahmen – und zwar nach K., die in diesem Punkt von Delmaires Thesen abweicht, ausschließlich für die beiden Finanzkomitee – geleistet. Im vierten Kapitel (pp. 264–307) wird der binneninstitutionelle Informationsaustausch im engeren Sinne (in Abgrenzung von dessen infrastrukturellem Substrat) untersucht; den größten Teil des Kapitels nimmt dabei eine differenzierende Auflistung der in den jeweiligen Epochen eingesetzten Kuriere ein. Als Ergebnis dieses Kapitels läßt sich zum einen festhalten, daß ein spezieller Kurierdienst im Imperium Romanum nur im militärischen Kontext (und auch da nur begrenzt) existiert hat und daß der CP (vielleicht mit Ausnahme der ersten Anfänge) kein solcher Dienst gewesen ist. Die Nachrichtenübermittlung wurde von Personal der einzelnen administrativen Zweige durchgeführt. Kennzeichnend blieb auch für dieses Aufgabenfeld stets ein hohes Maß von Pragmatismus und Flexibilität, um nur positiv konnotierte Termini zu verwenden. Zum anderen insistiert K. auch in diesem Abschnitt darauf, daß bei weitem nicht alle staatlichen Kuriere berechtigt waren, den CP zu nutzen, sondern nur solche, die in eiligen und wichtigen Aufgaben unterwegs waren. Kapitel V stellt die relevanten Quellen zur Geschwindigkeit von Reisen und Transporten in dem hier interessierenden Zeitraum zusammen. VI (pp. 333–40) bietet ein kurzes Resümee, in dem die Autorin darlegt, daß die von ihr erarbeiteten zeitlich-morphologischen Veränderungen in der Organisation des Nachrichtentransfers und des Transportes mit unseren sonstigen Kenntnissen von der Entwicklung der Verwaltung im Imperium Romanum kor-

⁶ Doch siehe auch die Ausführungen von J. T. Peña, *The Mobilization of State Olive Oil in Roman Africa: the Evidence of Late 4th-c. Ostraca from Carthage* (JRA Suppl. 28), Portsmouth, RI 1998, 117ff., 163.

⁷ *Largesses sacrées et res privata. L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle*, Rom 1989, 251ff.

respondieren. Ein Literaturverzeichnis sowie ein Quellen- und ein allgemeines Register schließen das Werk ab.

K.s Studie bietet einen guten Überblick über wichtige Aspekte der römischen Verwaltung über einen Zeitraum von drei Epochen. Ihre Ergebnisse erscheinen i.d.R. fundiert und zutreffend und bestätigen früher gemachte Beobachtungen zum Aufbau und zum Funktionieren des römischen Kommunikations- und Transportsystems. An dieser Stelle kann jedoch auch Kritik ansetzen. K. formuliert etwa als Ergebnis ihres zentralen Kapitels II, die Untersuchung habe zu einem "neuen Verständnis von Rolle und Bedeutung" des CP geführt (9). Während ihre Resultate oft durchaus plausibel erscheinen, vermag hinsichtlich vieler Aspekte des behandelten Sujets die Etikettierung dieser Ergebnisse als "neu" dagegen nicht zu überzeugen. Die Autorin rekuriert bei ihren Ausführungen in erheblichem Umfang auf die vorhandenen Arbeiten, von denen sie oft nicht oder nur in weniger wichtigen Details abweicht. V.a. die Studien von H.-G. Pflaum, St. Mitchell, W. Eck und R. Delmaire werden von K.s Forschungen nur unwesentlich modifiziert und bleiben daher auch weiterhin bei der Beschäftigung mit dem *cursus publicus* und den verwandten Themenfeldern maßgeblich. Eine deutlichere Bekundung der Abhängigkeit von älteren Autoritäten wäre hin und wieder durchaus wünschenswert gewesen.⁸ Die erwähnten Modifikationen beschränken sich zumeist auf das Insistieren auf das methodische Grundprinzip, daß angesichts der schmalen Quellenbasis alle Aussagen über den prinzipatszeitlichen CP oder benachbarte Themenfelder hypothetischen Charakter tragen. Dieses Prinzip ist jedoch auch zuvor nicht vernachlässigt worden; Rekonstruktionsversuche wurden in aller Regel als hypothetisch gekennzeichnet. Ebenso wenig wie die Beurteilung von Rolle und Bedeutung des CP kann das Resultat überraschen, daß nach erfolgter Dekomposition des administrativen Systems die untersuchte Subeinheit sich analog zu der von K. (allerdings auf der Basis der in der Studie mehrfach kritisierten älteren Literatur) postulierten Veränderung des Gesamtsystems entwickelt habe und entsprechend eine Anpassung an den im Laufe des Kaiserzeit steigenden Verwaltungsbedarf des Imperiums zeige: Auch dieses Ergebnis stand i.w. zu erwarten. Allerdings überbetont die Autorin n.m.D. die Folgen des Wechsels zu einem einzelnen Herrschaftsträger für das Kommunikationssystem (vgl. etwa 334ff.). Wenn sie bspw. schreibt, daß mit Kaiser Augustus "die Etablierung einer Reichsverwaltung" begonnen habe und "ein Ausgleichen der bisherigen Defizite (sc.: in der Verwaltung) in Angriff genommen" worden sei (336), so daß bereits unter dem ersten Princeps ein "leistungsfähiges Kommunikationssystem" eine "enorme Häufigkeit von Übermittlungsprozessen" ermöglicht habe (265), so wird durch eine solche Diktion die Existenz eines effizient und rational funktionierenden, auf Aktenmäßigkeit der Verwaltung basierenden administrativen Apparates evoziert, für dessen Bestehen es aber weder allgemein noch speziell in dem von K. thematisierten staatlichen Tätigkeitsfeld Belege gibt. Außer einem sehr allgemeinen Hinweis in der Romrede des Aristides (26, 33), der

⁸ Oft geschieht das nur durch die lapidare Feststellung "so auch Pflaum" o.ä. (e.g. 41 Anm. 5; 61 Anm. 3; 159 Anm. 2; 162 Anm. 3; 183 Anm. 2; 268 Anm. 1; 302 Anm. 2; ähnlich auch 235 Anm. 2; 252 Anm. 6). Durch eine solche Diktion wird jedoch das Verhältnis von Autorität und Rezipientin auf den Kopf gestellt. Pflaum kam nicht *auch* zu dem jeweiligen Ergebnis, sondern es handelt sich eben um *sein* Resultat, das K. lediglich aufgreift. Ebenso sind die einschlägigen Arbeiten von W. Eck nicht *von Relevanz* (13), sondern, wie K.s Studie deutlich zeigt, maßgeblich und grundlegend.

man aufgrund ihres panegyrischen Charakters in Details wohl kaum uneingeschränkt Glauben schenken kann, gibt es so gut wie keinen Hinweis auf einen kontinuierlichen Informationsfluß zwischen Kaiser und dezentral operierenden Amtsträgern. Das diesbezügliche Paradigma ist, wie K. selbst vermerkt (266; 301f.), die Plinianische Korrespondenz mit Traian. Daß aber die zwei bis drei Briefe pro Monat, die Plinius nach Rom sandte, einen Beweis für ein hohes "Aufkommen an Prozessen des Nachrichtentransfers" darstellen, scheint m.E. eine nicht zutreffende Charakterisierung zu sein. Das gilt um so mehr, als nur ein Teil der Korrespondenz von Plinius überhaupt einen administrativen Inhalt hatte, Plinius ausdrücklich erwähnt, daß er von Traian autorisiert war, zahlreiche Details an den Kaiser zu verweisen, Traian aber gleichwohl die seines Erachtens zu hohe Frequenz von Anfragen moniert (10, 32; cf. auch 82) und bisweilen sogar ironisiert (10, 16). Dieser Briefverkehr ist sicher kein Beleg für eine intensive binneninstitutionelle Kommunikation zwischen Zentrale und Peripherie.⁹ Dies ließe sich schon eher für den aufgrund der sozialen Qualifikation der Partizipanten vergleichbaren Informationsaustausch zwischen dem Stadtpräfekten Symmachus und dem Kaiserhof postulieren.¹⁰ Wenn es auch zutreffend ist, daß aus der geringen Zahl von Zeugnissen für den Schriftverkehr zwischen den Kaisern und ihren Funktionsträgern nicht auf dessen Nichtexistenz geschlossen werden darf, müssen die zitierten Thesen K.s über das kaiserzeitliche Kommunikationssystem doch unbewiesene und problematische Annahmen bleiben.

Die griechisch-römische Antike ist im Vergleich zu späteren, europäischen Geschichtsepochen nicht besonders gut dokumentiert. Trotz Neufunden von Münzen, Papyri und Inschriften sind substantielle neue Erkenntnisse für viele Themenfelder oft nicht zu gewinnen. Der historischen Forschung bleibt dann nichts übrig, als in gewissen Abständen der Zeit angemessene, auf eventuell in der jeweiligen Terminologie eingetretene semantische Veränderungen Rücksicht nehmende Systematisierungen vorzunehmen, in die die seit der letzten größeren Abhandlung erschienenen Detailstudien integriert werden können. Eine solche Synopse für die Nachrichtenübermittlung und das Transportsystem im Imperium Romanum vorgelegt zu haben, ist das Verdienst von K.s Studie.

Peter Eich

Grenzen der Macht. Zur Rolle der römischen Kaiserfrauen. Hg. von CHRISTIANE KUNST und ULRIKE RIEMER. Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 3. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2000. ISBN 3-515-07819-3. ix, 174 S. EUR 39.

Dieser Band enthält die Beiträge einer Potsdamer Tagung vom Herbst 1999. Er ist schon nach einem Jahr erschienen; die Redaktion ist also relativ eilig fortgeschritten, doch ohne die technische Qualität des Werkes zu beträchtigen. Nach einer kurzen Einleitung von Christiane Kunst untersucht Annetta Alexandridis die Darstellung von kaiserlichen

⁹ Zusätzliche Informationen über den administrativen Schriftverkehr zwischen Kaiser und Legaten bietet eine neue Inschrift aus Spanien: G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 131 (2000) 177ff.

¹⁰ Symmachus' 49 *relationes* verteilen sich auf eine Zeitspanne von sechs bis sieben Monaten, so daß sich ein Mittel von knapp unter zwei pro Woche ergibt.

Frauen in den überlieferten Bildnissen der Prinzipatzeit, hauptsächlich in Statuenkörpern, wobei sie die dynastischen Unterschiede nicht nur auf ideologische Überlegungen sondern auch auf politische Ereignisse und auf allgemeine Mentalitätsentwicklungen zurückführt. Anne Viola Siebert macht uns mittels zweier severischen Kaiserinnenporträts darauf aufmerksam, dass die Ausdeutung antiker Porträtszüge, also ihrer gewünschten Bildniswirkung, stets problematisch bleibt. Kathrin Schade gibt einen Überblick über die bildliche Repräsentation der Kaiserinnen des vierten und fünften Jahrhunderts. Die Ehrungen für weibliche Mitglieder des Kaiserhauses in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten sind das Thema einer kurzen Zusammenfassung von Marietta Horster. Danach beschreibt Ruth Stepper die begrenzte Stellung der Kaiserinnen im Kultleben. Die drei nächsten Beiträge sind der politischen Rolle der Kaiserinnen gewidmet. Hartmut Leppin betrachtet das Bild Theodoras in den Werken von Prokop und folgert, dass eine gewisse Selbständigkeit der Kaiserin nicht den Erwartungen der Zeit widerstritt, Prokops Kritik in den Anekdoten aber vielmehr gegen einen zerstörerischen Gebrauch ihrer an sich ganz annehmbaren Macht gerichtet ist. Brigitte Klein zeigt ihrerseits auf, wie die Gattinnen Gordians III. und des Philippus Arabs für die Herrschaftslegitimation verwendet wurden; leider wissen wir eigentlich nichts über die Persönlichkeit oder Aktivitäten Tranquillinas oder Otacilias. Etwas ausführlicher ist Constantina, die Schwester Constantius II, von Ammianus beschrieben; mit ihr als Beispiel beleuchtet Anja Wieber-Scariot sowohl die Realität als auch die Metaphorik der Vorhänge in der antiken Lebenswelt, besonders in Bezug auf die Beteiligung der kaiserlichen Frauen an der Macht. Durch eine "positivistische Analyse" verbindet Thomas Späth die Figur von Agrippina minor mit der argumentativen Strategie und dem Geschlechterdiskurs bei Tacitus. Der Band schließt mit einem Überblick von Ulrike Riemer über die Kaiserfrauen in den Viten Suetons.

Viele der Beiträge sind Zusammenfassungen oder Teile von Dissertationen. Alle sind kompetent, doch stellen sie sich als mehr oder weniger beschränkte Spezialstudien dar, die keine Gesamtanalyse der Rolle der Kaiserfrauen ermöglichen. Gerade das bleibt immer noch ein Desideratum, wie Christiane Kunst in ihrer Einleitung bemerkt.

Antti Arjava

Rom und das Reich in der Hohen Kaiserzeit, 44 v. Chr. – 260 n. Chr. Band II: Die Regionen des Reiches. Hg. von CLAUDE LEPELLEY. K. G. Saur, München – Leipzig 2001. ISBN 3-598-77449-4. xv, 529 S. EUR 120.

Dies ist die deutsche Übersetzung eines ursprünglich im 1998 auf Französisch erschienenen Buches (*Rome et l'intégration de l'Empire. Tome 2. Approches régionales du Haut-Empire romain, 44 av. J.-C. – 260 ap. J.-C.*). Nachdem der erste Band den allgemeinen Prinzipien gewidmet war, bietet der vorliegende zweite Band zehn umfassende Spezialstudien über die einzelnen Regionen des Reiches. Alle sind äußerst nützlich und kompetent.

Die zur Verfügung stehende Quellenlage und vielleicht auch andere Gründe haben dazu geführt, dass die einzelnen Kapitel nicht uniform in ihrer Betrachtungsweise

sind. In Britannien liegt der Schwerpunkt auf Militärgeschichte, während wir in Gallien und Germanien viel mehr von der Verwaltung und Religion hören. In den Donauländern überwiegt die Siedlungsgeschichte, in Anatolien die inneren Verhältnisse der Städte. In Ägypten kann man reiche Auskünfte über Recht und Wirtschaft auffinden. Soweit ich sehe, wird Rätien in keinem Kapitel behandelt. Für einige Regionen gibt man Abschätzungen der Gesamtbevölkerung (so für Italien über 15 Millionen Einwohner, für Afrika 7-8 Millionen, für Hispanien 6-8 Millionen, für Ägypten 8-9 Millionen), aber keine für die anderen. Die Karten sind von unterschiedlicher Qualität, einige unter ihnen weniger brauchbar. Die umfassende Bibliographie der Sekundärliteratur reicht hauptsächlich bis zur Mitte der 90er Jahre, mit einigen Ergänzungen für die Zeit danach.

Die provinzwweise Darstellung des Reiches erweist sich als sehr ergiebig. Heute betont man z.B. die verschiedenartige wirtschaftliche und demographische Entwicklung der einzelnen Regionen während der Kaiserzeit. Im Fazit stellt der Herausgeber das Erfolgsgeheimnis des Römischen Reiches fest: die Fähigkeit, verschiedene Individuen aus völlig unterschiedlichen Völkern bald nach der Unterwerfung zu integrieren. Die Krise des 3. Jahrhunderts zeigte den Erfolg dieser Politik. Damals verdankte Rom sein Überleben nicht den italischen Senatoren, sondern einfachen Männern aus den Randzonen des Reiches. Alles in allem: das Werk erscheint als ein nützliches und zuverlässiges Handbuch sowohl mit Bezug auf Einzelheiten als auch auf die grossen Linien.

Antti Arjava

Die Tonplomben aus dem Nestorpalast von Pylos. Hg. von INGO PINI. Bearbeitet von W. MÜLLER, J.-P. OLIVIER, I. PINI & A. SAKELLARIOU. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1997. ISBN 3-8053-1981-9. 123 pp., 46 ill. EUR 81,81 ca.

Excavation finds sometimes take a long time to get published and the publication of the clay seals from the palace of Nestor at Pylos is no exception to this unfortunate rule: the excavation reports date back to the 1960s and this publication is from 1997. Most of the material has been published before in various studies on the subject, but no comprehensive catalogue has ever been done before. Much attention has been given to the study of seal stones and ring seals, their iconography, dating, and sometimes even to their function, but the seals themselves have not received as much notice. This book raises some very interesting issues and is a valuable contribution to the study of the Aegean Bronze Age even when dealing with only one category of finds.

The main part of the book has been dedicated to the catalogue of the 114 seals and although whole impressions have been usually treated in many other instances, most of the fragments are published for the first time. Only a little over 10 % are without a fairly precise context and most have been found outside the main building, in the "wine magazine" or the "north eastern building". Each description includes technical information such as type and dimensions as well as a description and discussion of the image and its content (by the late Agnes Sakellariou), and a bibliography. Each seal has also been photographed and drawn. Possible inscriptions have also been transcribed in the text and drawn in the plates. The information is also compiled into several tables

towards the end of the volume.

The rest of the book is taken up by five chapters on typology (by W. Müller), string and artifact impressions (by W. Müller and I. Pini), inscriptions (by J.-P. Olivier), dating (by I. Pini), and on manufacture and function (by I. Pini). The typology is fairly simple, based first on the manner of attaching the seal to the object and then on the morphology. Most seals were attached with a piece of string from varying materials and the clay either actually sealed a knot or then was attached to the object with a piece of string, perhaps as some kind of label or proof of quality. There are also some which were attached directly to the object and some which are morphologically similar to seals, but which have not been attached at all ("nodules"). The intact seals were X-rayed to find out the shape of the string inside and silicon casts were made of the suitable fragments for the same reason. Müller and Pini also did some experiments with strings and knots for acquiring comparative material.

Only 22 of the 114 seals were inscribed. Compared with the other palace seal assemblages, the difference is clear as the Pylos seals are not a very uniform group. They were inscribed by several different persons and were found scattered inside the palace area, unlike many of the other finds, which come from more concise deposits of seals. From these inscriptions one might hope for clarification of, e.g., room functions or on the type of commodity held in magazines, but unfortunately in most cases this cannot be achieved. The seals have usually been connected with the baskets which held clay tablets of the palace administration, but the study of the strings and the attachments might point to their use in connection with the actual transportation or to storage vessels or packages. Another way to get more enlightenment on this matter could perhaps be the study of the architecture and the complete artifact assemblages, especially in those rooms whose function cannot be directly determined. The contexts of the seals were not discussed very much and this, to me, would seem to most important part.

The date of the seals is an even more problematic issue than their function. The dates given are mostly based on the images which sometimes can be connected to actual seal stones or metal ring seals. Unfortunately, despite the intense interest in the Minoan and Mycenaean seal stones, a solid typological study is still missing and the opinions on their dates given by scholars can vary considerably.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

ELIZABETH ANGELICOUSSIS: *The Holkham Collection of Classical Sculptures*. Photographs by RAOUL LAEV and KEN WALTON. Monumenta artis Romanae 30; Corpus signorum imperii Romani: Great Britain, vol. 3, fasc. 10. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2001. ISBN 3-8053-2697-1. 189 pp., 43 figs., 101 pls. EUR 76,69 ca.

This beautiful volume continues the series of catalogues dedicated to classical sculpture in British private collections, a Cologne-based project that was started some thirty years ago. This time the material comes from Holkham Hall (Norfolk) which houses a most remarkable collection of classical antiquities. The formation of the collection goes back to the efforts of one individual, Thomas Coke (1697-1759), later the 1st Earl of Leicester. Besides its size, the assemblage impresses by the superb quality and the excellent state of

conservation of individual pieces. As Frederik Poulsen already noted in his *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses* (1923, p. 13), Holkham undoubtedly ranks first among English private collections of ancient sculpture. The nucleus of the collection was acquired by Coke himself during a youthful grand tour of Italy, especially Rome, between 1712 and 1718. Over subsequent decades, during and after the erection, and the redesigning of, the Holkham complex, a considerable number of sculptures were collected through a special agent travelling in Italy. The display of the marbles and their integration into a superb 18th-century private house is a chapter in itself. "At Holkham the visitor can experience ancient art as part of a living whole, which has preserved Thomas Coke's unique vision" (p. 78).

The catalogue includes 78 numbers, all but two of Roman date: copies of Classical, Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman statuary, Roman imperial statuary, portraits and heads of divinities, funerary sculptures and architectural decoration, mosaics, Post-Classical portraits of celebrated personalities of antiquity, casts of statues. Some of the monuments are inscribed: in No. 51 (*CIL* VI 18091), note that the cognomen of the deceased is *Hermes* (dat. *Hermeti*), not 'Hermetes'. A similar slip is in footnote 3 of the same number: the husband's cognomen is *Adiutor*, not 'Adiutoris'. In No. 54, the Piranesi fake (fig. 39; *CIL* VI 3508*) is not quite correctly cited in footnote 2.

The book concludes with concordances, a glossary, and various indices. The photographs are of excellent quality.

Mika Kajava

WINFRIED HELD: *Das Heiligtum der Athena in Milet*. Milesische Forschungen 2. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2000. ISBN 3-8053-2594-0. x, 194 pp., 81 figs. and 40 pls. EUR 51.

Although German scholars have been working in Miletus for more than 100 years, the last decades have seen a strong increase in their activities in this important Ionian colony. As a result the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin has decided to found a new publication series, *Milesische Forschungen* (as a parallel to the series *Olympische Forschungen*), where monographs and collections of papers on different Miletian aspects may be published. The present volume, written by Winfried Held about the sanctuary of Athena, is the second monograph in this new series.

The history of the excavation at the sanctuary of Athena in Miletus stretches over most of the 20th century. The main periods of work took place 1903-1908 and in the 1950s and 1960s with a shorter excavation campaign in 1938. Architectural reconstructions of the two subsequent temple buildings have been published (by Armin von Gerkan and Alfred Mallwitz), but a summarizing discussion of the finds from all the excavation campaigns taken together with a complete outline of the history of the sanctuary and the temple has so far been lacking. H.'s work thus clearly fills a desideratum in Miletian research. It is indeed good to have the stratigraphical results of the different excavation campaigns collected and compared in one publication as well as to have a full description of the remains from the sanctuary. Even though a great deal of the small finds and pottery found during the earlier campaigns were lost during the wars,

the remainder published by H. gives a good picture of the sanctuary and makes it possible to compare, e. g., the votive practices of this sanctuary with that of other Aegean sanctuaries.

The first building to be established in the sanctuary is a small shrine ('Kultmal') from the first half of the 8th century B.C., possibly the shelter for the cult statue and some of the more expensive votive offerings. The first temple building was constructed next to this 'Kultmal' during the first quarter of the 6th century B.C. As the 'Kultmal' continued to exist next to the new temple, H. assumes that the cult statue remained in situ and that the new temple building functioned as a treasury. Following von Gerkan and Mallwitz, H. dates the second, or later, Athena temple to the period after 479 B.C., when the Ionians regained Miletus from the Persians who had sacked it in 494 B.C. H. considers it unlikely that the later temple would have been constructed at the end of the 6th century because the number of votive offerings found in the sanctuary clearly declined during the second half of the 6th century. Furthermore, H. believes that most of the resources of Miletus at this time were spent on Didyma and that Apollo for some time took over as the main deity of Miletus.

H.'s arguments for dating the later temple to the Early Classical period are surprisingly weak. It is true that the number of votive offerings found in the sanctuary declines during the second half of the 6th century, but this does not have to mean that the building activity came to an end. It is, as a matter of fact, quite common in Greek sanctuaries that the number of small votive offerings diminishes in connection with or shortly after the construction of monumental temple buildings. And, if one turns it the other way, there is a total lack of votive offerings from the sanctuary dating to the 5th century B.C.! The only evidence of a post-479 B.C. date are the three remaining architectural blocks, possibly belonging to the later temple (although they, according to H., also theoretically could date to the late 6th century) and some single sherds that were dated by the excavators to the early and mid-5th century.

However, before H.'s manuscript went to the printer, the remarkable finds from a Late Archaic well, excavated in 1995-1996 by Wolf-Dieter Niemeier close to the Athena sanctuary, were published by Niemeier ("Die Zierde Ioniens. Ein archaisches Brunnen, der Jüngere Athenatempel und Milet vor der Perserzerstörung", *AA* 1999, 373-413) and Berthold F. Weber ("Die Bauteile des Athenatempels in Milet", *AA* 1999, 415-438). This well, which was filled up either in connection with the Persian sack of 494 B.C., or, when the area was cleaned up after the re-conquest of Miletus by the Greeks in 479 B.C., contained a new fragment of the Ionian cyma which has been assigned to the later temple. The find context of this new fragment once and for all invalidates the possibility of a post-479 B.C. date of the later temple. On the basis of the finds in the well, Niemeier and Weber suggest a date in the last quarter of the 6th century for the later Athena temple (the time period in which Miletus, according to Herodotus 5, 28, was at the zenith of its power). Furthermore, Niemeier shows that none of the pottery found below the foundations of the later temple on the basis of modern pottery chronologies can be dated later than 500 B.C.

In short, Niemeier's and Weber's articles invalidate a large part of the historical conclusions put forward by H. Taking into account that Niemeier mentions introducing H. to the well finds in Miletus in August 1997, i.e., some months before H. gave his

manuscript to the printer in May 1998, it is indeed surprising that H. disregards these new results and that he does not even refer to them as forthcoming. As it stands now, H.'s volume on the Athena sanctuary does not fulfil the desideratum of an up-to-date analysis of the sanctuary.

Björn Forsén

Petra: Ez Zantur II. Ergebnisse der Schweizerisch-Liechtensteinischen Ausgrabungen. Teil 1: STEPHAN G. SCHMID: *Die Feinkeramik der Nabatäer. Typologie, Chronologie und kulturhistorische Hintergründe.* Pp. i-xviii, 1-200; 437 b & w illustrations on 84 pp., 4 color plates, 11 plans, 2 microfiches in a folder. Teil 2: BERNHARD KOLB: *Die spätantiken Wohnbauten von ez Zantur in Petra und der Wohnhausbau in Palästina vom 4.-6. Jh. n. Chr.* Pp. xix-xxiii, 201-311; 138 b & w illustrations on 77 pp., 18 plans in a folder. Terra Archaeologica IV. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2000. ISBN 3-8053-2712-9. EUR 92.50.

Petra was the capital city of the Nabataean kingdom, subsequently the principal city of the Roman province of Arabia and later, of the Byzantine province Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia. The political-economic significance of Petra as a major emporium in the international long-distance trade in incense and aromatics during the Hellenistic and Roman periods coupled with the spectacular natural setting of this ancient city has always fascinated scholar and tourist alike. Although urban Petra existed for almost 700 years, i.e., between ca 100 B.C. and A.D. 600, it is only in the past 40 years that the city has received the substantial scholarly interest it fully deserves, exemplified by the sequence of archaeological excavations followed by series of published books and articles.

The present volume is second in the series initiated by *Ez Zantur I* (A. Bignasca et al.; Terra Archaeologica 2; Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1996) which presented the results of the Swiss-Liechtensteiner excavations at ez Zantur hill in Petra, which began in 1988 under the direction of R. Stucky, and continued in the later 1990s, with B. Kolb in charge. During the past 14 years, the University of Basel team uncovered well-preserved remains of three urban dwelling complexes (Zantur I, III, IV), variously dated to the period between the 1st century B.C. through the early 5th century A.D. These excavations produced a plethora of information concerning the domestic architecture and the material culture related to the Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine periods at Petra.

The present volume, based on the results of these excavations consists in fact of two separate contributions. The first, by S. G. Schmid, is the most comprehensive presentation of the Nabataean Fine Ware so far, which will largely supersede previous attempts at the classification and dating of that pottery type. The contribution includes a detailed catalog of ceramic finds recovered from discrete strata at ez Zantur. The typology of both Painted and Unpainted Fine Ware includes the relative sequence of form and design matched with datable finds (coins, Eastern Terra Sigillata Ware) from ez Zantur and other Nabataean sites. The result is an impressively detailed chronological framework of the Nabataean Fine Ware, which includes four major phases of development, further subdivided into Phases 1, 2a, 2b, 2c, 3a, 3b, 3c, 4. Phases 1-3c

cover the time-span between the 2nd half of the 2nd century B.C. and ca. A.D. 100, the latter date marked by the destruction of the Nabataean dwelling at ez Zantur. However, the painted ceramic finds associated with the structure rebuilt in the Late Roman period and destroyed by the earthquake of A.D. 363, and recognized as Phase 4 of the same development, strongly indicate that the Nabataean ceramic production did not end with the annexation of the Nabataean state by Rome in A.D. 106. This is definitely one of the most significant results of this valuable analysis.

Part 2 of the volume is a superb presentation by B. Kolb of the Late Roman (Spätantike) dwellings at ez Zantur (EZ I). That domestic complex was built in the early 4th century A.D. from the ruins of the Nabataean house, suffered considerable damage during the earthquake of A.D. 363, and was finally abandoned in the early 5th century. Kolb presents a detailed description of the architecture and layout of the complex, including the analysis of the building techniques and the functioning of the water supply system. However, his ultimate goal goes well beyond the description. Kolb discusses the complex in a synchronic perspective of the political and economic factors and constraints which affected Palaestina Salutaris/Tertia, and Petra in particular. He skillfully utilizes the descriptions of dwellings, as preserved in the slightly later literary sources, such as the Nessana Papyri and the recently discovered Petra Papyri. On the other hand, Kolb examines ez Zantur I complex through the evolutionary perspective of the development of domestic architecture, as documented by archaeological data in Palestine from the Hellenistic through Late Byzantine periods. His overall conclusion, that the Late Roman housing at ez Zantur, Petra, should be considered as fitting well within the long-standing tradition of the cultural and economic dwelling traditions of southern Palestine, is well-founded and fully documented.

The volume is handsomely produced and profusely illustrated with photos, graphs, statistics and tables. Undoubtedly, these milestone contributions to the ceramic and architectural studies will for long remain a standard reference not only for students of Nabataean pottery and domestic structures in Petra but surely for everyone involved in studies on the history and archaeology of the Classical and Byzantine Near East. Schmid and Kolb deserve the highest praise and appreciation for their efforts.

Zbigniew T. Fiema

MICHAELA FUCHS: *In hoc etiam genere Graeciae nihil cedamus. Studien zur Romanisierung der späthellenistischen Kunst im 1. Jh. v. Chr.* Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1999. ISBN 3-8053-2519-3. x, 98 pp., 2 figs., 67 pls. EUR 50.11 ca.

Though related to the writing of history (Cic. *leg.* 1, 5, 13), the title of the book aptly characterizes the artistic climate of the Late Republic as well. In her somewhat elaborated version of a Berlin dissertation from 1995/96, Fuchs has set out to study the meaning and role of sculpture in Roman society through a period of considerable revival of both visual and other arts. The way the Romans received and perceived Greek art is discussed along with Late Hellenistic theories on art, and together with the activity of Pasiteles, the *artifex doctus* of the first century B.C. This man, who managed a workshop of sculpture in Rome around the mid-first century B.C., was partly responsible for the

introduction of an entire industry which copied and imitated classical Greek art. Fuchs sees copying in a positive sense as it respectfully revives an older culture and makes it readily accessible in a new context. Such themes are discussed in the second part of the book (pp. 73 ff.) which provides a lot of important reading for anyone interested in the period in which Greek culture in its various forms was absorbed by the Romans.

The first section is basically a series of case studies of individual sculptures, all of which Fuchs now assigns to the first century B.C., while previously some of the them were dated considerably earlier, even to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. (the remarkable Piraeus sculptures found in 1959; the Piombino Apollo from the environs of Populonia; the Strangford Apollo [now in the British Museum]; a kore type named Guicciardini-Munich; the kore Albani 975; the Orestes-Electra group by Menelaos [National Museum, Rome]; the Pan statues by M. Cossutius Cerdo [British Museum]; a group of terracotta sculptures from the Palatine). As far as I can see, the datings (some of which are not entirely new proposals) are generally trustworthy, though it may be noted that, in the absence of archaeological evidence, Fuchs is often compelled to draw solely on stylistic comparisons. The discussion of the statuary evidence is illustrated with high quality photographs. Unfortunately, the book contains no indices.

Though Fuchs's book may be read along with Paul Zanker's classic work *Klassizistische Statuen* from 1974, it should now be accompanied by the collection of papers from a 1998 conference in Arezzo: F. Fabbrini (ed.), *Maecenas. Il collezionismo nel mondo romano dall'età degli Scipioni a Cicerone* (Università degli Studi di Siena, Istituto di Storia Antica, Arezzo 2001) which, besides discussing "collezionismo", offers many fresh insights into the artistic and literary culture in Late Republican Rome.

Mika Kajava

Corpus speculorum Etruscorum. France 1: Paris – Musée du Louvre. Fascicule III. Par DENISE EMMANUEL-REBUFFAT. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1997. ISBN 88-7062-946-5. 186 pp. EUR 155.

Corpus speculorum Etruscorum. U.S.A. 3: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A cura di LARISSA BONFANTE. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1997. ISBN 88-7062-997-X. 186 pp. EUR 140.

The two volumes at hand are two additions to the ever-growing number of publications of ancient artifacts stored in the museums of the world. Like many artifacts that can be considered works of art, Etruscan mirrors have also been collected as art, not as archaeological evidence from excavations. They rarely have clear contexts, very often we do not know their provenances, apart from perhaps a general region in Italy. Thus, the study of the mirrors has concentrated on their typology, content of the decorations, and the inscriptions often found on them. For such studies, these volumes, along with the dozens of similar publications, are an unsurpassable source material: no one can possibly go through all the collections of the world's museums on one's own.

The contents of both catalogues is very similar and familiar from the previous volumes in the series: after introductory notes, a detailed verbal description of each

mirror follows, then line drawings and black and white photographs of both sides of the mirror on the scale 1:1. The Louvre publication features 28 mirrors and the New York book 25 of which one is a forgery.

The description usually includes the museum inventory information as well as when and by whom purchased, bibliographical information, and of course, if known, the provenance of the object. The physical description consists of both technical and stylistic parts. The either engraved or relief decorations on the mirror are carefully analysed and discussed in relation to possible parallels. And as usual, the images are mythological scenes, where the characters have often been identified with inscribed names in the Etruscan, Greek or Latin alphabets. The only difference in the content of the volumes concerns the inscriptions, which, in the New York volume, have been produced in the text in the original form with drawings and in the Louvre volume only as Latin or Greek printed text.

Both volumes also include metallurgical analyses of the mirrors as well as general typological chapters. The Louvre volume's typological treatise is more extensive and actually features all of the mirrors, whereas the New York volume features only the typological terminology used.

Both writers, Denise Emmanuel-Rebuffat and Larissa Bonfante are great experts in the field and this is clearly visible in the texts. These two volumes are excellent additions to our knowledge of the Etruscan mirrors.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

PAOLA BRANDIZZI VITTUCCI: *Antium. Anzio e Nettuno in epoca romana*. Bardi Editore, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-85699-83-9. 166 pp. EUR 36,15.

Non esiste ancora una monografia moderna sulla romana Antium, il cui territorio corrisponde a quello delle moderne Anzio e Nettuno nonché di alcuni comuni più piccoli quali Campoverde. Per una tale monografia il presente volume presta un utile lavoro preparatorio. Esso si apre con interessanti considerazioni sulla storia degli scavi antiquari ad Anzio e a Nettuno, con una breve esposizione di elementi geo-morfologici e con un'analisi di quello che sappiamo dell'impianto portuale (ma non si capisce che cosa abbia a che fare con la costruzione del porto l'iscrizione di Vedennius). Segue la descrizione dei monumenti, divisa in tre parti (pianoro inferiore, pianoro intermedio, pianoro superiore), della viabilità, degli acquedotti, nonché delle necropoli. Dopo un capitolo sugli elementi dalla documentazione epigrafica e un altro sui monumenti della Antium imperiale il volume si chiude con una sezione finale sull'assetto topografico del territorio anziato.

Anche se il volume si presenta un po' disordinato (per es. le proposte presentate in 9.1 "ex antiqua pictura" a pp. 87-97 si ripetono nel capitolo successivo a pp. 99-115), le varie considerazioni svolte si leggono con interesse e in buona parte con profitto. Devo tuttavia avvertire il lettore di alcune interpretazioni non convincenti dei documenti e della storia del territorio:

1) nella tav. XIV Nettuno viene definita come "civitas Antium", ma più tardi non se ne parla esplicitamente, tranne alcuni vaghi accenni alla crescita di importanza di

Nettuno in età imperiale inoltrata (p. 126; cf. anche p. 135 su un "nucleo abitativo viciniore diverso dalla *colonia Antium*"), mentre altrove (p. 128) l'autrice sembra condividere l'opinione communis che la tesi sostenuta dagli studiosi locali dell'esistenza in Nettuno di un insediamento antico non trovi possibilità di diretto riscontro. E infatti a Nettuno va attribuita senza dubbio un'origine medievale.

2) Il tentativo, presentato a due riprese (pp. 87-115), di attribuire ad Anzio anziché a Roma una "antiqua pictura", un'incisione di P. S. Bartoli nella famosa opera del Bellori, *Fragmenta vestigii veteris Romae ex lapidibus Farnesianis* (1673, p. 1), è francamente più che avventuroso. Come mai in una piccola città come Anzio potevano esistere tutti quei monumenti enumerati nel disegno di Bartoli, monumenti ben noti a Roma, come il *templum Apollinis*, il *forum* (non *forus!*) *boarium*, la *portex Neptuni*, il *forum (h)olitorium*, il *bal. Faustines* (CIL VI 29830 cf. 36613)? Tale strana supposizione va contro ogni buon senso.

3) L'autrice sbaglia non di rado nell'interpretazione di documenti epigrafici. Eccone alcuni esempi: p. 31: dell'abuso dell'iscrizione di Vedennius si è già detto, mentre l'altra iscrizione ricordata nella nota 120 non proviene da Anzio e non dice niente a favore dell'origine di Vedennius(!). P. 81, nt. 391: le due inedite sono state lette molto male (la prima finisce [---]clo dul[ci---]; la seconda suona *d. b(onis?) m. Aprae bene merenti f. Sotericu[s]*). P. 86, nt. 422: l'autrice ha completamente frainteso CIL VI 9458 che non ha niente a che fare con Anzio. P. 87, nt. 426: mal letta questa inedita: si legga *M. Aurelio M. f. Quir. [Call]isto*; nel lato all'inizio *natus III Id. Iul.*

Heikki Solin

Arco di Costantino tra archeologia e archeometria. A cura di PATRIZIO PENSABENE e CLEMENTINA PANELLA. *Studia archaeologica* 100. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1999. ISBN 88-8265-036-7. 228 pp., 3 pls. EUR 137.

Arco di Costantino is one of the latest offerings to the understanding of this significant monument, summarizing the work of more than a decade by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma and the Università di Roma "La Sapienza". It was accompanied by a seminar at the German Archaeological Institute at Rome in September 1998, and later by an exhibition. I had the great opportunity to attend the seminar and the rather tense atmosphere of the seminar is also present in this book.

The volume is by no means a synthesis or a complete history of the building nor an excavation report on the fieldwork. Besides being a publication of various types of research on the arch, it is mainly a response to the work by the Istituto Centrale del Restauro, which also studied the monument, excavating on its southern side while the La Sapienza team was working on the northern side in connection with the excavation of the Meta Sudans. Two years after the publication of this book, the Istituto issued its own version of the events, *L'Arco di Costantino. Le due fasi dell'arco nella valle del Colosseo* (Rome 2001).

The title of the Istituto's book gives a clue to the problem at hand. There are two theories concerning the building of the arch. One is that it is the original product of the Constantine period reusing earlier marbles. The La Sapienza team represents this theory.

The other theory was presented by Arthur Frothingham in the 1910s (in series of articles entitled "Who built the Arch of Constantine?", *AJA* 16 [1912] 368-86; *AJA* 17 [1913] 487-503; *AJA* 19 [1915] 1-12, 367-85), who maintained that it was built by remodelling an earlier Flavian arch. The theory was re-introduced by the Istituto team leader Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro and Angela Maria Ferroni in 1996 ("Chi costruì l'arco di Costantino? Un interrogativo ancora attuale", *RPAA* 66 [1993-1994] 1-60; excavation evidence presented in another article by Dora Cirone, "I risultati delle indagini stratigrafiche all'Arco di Costantino", *RPAA* 66 [1993-94] 61-76). The most significant change was dating the original arch to the Hadrianic instead of the Flavian period.

This confrontational situation is not presented very clearly in the introduction nor in the articles of the book. The articles proceed from material and techniques to ideas about design and then through architectural details and archaeological evidence to the history of restoration. The pictorial material is of excellent quality and truly abundant, supporting the texts very well. The order of the articles is logical, apart from the articles concerning the scientific analyses of the marble, which have been placed almost at the end instead of after the actual article on the materials.

In the first article, Patrizio Pensabene explores the way in which the arch was designed and constructed. The article studies the availability of such a large quantity of marble for building the monument at the same time presenting the processes of recycling materials. Pensabene also writes about the use of different types of white marble and how the late antique way of mixing different whites differs from the earlier use of one type of white marble only.

A clearer picture of the opposing opinions is presented in the second article written by Clementina Panella which concerns construction techniques. Her criticism of the work of the Istituto team is quite sharp and she argues her own approach in a fairly convincing manner, pointing to the reuse of materials, to the possibilities and problems of inserting new pieces into an existing arch.

The history of the Frothingham theory is first outlined in the third article by Mark Wilson Smith, whose main topic is the geometrical analysis of the monument. He has studied the various proportions of the arch and the modules of its design, also comparing them to the modules found in other monuments of late antiquity.

Marina Milella's article on architectural decorations presents the varieties in the *kymatia* of the central arch, and Sandra Zeggio's article is on the excavation by the foundations of the arch and the analysis of the structures and deposits. Zeggio presents the evidence from the necessarily relatively small excavation areas, managing to make the quite confusing structures and deposits comprehensible.

The next three articles, one by Pensabene alone; by Mathias Bruno, Carlo Gorgoni and Paolo Pallante; and by Bruno, Panella, Pensabene, Maria Preite Martinez, Michele Soligo and Bruno Turi concern the white marbles of the arches of Constantine and Septimius Severus. Both arches were studied macroscopically as well as with archaeometrical methods trying to find out the provenances of the marble types. The arch of Septimius Severus is relatively uniform when the isotope contents of the marbles are examined, whereas the arch of Constantine clearly has various types of white marble. Again more evidence for the original construction theory.

The last article by Rosaria Punzi presents the restoration history of the arch of

Constantine, also exploring the attitudes of the restoration periods. The main part of the material concerns the early 18th century work but the 19th century restorations are also discussed.

The original design and construction theory is powerfully supported by the entire volume. But in order to get a full picture, I would advise any reader to look up the Istituto publications and perhaps also the original excavation reports by the La Sapienza team. The discussions of the material are more comparative and interpretative than descriptive and so sometimes it is difficult to form an opinion of one's own based on this book alone.

I am persuaded to believe the La Sapienza argumentation, but at the same time I am sure that the re-use theory will continue to live. Its current resurrection has actually paved the way for a need to better argue both theories and therefore, it has also advanced our knowledge in a meaningful way. The dispute also shows one of the more important characteristics of archaeological research: the evidence is there for everyone to see, but there can be more than one interpretation of it and each interpretation can be equally plausible.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

FRANCISCA FERAUDI-GRUÉNAIS: *Ubi diutius nobis habitandum est. Die Innendekoration der kaiserzeitlichen Gräber Roms*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Palilia 9. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2001. ISBN 3-89500-076-0. 248 pp., 159 figs. EUR 35.

This study is based on the observation that almost no scholarly work on funerary decoration still in situ in Rome (stucco, paintings, mosaics) has been done. This is partly because a considerable number of decorations, paintings in particular, are very badly preserved, which has made them rather unattractive objects for research. This being so, F-G has bravely undertaken the composition of a catalogue of all the untransferable funerary decorations from the city of Rome. The registration of this evidence is accompanied by information on other (movable) finds inside the tombs. The decorative pieces are usefully catalogued not only within the context of individual tombs but also in relation to entire funerary edifices and adjacent cemeteries. This means that the material, divided according to the *viae* leading out, provides the opportunity to evaluate the decorations as expressions of various funerary infrastructures, social, mental, economic.

In the second part of the work (149-200), an account is given of the epigraphic evidence and the architectural elements, the former being important for the establishment of the social conditions of the deceased and their families. This section also includes a study of the themes chosen for the decorations (mythical figures and representations, people in various scenes, other motifs).

The concluding chapter, also dealing with previous Sepulkralforschung, focusses on the role and meaning of funerary decorations in Roman society. Particular attention is given to decorations as a means of self-representation of those who commissioned the monuments. F-G observes, unsurprisingly, that the quality and value of the external architecture of a tomb normally corresponds with the internal decoration. Regarding the chronology, most of the existing decorations may be dated to the second century A.D.,

especially to its latter half. Figurative representations as well as myths are also most commonly found in this period, though mythical scenes do occur inside tombs as early as the late first century B.C., i.e., more than one hundred years before they began to appear on sarcophagi and marble urns. It is also interesting to note with F-G that the majority of the subjects represented (mythical figures, allegories, etc.) are also well known outside the funerary context. In fact, it was the dominant practice to decorate tombs with motifs deriving from private houses and villas, even public buildings. It was only later, from the second century A.D., that the domestic context as a source for funerary decorations, including altars and urns, was replaced by sarcophagi which then assumed the role of iconographic and thematic models. Whatever was represented, it served to evoke the idea of serene existence and life without turbulence; scenes from everyday life were either completely avoided or they were displayed in an abstract context. This was the way preferred by the *humiliores*. Representations of domesticity and peace, wrapped in allegory and myth, are not likely to be encountered in the tombs of upper-class Romans (in the extant evidence, there seems to be only one case where the funerary monument of a senator is decorated inside, that is, the pyramid of C. Cestius with a painted inner chamber, see pp. 135 ff.).

The reader is pleased to find out that not only the inner decoration of the tombs is treated with admirable competence; questions concerning the names and status of those recorded in the *tituli, tabellae* and other inscriptions are also generally discussed with great expertise. While in a number of cases, something more could have been said on the epitaphs and their contents, one may note that a thorough discussion of such matters with a full documentation of the epigraphic evidence is forthcoming: see the preliminary observations by F-G, "Sepulkrale 'Selbstdarstellung' von Unterschichten. Beobachtungen zu Inschriften in stadtrömischen Grabmonumenten der Kaiserzeit", in: G. Alföldy – S. Panciera (eds), *Inschriftliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung in der römischen Welt* (HABES 36), 2001, pp. 121 ff. Moreover, I should mention F-G's contribution "Grabinschriften im archäologischen Kontext. Komplementarität von Schrift und Bild?", in: M. Heinzelmann & al. (eds), *Römischer Bestattungsbrauch und Beigabensitten in Rom, Norditalien und den Nordwestprovinzen von der späten Republik bis in die Kaiserzeit, Kolloquium Rom 1998* (Palilia 8), 2001, 203 ff.

Mika Kajava

GAETANO MESSINEO: *La tomba dei Nasonii*. Studia archaeologica 104. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2000. ISBN 88-8265-067-7. 88 pp., 83 figs. EUR 62.

The Tomb of the Nasonii (thus called from inscription *CIL* VI 22882, now in Perugia), was discovered on the Via Flaminia in 1675. Regrettably, the structures and the unique frescoes with mythological themes suffered considerably before the restoration of the complex began in 1982. The repairs, and the study of the frescoes in particular, have benefited from the engravings made by Pietro Santi Bartoli in the seventeenth century. Messineo's book well illustrates the whole story surrounding the Tomb from the time of its discovery. An interesting detail (pp. 17 f.) is that some of the frescoes have been reproduced among the decorations of the Palazzo del Drago alle Quattro Fontane in

Rome. The edifice itself is from the sixteenth century, but it was acquired in 1664 by Cardinal Camillo Massimo who also commissioned Bartoli to make the engravings. Some decades later, another cardinal, Alessandro Albani, seems to have also been inspired by the work of Bartoli, for it was probably during his residence in the Palazzo that a further series of paintings copying the themes of the ancient frescoes was added (note also that similar themes recur in the Villa Albani on the Via Salaria and in the Casino di Castelgandolfo).

Mika Kajava

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