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**PRAEPOSITUS LEGIONIS HUNC BURGUM
A FUNDAMENTIS IN DIEBUS XXXXVIII FECIT PERVENIRE:
ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU CIL III 3653 AUS ESZTERGOM
HINSICHTLICH DER DAUER DER ERRICHTUNG
SPÄTRÖMISCHER MILITÄRANLAGEN¹**

LÁSZLÓ BORHY

ISTVÁN BÓNA SEPTUAGENARIO

Auf Bauinschriften spätrömischer Militäranlagen an den Grenzen des *Imperium Romanum* werden Soldaten für ihre bei der Errichtung der verschiedenen Verteidigungswerke wie *burgi*, *castella* geleistete Arbeit auffallenderweise und übertrieben gelobt. Es tauchen u.a. folgende Ausdrücke auf: *fabricatus est burgus ex fundamento mano devotissimorum equitum*;² *iudicio principali dominorum nostrorum ... praepositus legionis ... cum militibus sibi creditis ... hunc burgum ... a fundamentis ... construxit ...*;³ *Gallienus ... castra cohortis ... opportuno loco a solo instituit operantibus fortissimis militibus suis ex limite Tripolitano*.⁴ Im Vergleich zu militärischen Bauinschriften der älteren Kaiserzeit, wo allein der Kaiser als Bauherr erscheint, und der Name der bei der Errichtung der Militäranlagen

¹ Dieser Aufsatz stellt den Auszug meines den 30. Oktober 1999 in Lammi (Finnland) anlässlich eines Seminars über die Spätantike auf Einladung des Institutum Classicum Universitatis Helsingiensis gehaltenen Vortrages unter dem Titel "*Munimentum opportune positum: Ein philologisch-archäologischer Vergleich der Aspekte der Errichtung spätrömischer Militäranlagen bei Ammian und in Pannonien*" dar, an dem ich im Rahmen meines Aufenthaltes als Gastdozent (20.10.1999–12.11.1999) im o.g. Institut teilnahm. Für die Einladung habe ich Frau Dr. Leena Pietilä-Castrén, Herrn Prof. Dr. Paavo Castrén und Herrn Prof. Dr. Heikki Solin zu danken.

² CIL III 88.

³ CIL III 3653.

⁴ CIL VIII 22765.

beteiligten Bautruppe ohne übertriebene Epitheta einfach erwähnt wird, ist der Unterschied auffallend. Um dieses Phänomen zu verstehen, sollten wir in den Quellen der spätrömischen Militärgeschichte nachprüfen, wie das Verhältnis der Soldaten zu solchen Baumaßnahmen war. Für einen derartigen Vergleich bietet sich als wichtigste Quelle das Geschichtswerk von Ammianus Marcellinus⁵ an, dessen Beschreibungen, der als *miles quondam* am Limes vieles auch persönlich erfuhr, was der Realität mehr entsprechen dürfte, als die überwuchernden Formeln der offiziellen Bauinschriften.

Nach Ammians Beschreibungen entfaltet sich ein düsteres Bild von der Moral und der Disziplinlosigkeit des römischen Heeres: *Quibus tam maculosis accessere flagitia disciplinae castrensis, cum miles cantilenas meditaretur pro iubilo molliores et non saxum erat ut antehac armato cubile, sed pluma et flexiles lectuli et graviora gladiis pocula – testa enim bibere iam pudebat – et quaerebantur aedes marmoreae, cum scriptum sit antiquitatibus Spartanum militem coercitum acriter, quod procinctus tempore ausus sit videri sub tecto. adeo autem ferox erat in suos illis temporibus miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hostes et fractus.*⁶ Diese Soldaten hatten auch ebensolche Vorgesetzte, wie das Ammian einmal von einem Unterbeamten der Lagerverpflegung mit kritischem Auge bemerkt: *cellae castrensis apparitor, id est ventris minister et gutturis.*⁷ Zu Unruhe und Aufruhr sind sie immer bereit (*militares avidi saepe turbarum*),⁸ selbst ein so beliebter Kaiser und erfolgreicher Feldherr wie Julian mußte gelegentlich offenen Ungehorsam hinnehmen.⁹

Von besonderem Interesse sind aber jene Stellen, wo die Teilnahme derselben Soldaten bei Errichtung militärischer Wehranlagen beschrieben

⁵ Ed. W. Seyfarth, Bibl. Teubneriana 1978.

⁶ Amm. 22,4,6 weiterhin 22,12,6.

⁷ Amm. 26,8,5.

⁸ Amm. 14,7,15–17.

⁹ Amm. 16,12,14: *qui si diffluxissent, motum militis in seditiones nativo calore propensioris ferri non posse aiebat, extortam sibi victoriam, ut putabit, non sine ultimorum conatu graviter toleraturi*; 17,1,2: *... petiturus ipse (Iulianus) Mogontiacum, ut ... in suis requireret barbaros, cum nullum reliquisset in nostris, refragante vetabatur exercitu; verum facundia iucunditateque sermonum allectum in voluntatem traduxerat suam*; s. weiterhin die Massenszene in 24. 8. 2 (Streit zwischen Julian und den Soldaten über den Rückzug des Heeres in Persien).

wird.¹⁰ Betrachtet man ihr Verhalten während der Bautätigkeit, bekommt dasselbe Bild, das aufgrund der oben geschilderten Moral des spätrömischen Heeres zu erwarten ist. Dieses steht wiederum im Gegensatz zu den offiziellen Formeln der spätrömischen Bauinschriften neuerrichteter oder renovierter Befestigungsanlagen, auf denen es keine Rede von zögernden, die Bauarbeit nur ungern ausführenden Soldaten gibt.

Dieser Widerspruch kann aufgrund der detaillierten Beschreibungen Ammians aufgelöst werden, die die hinter den Formeln der offiziellen Propaganda verborgene Realität erhellen.

An den Reparaturarbeiten von 7 rheinländischen, unter Julian wiedereroberten Befestigungen¹¹ nahmen Auxiliarsoldaten teil. Diese Tatsache steht im Einklang mit der Aussage einiger bereits erwähnter spätrömischer militärischen Bauinschriften, wobei die Teilnahme einfacher regulärer Soldaten, wie *equites*,¹² *limitanei*,¹³ gelegentlich aber auch die von anscheinend professionellen Bautruppen¹⁴ festgestellt werden kann. Aus den Bauinschriften geht jedoch nicht hervor, wie ungern die Auxiliarsoldaten dies gemacht haben und es ist – laut Ammian – allein ”dem freundlichen Wesen” des Kaisers Julian (*auxilarii milites ... Iuliani blanditiae deflexi ...*)¹⁵ zu verdanken, daß die Soldaten die Reparaturarbeiten ausgeführt haben: ... *auxilarii milites semper munia spernentes huiusmodi ad obsequendi sedulitatem Iuliani blanditiis deflexi quinquagenarias longioresque*

¹⁰ S. z.B. Amm. 16,11,11; 16,11,14; 18,2,4; 18,2,6; 28,2,2–4.

¹¹ Amm. 18,2,3–5.

¹² CIL III 88.

¹³ CIL VIII 22765.

¹⁴ CIL III 3653. S. Dazu S. Soproni, ”Militärinschriften aus dem 4. Jh. im Donauknie”, AArchHung 41 (1989) 103–118. Die *legio I Martia*, die im *Castrum Rauriacense* (Kaiseraugst) stationiert wurde, galt als Bautruppe, die militärische Baumaßnahmen vor allem am Rhein und an der Donau durchgeführt hat: D. Hoffmann, Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum, Düsseldorf 1970, I 348ff. und II, 69, Anm. 589.

¹⁵ Amm. 18,2,6.

*materias vexere cervicibus ingravate et fabricandi ministeriis opem maximam contulerunt.*¹⁶

Die persönliche Anwesenheit des Kaisers, seine *vehementior cura*¹⁷ konnte dazu beitragen, daß die aufständischen Soldaten die ihnen zugeordneten Bauarbeiten doch durchführten. Die bei Militärbauarbeiten auftretenden Schwierigkeiten, die von den Soldaten geleistete harte Arbeit bei der Errichtung der Befestigungen können auf Bauinschriften natürlich nicht direkt hervorgehoben werden. Sie können für ihre Leistung jedoch zusammen mit dem Namen des Kaisers, des Provinzstatthalters und ihrer Vorgesetzten als *fortissimi*, *credites* oder *fideles* gelobt werden; die Gründe zur Verleihung solcher Epitheta erfahren wir wiederum von Ammian, der in seinen ausführlichen Beschreibungen hiermit eine Art von Kommentar zu den offiziellen Formeln der Bauinschriften liefert.

Die persönliche Anwesenheit der Kaiser bei militärischen Bauarbeiten am Limes wird auf Inschriften nur einmal ausdrücklich erwähnt. Es handelt sich um die Bauinschrift des spätrömischen Kastells von *Divitia* (Deutz), das *sub praesentia principis* errichtet wurde.¹⁸ Die *praesentia principis*

¹⁶ Ebd.

¹⁷ S. die ausführliche Beschreibung des Kampfes der Soldaten mit den Strömungen des Neckars während des Umbaus eines Burgus: Amm. 28,2,2–4: *denique cum reputaret munimentum celsum et tutum, quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis, praeterlabente Nicro nomine fluvio paulatim subverti posse undarum pulsu immani, meatum ipsum aliorum vertere cogitavit et quaesitis artificibus peritis aquariae rei copiosaque militis manu arduum est opus aggressus. per multos enim dies compaginatae formulae e roboribus coniectaeque in alveum fixis refixisque aliquotiens prope ingentibus stilis fluctibus erectis confundebantur avulsaeque vi gurgitis interibant. vicit tamen imperatoris vehementior cura et morigeri militis labor mento tenus, dum operaretur, saepe demersi; tandem non sine quorundam discrimine castra praesidiaria inquietudini urgentis amnis exempta nunc valida sunt* Zu Fragen der Identifizierung dieses Burgus mit Altrip oder seiner Gegenfestung in Neckarau s. E. Gropengießer, Mannheim–Neckarau. Führer zu vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern, Bd. 3, Mainz 1965, 62–63 bzw. Symm. Or. 2,2,4.

¹⁸ CIL XIII 8502: *Virtute Domini Constantini Maximi / Pii Felicissimi Invicti Augusti / suppressis domitisque Francis / in eorum terris castrum Divitensium /5 sub praesentia principis sui / devoti numini maiestatique / Duodeviginti haec vota fecerunt.* Auf der Inschrift wird noch eine Tatsache betont, die die persönliche Anwesenheit des Kaisers gerechtfertigt: das Kastell wurde "auf dem Gebiet der Franken, nachdem sie unterdrückt und untertänig gemacht worden sind" errichtet.

hatte vermutlich positive Auswirkungen auf die Dauer der Durchführung der militärischen Baumaßnahmen, und beschleunigte den Ablauf der Arbeit. Deswegen stoßen wir bei Ammian in solchen Fällen fast immer auf die Betonung der "schneller als gehofft" oder "rechtzeitig" durchgeführten Arbeit: *opus spe celerius consummavit; castrorum opera mature consurgit; perfectum est spe omnium citius* bzw. *horrea veloci opere surrexerunt*.¹⁹

Wie schnell das aber war, wird bei Ammian nicht angegeben und man ist diesbezüglich auf Vermutungen angewiesen. Den einzigen epigraphischen Hinweis in Bezug auf die Dauer der vollständigen Durchführung militärischer Baumaßnahmen in der Spätantike kennen wir aus Pannonien. Es handelt sich um eine verschollene Bauinschrift eines *burgus* bei Esztergom (Gran) in Ungarn aus dem Jahre 371 n.Chr., der von Soldaten der *legio I Martia* von den Fundamenten *in diebus XXXXVIII* vollständig aufgebaut wurde.²⁰ Die Inschrift lautet:

Iudicio principali dominorum nostrorum
Valentiniani Valentis et Gratiani
principum maximorum dispositione etiam
illustris viri utriusque militiae magistri
5 Equitis comitis²¹ Foscanus praepositus
legionis primae Martiorum una cum
militibus sibi creditis hunc burgum
cui nomen Commercium qua causa et factus
est a fundamentis et construxit et
10 ad summam manum operis in diebus XXXXVIII
consulatus divi nostri Gratiani Augusti bis
et Probi viri clarissimi fecit pervenire

¹⁹ In der Reihenfolge der Zitate s. Amm. 16,11,11; 16,11,14; 18,2,4.

²⁰ CIL III 3653 (verschollen). S. Soproni, "Burgus-Bauinschrift vom Jahre 372 am pannonischen Limes", Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms I, Köln–Graz 1967, 138–143; ders., Der spätrömische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre. Budapest 1978, 51–55; ders., Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes, München 1985, 107–113 (110); ders. s. oben Anm. 14.

²¹ Zu Equitius vgl. Amm. 26,5,3: *Equitius Illyriciano praeponitur exercitui, nondum magister, sed comes*.

Obwohl man den auf der Inschrift aus Esztergom erwähnten Burgus nicht identifizieren kann, darf man aufgrund einer anderen Burgus-Bauinschrift, die aus dem Jahre 372 n. Chr. die Errichtung eines ungefähr 10x10 m großen Wachturmes durch die gleiche Baugruppe in Visegrád-Steinbruch erwähnt, vermuten, daß es sich in Esztergom um einen gleichgroßen Burgus handelte.²² Da die Dauer der Durchführung der Baumaßnahme in Zusammenhang mit einer professionellen Baugruppe ausdrücklich erwähnt wird, handelte es sich dabei vermutlich um eine ziemlich schnelle Arbeit.

Als weitere epigraphische Belege zur Dauer der Errichtung römischer Wehranlagen können die von den am Bau teilnehmenden Soldaten auf die Quadersteine des 3. Stockwerks der Porta Nigra in Trier angebrachten Ritzinschriften mit Tagesangaben herangezogen werden, die beweisen, daß die Arbeit in diesem Abschnitt zwischen dem 29. Juli und 7. August – d.h. ziemlich schnell – vollendet wurde.²³

In manchen Fällen kann jedoch die Dauer der Errichtung der Wehranlagen aufgrund indirekter Hinweise nur geschätzt werden. Nach Schätzungen von A. Blanchet dürfte die Stadtmauer einer kleineren gallischen Stadt innerhalb von 6–8 Monaten, die einer größeren innerhalb von 18–24 Monaten aufgebaut worden sein. Die Grundlage für derartige Schätzungen bietet die 18837 m lange, zwischen 271–282 erbaute Stadtmauer von Rom, von der monatlich ca. 140–150 m fertiggestellt werden konnten.²⁴

Die seltene Erwähnung der Dauer der Errichtung spätrömischer Wehranlagen dürfte vielleicht darauf hinweisen, daß es sich um ziemlich schnelle Arbeit und harte Leistung der Soldaten handelte. Solche Zeitangaben oder die überwuchernden Epitheta als eine Art von Danksagung der Bauherren, die nicht die Realität, sondern eher die allgemeinen Erwartungen den Soldaten gegenüber widerspiegeln, können allein aufgrund der Bauin-

²² S. z.B. Soproni 1978, 51–55. Valentinianische quadratische Burgen sowohl an der Donau als auch am Oberrhein verfügen über den gleichen Ausmaß von ung. 9–10 m: K. Stehlin, Die römischen Wachtürme am Rhein von Basel bis zum Bodensee 1, Untere Strecke: von Basel bis Zurzach, Basel 1957. Zur *legio I Martianorum* s. Not. Dign. Or. c. 8. Zu den unter Valentinian z.T. an der Donaugrenze unternommenen Befestigungsarbeiten s. Amm. 29,6,3.

²³ A. Blanchet, Les enceintes romaines de la Gaule. Étude sur l'origine d'un grand nombre villes françaises, Paris 1907, 297.

²⁴ Ebd. 296.

schriften nicht richtig verstanden werden. Der Ausdruck ... *hunc burgum ... a fundamentis et construxit et ad summam manum operis in diebus XXXXVIII ... fecit pervenire*²⁵ kann jedoch aufgrund der Schilderung der Umstände der Errichtung spätrömischen Militäranlagen in den *Res gestae* des Ammianus Marcellinus mit solchen Ausdrücken wie *opus spe celerius consummavit, castrorum opera mature consurgit, perfectum est spe omnium citius* bzw. *horrea veloci opere surrexerunt*²⁶ gleichgesetzt bzw. interpretiert werden.

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²⁵ CIL III 3653.

²⁶ S. oben Anm. 16.

”Αρκτος : ἄρκεύω AND THE LIKE

MIKA KAJAVA

For the reader my title probably suggests the name of this journal. Correctly so, though I will not discuss the Great Bear or the North, much less other arctic things. My focus is simply on ἄρκτος 'bear' and other Greek names of animals and their related verbal derivatives. However, what follows can willingly be taken as a homage to "Arctos" so as to celebrate the forty-fifth anniversary of the new series in 1999, and the full seventy years from the foundation of the first series in 1930.

Besides referring to a constellation in the northern sky (cf. also *Arcturus* 'Bearguard') and the North in general,¹ the word ἄρκτος had a quite specific meaning in the Greek religious world. In some shrines of Artemis in Attica, especially Brauron, young Athenian girls due to be initiated in rites of passage were called ἄρκτοι 'bear girls' from the imitation of the animal.² In such rituals, the sacrifice of a surrogate for a bear girl, which symbolized the bear's death, marked the end of the girl's

* My warmest thanks are due to Dr Antero Tammisto for sharing with me his unchallengeable knowledge of birds in antiquity. Prof. Maarit Kaimio and Prof. Heikki Solin were kind enough to read an earlier draft and to comment on it.

¹ A. Le Boeuffle, *Les noms latins d'astres et des constellations*, Paris 1977, 82 ff.

² For a survey of the ritual and its meaning, see A. Brelich, *Paidés e parthenoi* (*Incunabula Graeca* 36), Roma 1969, 240 ff.; H. Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 103 (1983) 97 f. (= *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea. The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones*, Oxford 1990, 322 f.); K. Dowden, *Death and the Maiden. Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology*, London – New York 1989, 20 ff.; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' *Greek Culture. Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths*, Oxford 1991, 75 ff.; R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual. Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State*, Oxford 1994, 306 ff. – For bears in ancient Greece, see Keller I 175 ff.

childhood. The practice itself had an apparent aetiological explanation,³ though it evidently had a deeper significance and can be compared (at least in its outward appearance) with many ancient rituals where the participants appeared in the guise of various animals.⁴ What actually happened during the arkteia is vaguely shown by some pictorial evidence,⁵ but we also have some literary reference to girls performing the bear ritual. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, a girl says that she had been a Bear, dressed in *krokotos*, at the Brauronia (Lys. 645: καὶ χέουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις). The line was duly commented on by later scholiasts who, in their account of the Brauronian festival and its origin, used the verb ἄρκεύω (also in Med.) as a "technical" term for the performing of the ritual.⁶ The verbal expression is not a late coinage, however, but can be found as early as Lysias who, according to Harpocratio, used the verb for the ritual in one of his lost speeches (Lys. fr. 82).⁷ Since the institution of the bear ritual is extremely

³ The fullest version (Suda s.v. Ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίοις) is as follows: when a girl poked fun at a tamed bear living in a sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron, it scratched her, upon which it was killed by her brothers. As a result a terrible plague befell the Athenians. According to an oracle, the ills would end only if the people, as a penalty for their crime, made their maidens perform the Bear ritual. Without performing it girls could not get married. – The last rule cannot, of course, have been generally applied, though it is true that the ritual was of public nature and it was carefully observed by the Athenians.

⁴ For the wearing of animal-skins in cultic contexts (and cultic transvestism in general), cf. A.M. Bowie, *Aristophanes. Myth, Ritual and Comedy*, Cambridge 1993, 237 f. (with further reading).

⁵ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*, Athens 1988, passim; LIMC II (1984) 676 f. Nos. 723 f.

⁶ Sch. Ar. Lys. 645 (made up from three versions): αἱ ἄρκευόμεναι δὲ τῇ θεῷ (i.e. Artemis) – καὶ τοῦτο ἄρκευέσθαι λέγεται – ἄρκεύειν τὰς ἑαυτῶν παρθένους – εἰ μὴ ἄρκεύσειεν τῇ θεῷ. This and other evidence for the ἄρκτοι is collected in Brelich (op.cit. n. 2), 248 f. – Note the elegant and plausible reading καὶ χέουσα (T.C.W. Stinton, CQ 69 [1975] 11 ff.) in place of the traditional κᾶτ' ἔχουσα.

⁷ Harp. s.v. ἄρκεῦσαι. Cf. also Did. apud Harp. s.v. δεκατεύειν, saying, somewhat surprisingly, that in Lysias ἄρκεῦσαι is equivalent to δεκατεύσαι 'to pay the tithe', for which see Dowden (op.cit. n. 2), 28. Harp. also refers to a lost speech of Demosthenes where the verb δεκατεύσαι occurs in reference to a girl, but the lexicographer's

ancient, the verb would have been used by other early writers as well, but unfortunately no further evidence is preserved except the record of the noun ἄρκτος in two highly fragmentary plays.⁸

The pair ἄρκτος : ἄρκτηύω is paralleled in terms of cultic reality by that of νέβρος : νεβρίζω 'to dress in a deerskin', the verb being attested for attendants at the feast of Dionysus (see below).⁹ On the other hand, a relation between νέβρος 'deer, fawn' and νεβεύω has also been posited. Since this rare verb, which is found only in some Thessalian inscriptions, always appears in connection with the cult of Artemis (in the female form νεβέυσα(ν)σα) and also because the deerskin is otherwise attested as a dress at festivals of the goddess,¹⁰ the conclusion has been that νεβεύω means 'serving as a deer (in Artemis cult)'. This in turn would be a confirmation of what myths relating to Iphigeneia and the Deer of Aulis would demand.¹¹ This is indeed an attractive suggestion, notwithstanding the considerable difficulty of explaining the constant loss of the liquid *rho* in *νεβ(ρ)εύω.¹² If this is not simply a phonetic phenomenon, however, one should assume the existence of an independent word *νέβρος which not only would produce the verb νεβεύω but would also have the same meaning as νέβρος. This sounds most arbitrary, and so it is no wonder that an alternative explanation has been advanced. M. Hatzopoulos revives with strong arguments the old idea of a correlation between νεφεύω/νεβεύω and the Hesychian comment

suggestion that the orator meant ten-year-old bear girls is unconvincing (ἐπειδὴ αἱ δεκετίδες ἤρκτηυον). Moreover, he is wrong in claiming that the historian Craterus had equated the concept of ἄρκτηῦσαι and the girls' preparation for marriage: cf. FGrH 342 F 9. – The verb is also given by Hsch. s.v. ἄρκτηία· ἢ τῶν ἄρκτηυομένων παρθένων τελετή. Ἄρκτηεῖν δὲ τὸ καθιεροῦν, and it also occurs in Anecd. Bekk. 1, 444 (confused).

⁸ Ar. Fr. 370 (Lemn.); Eur. Fr. 767 (Hyps.).

⁹ Note that the verb βουκολέω sometimes seems to allude to the tauriform worship of Sabazios (Ar. V 10; Taillardat 119), but as a compound verb it has been omitted from the following catalogue (βούκολος was used of worshippers in bull-form, cf. further β. τοῦ Ὀσορᾶπι, 'devotee of Sarapis').

¹⁰ Xen. Eph. 1,2,6, discussed by Dowden (op.cit. n. 2), 40 f.

¹¹ See esp. Dowden (op.cit. n. 2), 41 f., though he is neither the first nor the only protagonist of this idea.

¹² Thus printed, with a question mark, in LSJ Suppl. (1996).

on νέαι (ἀγωνισάμεναι γυναῖκες τὸν ἱερὸν δρόμον). So the verb νεβεύω (also ἐπινεβεύω inscr.) would refer to a kind of sacred race performed by young women about to be initiated in a rite of passage. This form would present the Thessalian way of rendering the digamma of a verb which in Macedonia appears as νεύω in similar contexts.¹³

Though the alleged relation between νέβρος and νεβεύω is unprovable, the idea and logic of such a relation is perfectly sound. The cases of ἄρκτος and νέβρος both come from the world of cult, but denominatives deriving from the animal world are found in many other sections of Greek society as well. Besides providing useful insights into the Greek way of thinking and using language, this particular phenomenon is noteworthy also because similar denominatives are surprisingly few in Latin, most of the attested cases being rare, onomatopoeic or highly technical expressions which are often found in glossaries (see the discussion below in the Appendix).

In the following I shall give an alphabetic list of Greek denominatives deriving from the names of animals (also included are a number of onomatopoeic verbs [e.g. κοκκύζω 'to cry cuckoo'] which together with the corresponding nouns [κόκκυξ 'cuckoo'] are based on various animal sounds [κόκκυ]. I also list some onomatopoeic verbs for which no animal name is attested but which are based on a sound typical of one animal only, e.g. κοίζω 'to cry κοί κοί' ['oink, oink', of young pigs]).¹⁴

I have not listed those (frequently onomatopoeic) cases where the noun is clearly post-verbal, e.g. ἄσκαρίς 'worm in the intestines' (ἀσκαρίζω 'to jump, to throb'; cf. Beavis 231 f.). – βαμβραδών [Dor.] 'sprat' (? βαμβράσσει· ὀργίζεται [Cyr. Dresd.]; cf. Strömberg, Fischnamen 67). – δάπτης 'eater, bloodsucker', of mosquitos (δάπτω 'to devour', etc.; Beavis 231 n. 64). – ἐμπίς 'mosquito, gnat' (ἐμπίνω 'to drink'; cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 81). – κρέξ 'corncrake' (perhaps; reserves in Thompson, Birds 177 and Pollard 62 f.; possibly from κρέκω, the verb for any sharp noise; cf. also the bird names κερκάς, κέρκος, κερκίς, all known from Hsch.; Maurice 210 f.). – κρίγη (Hsch. = γλαῦξ [cf. Hippon. 54 W], i.e. 'owl' [*Strigiformes spp.*], esp. the Little Owl [*Athene noctua*], Thompson, Birds 76 ff.; κρίζω 'to screech', etc., with an onomatopoeic root; Tichy 127; Maurice 198; cf. Taillardat 275 n. 2). – λακέτας '(a type of) locust' (λάσκω 'to scream,

¹³ M.B. Hatzopoulos, Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine (MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 19), Paris 1994, 25 ff., with full epigraphic documentation. For *ϕ* represented as *β* in inscriptions, see Sihler 183.

¹⁴ See, in general, Tichy (several ancient Greek lists of names for animal noises are known, cf. the bibliography cited on p. 33).

to chirp', etc.; Taillardat 276). – λάλαξ 'babbler' (λαλέω; name of a frog [and a bird, Thompson, Birds 192]). – μορμύρος, one of the sea-breems (*Sparus mormyrus*; μορμύρω 'to roar and boil', cf. Strömberg, Fischnamen 76; Thompson, Fishes 161). – πλάγγος 'the one who errs' (πλάγγασθαι, πλάζομαι; name of an unidentified raptor [*Falconiformes spp.*], in Arist. HA 618b23 'a kind of eagle'; for the identification, cf. Pollard 76, Capponi 426; also Thompson, Birds 251). – πτώξ 'hare' (i.e. 'a cowering animal', πτώσσω 'to cower from fear'; cf. Ar. Byz. p. 63). – σπίζα, name applied to various small birds, mostly thought to be identical with the Chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*; cf. Pollard 38; Thompson, Birds 267; Capponi 234 ff.; σπίζω 'to pipe, to chirp'; here the verb and the noun go back to one and the same expressive radical, perhaps σπιγγ-; cf. also Tichy 128). – τρύγων 'turtle dove' (*Streptopelia turtur*, Thompson, Birds 290 ff.; τρύζω, the verb for the producing of [any] low murmuring sound; note also τρυγόζω, used of doves, which may be a false doublet of τρύζω in Ps.Hdn. Anecd. Gr. 3,263).

Cf. also the following cases which are not listed below, either because the noun is post-verbal or because the relation between the verb and the noun is in some way uncertain (in some instances the noun does not refer to an animal at all): ἀσταλύζω 'to weep and sob' (Hsch.) hardly derives from ἀστάλη 'polypus in the nose' or '(a form of) worm with a tail' (both in Hsch.), for the verb must be older (cf. ἀνασταλύζειν 'to sob' already in Anacr. 43,4): both seem to be based on στάλυξ = στάλαγμος 'dropping, dripping' and σταλάσσω 'to let drop', of weeping, etc. – θῶσθαι 'to devour, to feast on' is no doubt related to θῶς 'jackal' (*Canis aureus*; from Hom.) as well as θοίνη 'feast, dinner' (< *θωι-να), but all these words perhaps go back to IE **dhe(i)* 'to suckle, to nurse'. In that case the original meaning of θῶς would be something like 'fecund and prolific animal' (cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 99, 102). – κηκάζω 'to abuse, to revile' (Lyc. 1386; the relation to κήξ 'sea-swallow' is uncertain: both may be onomatopoeitic; cf. further Suda κούαξ [= κήξ]· πανοῦργος). – κινάβρω 'to smell like a goat' (Ar. Pl. 294) is perhaps related to κενέβρειος 'carrion'. – κογχαλίζω 'to murmur' (of shells) and κογχίζω 'to dye purple' (Hsch.; κόγχη 'mussel, cockle, shell' = κογχύλη, dim. κογχύλιον, cf. Lat. *conchatus* 'shaped like a sea-shell' and *conchyliatus* 'purple-dyed'); cf. also καλχαίνω 'to make purple', etc. (κάλχη 'murex, purple limpet'), which associates with the colour, not with the mollusc. – λαρύνω 'to coo like a dove' naturally derives from λάρυγξ. – χλουνάζω· κινύρεσθαι (Hsch.), i.e. 'to lament, to utter a plaintive sound' (χλούνης 'wild boar'), but since χλούνης also means a castrated (animal or man; Van Windekens, Dict. 232), one wonders whether the verb may have something to do with the act of castration.

Compound verbs of the type *ἀμνοκοεῖν (ἀμνός, κοέω) < ἀμνοκῶν 'sheep-minded, simpleton' (Ar. Eq. 264; Taillardat 255) are also omitted. For βουκολέω, see n. 9.

If not absolutely complete, the catalogue is certainly ample enough to be representative and, I hope, will provide some useful reading not only for philologists but also for zoologists or anyone wishing to become acquainted with the Greek way of conceiving the fauna and its relation to people and human behaviour.¹⁵ Lengthy comments and citations will be avoided so as

¹⁵ For ancient Greek views on the exotic animal, see recently L. Bodson, *Arctos* 32 (1998) 61 ff.

to make the catalogue more succinct and readable. The list concludes with an appendix of comparable Latin examples and a synopsis of the whole material together with some general observations. – For the abbreviations used, see the end of this article.

*ἀκριδεύω (?): see κατακριδεύω.

[ἀκρίς: see κατακριδεύω.]

*άλωπεκιάω: see άλωπεκίζω.

άλωπεκίζω 'to play the fox, to be foxy', i.e. 'to be as cunning and unscrupulous as a fox' (ἀλώπηξ; Keller I 88). The earliest attestation is in Ar V. 1241 f. (οὐκ ἔστιν άλωπεκίζειν / οὐδ' ἀμφοτέροισι γίγνεσθαι φίλον) which is a quotation in Aeolic metre from a lyric poem or perhaps a song in a play (= PMG 912a [carm. conviv.]; cf. Taillardat 228).¹⁶ Two further instances are known from the second century A.D., Babr. 95,64 (deer saying to a fox: ἄλλοις άλωπέκιζε τοῖς ἀπειρήτοις) and Zen. 1,70 (άλωπεκίζειν πρὸς ἑτέραν ἀλώπεκα). In the former, the verb means 'to cheat' (cf. Hsch. ἀλωπεκίζειν· ἀπατῶν), whereas the phrase reported by the collector of proverbs corresponds to something like "Greek meets Greek" (cf. Zen. ibid. ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξαπατῶν ἐγχειροῦντων τοὺς ὁμοίους).¹⁷ Another denominative, *άλωπεκιάω, may be deduced from ἀλωπεκία (άλωπεκίασις in Gal. 6,244; cf. Strömberg, Theophrastea 193), the name for the disease in which hair falls off (like mange in foxes), see Arist. Pr. 893b38; Soph. Fr. 419 (dubious); cf. also Gal. 12,381 and for the formation, μυρμηκιάω < μυρμηκία (below); Gloss. III 596,8 (IV): *alopicia nuda cutis per partem capitis in se habens albos pilos et flavos*, 603,33: *ofiasis alopecia* (cf. below s.v. *ὀφιάω). Note further that ἀλωπεκία also means the 'hiding-place of a fox' (Hsch.), but whether *άλωπεκιάω could refer to 'hiding like a fox' (or something similar) remains uncertain. – The noun ἀλώπηξ itself was frequently used in comedy and proverbs (Müller, Schimpfwörter 331; Taillardat 227 f.). Lat. *vulpinor* seems to be a calque of the Greek verb (see below in the Appendix). For κιδαφεύω 'to be wily', see below.

ἀναχελύσσομαι: see χελλύσσω.

ἀνοιστρέω: see οἰστράω.

¹⁶ The alleged connection of the verb with the deme of Alopeke (thus D.M. Lewis, *Historia* 12 [1963] 23) remains pure speculation.

¹⁷ The same proverb is found in Diogenian. 2,17; Greg. Cypr. 1,40; Apostol. 2,62.

ἀνορταλίζω 'to clap the wings and crow (like a cock)', of a reaction to a speech, is found only in Ar. Eq. 1344 and is derived from ὀρταλίσ 'fowl' (only in Nic. Al. 294; perhaps 'Domestic Fowl' [*Gallus gallus*], Thompson, Birds 214; cf. Sch. Ar. ad loc. ὀρταλίζειν δὲ λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀναπτερόσσεσθαι ὀρνίθων; Taillardat 177). The more current word for 'chick, young bird' was ὀρτάλιχος which according to Stratt. 49,4 (PCG VII) means 'cock' in Boeotian (in Soph. Fr. 793 it stands for 'young animal'). Cf. Hsch. ὀρτάλιχοι· οἱ μὴ πετόμενοι νεοσσοί, καὶ οἱ ἀλεκτρούνες. For the etymology, cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 174, arguing that ὀρταλίσ is based on *ὀτραλίσ suggesting 'vivacity'.

ἀντιπελαργέω 'to cherish in turn' (πελαργός 'stork', i.e. White Stork [*Ciconia ciconia*], Thompson, Birds 221 ff.; Tammisto 282 n. 505; Van Windekens, Dict. 182: perhaps from *περᾱ-φεργός): Iambl. VP 5,24 (in a dialogue between Pythagoras and a pupil); Zen. 1,94; Aristaenet. 1,25; Cels. ap. Orig. 4,98. The meaning is explained by storks being known in antiquity for their parental and filial piety (see Ar. Av. 1353 ff. with the comments by N. Dunbar [Oxford 1995]; Thompson, Birds 223). Cf. further ἀντιπελάργωσις 'return of benefits' in PCG VIII *232 = Com. Adesp. 939.

ἀποθυννίζω: see θυννάζω.

ἀποκορακόω: see κορακόω.

ἀπολεοντόομαι: see λεοντιάω.

ἀποσκορακίζω: see κορακόω.

ἀποσπαλακώω 'to reduce to the condition of a σπάλαξ', i.e. blind-rat (*Spalax typhlus*, also written ἀσπάλαξ; cf. Arist. de An. 425a11: φαίνεται γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἀσπάλαξ ὑπὸ τὸ δέρμα ἔχουσα ὀφθαλμούς; Keller I 23). The denominative is known from Cerc. 4,18 f., referring to the eye of Justice: ὁ τᾶς Δίκας ὀφθαλμὸς ἀπεσπαλάκωται. Note further Hsch. σπαλακία· νόσος ἢ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, πήρωσις.

ἀποσφηκόω: see σφηκόω.

ἀποταυρόομαι: see ταυράω.

ἀραχνάομαι 'to weave the spider's web' is known from Eust. 285,41 (ἀράχνη 'spider' [Aesch., AP, etc.]; 'spider's web' [Hippocr., etc.]; the variant ἀράχνης was mostly used of the animal [Hes., Pi., etc.]; in its precise sense the term ἀράχνη covers all spiders known as being non-venomous, in particular those which spin webs: Beavis 34 ff.). The meaning of ἀραχνέω (or -όω) in ZPE 8 (1971) 57 No. 64 (ostrakon from Abu Mena; fifth/sixth cent.) is not clear, perhaps 'to remove cobwebs' which would fit

the context, i.e. the cleaning of a church. Other denominatives are formed from ἀράχνιον 'spider's web' (Hom. Od., Com., etc.), thus the factitive ἀραχνιώω 'to spin a cobweb' (Arist. HA 605b10, of beetles damaging honeycombs) and, as a medical term, 'to form venous network over' (Hippocr. Oss. 18: ἡ φλὲς ἤραχνιώκε τοῦ σπληνὸς ἐναίμοισι φλεβίοισι). The Pass. voice ἀραχνιόομαι, 'to be covered with cobwebs', is found in Arist. HA 625a8 (of honeycombs), and the same is expressed by ἀραχνιάω in Nonn. D. 38,14 (of the shield of Bacchos).

ἀραχνέω (or -όω): see ἀραχνάομαι.

ἀραχνιάω: see ἀραχνάομαι.

ἀραχνιώω: see ἀραχνάομαι.

ἀρκτηεύω (and ἀρκτηύομαι): see the discussion above.

ἀστραβεύω 'to ride a mule' would not properly belong here, but since ἀστράβη 'mule's saddle, easy padded saddle' was also used of the mule itself (Harp., Hsch., Eust.), I have included this denominative which is found in Pl. Com. 38 (PCG VII). Another denominative, ἀστραβίζω 'to ride pillion' is known from Aesch. Suppl. 285 (καμήλους ἀστραβιζούσας) which suggests that ἀστράβη was also associated with camels, cf. the commentary to Aesch. Suppl. by H. Friis Johansen – E.W. Whittle (1980).

ἀστραβίζω: see ἀστραβεύω.

ἀχωρέω (or -ιάω) 'to suffer from ἄχωρ' (i.e. scurf or dandruff; cf. Beavis 114), attested in a late medical source (Paul. Aeg. 3,3: ἀχωροῦντας or ἀχωριῶντας).

βατραχίζω 'to be / move like a frog' (βάτραχος 'frog'; Keller II 311) is known from Hippiatr. 26,5 (of horses). The noun was also used proverbially (cf. LSJ). No denominative from φρόνη 'toad' is attested (note, however, that Φρόνη was the nickname of several courtesans in Athens).

βαύζω 'to cry βαῦ βαῦ', 'to bark' (cf. Tichy 168) is found in Theoc. 6,10, but it was also used of angry persons, i.e. 'to snarl, to yelp' (e.g. Aesch. Ag. 449; Ar. Th. 173, cf. ibid. 895; Taillardat 276). For the transitive use, cf. Aesch. Pers. 13 ('to shriek aloud for') and, of dogs, Heraclit. 97 codd. ('to bark at'). – Cf. Lat. *baubor*.

βδελλίζω 'to bleed with leeches' (βδέλλα 'leech'; Beavis 4 ff.) is a medical term (Pass. in Antyll. ap. Orib. 7,21,3; Gal. 11,317) which is related to βδάλλω (also Med.) 'to milk (cows), to suck' (for the latter meaning cf. Arist. GA 746a20; Sch. Theoc. 2,56a-b) and Erot. βδελλάζεται· ἀμέλγεται.

βοόω 'to change into an ox' (βοῦς) is found in Eust. 70,28: βοώσω δὲ τὸ μεταμορφώσω εἰς βοῦν. The more current term for this was ταυρόομαι.

βύζω 'to hoot, to cry like an owl' (βύας 'owl', esp. the Eagle Owl [*Bubo bubo*; *Strigiformes spp.*]; Thompson, Birds 65; Pollard 81 f.; onomatop. Tichy 151; Maurice 216) is found only twice: in both cases the verb alludes to the owl's hooting which predicted the death of an emperor (βύας ἔβυξε, Dio 56,29: Augustus; 72,24: Commodus). βῦζα (Nic. Fr. 55) = βύας is a postverbal derivation from βύζω; the variant βύξα is also attested (Ant. Lib. 10,4).

γαλιάω. The Hesychian gloss γαλιώσης· ἀκολασταινούσης (see now PCG VIII *298 [= Com. Adesp. 967]; ἀκολασταίνω 'to be licentious, debauched, intemperate') makes it likely that the verb γαλιάω (perhaps better γαλεάω) derives from γαλέη (contr. γαλή) 'weasel, marten, ferret, polecat' (Keller I 164 ff.), for the behaviour and temper of such animals would fit the Hesychian explanation. Moreover, it is known from Aristophanes and other sources that polecats killing mice were kept in houses despite their smell and their thievish nature (κατοικίδιος γαλή, *Mustela domestica*: Keller I 164; cf. e.g. Ar. Ach. 255, V. 363, Pax 1151; Theoc. 15,27; Taillardat 48, 478). γαλή was also considered as an animal of bad luck and is found in some ancient proverbs (e.g. γαλή χιτώνιον κροκωτόν 'pearls before swine', cf. Keller I 167).

γερανίζω 'to utter the crane's voice, to cry like a crane' (γέρανος 'crane' [*Grus grus*]; Thompson, Birds 68 ff.). The verb is given without explanation in a medieval gloss as the Greek equivalent of Lat. *gruo* (Gloss. II 36,16: *gruunt* γερανιζουσιν). Both verbs and the related nouns would seem to go back to an expressive primitive meaning 'cry' (cf. Chantraine, Dict. 216), though they could reasonably also be regarded as onomatopoetic forms in their own right (from the cry of the crane: *krrou / kru*). Observe that γέρανος also means a dance resembling the movements of the crane (Luc. Salt. 34; Plu. Thes. 21; Poll. 4,101) which makes one wonder whether the denominative also was used of the performers imitating the crane by their gestures and, possibly, even by voice (cf. κολαβρίζω, κόλαβρος below). – For Lat. *gruo*, see the Appendix below.

γρομφάζω 'to grunt' (γρόμφις 'old sow' [Hippon. 69]; γρομφάς [Hsch.], γρόμφαινα [Gloss.]) is known from Gloss. III 432,60: γρονφαζει *grunnit*. If the etymology proposed by Van Windekens, Dict. 58 is correct, γρόμφις originally referred to the 'odour of an old (woman)'. – Cf. γρύζω.

γρῦζω 'to grunt, etc.' has been traditionally taken to derive from γρῦ 'grunt' (onomatop.; Frisk, Wb. 328; Chantraine, Dict. 238; cf. also Tichy 147 ff.; Maurice 199), but it may rather be that the verb is based on *γρῦς 'old swine', and so the denominative would mean 'to cry like an old swine' (Van Windekens, Dict. 58 f.). Besides referring to the grumbling and muttering of persons, the verb was used of grunting pigs (Alciphr. 3,73) and at least once it refers to a growling dog (LXX Ex. 11,7). The suffixed form γρῦλος 'pig' (with the variant γρύλλος; cf. Hsch. γρύλλη· ὑὼν φωνή) is obviously of the same origin, and so is the denominative γρυλίζω 'to grunt' (Tichy 148 n. 200, 162; γρυλλίζω with double λ was rejected by Phryn. Ecl. 72, PS 58 B). This verb is found not only in reference to the grunting of pigs (Ar. Ach. 746 [cf. below κοίζω], Pl. 307; D. Chr. 7,74), but in a late source it characterized the groaning of an Emperor who pretended to weep and lament over a murdered body (Procop. Arc. 17,4). No connection can be established with the dance called γρύλλος (Phryn. PS 58 B = γρυλλισμός, *ibid.*). For 'grunting', note also the verb γογγρύζω (Hsch.) which is based on γογγύζω 'to murmur, to grumble' (cf. Tichy 225). – For Lat. *grundio* / *grunio*, see below in the Appendix.

γρυλίζω: see the previous entry.

[δαμαλίζω: see πορτακίζω.]

δελφακόομαι 'to grow up to pigness' (δέλφαξ '[full-grown] pig'; Keller I 404). Cf. Ar. Ach. 786 f. (of a young pig not yet fit for sacrifice: but as full-grown it will have a long, thick and red tail): νέα γάρ ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ δελφακουμένα / ἐξεῖ μεγάλην τε καὶ παχεῖαν κήρυθράν. – Hsch. δελφακοῦσθαι· τελειοῦσθαι τὰς ὕς.

δελφινίζω 'to duck like a dolphin' (δελφίς; Keller I 408 f.). The verb is known from Luc. Lex. 5 which describes a scene in the cold pool of a gymnasium: οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τὸ ψυχροβαφὲς κάρα δελφινίσαντες.

διαπερδικίζω: see ἐκπερδικίζω.

διασκορπίζω: see σκορπίζω.

διασφηκόομαι: see σφηκόω.

διεκπερδικίζω: see ἐκπερδικίζω.

διοιστράω: see οἰστράω.

δορκαδίζω: see δορκάζω.

δορκάζω, explained by Hesychius as an equivalent of περιβλέπω 'to gaze around, to look round about' and thus clearly taken to derive from δορκάς 'antelope, gazelle, roe' (base form δόρξ; Keller I 286 ff.). In popular

etymology, this animal was so-called from its large and bright eyes (δέρκομαι, δέδορκα), but in reality δορκάς (δόρξ) may be a Pelasgian loan-word meaning 'dark (colour)' (Van Windekens, Dict. 72). Another denominative, δορκαδίζω 'to bound like an antelope', is found as a medical term describing the pulse (Herophil. ap. Gal. 8,556).

ἐκκορίζω: see κορίζω.

ἐκπερδικίζω 'to escape like a partridge, to practise partridge tricks' (πέρδιξ 'partridge', probably Rock Partridge [*Alectoris graeca*]¹⁸). The verb is attested in Ar. Av. 768 and is explained by Sch. ad loc. by the bird's ability of hiding and deceiving hunters (cf. also Arist. HA 613b18; Taillardat 112 f. suggests that Ar. Av. 768 may include a political allusion, "devenir partisan de Perdicas"). The variant διαπερδικίζω is found in PCG VIII *313 = Com. Adesp. 87, and there is, moreover, διεκπερδικίζω attested in Suda ('to escape', etc.; ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρδικος, πανούργου ὄντος καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντος). For the partridge as a proverbial deceiver, cf. also Thompson, Birds 235 f.; Taillardat 228.

ἐλεφαντιάω 'to suffer from elephantiasis' (ἐλέφας 'ivory', [later] 'elephant'; cf. Strömberg, Theophrastea 193). As is usual in the case of denominatives from the names of diseases, the verb is coined with the suffix -ιάω (evidence for ἐ. in LSJ s.v.). However, this verb is only indirectly associated with the animal, and the same is true of ἐλεφαντώω 'to inlay with ivory' (see e.g. IG I³ 354,80: τράπεζα ἐλεφαντομένε; 419/418 B.C.), for which cf. also *elephantosis* 'burdock' (J. André, Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique [1985] 94).

ἐλεφαντώω: see ἐλεφαντιάω.

ἐλλοπιεύω 'to fish' is derived from ἔλλωψ, an epithet of fish already in Hes. Sc. 212, perhaps meaning 'scaly' (cf. λόπος, λέπος, λεπίς), and later used as a synonym for fish (Lys., Nic., Opp., etc.). The denominative is attested only in Theoc. 1,42 where it is perhaps coined on the analogy of ἀλιεύω, θηρεύω.

ἐλμινθιάω 'to suffer from worms' (ἔλμι(ν)ς 'worm' and the typical suffix -ιάω; Beavis 1) is used of hounds having worms in Arist. HA 612a31:

¹⁸ The partridge meant in the passage is probably the Rock Partridge, because this species was typical of continental Greece, the almost identical Chukar (*Alectoris chukar*) replacing it in the Aegean and Asia Minor, cf. Thompson, Birds 234 ff.; Pollard 60 f.; Capponi, 396 f.; W.G. Arnott, CQ n.s. 27 (1977) 335 ff.

αἱ δὲ κύνες ὅταν ἐλμινθιῶσιν ἐσθίουσι τοῦ σίτου τὸ λήιον.

ἐξηπιαλόομαι: see ἡπιαλέω.

ἐξοιστράω (-έω): see οἰστράω.

ἐξοιωνίζομαι: see οἰωνίζομαι.

ἐπισφηκόω: see σφηκόω.

εὐλάζω 'to be worm-eaten' (εὐλή 'worm, fly larva'; Davis–Kathirithamby 96; Beavis 257 f.) is found in the Hsch. gloss εὐλάζει·σαπριᾶι. σκωληκιᾶι (cf. Hsch. ὑάλη·σκώληξ and ὑάλεται·σκωληκιᾶι, both perhaps dialectal forms). σαπριάω 'to be rotten, putrid' is not listed in LSJ; for the parallel σκωληκιάω, see below.

ἡπιαλέω 'to have fever, to ague' (ἡπίολος 'moth'; Arist. HA 605b14 [also ἡ.]) is attested twice: Ar. Ach. 1165 and Arist. Pr. 947b21. A connection between this verb and ἡπίολος can be assumed not only because moths can spread diseases but also because it was a folk belief that moths are the carriers of nightmares (ἡπίολος seems to be related to ἡπίαλος 'fever' and ἡπιάλης 'nightmare', cf. Taillardat 425; Chantraine, Dict. 415; Beavis 130; cf., moreover, Hsch. ἡπιόλιον·ρίγοπυρέτιον, i.e. 'ague'). There is also ἐξηπιαλόομαι (Pass.) 'to be caught by intermittent fever' (Hippocr. Judic. 11).

θηριάζομαι 'to pass into a beast' (θηρίον 'wild animal, beast'; also a term of reproach [Müller, Schimpfwörter 331]; in Ion.-Att., this form was a common substitute for θήρ 'beast (of prey)', of lions, wild-boars, and many other animals, as opposed to birds and fish; also of demons, monsters, etc.; cf. Lat. *effero* / *efferascere*). The rare denominative is found in Corp. Herm. 10,20 in reference to the soul which on leaving the body turns into a beast (ψυχὴ ἐξελθοῦσα τοῦ σώματος θηριάζεται). The Act. voice which is not attested would probably be close in meaning to θηριόω 'to make into a wild beast' (Phld. Piet. 144, of the witch Circe who made some of Odysseus' companions into boars; the passive form referring to the same episode is known from IG XIV 1291 [cf. Moretti, IGUR 1622]: ἐταῖροι τεθηριωμέν[οι]). The technical term for this was θηρίωσις 'turning into a beast' (Luc. Salt. 48). θηριοῦμαι was moreover used of the infestation by reptiles, worms, etc. (cf. Davis–Kathirithamby 7 n. 23 on θηρίον applied to insects and other small creatures), and in medical literature it refers to sick organs (e.g. malignant ulcers). When characterizing people, θηριοῦμαι could indicate those who were 'becoming brutal like a beast' (Pl. Lg. 935a; Phld. Lib. p. 250). The widely attested denominatives θηρώω, θηρεύω 'to hunt'

belong to a semantically different category where the animal is the object towards which the action is directed (cf. ἐλλοπιεύω, ἰχθυάω).

θηριόω / θηριοῦμαι: see above.

θυννάζω 'to spear a tunny-fish, to strike with a harpoon' (θύννος 'tunny-fish'; Thompson, *Fishes* 79 ff.) is attested, metaphorically, in Ar. V. 1087 (θυννάζοντες εἰς τοὺς θυλάκους; Taillardat 422 n. 4), being also explained in Hsch. and Suda. Besides this, there is θυννίζω (= θυννάζω in Apostol. 8,96) and ἀποθυννίζω, the latter being known from Luc. JTr. 25 where it means 'to dismiss as worthy of a tunny' (Poseidon says: Οὐκοῦν ἄμεινόν τι ὑμεῖς ἄλλο ἐπινοεῖτε, εἰ τὰμὰ οὕτως ὑμῖν ἀποτεθύννισται; one wonders whether it is of some relevance here that Poseidon was the god of the sea); note the adj. θυννώδης in the same passage, i.e. 'typical of a tunny' (= stupid). Regarding the Suda gloss θυννίζω καὶ ἀποθυννίζω· τὸ ἀποπέμπομαι, καὶ παραλογίζομαι, the former explanation probably means 'to get rid of (something or somebody as stupid as a tunny)', and the latter seems to allude to 'cheating' or 'misleading' (someone who is stupid like a tunny). The notion of 'cheating' is also present in the Suda gloss on θυννοσκόπος: just as tunnies cannot hide themselves from a watcher observing them on entering the labyrinthine fish-traps (cf. Thompson, *Fishes* 87 f.), those who are entering a city in order to pay taxes cannot escape the notice of Cleon who by false reckoning takes the public money for himself (cf. Ar. Eq. 311 f.; Taillardat 422). – From θυννευτική (σαγήνη) (Luc. Sat. 24) one may deduce *θυννεύω 'to fish tunny' (for the ending, cf. ἀλιεύω, ἐλλοπιεύω, θηρεύω).

*θυννεύω: see θυννάζω.

θυννίζω: see θυννάζω.

ἱερακίζω 'to behave / scream like a hawk' (ἱέραξ [*Accipitridae spp.*], esp. falcon [*Falco spp.*]; Thompson, *Birds* 114 ff.) is an interesting case, as it does not allude to human behaviour, but to other birds. According to Thphr. Sign. 16, if ravens and jackdaws are hovering high and screaming like hawks, it is a sign of rain (similarly Arist. Fr. 253, mentioning only the jackdaw). In these passages the verb probably alludes to the voice, because both Thphr. and Arist. use another verb for the flying.

ἰπάζομαι 'to ride', etc., also prefixed ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, παρ-, with several postverbal derivations: see LSJ; Chantraine, *Dict.* 468.

ἰπεύω 'to drive horses, to ride' (ἰπεύς 'horseman' < ἵππος), also prefixed ἀφ-, ἐφ-, καθ-, with several postverbal derivations: see LSJ;

Chantraine, Dict. 468.

ἰχθυάζομαι: see ἰχθυάω.

ἰχθυάω 'to fish, to angle' (also Med.; the suffixed form ἰχθυάζομαι in AP 7,693 [Apollonid.]; ἰχθῦς 'fish'), also of fishing birds (Opp. Hal. 1,426) and sporting dolphins (Hes. Sc. 210: δελφῖνες...ἰχθυάοντες). Though the latter passage belongs to an interpolation already condemned by Alexandrian scholars (cf. Hesiodi Scutum, a cura di C.F. Russo [1950] 129 f.), it is interesting because of its antiquity. The meaning of the passive form ἰχθυάομαι 'to be made of fish' (Horap. 1,14: ἰχθυώμενος ἄρτος) is not clearly paralleled in the present material. For the functional similarity of ἰχθυάω with θηράω θηρεύω, see above (and compare Lat. *piscari*). Note also that it was not ἰχθῦς that produced the most current terms related to 'fishing', but that they were derived from ἄλς 'sea' (e.g. ἀλιεύω 'to fish', etc.; cf. the Halieutica by Oppian).

κακκαβίζω 'to cackle like a partridge' (κακκάβη [Ath. 9,390a] is an onomatopoeic name for the chukar-type partridge from its call-note [Tichy 265; Maurice 214]; the variant κακκαβίς in Alc. 39 P; the bird is either the Rock Partridge or the Chukar, see Thompson, Birds 129 and above s.v. ἐκπερδικίζω). The denominative was used of partridges (Arist. HA 536b14; Thphr. Fr. 181) as well as partridges and doves together (Stoic. 3,180 [Chrysipp.]). Observe that in Ar. Lys. 761 κακκαβάζω (of the owl's hoot) has been emended to κικκαβάζω (cf. s.v.). Note further that the prefixed denominatives from πέρδιξ never allude to the bird's cry (see above ἐκπερδικίζω). – The verb appears in some late Latin sources as *cac(c)abare* (ThlL III 4), see below.

καμηλίζω 'to be like a camel' (κάμηλος; Keller I 275 ff.) is found in Hld. 10,27 where strange animals and other exotic things are described. Among the gifts brought to King Hydaspes by the Anxomitai, there was a very unusual type of animal, in size as tall as a camel and with leopard spots; its head was like a camel's (ἡ κεφαλή τὸ μὲν εἶδος καμηλίζουσα). The animal caused great amazement and it was named καμηλοπάρδαλις from its appearance (i.e. giraffe).

καπράω 'to want the boar', of sows (κάπρος '(wild) boar'; for the formation and meaning, cf. ταυράω, τραγάω; Keller I 404) is known from Arist. HA 572b24, who elsewhere uses καπρίζω in exactly the same sense (HA 572a16). The variant καπριάω (with -ιαω, typical of verbs denoting diseases or expressing a desire) is used in reference to mares in heat (Ar.

Byz. Epit. 145,12; also as a ms. variant in Arist. HA 572b24). Moreover, there is *καπρώζομαι* 'to rut' (of the boar; Sciras 1), perhaps on the analogy of verbs in *-ώζω* expressing 'cry'. Besides these more or less technical expressions, *καπράω* could also characterize a lecherous person (Ar. Pl. 1024: *καπρῶσα γραῦς* 'debauched old woman', cf. Taillardat 160 f. with a comment on Men. Fr. 434 [PCG VI,2]: *καπρᾶις, κακόδαιμον*, and on *κάπραιννα* as an invective against a woman). The notion of lechery is understandable, considering that jostling sows in heat could even force themselves on people (according to Aristotle).

καπριάω: see *καπράω*.

καπρίζω: see *καπράω*.

καπρώζομαι: see *καπράω*.

καριδόω 'to wriggle, to twist about like a shrimp' (*καρίς* 'shrimp, prawn', etc.). This verb (trans.) is found in the fourth-century comic writer Anaxandrides in reference to a wriggling body: *ἄυτη δὲ καριδοῖ τὸ σῶμα καμπύλη* (Anaxandr. 38 [PCG II]).

καρκινόω 'to make crab-like' (*καρκίνος* 'crab') was used in the transitive sense by the fourth-century comic writer Antiphanes: *ἀύλητικῶς δεῖ καρκινοῦν τοὺς δακτύλους / οἶνον τε μικρὸν ἐγγέαι καὶ μὴ πολύν* (Antiph. 57,15 f. [PCG II]), i.e. 'to crook one's fingers like crab's claws' (the metaphor is further strengthened by the adverb *ἀύλητικῶς*). Otherwise the verb indicated the crab-wise spreading of roots (in Pass.; Thphr. HP 1,6,3; CP 3,21,5; in Act. 'to cause to spread': Thphr. CP 3,23,5), and it is also found as a medical term referring to 'cancer'.¹⁹

κατακορακόω: see *κορακόω*.

κατακριδεύω 'to chirp like a swarm of locusts', etc. (*ἄκρις* 'cricket, grasshopper, locust'; for the identification, see Davis–Kathirithamby 135 ff.; Beavis 62 ff.). Hsch. gives three equivalents: *κατακριδεύσει· κατα<λα>-λήσει· ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἄκρίδες πολύφωνοί εἰσιν· ἢ καταναστήσει· ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἄκρίδες ἀναστήματα γῆς καὶ λόφοι εἰσιν· ἢ καταγελάσει*. The first explanation is logical, whereas the second in fact does not refer to *ἄκρις* but to *ἄκρις* 'hill-top, mountain peak'. There is some confusion here, since *κατακριδεύω* could hardly derive from *ἄκρις*, the nom. plur. of which is *ἄκριες* (note, however, the gen. and dat. in *-ιδος / -ιδι* of the place name Ἄκρις in SEG 28, 103,4.19.22/23.33.45; Eleusis; 332/1 B.C.). For the third

¹⁹ For the Corinthians styled as crabs (Ar. Eq. 608), see Taillardat 481.

no explanation is given, but one could think of the locust's chirping again (in his Hsch. edition, K. Latte added 'com. adesp.' after the third item, cf. now PCG VIII *358). The etymology of ἀκρίς is in dispute (Chantraine, Dict. 51), but it could be onomatopoeic and related to κρίζω (see R. Strömberg, Griechische Wortstudien, Göteborg 1944, 19). Though not attested, *ἀκριδεύω would be quite plausible.

κελητιάω: see κελητίζω.

κελητιζώ 'to ride' (also κελητιάω Hsch.; κέλης 'riding-horse, courser'; cf. κέλλω, κέλομαι). The verb literally means 'to ride' (from Hom., esp. of riders who rode two or more horses leaping from one to another; cf. also Plin. nat. 34,75: *celetizontas pueros fecit*, of an artist), but more often it was used of a sexual posture in which the woman is above the man (cf. Ar. V. 500 ff. κάμ' γ' ἡ πόρνη χθὲς εἰσελθόντα τῆς μεσημβρίας, / ὅτι κελητίσαι 'κέλευον, ὄξυθυμηθεῖσά μοι / ἤρετ' εἰ τὴν Ἰππίου καθίσταμαι τυραννίδα [with a pun on ἵππος / Hippias, the last tyrant of Athens]; the verb is transitive in Macho 170 ff. φασὶ καὶ τὴν Λαμίαν / τὸν βασιλέ' εὐμελῶς κελητίσαι ποτὲ / ἐπαινεθῆναί θ', telling of the ability of Lamia, a flute-girl, one of the mistresses of Demetrius Poliorcetes; cf. further Ar. Th. 153: οὐκοῦν κελητίζεις, ὅταν Φαίδραν ποῆς; for which see C. Corbato, Scritti di letteratura greca, Trieste 1991, 35). The same action is meant in Macho 362, but another verb is used of the "riding": καθιππάζομαι (Pass.: καθιππάζεσθαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς πεντάκις; cf. above s.v. ἵππος). To some people the performance resembled "sailing" (πλέω) or "fighting by sea" (ναυμαχέω); similar erotic metaphors are collected in Taillardat 100 ff. For the posture (κελητισμός), typical of prostitutes' repertoires, cf. further Ar. Lys. 60, 676 f.; Pax 900; Taillardat 105 and J. Henderson, The Maculate Muse, New Haven – London 1975, 164 ff.

κεπόω 'to make like a κέπος' is derived from the metaphorical meaning of κέπος, a name for a water-bird which is usually identified with the British Storm Petrel (*Hydrobates pelagicus*; cf. Thompson, Birds 137 f.), i.e. 'light-headed simpleton, noddy' (note that Eng. *noddy* is also the name of a similar sea-bird). κέπος is in fact a byword for gullibility and stupidity in Ar. Pax 1067, Pl. 912 (Müller, Schimpfwörter 322; Taillardat 256), and probably also in Call. fr. 191,6. It was the "light" appearance of the bird that produced this metaphor in ancient minds (cf. Hsch. εἶδος ὀρνέου κουφοτάτου... ἔνθεν λέγεται ὄξυς καὶ κοῦφος ἄνθρωπος κέπος; Sch. Ar. Pax 1067: ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς ἐλαφροὺς ταῖς φρεσὶ κέπους καλοῦμεν; Sch.

Ar. Pl. 912: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλογίστων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων). The verb is found twice in the passive voice: LXX Pr. 7,22 'to be easily cajoled' (κεπρωθείς, cf. Hsch. κεπρωθείς· ἐπαρθείς, ἀπατηθείς) and Cic. Att. 13,40,2 (κεκέπρωμαι 'I have become feather-brained').

κερκωπίζω 'to play the ape, to behave like a κέρκωψ' (κ. 'man-monkey, [long-tailed] ape'; from κέρκος 'tail'). In legend, Κέρκωπες were two (or more) mischievous dwarfs which according to one version were turned into apes. Their malicious and ill-mannered temper was proverbial, and so κέρκωπς was used of 'knaves' and 'those who tell false tales' (cf. Hsch. κέρκωπες· ποικίλοι. πονηροί; at Athens there was also a 'Knives-market', Κερκώπων ἀγορά; cf. Opelt 173). Note also that the noun κερκωπία 'trickery' occurs as early as Semon. 34. The verb κερκωπίζω is explained in Hsch. κερκωπίζοντες· κατασκώπτοντες, and it also occurs in Zen. 4,50 which tells of the legendary dodges and malevolence of those creatures. In only one case does κέρκωπς refer to the ape itself, i.e. cercopithecus (Manil. 4,668, telling of animals living in Libya: *et portentosos cercopum ludit in ortus*; cf. Keller I 6 f.). – For πιθηκίζω, see below. – There is no connection with κερκώπη, a 'long-tailed' cicada (from Ar.; cf. Davis–Kathirithamby 131 f.; Beavis 93 f.).

κεστρεύω 'to be starving' (whence 'to be gluttonous'), attested in Hsch. κεστρεύειν· κεχηγνέναι πεινῶντα, is derived from κεστρεύς 'grey mullet' (Thompson, Fishes 108 ff.; cf. Strömberg, Fischnamen 134), which in comedy and elsewhere was used as nickname of a starveling (νήστις), for it did not eat flesh and was therefore thought to be starving (e.g. Arist. HA 591b18–22; Hsch. κεστρεῖς· τοὺς κεχηγνότας καὶ πεινῶντας κεστρεῖς λέγουσι. καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὕτως ἔλεγον καὶ προσηγόρευον· τὸ γὰρ ζῷον αὐτὸ λαίμαργόν τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἄπληστον); cf. Taillardat 94 f. For the comedy, see e.g. Ar. Fr. 159 (PCG III,2); Pl. Com. 28 (ibid. VII); Euphro 2 (ibid. V). The proverb κεστρεὺς νηστεύει 'a mullet goes hungry' is preserved in Ath. 7,307c. – Cf. also κοδαλεύομαι.

κητόομαι (Pass.) 'to become a sea-monster (κῆτος 'any) sea-monster, huge fish, seal' [from Hom.]; cf. Keller I 409 ff.). This rare verb is used in Ael. NA 14,23 of the sword-fish growing into a monster (κητουμένῳ τῷ ἰχθύϊ). In later sources κῆτος was also used of whales, which in fact reflects the original meaning of the word, cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 120.

κιγκλίζω 'to wag the tail, as the bird κίγκλος does', whence 'to change constantly' (κίγκλος 'wagtail' [*Motacilla spp.*], cf. Thompson, Birds

140 f.; Pollard 71), cf. Hsch. κίγκλος· ὄρνειον πυκνῶς τὴν οὐρὰν κινῶν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ κιγκλίζειν, ὃ ἐστὶ διασειέσθαι; the notion of 'shaking' (and 'heaving') also in Hsch. κιγκλίζει· σαλεύει. μοχλεύει. The verb occurs as early as Theogn. 303 in reference to good and quiet life that should not be "agitated": οὐ χρὴ κιγκλίζειν ἀγαθὸν βίον, ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζειν. Besides describing quick and jerking movements (in medical writings also κιγκλισμός and κίγκλισις; cf. Hippocr. Art. 14, 71), κιγκλίζω, especially in some prefixed forms, was used of those who moved their loins in an effeminate manner (= Lat. *cevere*). So the Doric form of προσκιγκλίζομαι in Theoc. 5,116 f. refers to a man who was "twisting about" (καὶ τὸ σεσαρώς / εὖ ποτεκιγκλίζεω), and διακιγκλίζω bears the same meaning in Ar. Fr. 29 (PCG III,2; ὄσφον... διακ., discussed by Taillardat 106 f.; cf. Ar. Fr. 147 [ibid.]: κιγκλοβάτης). Sch. Theoc. ad loc. is precise: ἀπὸ τοῦ κίγκλου οὕτως καλουμένου ὄρνέου, ὃ νῦν σεισοπυγίδα καλοῦσιν ... κιγκλίζειν δὲ τὸ κινεῖν τὴν ὄσφον φασιν (similarly Suda s.v. κίγκλος; note also the other, descriptive name of the bird, i.e. σεισοπυγίς). – 'Wagtail' also occurs in proverbs, e.g. κίγκλου πτωχότερος 'poor as a church mouse' which seems to have arisen from the idea that the wagtail does not have a nest of its own (in fact, as Dr Tammisto informs me, wagtails [*Motacilla spp.*] build their nests in well-hidden places where they are scarcely noticeable).

κιδαφεύω is attested in the Hsch. gloss κιδαφεύειν· πανουργεῖν· κιδάφη γὰρ ἀλώπηξ (cf. Id. κίδαφος· δόλιος. καὶ <κιδάφη> ἢ ἀλώπηξ; Fraenkel 258). So it appears that the adj. κιδάφη 'wily' was used of the fox as a noun (other forms: σκιδαφή [An. Ox. 2,302], σκινδαφός [Ael. NA 7,47]). Regarding Hsch. κιδαφίων· πανούργων· κιδάφην γὰρ τὴν ἀλώπεκα λέγουσιν, the form κιδαφίων can be taken as either gen. plur. or a Doric present participle of *κιδαφέω; in the latter case we should write πανουργῶν. – For κίναδος, a Sicilian word for 'fox' (= 'wily'), see Taillardat 228.

κικκαβάζω (-ίζω Hsch.) 'to shriek like the little owl'. This onomatopoeic verb is based on κικκαβαῦ (Ar. Av. 261), the cry of the Little Owl (γλαῦξ, *Athene noctua*), from which the bird was also called κικκάβη (Sch. Ar. ad loc.). The verb itself is attested in Ar. Lys. 760 f. (emended for κακκ-; cf. Tichy 265), where a woman cannot get any sleep because of the

owl's calls (ὑπὸ τῶν γλαυκῶν... / κικκαβαζουσῶν ἀεὶ).²⁰ The name of the owl occurs in other forms as well: κικκάμη (Gloss. III 319,27: κυκκαμη *noctua*; also 497,61 [*kyccame n.*] and 526,63 [*kikkame n.*]), κικυμῆις (Hsch., perhaps better κικυμῳίς [cf. Call. fr. 608]), but the Hesychian gloss on κίκυμος (with the variant κίκυβος; cf. Fest. p. 39: *cicuma avis noctua* [cf. n. 20]) is more problematic: λαμπτήρ· ἢ γλαυκός· ὁμοίως καὶ κίκυβος. Unless something is missing before γλαυκός (e.g. either the nominative γλαῦξ or the typical word εἶδος), I would suggest that the mention of the fire or torch refers to the beaming and glowing eyes of the owl, and the same may be true of the adjective γλαυκός which basically means 'gleaming' (also of fire). The eyes of the *noctua* were in fact sometimes depicted as and compared with fire or torches.²¹ As for Hsch. κικυμῳεῖν (for the form, see Call. fr. 608 Pfeiffer)· δυσβλεπεῖν (ms. also -βλέπειν), the only reasonable explanation seems to be the ancient observation that the keenness of the owl's sight is poor in day-time (thus Arist. HA 592b8). – Note throughout the variation *m/b* in the words discussed.

κικυμῳώω 'to see badly (like an owl)': see κικκαβάζω.

κισσαβίζω (Att. κίττ-) 'to scream like a jay' (κίσσα 'jay' [*Garrulus glandarius*], Thompson, Birds 146 ff.) is attested only in Poll. 5,90: καὶ κίττας κίτταβίζειν (for the ending cf. τιττυβίζω). In our sources κίσσα is also the term for the 'longing of pregnant women' and 'the craving for

²⁰ As Dr Tammisto points out to me, while the name κακκάβη for the chukar-type partridge from its call-note sounds onomatopoeic also to the modern observer, it seems strange that the quite different cry of the Little Owl was described with a sound like *kikk-/kikkabau* (the territorial call of this species is given in modern ornithological literature [in Eng.] as a repeated *goo(o)ek*: B. Bruun – H. Delin – L. Svensson, Birds of Britain and Europe [1997] 172). Closer would be the bird's alarm shrill which is described as an "explosive, tern-like 'kyitt, kyitt'" (ibid.). Interestingly, Capponi 163 f. regards the Latin name *cicuma* (Fest. p. 39: *cicuma avis noctua*) as onomatopoeic, referring to the description of its call in Italian ornithological literature (*cu-cu-mèò, cu-cu-mèò*), and to the Little Owl's vernacular names in Italian dialects (*Cuccumeggia* in Central Italy, *Cuccuvèdda / Cuccuvella* in Southern Italy, *Cuccumiàu / Cuccumèò* in Sardinia); cf. further Anth. 762,40: *noctua...cucubit*.

²¹ Keller II 40; RE VII 1404 s.v. Glaukopis; cf. further Mart. Cap. 6,571: *glaucam dant volucrem, quod lumina concolor ipsi es* (Minerva), *tuque ignis flos es, cluis et γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*. For the somewhat problematic relation between γλαῦξ and γλαυκός, see Chantraine, Dict. 226.

strange food' (Medic.), from which κισσάω 'to crave for strange food, to envy for' (of pregnant women, e.g. Arist. HA 584a19, etc.; in LXX Ps. 50,7 the verb means 'to conceive'), but it was also used metaphorically as an equivalent of ἐπιθυμῆναι, e.g. κ. τῆς εἰρήνης (Ar. Pax 497; the verb also in V. 349 and Long. 4,33,4: ὅλη γὰρ ἐκίττα ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ μεираκίῳ καὶ τῇ παρθένῳ; cf. Taillardat 161). The application of κισσάω to pregnant women was (and is) explained by the voracity of the jay (cf. Sch. Ar. Pax 496: ἐπειδὴ ἀδηφάγον καὶ παμφάγον ὄρνεον ἡ κίττα, περίεργον δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν; cf. also the various meanings of Eng. *jay*), cf. Thompson, Birds 146 ff.

κισσάω: see κισσαβίζω.

κιχλάζω: see κιχλίζω.

κιχλιδιάω: see κιχλίζω.

κιχλίζω 'to titter, to giggle; (also) to guffaw', literally 'to chirp like a thrush' (κίχλη 'thrush' [*Turdus spp.*], Thompson, Birds 148 ff.; for the variants κιχλάζω and καχλάζω, see LSJ; Tichy 254; Maurice 197), especially used of a wanton and lascivious laughter, the corresponding noun being κιχλισμός (AB 271: πορνικὸς γέλως πολὺς καὶ ἄκοσμος; also in Clem. Al. Paed. 196 P and, perhaps, Ar. Nu. 1073 [varia lectio]). The verb is attested from Ar. onwards (Ar. Nu. 983; Ar. Fr. 347 [PCG III,2, Med.]; Theoc. 11,78; AP 5, 245,1; 251,3; Alciph. 1,33; 3,27.74). In Herod. 7,123 the verb refers to 'guffawing' and Ph. 2,265 is metaphorical (ἡδονὴ... κιχλίζουσα). For the desiderative κιχλιδιάω 'to have a desire to titter', see PCG VIII 791 = Com. Adesp. 1038. Note further that Sch. Ar. Nu. 979 wrongly explained the verb as referring to the eating of κίχλαι, i.e. 'to live luxuriously'. – Cf. τρίγλη : τριγλίζω.

κνιπέω: see κνιπέω.

κνιπέω is explained by Hsch. as follows: σείειν, ξύειν [μέλαθρα καὶ δοκοὺς] which clearly refers to the destructive activity of κνίψ (also spelled σκνίψ, a general term for wood-boring pests; Davis–Kathirithamby 97 f.; Beavis 245 f.). The other denominative, κνιπέω 'to be miserly' is known from a late source (Doroth. in Cat. Cod. Astr. 6,81 with κνιπέια 'miserliness'), taking its meaning from the fact that these gnawing pests were considered to be scrapers (whence Γνίφων, the prototype of miserliness in New Comedy; cf. the adj. κνιπός 'miserly, niggardly'). A third derivative is attested in Hsch. σκνίπτειν· νύσσειν, i.e. 'to prick, to pinch, to nip'.

κοδαλεύομαι 'to be a stay-at-home, loafer' (Hsch. κόδαλα· ἰχθύς, κεστρεύς, i.e. grey mullet [or similar]; cf. Strömberg, Fischnamen 134) is explained three times by Hsch.: κοδαλεύεσθαι· ἔνδον διατρίβειν; κοδαλεύομαι· ἔνδομυχῶ; κοδαλευομένη· ἀρεσκευομένη, ἀπραγοῦσα. The verb probably alludes to behaviour that was compared with that of the fish. Cf. the red mullet which according to ancient sources hides its head in the sand, and thinks itself invisible (Arist. HA 591b4; Plin. nat. 9,59). The name κόδαλα is of obscure origin. – Cf. κεστρεύω.

κοίζω 'to cry κοί κοί', i.e. 'to squeak "oink, oink"' (like a young pig), cf. Tichy 168. The cry is found in Ar. Ach. 780, the verb *ibid.* 746 (ὅπως δὲ γρυλιξεῖτε καὶ κοίξετε; cf. above γρυλίζω). Hsch. κοίζειν· τὰ χοιρίδια μιμητικῶς λέγεται.

κοκκύζω 'to cry cuckoo' (κόκκυξ 'cuckoo' [*Cuculus canorus*], Thompson, Birds 151 ff.; Tichy 256 ff.; Maurice 199; Taillardat 256) is found as early as Hes. Op. 486, but it was also applied to the crowing of the cock or cockerel (Cratin. 344 [PCG IV], Diph. 66 [*ibid.* V], Pl. Com. 231 [*ibid.* VII]; Hyp. Fr. 239; Theoc. 7,48). In two further cases the verb refers to signalling: Ar. Ec. 30 f. (ὁ κῆρυξ...δεύτερον κεκόκκυκεν) and Ra. 1380 (Aeschylus and Euripides should not start speaking their lines until Dionysus gave the signal: ...πρὶν ἂν ἐγὼ σφῶν κοκκύσω). For the possibility that κοκκύζω was also used of 'deriding', see Tichy 258 (discussing Timo 43). There is also the prefixed περικοκκύζω in Ar. Eq. 697 (-εκόκκυσα mss.; cf. Taillardat 176 f. with a note on the reading ἐπικοκκύστρια in Ar. Th. 1059), where the sausage-seller compares himself to a triumphant fighting cock.

κολαβρεύομαι: see κολαβρίζω.

κολαβρίζω 'to perform a κολαβρισμός', i.e. a wild Carian or Thracian dance, cf. Poll. 4,100 (κόλαβρος '(small) pig'; Hsch. -ον· χοιρίδιον). Hsch. says κολαβρίζειν· σκιρτῶν, but he also provides the Med. form κολαβρευομένη· κώλοις ἄλλομένη. Since not only the pig but also the song accompanying the dance was called κόλαβρος (Ath. 4,164e; 15,697c [from Demetr. Scep.]), one may hypothesize that the whole ensemble imitated the pig in both movements and sound (cf. above γερανίζω, γέρανος). Besides referring to a dance, κολαβρίζω also means 'to jest, to mock' (in Pass. 'to be derided': LXX Jb. 5,4), cf. Suda κολαβρισθείη· χλευασθείη, ἐκτιναχθείη, ἀτιμασθείη. κόλαβρος γὰρ ὁ μικρὸς χοῖρος. That "κ. is a small pig" would not seem to be enough to

explain the meaning of the verb, but the probable etymology of κόλαβρος gives a clue: 'jeune-(animal)vorace' or 'stupide-(animal)vorace' (thus Van Windekens, Dict. 124 f.). No wonder, then, that leaping and bounding piglets were a likely object of derision, and that κολαβρίζω was also applied to persons. The basic meaning of this verb is probably 'to act like a pig [which is stupid and voracious]' (cf. e.g. χοιρίζω), whence 'to regard someone as a pig' = 'to jest, to mock' (transitive like θυννίζω, νεβρίζω).

κολοιάω 'to scream like a jackdaw' (κολοιός 'jackdaw' [*Corvus monedula*], Thompson, Birds 155). The verb is known from Poll. 5,89: κολοιούς κλώζειν ἢ κολοιᾶν (the former does not derive from the bird's name but is onomatopoeic [Tichy 130], usually referring to the making of a similar sound in token of disapprobation; cf. κλάζω, κράζω, κρώζω [see below and s.v. κορωνιάω]). κολοιᾶν occurs with a different vocalism in Hom. Il. 2,212 where it means 'to cry out, to shout' (Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μῶνος ἀμετροεπῆς ἐκολῶα; cf. Chantraine, Dict. 556; Lex. frühgr. Epos s.v. and further Antim. 37 κολῶει [Ion.]) which is to be compared with κολῶός 'tumult, uproar' (cf. Eust. Il. 1,575: κολῶός τε γὰρ ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ὁ κολοιός δὲ θορυβητικόν). Eust. Il. 2,212 also refers to the bird: καὶ κολοιός ὄρνεον θορυβητικόν καὶ κραυγαστικόν, and the Hesychian variant κολουᾶν· θορυβεῖν seems to belong here, too (cf. also Hsch. κολοιή· φωνή <κολοιουᾶ>). Interestingly, κολοιός does not seem to be onomatopoeic; it rather means 'black bird' (κολ-οιός; cf. Van Windekens, Dict. 125 f.). The sound of the bird's cry is *grak- / *grag-, cf. κράζω and Pi. Nem. 3,82: κραγέτης (of the jackdaw); Lat. *graculus*; André, Onomatop. 151.

κολουάω: see κολοιάω.

κολυμβάω 'to dive, to plunge headlong' (Att., hellen.); later, 'to swim', thus taking the place of νέω (κόλυμβος [or -ίς / -άς], name of a water-bird, in some sources to be identified with the Little Grebe [*Tachybaptus ruficollis*], Thompson, Birds 158), with the technical term κολύμβησις (of pearl-fishery, Periopl. M. Rubr. 35,58). Cf. also the derivative κολυμβιτεύω 'to plunge into water' (P. Masp. 9 II 30, sixth century, with late orthography in place of the original -ητεύω). Prefixed forms are also attested (ἀνα-, δια-, ἐκ-, κατα-).

κομβακεύομαι, explained by Hsch. as κόμπους λέγει (κόμπος 'din, clash'), was put in relation to a Cretan name for crow by Fr. Bechtel, Die griechischen Dialekte II (1923), 788 (Hsch. κόμβα· κορώνη. Πολυρρήνιοι).

As for Hsch. κόμβησαν· ποιὸν ἦχον ἀπετέλεσαν, one may reasonably think of βομβέω, cf. Frisk, Wb. 907; Chantraine, Dict. 559.

κορακεύομαι: see κορακόω.

κορακόω 'to close, to fasten up' (κόραξ 'raven' [*Corvus corax*], Thompson, Birds 159 ff.; onomatopoeet.). This meaning derives from the fact that κόραξ was also used of (door-)handles (and other objects) hooked like a raven's beak (cf. similarly κορώνη, see at note 24). So we find the verb denoting the closing of tombs in some Imperial inscriptions from Asia Minor (CIG 3918,6 [Hierapolis]; TAM III 902 [Termessus]; SEG 17, 630, 635 [Perge]), also κατακ.: ABSA 17 [1910/11] 225 ff. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6 (?), 26 [Pamphylia]; JÖAI 23 [1926] Beibl. 101 (ibid.); SEG 17, 632 [Perge], and ἀποκ. in the opposite meaning 'to open': Bull. ép. 1971, 647 [Hierapolis]). The name of the bird produced another verb as well, namely κοράσσω which is explained twice by Hsch.: κοράξαι· ἄγαν προσλιπαρήσαι· πεποίηται παρὰ τοὺς κόρακας and κοράσσει· †ὄρχεῖται, καὶ ἄκλητος ἐλήλυθε (according to the lexicographer, this verb is also equivalent to κορακεύεσθαι). While in the first case the meaning is 'to persevere in, to importunate excessively', in the latter the reference to dancing may be corrupt (unless the raven's movements are meant). As for ἄκλητος ἐλήλυθε, I guess that 'appearing without being called' derives from the fact that the appearance of the raven was generally regarded as an ill omen and therefore the bird was an undesirable guest (as was the parasite);²² this would also fit the meaning of ἄγαν προσλιπαρήσαι: the prophet of bad weather was considered an importunate creature. Ravens, moreover, fed on carrions and corpses which, probably, produced the current expression ἐς κόρακας 'go and be hanged' (Müller, Schimpfwörter 336 f.). The corresponding denominative was σκορακίζω 'to bid one go ἐς κόρακας, to treat contemptuously' (Att., Hellen.; also ἀποσκορακίζω [LXX and later; also 'to damn, to curse'])).

κοράσσω: see κορακόω.

²² Note that ἄκλητος was a common epithet of uninvited parasites in Greek comedy, see C. Damon, HSCPh. 97 (1995) 182 n. 3, with evidence on parasites who are said to consume others' food (cf. παράσιτος 'one who takes food beside'). Moreover, the masks worn by parasites and flatterers in comedy were usually equipped with a big and curved nose (evidence in Taillardat 311 f.).

κορίζω probably means 'to be infested with bugs' (κόρις 'bed-bug' [*Cimex lectularius*]; Davis–Kathirithamby 46 f.; Beavis 104 ff.), although the verb is attested only in late glosses with no explanation: Gloss. II 100,42 *cimis* κορίζω; 353,44 κορίζω *cimico* (45 κορις *cimex*). Lat. *cimicare* is also otherwise unknown (see below). The prefixed form ἐκκορίζω 'to clear of bugs' (for a similar case, cf. below φθειρίζω) occurs in AP 9,113 (Parmen.) which is an artificial play on κόρις, κόρος, κορέννυμι and (ἐκ)κορίζω; cf. also Ar. Fr. 277 (PCG III,2), an erotic metaphor with a play on κόρις and κόρη: τί, ὦ πονηρέ, μ' ἐκκορίζεις ὡσπερὶ κλιντήριον; (see Taillardat 102); erotic context also in Eup. Fr. 247 (PCG V): κύσθον ἐκκορίζειν; Thphr. Char. 22,12: τὰς κλίνας ἐκκορίσαι (corr. Casaubon).

κορωνιάω 'to arch the neck' (of horses) is found in AP 9,777 (Phil.)²³ and derives its meaning from κορώνη 'crow' (or anything curved or hooked like a crow's bill; also of curving leaves: Hes. Sc. 289; for the curved beak, cf. above κόραξ: note that the beak of the raven appears more hooked than that of the crow).²⁴ In a more abstract sense, the verb bears the meaning 'to be ambitious' (Plb. 27,15,6; D. Chr. 78,33). As for κορωνίζω 'to bring to completion' (I.Pont.Eux. 2,298,9 [Panticapaeum]: ἔξ δεκάδας κεκορώνικε), this verb is more remotely related to the bird and its curved bill through κορωνίς 'curved' (of any curved or bent thing; metaph. also 'end, completion'). On the other hand, the existence of κορωνισταί and κορωνίσματα on Rhodes makes it very likely that there was also the verb *κορωνίζω which was coined directly from the bird name κορώνη, i.e. 'to sing like a crow'. The Rhodian Crow-Song was sung by men carrying around a crow and begging on its behalf: those who took up collections of gifts were called κορωνισταί and their songs were κορωνίσματα (the practice is described by Phoenix of Colophon in a poem in choliambic metre: Coll. Alex. p. 233 f.; cf. Ath. 8,359). For the Rhodian Swallow-Song, see below s.v. χελιδονίζω. – Note that κορώνη (just like κόραξ) is onomatopoeic (cf. Poll. 5,89:

²³ Cf. κερουτιάω in Ar. Eq. 1344: 'to toss the horns, to bear proudly', of horned animals, especially bulls (according to Hsch.), also used metaphorically ('to toss the head, to give oneself airs').

²⁴ The species meant is most probably the Hooded Crow (*Corvus corone cornix*), see Pollard 25, excluding the Carrion Crow (*Corvus corone corone*) which mainly occurs in Western Europe.

κορώνη with κρώζω; cf. Taillardat 275), but only *κορωνίζω actually alludes to sound.

*κορωνίζω: see κορωνιάω.

κοσσυφίζω 'to sing like a blackbird' (κόσσυφος [Att. κοττ-] 'blackbird' [*Turdus merula*], Thompson, *Birds* 174 ff.; also κόσσυκος in Gloss. III 412,7: *merulus cossycos*). This verb seems to be attested only in Hero Spir. 2,35, a description of a boiling vessel with winding tubes which also produced the song of the blackbird, see the drawing in W. Schmidt's Teubner-edition: Hero Alexandrinus I, p. 319, fig. 79.

κουβαρίζω (ms. var. -ιάζω) is known from Sch. Theoc. 1,29 (explaining μαρύεται 'to draw up, to wind round'): μηρύω δὲ τὸ κουβαρίζω. This verb is a denominative from κουβαρίς (a name for the ὄνος 'wood-louse' in Dsc. 2,35 title; Beavis 16) which, in turn, is a diminutive of Hsch. κόβαρος· ὄνος. Though the etymology of κόβαρος remains unknown, it seems that the scholiast's explanation is based on the observation that woodlice roll themselves into a ball.

κριόω 'to make into a ram' (κριός 'ram'). Hsch. (before γαιηόχῳ) Γαλλίμ [sic]· κεκριωμένον ἤγουν κριῶν (cf. LXX Is. 15,8: τῆς Αγαλλίμ).

κροκοδειλίζω, from the Byzantine period, cited without source by Müller, -ίζω 80.

κυνάω: see κυνίζω.

κυνίζω 'to play the dog' (κύων), always used metaphorically of the Cynics, i.e. 'to live like a Cynic' (which was called κυνισμός): Stoic. 3,162,27 (from Stob.): κυνιεῖν τε τὸν σοφὸν λέγουσιν; *ibid.* 3,261,17 (Diog. Laert. from Apollod.): κυνιεῖν τε αὐτόν (scil. τὸν σπουδαῖον), also Arr. Epict. 3,22,1; Luc. Peregr. 43; Ath. 13,588f; Jul. Or. 6,182a; the verbal adj. κυνιστέον in the title of Jul. Or. 7,204a. The variant κυνάω is found in Luc. Demon. 21 being paralleled with ἀνθρωπίζω (καὶ λέγοντος, Δημῶναξ, οὐ κυνῶς, ἀπεκρίνατο, Περειγρῖνε, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίζεις). – κύων was used as a term of abuse early on (for the Homeric epic, see M. Faust, *Glotta* 48 [1970] 8 ff.).

κωτιλίζω 'to twitter' is derived from κωτιλάς, a Boeotian word for 'swallow' (*Hirundinidae spp.*, Pollard 32; cf. Stratt. 49,6 [PCG VII]) and a fem. variant of the adj. κωτίλος 'twittering' which, in turn, is the epithet of swallows in Anacr. 453 P and Simon. 606 P. κωτιλίζω is used of birds in Call. Iamb. 194,81, whereas κωτίλλω more frequently refers to 'chattering'

and 'prattling' in general (of birds, cf. Procl. ad Hes. Op. 374, cited at Anacr. 453 P).

κωτίλλω: see κωτιλίζω.

λαμπυρίζω 'to shine like a glow-worm' (λαμπυρίς 'glow-worm'; Davis–Kathirithamby 158; Beavis 175 ff., cf. Arist. PA 642b34) is found in Thphr. Lap. 58,59 and Dsc. 5,84, but in Magical Papyri it also refers to the shining of planets, stars or gods (PGM IV 2940 [Venus]; PGM II 103 [Apollo: λαμπυρίζων τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην]). Med. λαμπυρίζομαι 'to shine' is attested in PGM VII 603.

λεοντιάω (λέων 'lion') has two meanings: 1) 'to suffer from leontiasis (i.e. the early stage of elephantiasis)' (Ruf. ap. Orib. 45,27,2; Gal. 14,757; cf. Strömberg, Theophrastea 193); 2) 'to be like a lion' (Tz. H. 4,937). Moreover, there is ἀπολεοντόομαι (Pass.) 'to be turned into a lion, to become a lion' in Heraclit. Incred. 12 (a young couple eaten by lions in a cave were subsequently turned into lions themselves).

λυκόω 'to tear like a wolf' (λύκος; Keller I 87 f.) is known from Xen. Cyr. 8,3,41 (πρόβατα λελυκωμένα 'torn by wolves').

μετοιωνίζομαι: see οἰωνίζομαι.

μοσχεύω 'to train as a calf' (μόσχος 'calf' [young bull or cow or any young animal]) is found in this sense in Philostr. VA 6,30 where Emperor Titus says to Apollonius that his father had reared him as a calf (ὁ ἐκ νέου... μοσχεύσας με). However, the verb was used more frequently as a botanical term, i.e. 'to plant a sucker' (from μόσχος 'young shoot, twig'), cf. Eng. *sucker* which means both 'calf', etc. and 'shoot, sprout'. The prefixed form ὑπομοσχεύω 'to propagate by layers' was used metaphorically by Eun. Hist. p. 271 D (τὸν πόλεμον). – μοσχιάω is cited without source by Sütterlin 33.

μύω 'to make muscular'. Though not directly connected with the animal, the meaning of the verb derives from μῦς 'mouse' which by way of analogy also means 'muscle' (cf. Lat. *musculus*). The verb mostly occurs in Pass., i.e. 'to be or to become muscular'; cf. further μυωτός: 1) χίτων (Poll. 7,60, 'made of mouse-skin' or 'embroidered with figures of mice', or something else?); 2) σάρκες (Clearch. 72, 'furnished with muscles').

μυρμηκιάω 'to be afflicted with warts' (μυρμηκία 'wart' [Medic. from Hippocr.] < μύρμηξ 'ant'; Davis–Kathirithamby 37 ff.; Beavis 198 ff.) is known from LXX Le. 22,22. The name of the disease is μυρμηκίασις. This particular denominative was used because the subcutaneous irritation caused by the warts was compared to the creeping of ants. The variant

μυρμηκίζω means: 1) 'to feel as though ants were running under the fingers', i.e. 'to be quick and feeble', of the pulse (Gal. 8,553, etc.; Ruf. Syn. Puls. 8,11), for which cf. σκωληκίζω; 2) 'to itch, to have a feeling of irritation' (Aet. 12,48). – Note also that ants were used in treatments for styes and warts (Beavis 208).

μυρμηκίζω: see μυρμηκιάω.

μωπιζομαι 'to be torn by flies' (Pass.; μύωψ 'horsefly'; Davis–Kathirithamby 160 ff.; Beavis 225 ff.), of horses and oxen (Xen. Eq. 4,5 and Eq. Mag. 1,16; Aristaenet. 2,18). The verb was used metaphorically in J. AJ 7,8,1: when violating her sister, Ammon was τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι καιόμενος καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πάθους κέντροις μωπιζόμενος.

νεβρίζω 'to dress (initiates) in a fawnskin' (νεβρίς 'fawnskin' < νεβρός 'fawn'). The institution, called νεβρισμός (see Harpocr.), was an important feature of Dionysiac worship in Athens and elsewhere (cf. Eur. Ba. 24, 111, 137), and fawnskin was the traditional clothing of maenads in poetry and in vase-paintings. The verb is found in Dem. 18,259 (for the exact meaning, cf. the commentary by H. Wankel, Demosthenes Rede für Ktesiphon über den Kranz [1976] 1135 ff.; also C.G. Brown, CQ 41 [1991] 44 ff.). Compounds: νεβριδόπεπλος (AP 9,524,14 with νεβρώδης), -στολος (Orph. H. 52,10), νεβροχίτων (Simm. 15). The passive form νεβρόομαι 'to be changed into a fawn' is known from Nonn. D. 10,59 f. (Learchos, turned into a fawn, was killed by his father who did not recognize him: καὶ κεφαλὴν ἄγνωστον ἀπηλοίησε μαχαίρη, / φάσματι νεβρωθεῖσαν). – For νεβεύω, see above at n. 9 ff.

νεβρόομαι: see νεβρίζω.

ν(ε)οσσεύω (Att. νεοττ-) 'to build a nest, to hatch' (νεοσσός 'young bird, nestling', or any young animal, cf. Taillardat 48 f.; from νέος). The verb was used especially of birds (sometimes bees), but a metaphorical use is attested in LXX Si. 1,15 (σοφία). The term for building a nest, etc. was νεοσσεία, νεόσσευσις.

οἰστράω 'to sting' (οἰστρος 'horsefly'; Davis–Kathirithamby 162 ff.; Beavis 225 ff., -άω from Trag. and Pl.; also -έω from Eur.); metaphorically, 'to sting to madness' (e.g. Eur. Ba. 32, of Theban women maddened by Dionysus), often in Pass. οἰστρηθεῖς 'driven mad', of various ecstatic states (e.g. Soph. Tr. 653; Eur. Ba. 119), later also of sexual passion (e.g. Iamb. VP 31,195; Ael. NA 15,9). The intransitive use 'to go mad, to rage' is attested from Aeschylus (cf. also Pl. Phdr. 251d: ἡ ψυχὴ οἰστρᾶ). The fol-

lowing prefixed forms are known: ἀνοιστρέω (Eur. Ba. 979: ἔρωτι καρδίην ἀνοιστρηθείς), διοιστράω (Diod. Sic. 4,12; Philostr. VA 1,33), ἐξοιστράω (and -έω; various late sources), παροιστράω (and -έω; various late sources). From Homer onwards, the horsefly's persecution of cattle was associated with frenzied behaviour; in later sources, οἶστρος began to be connected with frenzy of desire and various forms of erotic passion, cf. D. Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic. Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*, Oxford 1998, 29 (for Pl. Phdr. 251d, see p. 21).

οἶστρέω: see οἶστράω.

οἰωνίζομαι 'to take omens from the flight and cries of birds' (οἰωνός 'large bird, bird of prey'; cf. οἰωνοσκοπέω and Lat. *auspicari, auspicium*), also 'to divine (from omens)', attested from Xen., Dem., etc. Two prefixed forms are known: ἐξοιωνίζομαι 'to avoid as ill-omened' (Plut.) and μετοιωνίζομαι 'to procure happier omens for' (Din.). οἰωνός seems to go back to an IE word meaning 'bird' (Chantraine, *Dict.* 789).

ὄνεύομαι: see ὄνεύω.

ὄνεύω 'to draw up with a windlass, to haul up' (ὄνος 'ass'; from this animal as a beast of burden the name passed to 'windlass'). The verb is found in Thuc. 7,25 (according to Sch. ad loc. ὄνος 'windlass' = ὄνευος) and in the meaning 'to haul up' e.g. in Stratt. 31 [PCG VII]: τὸν πέπλον. For the Med. voice, cf. Erot. ὄνεύεσθαι· τείνειν. – ὄνος was frequent in proverbs.

ὄρνεάζομαι: see ὄρنيθεύω.

ὄρنيθεύω 'to catch birds' (ὄρνις 'bird'; cf. θηρεύω, ἰχθυάω) is found in Xen. HG 4,1,16. The Med. voice ὄρنيθεύομαι was used as an equivalent of οἰωνίζομαι (Dion. Hal. 4,13; Hecat. Abd. 14 = FrGH 264 F 21,202). Other denominatives from ὄρنيθ-: Pass. ὄρنيθόομαι 'to be changed into a bird' (Philoch. 207; also ἀπ- [Str. 6,3,9; Heraclit. Incred. 35; Sch. Ar. Av. 100]; μετ- [late]), ὄρنيθιάζω 'to talk bird-language' (Sch. Ar. Av. 1678). Still another verb was coined from the variant ὄρνεον (from Hom.), i.e. ὄρνεάζομαι: 1) 'to twitter like a bird' (Aq. Is. 8,19, perhaps also 38,14 [for ὄρνίθω]); 2) 'to carry the head high' (like a fowler looking out for birds; perhaps from comedy, see PCG VIII *443 = Com. adesp. 1202; Hsch. ὄρνεάζετο· μετέωρον ἐπῆρε τὴν κεφαλὴν).

ὄρنيθιάζω: see ὄρنيθεύω.

ὄρنيθόομαι: see ὄρنيθεύω.

ὄρταλίζω: see ἀνορταλίζω.

*ὄφιαίω (ὄφις 'serpent') may be deduced from the medical term ὄφιασις (cf. Strömberg, *Theophrastea* 193): 1) a bald place on the head, of serpentine or winding form (Gal. 10,1004; 12,381); this was also called simply ὄφις (Cels. 6,4; Poll. 4,192); cf. also Gloss. III 603,33: *ofiasis alopecia* (see above s.v.); 2) a form of leprosy in which the patient sheds his skin like a snake (Ps.-Gal. 14,757).

*παρδαλώω (πάρδαλις 'leopard, panther') may be deduced from παρδαλωτός 'spotted like a leopard' (Luc. Bis Acc. 8); cf. also παρδαλώδης 'leopard-like'.

παροιστράω (-έω): see οἰστράω.

[πελαργός: see ἀντιπελαργέω.]

[πέρδιξ: see ἐκπερδικίζω.]

περικοκκύζω: see κοκκύζω.

πιθηκίζω 'to play the ape' (πίθηκος 'ape', Keller I 6; cf. Müller, *Schimpfwörter* 331), used of flatterers and those who were engaged in trickery (which was called πιθηκισμός: Ar. Eq. 887; cf. also δημοπίθηκος in Ra. 1085), cf. Ar. Th. 1133 (which combines 'ape' with 'fox': μιάρως ἀλώπηξ, οἶον ἐπιτήκίζέ μοι: Taillardat 20, 228) and V. 1290;²⁵ later Lib. Ep. 424,1 (πίθηκοι πιθηκίζοντες) and 1397,5. The Med. voice seems to be found only in Sch. Dem. 18,242 (VIII p. 325 Dindorf), explaining the expression αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος (see the commentary by Wankel, cit.). For the prefixed form διαπιθηκίζω, see PCG VIII *451 = Com. Adesp. 980: διαπιθηκίσαι· τὸ διαπαίξαι...φιλοπαιγμονέστατον γὰρ τὸ ζῶον, etc.

[πιπίζω: see τιτίζω.]

πορτακίζω 'to subdue, to tame' (πόρτις 'young heifer, calf' [younger than δαμάλη]; Hsch. πορτάκινον· μοσχίον) is known from Hsch. πορτα- <κί>ζει· δαμαλίζεται. – Note also that δαμαλίζω (cf. δάμνημι) derives from the stem δαμα- which produced δάμαλις / δαμάλη 'heifer' (the former also 'girl') and δαμάλης 'subduer' or 'young steer' (for Eros as δαμάλης in Anacr. 357 P, see now W.J. Henderson, *Akroterion* 43 [1998] 11). This verb is found twice: Eur. Hipp. 231 (πώλους δαμαλιζομένα) and Pi. P. 5,121 (δ. χρόνον [probably], for which see R.W.B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* [1962] 148 f.).

²⁵ For the ape in ancient comedy, see S. Lilja, *Arctos* 14 (1980) 31 ff. (the verb on p. 32).

προβατεύω 'to keep cattle' (πρόβατον, usually in plur., 'cattle, herds'; in Att. prose and comedy mostly of sheep) is known from Dittenberger, SIG³ 1165 (Dodona) and App. BC 1,7, whereas the reference is to sheep in AP 7,636 (Crin.). Cf. further App. BC 1,8 where the verb means 'to graze' and Dion. Hal. 1,37 (Pass.) 'to be grazed by cattle'. – Besides this farming term, who knows if there was also the verb *προβατίζω (cf. προβατόδης 'simple'; πρόβατον was also used in the sense of ἡλίθιος, cf. Taillardat 255)?

*προβατίζω (?): see προβατεύω.

προψηνίζω: see ψηνίζω.

πωλεύω 'to break in a young horse' (Xen. Eq. 2,1, etc.; πῶλος 'foal' or any young animal), also in Pass. 'to be trained' (Him. Ecl. 21,4; Ael. NA 13,8; 16,36).

*σαυρόω (σαύρα [also σαῦρος] 'lizard'; Keller II 273) may be deduced from σαυρωτός which means: 1) furnished with a σαυρωτήρ (from Hom. Il.), i.e. 'spike at the butt-end of a spear' (by which it was stuck into the ground; cf. Hsch. σαυρωτοῖς δόρασι· τοῖς σαυρωτήρας ἔχουσι κατὰ τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος); 2) 'spotted like a lizard' (Hsch. σαυρωτή· ποικίλη). Thus the denominative would mean 1) 'to make acute like a lizard's tail'; 2) 'to make spotted like a lizard'.

σητάω 'to fret' (σής, σεός 'clothes-moth, book louse'; Davis-Kathirithamby 110 f.; Beavis 136 ff.) is found in Suda σητώμενα· βιβρωσκόμενα. The verb is formed from the stem σητ- which occurs in Arist., Men. and later (cf. θής, θητός).

σιαλόω 'to fatten' (σίαλος 'fat hog'; Mycen., Hom., etc.) is attested in Hsch. σιαλοῦται· τρέφεται (Pass.) and, in a more abstract sense, σιαλωσαι· ποικίλαι, i.e. 'to embroider, to adorn, to embellish'.

σκνίπτω: see κνιπέω.

σκομβρίζω (σκόμβρος 'mackerel'; Thompson, Fishes 243 ff.) is explained by Hsch. as follows: σκομβρίσαι· γογγύσαι· καὶ παιδιᾶς ἀσελγοῦς εἶδος. The latter explanation is made clear by Hsch. = ῥαθαπυγίζειν 'to give a slap on the buttocks', whereas the former ('to murmur, to grumble') probably alludes to a voice produced by the fish (see Strömberg, Fischnamen 73, though his etymological proposal can hardly be correct). The notion of slapping (cf. ῥαθαπυγίζειν) may derive from the way in which a mackerel slaps its tail against the sides of a boat, see Chantraine, Dict. 1021, who also refers to the possibility that σκομβρίζω in the sense 'to

make like a mackerel' could allude to the act of 'bruising' on the analogy of the bluish stripes on both sides of the fish.

σκορακίζω: see κορακόω.

σκορπιάνομαι: see σκορπίζω.

σκορπίζομαι: see σκορπίζω.

σκορπίζω 'to disperse, to scatter' (σκορπίος 'scorpion'; Keller II 470 ff.; Beavis 21 ff.), often found in late sources, according to Phrynichus a Ionic word used by Hecataeus (FrGrH 1,366: σκορπίζεται· Ἐκαταῖος μὲν τοῦτο λέγει Ἴων ὄν, ὁ Ἀττικὸς δὲ σκεδάννυται φησί). The prefixed form διασκορπίζω bears the same meaning (Plb., NT, etc.). But σκορπίζω has two further meanings close to that of 'dispersing' and 'scattering': 1) 'to discharge arrows' (with a σκορπίος, an engine of war resembling the scorpion: RE III A 584 ff.); 2) 'to spread manure' (P.Soterichos 1,26 [AD 69], with a note on P.Flor. III 369,1 [AD 139] where one has to read σκορπι[ῶ]; 2,22 [AD 71]; BGU 2354,8 [second cent. AD] with the verb κοπρίζειν, both referring to the fertilizing of the land). Apart from the military term, the connection of these verbs with the scorpion is not immediately clear (Chantraine, Dict. 1022 proposes that the verb may have something to do with the use of scorpions in magic rituals. There is, in fact, evidence for the use of scorpions for magic purposes, but one cannot easily see how the verb σκορπίζω would be related to magic practices²⁶). One could perhaps assume that the basic meaning of 'dispersing, scattering, spreading, etc.' derives from the way in which the scorpion moves and uses its sting. It was a popular belief in antiquity that scorpions are ready to sting at every possible opportunity (e.g. Plin. nat. 11,87: *semper cauda in ictu est*; Beavis 28). As for σκορπιάνομαι 'to be enraged' (Procop. Arc. 9) = σκορπιόομαι (Hsch. σκορπιούται· ἀγριαίνεται, ἐρεθίζεται), one may plausibly think of the scorpion's venom and someone who makes venomous remarks. Enraged and malicious persons were in fact traditionally compared with scorpions (cf. e.g. Diogenian. 8,59: ἐπὶ τῶν κακοήθων λέγεται; Macar. 7,72 [= Com. Adesp. 734]: σκορπίους βέβρωκεν, of an angry person; Apul.

²⁶ Scorpions were often depicted on various magic and apotropaic objects (gems, rings, etc.) and they were also to some extent used in the production of drugs and philtres (RE III A 1808 ff.). On the other hand, there were various magic devices to make scorpions harmless. For the scorpion in Mithraic symbolism, see A. Mastrocinque, Studi sul mitraismo (il mitraismo e la magia), *Historica* 4, Roma 1998, passim.

met. 9,17: *decurio, quem scorpionem prae morum acritudine vulgus appellat*; sycophants as compared with scorpions: Taillardat 424 f.; cf. further Opelt 235 on *scorpio* and other animals in Jerome's language).

σκορπιόομαι: see σκορπίζω.

σκυλακεύω 'to pair dogs for breeding' (σκύλαξ 'young dog, puppy', also of other animals) is known from Xen. Cyn. 7,1; Arr. Cyn. 31,1. In Pass. it means 'to be suckled' (by a she-wolf: Str. 5,3,2) or 'to be trained from puppyhood' (of dogs: Max. Tyr. 1,1; σκυλακευτής 'dog-trainer' in Him. Ecl. 21,4; cf. also πωλεύεσθαι). σκυλάκευμα 'whelp, cub' could also refer to boys (contemptuously). – This verb is etymologically related to the following entry.

σκυμνεύω 'to rear' (σκύμνος 'cub, whelp' [esp. lion's whelp], also of people) is attested in Philostr. Im. 2,18 (νέβρους τῆ Γαλατεία). – Cf. the previous entry.

σκωληκιάω 'to breed worms, to be worm-eaten' (σκώληξ 'worm, larva' [esp. the wood-boring larva], Lat. *vermiculus*; Davis–Kathirithamby 96, 102 f.; Beavis 150 f.) is known from Gp. 10,90,5 and Orib. Fr. 10 (cf. also above Hsch. on εὐλάζω). Besides, there is σκωληκόομαι 'to be infested by worms, to be worm-eaten' (Pass.; Thphr. HP 4,14,2, etc.), the technical term for that state being σκωλήκωσις = σκωληκίασις (Davis–Kathirithamby 175 n. 162). A third denominative was coined with the suffix -ίζω, i.e. σκωληκίζω: 1) 'to wriggle like a worm' (Med. -ίζονται in Hsch. with no further explanation of the use); 2) 'to beat feebly and irregularly', of the pulse (Gal. 8,553, etc.), cf. μυρμηκίζω (ibid.)

σκωληκίζω: see σκωληκιάω.

σκωληκόομαι: see σκωληκιάω.

σκώπτω 'to mock, to jeer, to scoff at' (from Ar., see LSJ; σκώψ 'Scops Owl' [*Otus scops*], Thompson, Birds 262 ff.; Pollard 54). Ancient writers already thought that the verb derived from the owl's name (Ael. NA 15,28; Ath. 9,391a–b; further Sch. Theoc. 1,136). Though their fantastic explanations did not hit the mark, the possibility still exists that σκώπτω comes from σκώψ. Since it seems very likely that σκώψ is related to σκέπτομαι (cf. κλώψ : κλέπτω) which refers to the disquieting and insistent look, one may imagine accordingly that σκώπτω is a denominative of σκώψ, likewise taking its meaning from the bird's piercing glance, see Chantraine, Dict. 1026 (and cf. also Frisk, Wb. 747).

[σπάλαξ: see ἀποσπαλακώω.]

στρουθίζω 'to chirp like a sparrow' (στρουθός 'sparrow' [*Passer spp.*], incl. other small birds, the word denoting the ostrich as well, though normally with an epithet like μεγάλη, κατάγαιος, etc.; Thompson, *Birds* 268 ff.; Pollard 29 f.) is attested in comedy, perhaps Aristophanes (Ar. 973 [PCG III 2] = Com. Adesp. 1155, from Eust.), and Thd. Is. 10,14; 38,14. Moreover, στρουθωτός 'painted or embroidered with birds' (Sophr. 190) would seem to point to the existence of the denominative *στρουθόω. – στρουθίζω 'to cleanse with the herb of στρούθειον' has nothing to do with the bird.

*στρουθόω: see στρουθίζω.

συνένω: see ὑνένω.

συόομαι: see ὑνένω.

*σφηκίζω: see σφηκόω.

*σφηκιάω: see σφηκόω.

σφηκόω 'to make like a wasp' (σφήξ 'wasp'; Davis–Kathirithamby 75 ff.; Beavis 187 ff.), i.e. 'to pinch in at the waist, to bind tightly', (also) 'to close' (cf. σφήκωμα 'the point of the helmet [where the plume is fixed]: Soph. Fr. 341). The Pass. voice 'to be bound tightly' occurs as early as Hom. Il. 17,52 and the latest attestations of the verb are in Nonn. D. (see LSJ s.v.). Moreover, one could deduce the verb *σφηκιάω from Hsch. σφηκίωσις· κηρία σφηκῶν, though the explanation is somewhat strange (combs in a wasps' nest). *σφηκίζω is equally plausible because Hsch. gives σφηκισμός 'imitation of the buzzing of a wasp on the flute' (cf. Taillardat 460 on Ar. Ach. 864 ff. where flute-players are compared with wasps; who knows if there was also a dance by the same name [cf. γερανίζω, κολαβρίζω]?). Three prefixed forms are attested: διασφηκίομαι 'to be made like wasp' (Ar. V. 1072: μέσον διεσφηκωμένον 'wasp-waisted', of a member of the chorus; also in Nonn. D. [Act.]), ἀποσφηκόω 'to untie, to loosen' (Nonn. D.), ἐπισφηκώω 'to bind on/to' (Nonn. D.; also Med.). For the adj. σφηκώδης, see Taillardat 129.

ταυράω 'to want the bull', of cows (ταῦρος 'bull') is found only in Arist. HA 572a31 (with v. l. ταυριάω; cf. καπράω), the Pass. ταυρόομαι being more frequent (Act. only in Hsch. ταύρωσον· ταῦρον ποίησον). This means 'to become savage like a bull' and it usually indicates savage behaviour with special reference to the angry glance (Aesch. Ch. 275: see the commentary by A.F. Garvie [Oxford 1986] 113; Eur. Med. 92), being used of transformation literally only once (Eur. Ba. 922, of Dionysus; for

βουκολέω and βούκολος in allusion to tauriform worship of Dionysus/Sabazius, cf. above n. 9). The prefixed form ἀποταυρόομαι is used of both the savage glance (Eur. Med. 188, of a lioness with cubs; cf. Taillardat 207) and the metamorphosis (Erot. s.v. κερχνώδεα [cf. TGF Soph. 257], of Io turned into a heifer). Finally, there is ταυρίζω, a gloss on τείνω (An. Ox. 2,417, uncertain), perhaps meaning the act of stretching a bull's hide. – Cf. also s.v. βοόω.

ταυριάω: see ταυράω.

ταυρίζω: see ταυράω.

ταυρόομαι: see ταυράω.

τερηδονίζομαι (Pass.) 'to be worm-eaten', of roots (Dsc. 1,1; τερηδών 'shipworm, woodborer' [in larval stage]; cf. Davis–Kathirithamby 98; Beavis 152), also 'to be carious', of bones (which is called τερηδονισμός, cf. Antyll. ap. Orib. 44,23,10).

τετράζω 'to cackle like a τέτραξ' (τ. is a game-bird [*Galliformes spp.*], here perhaps to be identified with the Guineafowl [*Numida meleagris*] rather than the Black Grouse [*Lyrurus tetrix*], cf. Thompson, Birds 282 f.; Pollard 22) is attested in Alex. Mynd. ap. Ath. 9,398d (according to this source, the bird cackles on laying an egg). – τετράζω 'to observe a four-day cycle' does not belong here.

τιτίζω 'to cry *ti ti*, to cheep like a young bird' (τιττ- v. l. in Poll. 5,89) is known only from τιτίζοντας which was read by Zenod. for τετριγῶτας (< τρίζω) in Hom. Il. 2,314 (though, according to Eust. 490,40, he read τεττίζοντας because of τέττα, τέττιξ, cf. Tichy 263 f.). On Photius' testimony, τιτίς means a 'small chirping bird'. – There are two comparable verbs with no corresponding animal names, i.e. πιπίζω 'to pipe, to cheep, to chirp' (Ar. Av. 306; Tichy 263) and τιττυβίζω (also ἀμφιτ. 'to chirp around', Ar. Av. 235; Tichy 265), the latter being used of the partridge (probably the Rock Partridge) and of swallows (and other small birds). However, one would not be surprised to find nouns like *πιπ(π)ίς or *τιττύβη in lexicographical works (cf. κακκάβη, κακκαβίζω). Such words may in fact have existed in classical Attic.

[τιττυβίζω: see τιτίζω.]

τραγάω: see τραγίζω.

τραγίζω 'to break, to grow rough and hoarse', of boys' voices (τράγος 'he-goat'; Hippocr., Arist., etc.); 'to smell like a goat' (Gal. 14,57). The first meaning is also borne by τραγάω (Medic., Philos.), but this verb was used

in another and quite specific sense as well: 'to be over-luxuriant, to run to leaf', of vines (Arist., Thphr., etc.), the over-luxuriant shoots of a vine being called ἐπίτραγοι (for a description of this botanical disease, see Thphr. HP 4,14,6). These were unproductive, as was ἐπιτραγίας (Capon-fish: Thompson, Fishes 65), a barren fish which has neither milt nor roe but grows fat (Arist., Plut.), see Strömberg, Fischnamen 103. The connection with the goat is based on the notion that corpulent goats are not particularly prolific. – For the formation, cf. καπράω.

τριγλίζω 'to laugh' (Hsch. τριγλίζειν· κατὰ μίμησιν ἐπὶ τῶν γελώντων) is a denominative from τρίγλη 'red mullet' (Thompson, Fishes 264 ff.) which, in turn, is based on τρίζω 'to utter a shrill cry', etc. because of the voice produced by the crunching of cartilages covering the gills when the fish is being hauled up or when it swims ashore to eat (I have verified such a sound myself; for details, see Strömberg, Fischnamen 71 ff.). This makes it likely that τριγλίζω was used of tittering in particular. Note that τριγμός / τρισμός 'shrill cry, scream' was used of various animals, including some fishes. – Cf. κίχλη : κιχλίζω.

ὑάλομαι: see εὐλάζω.

ὑηνέω 'to be as stupid as a hog (for which the term was ὑηνία), to play the hog' (from ὕς 'hog, (wild) swine' through the adj. ὑηνός; – συηνέω, συηνία Phot. [σῦς is attested from Hom. onwards; for σῦς and other similarly sounding words, cf. P. Kretschmer, Glotta 13 [1924] 132 ff.]; Keller I 404). The one who does such things is ὑηνεύς and the adjective is ὑηνός 'swinish' (cf. σῶδης 'swinish, gluttonous', also 'stupid': Plut., Philostr., etc.). The verb is first found in Plato (Th. 166c: ὕς δὲ καὶ κυνοκεφάλους λέγων οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ὑηνεῖς, ...) who also has the adj. (Lg. 819d: θρέμματα ὑ.), cf. P. Louis, Les métaphores de Platon, Rennes 1945, 131 n. 32. ὑηνία 'swinishness, swinish stupidity' is found in Ar. Pax 928; PCG VII: Pherecr. 271; Epich. 148 (of the final stage of drunkenness); for ὑηνία and ὑηνός, cf. also Call. 38 (PCG IV) and Taillardat 254. – ὑίζω 'to squeal like a pig' is known from Poll. 5,87 (with ὑῖσμός). There is also συόομαι 'to become swine' (Elias in Porph. 119,22; sixth cent.).

ὑίζω: see ὑηνέω.

ὑπομοσχεύω: see μοσχεύω.

ὑποψηνίζω: see ψηνίζω.

ὑύζω 'to make the sound of υ υ' (of owls), a varia lectio for ἰύζω in Poll. 5,90 (Tichy 246).

φαλαγγιάω 'to be venomous' (φαλάγγιον [dim. of φάλαγξ] – *phalangia* were a group of venomous spiders, cf. Beavis 44 ff.) may be deduced from Hsch. φαλαγγ(ι)ῶσα· τεθηριωμένη, ἠρεθισμένη.

φθειριάω 'to be lousy' (φθείρ 'louse'; Davis–Kathirithamby 168 ff.) is known from comedy (PCG VIII 922 = Com. Adesp. 280) and Diog. Laert. 5,5 (of Callisthenes who was kept in an iron cage, φθειριῶν καὶ ἀκόμιστος; the same man in Plut. Alex. 55,5; for the dying Sulla, see Plut. Sull. 36,3), and it was normally used as a strictly technical term of the alleged morbus pedicularis (Gal., Dsc.; of bees and oxen: Gr.; of vines: Str.), the name of the disease being φθειρίασις (Lat. *pediculatio*; A. Keaveney – J.A. Madden, Symb.Osl. 57 [1982] 87 ff.). φθειρίζομαι 'to louse, to pick the lice off oneself' is attested in Arist. fr. 76; Thphr. Sign. 16; Apollod. ap. Ath. 13,586a (of a courtesan called Φθειροπύλη 'Louse-Gate'), the Act. being found in LXX Je. 50 (43),12 and Gloss. II–III passim: *peduculo* φθειρίζω, *peduculat* φθειρίζει. The corresponding nouns for 'picking lice' were φθειρισμός (Gloss. II 520,3 *pthirismus*) and φθειριασμός (Gloss. II 495,18). Note, finally, φθειριαστική (τέχνη) '(the art of) louse-catching' in Pl. Sph. 227b.

φθειρίζω: see φθειριάω.

χελιδονίζω 'to twitter like a swallow' (χελιδών 'swallow' [*Hirundinidae spp.*], Thompson, Birds 314 ff.; Pollard 30 ff.) was used of barbarous tongues in Aesch. Fr. 450 (being synonymous with βαρβαρίζω), the twittering of the swallow being frequently associated with non-Greek speech (Aesch. Ag. 1050; Ion Trag. 33; Ar. Ra. 93, 681; cf. Taillardat 299 f.).²⁷ The verb had a different meaning on Rhodes, being applied to the Swallow-Song which Rhodian boys went about singing at the return of the swallows in the month Badromios. The song is given and the verb is attested in the description of the local practice in Thgn. Hist. ap. Ath. 8,360c (FrGrH III 526; the verb also in Eust. 1914,43 who gives the term χελιδονισμός in 1914,16). The singers were called χελιδονισταί (Hsch.). – For the Rhodian Crow-Song (and comparable terms), cf. above s.v. κορωνιάω.

χελλύσσω 'to spit out (the waves)', of a swimmer (χέλυς 'tortoise'; also 'arched breast, chest', from its similarity in shape to the back of a tortoise), is found in Lyc. 727 (one may also think of water flowing out of

²⁷ Compare κλαγγάζω (Maurice 196), onomatopoetic word for the cry of the cranes in Poll. 5,89, which refers to the language of the Scythians in Porph. Abst. 3,3.

the mouth of a corpse, see Lykophrons *Odysee*: Alexandra 648–819, übers. und kommentiert von G. Schade [1999] 136). Med. χελ(λ)ύσσομαι 'to expectorate' refers to a dry retching and hawking in Nic. Al. 81, and it will also have been in current use as a medical term; cf. further ἀναχελύσσομαι 'to cough up' (Hippocr. ap. Sch. Nic. Al. 81; Erot. = ἀναπνεῖ). Moreover, the meaning 'to cough' is found in Hsch. χελούειν· βήσσειν, where χ. may be a Lacon. (?) form of *χελύειν (cf. Clem. Al. Protr. 2,38,5, of the Spartans: τὸ βήττειν χελύττειν καλοῦσιν). – Note also that it may be an accident of survival that we do not know the verb *χελωνίζω, for χελώνη 'tortoise' was commonly used of slowness.

*χελύω (?): see χελλύσσω.

*χελωνίζω (?): see χελλύσσω.

*χημόω may be deduced from χήμωσις which means an affection of the eyes, when the cornea swells like a cockle-shell so as to impede sight (χήμη 'clam, cockle-shell'; Gal. 19,436; Demosth. Ophth. ap. Orib. Syn. 8,42; Paul. Aeg. 3,22).

χηνιάζω 'to cackle like a goose', of a bad flute-player (χήν 'goose' [*Anser spp.*], mostly the tame goose descending from the wild Greylag Goose [*Anser anser*], see Thompson, *Birds* 325 ff.; Ath. 14,657e: χηνίζω, with the same sense), is known from Diph. 78 (PCG V): ἐχηνίασας. Note also that bad poetry was traditionally compared with the croaking of the raven (evidence in Opelt 221 n. 17).– The ending -ίζειν would be more normal, but cf. ὀρνιθιάζειν (Sch. Ar. Av. 1678).

χηνίζω: see χηνιάζω.

χοιρίζω 'to behave like a pig' (χοῖρος 'pig'; Keller I 404) is attested in Sch. Pl. Tht. 166c which explains the verb ὑνέω (see above): οἶον ὡς εἴ τις εἴποι χοιρίζεις. Cf. further χοιρώδης 'swinish' (Hdn. Epim. 153; Leonid. ap. Aet. 16,44) and χοιρωδία 'swinishness' (Sch. Ar. Eq. 984).

ψηνίζω alludes to the process during which fruiting branches of the wild fig are hung near the cultivated one so that the fig-wasp (ψήν; Davis–Kathirithamby 81 f.; Beavis 212 ff.) living in the wild fig may accomplish an effective pollination (for synonyms, cf. ἐρινάζω, ὀλυνθάζω, Thphr.; L. Georgi, CPh. 77 [1982] 224 ff.). Besides the botanical meaning, the denominative was used metaphorically of committing buggery, perhaps in comedy: οὐδεις κομήτης ὅστις οὐ ψηνίζεται (Com. Adesp. 12 [not in PCG; cf. Taillardat 174 n. 4]; cf. Synes. Ep. 104,244; Suda s.v. ψηνίζεται; Macar. 6,74). As for the other occurrence of ψηνίζω (in Ar. Eq. 523), the verb

probably alludes to the Ψῆνες, a play by Magnes who is ridiculed in the same passage. On the other hand, it has been argued that there was no such play, ψηνίζω 'buzzing like a ψήν' and the similar expressions of the passage simply making a mock of some peculiar voices and things that were heard and performed in Magnes' comedies (E. Spyropoulos, *Hellenika* 28 [1975] 247 ff., esp. 264 f.; cf. A.H. Sommerstein, in: *The comedies of Aristophanes II: Knights* [1981] 171). – Two prefixed forms are attested, the first in botanical, the second in metaphorical use: προψηνίζω 'to inoculate figs beforehand' (EM 818,29) and ὑποψηνίζω (Suda s.v. ψῆνες: ὑπεψηνισμένη, of gravid women [possibly from a comic poet]).

ψυλλίζω (from ψύλλα 'flea' [also ψύλλος, ψύλλαξ]; Davis–Kathirithamby 149; Beavis 240 ff.), attested only in Suda ψυλλίζω· αἰτιατικῆ, perhaps means 'to catch fleas' (cf. φθειρίζω), or 'to be afflicted with fleas'.

In the above list, I have included a number of verbs which could be deduced from verbal adjectives (type παρδαλωτός : *παρδαλόω). In addition, there are a number of nouns which surely could point to the existence of denominative verbs, but the inclusion of such material would extend the present paper excessively. To take only two examples, since χαμαιλέων 'chameleon' was also used of an image of changefulness, one may wonder whether some authors had the verb *χαμαιλεοντίζω in their vocabulary. Likewise, κανθήλιος 'pack-ass', especially when meaning 'ass, blockhead' (Müller, *Schimpfwörter* 333; Taillardat 255), might well suggest the verb *κανθηλίζω. These and many similar coinages would be quite plausible in Greek.

Most of the denominatives listed above fall into two functional categories, agentives and factitives (both taken in a broad sense; cf., in general, Sihler 511 ff.). More than half of the material belongs to the former group, whereas factitives make up a fifth of all verbs. The number of agentives is not surprising, considering that animal denominatives usually refer to situations where the appearance, behaviour, movement, cry or any specific characteristic of an animal is compared with human appearance, etc. (cf. Eng. *to dog* 'to do what a dog does' [whatever it may be]). Such verbs rarely allude to other animals (e.g. βατραχίζω, ιερακίζω). Agentives were often consciously abusive and pejorative, but they could also be simply descriptive, or something else; in fact they could take on an infinity of

meanings, depending on how the appearance, behaviour, etc. of an animal was defined and conceptualized and how such things were thought to be related to the human world (in general or in some specific regard). Because of their wide range of meanings, agentives are found in many kinds of literature, being, however, particularly frequent in comedy, proverbs and the like. Most of the agentives are in -ᾶζω and -ίζω (or -ύζω) which form a massive number of denominatives in Greek (Sihler 516 f.). The typically agentive -εύω occurs in some cases (ἄρκτηεύω, etc.; Sihler 518), and occasionally we find other affixes as well (-άω, -έω).

Factitives were normally formed with the affix -όω (e.g. σφηκόω 'to make like a wasp'; Fraenkel 67 ff. [some animals: 70]; E. Tucker, TPhS 1981, 15 ff.; Sihler 522), the passive voice being used especially of various kinds of transformations (ἀπολεοντόομαι, δελφακόομαι, ὄρνιθόομαι, etc.; Sütterlin 120 ff.). Moreover, this affix (Pass.) occurs in a number of medical terms alluding to diseases (e.g. ἐξηπιαλόομαι, θηριόομαι, etc.; Act. e.g. *χημόω), though verbs for diseases more normally ended in -ιάω (e.g. ἐλεφαντιάω, μυρμηκιάω, etc.; Sütterlin 29 ff.), but cf. also μυρμηκίζω as well as the terms for the conditions in which someone or something is infested with bugs, worms, etc. (e.g. εὐλάζω, κορίζω, τερηδονίζομαι; cf. also ψηνίζω in botanical use). Many denominative affixes do have a particular function, but there are always verbs which do not fit (cf. e.g. λυκόω which means 'to tear like a wolf', not 'to make into a wolf', as one might expect; cf. Lat. *accipitro* = *lacerare*). Sometimes the use of different affixes would not seem to affect the basic meaning of the verb at all (e.g. καπράω, καπρίζω, καπριάω; cf. καπρώζομαι).

There are also some denominatives listed that do not allude to human behaviour, like those for 'hunting' or 'fishing' (θηράω, θηρεύω; ἔλλοπιεύω, ἰχθυάω; cf. also προβατεύω 'to keep cattle', πορτακίζω 'to tame'; φθειρίζω, ψυλλίζω, of catching lice and fleas [when they are a medical problem]). In such cases it is the animal towards which the (human) action is directed. Two technical expressions allude to animals in heat (καπράω, ταυράω), and another group of verbs in -εύω are variously related to offspring and the training of the young (μοσχεύω, ν(ε)οσσεύω, πωλεύω, σκυλακεύω and σκυμνεύω). ἵππεύω 'to ride on horseback' is also included in the catalogue, though it is based on ἵππεύς 'horseman'.

Denominatives deriving from fauna are widely related to various human and social activities (which, of course, may overlap sometimes):

botanics, cult and religion, farming and fishing, handicraft, magic, medicine (also veterinary), the military, philosophy, politics, technics, zoology. The literary (and documentary) genres and sources in which the verbs occur include a lot of comedy (much less tragedy), various types of poetry and prose (especially technical) from classical times to late antiquity, some inscriptions and papyri, a number of scholia (esp. on Ar.), and many glosses (esp. Hsch.).

The question of which animals produced more denominatives than others is clearly related to the animals' familiarity and visibility. So it is understandable that birds are the most frequently found class of animals in this material. What is more, birds are not only visible (unlike most of the fish, for example) but the different species also produce a great variety of sounds and they move in many different ways.

Appendix: Latin evidence

As already stated in the Introduction, Latin denominatives derived from animal names are much fewer than the Greek ones. Some of the verbs are clearly onomatopoeic, usually from the cry of a bird,²⁸ and for these there often exists a more or less corresponding noun: *bubilare*, *bubulare* (*bubo* 'eagle owl'); *butire* (*butio* 'bittern' [*Botaurus stellaris*]); *cac(c)abo* (cf. κᾰκκᾰβίζω); *coracinare*, *crocire* (?), *croc(c)ire*, *crocitare* (*corvus* 'raven'); *cornicor* (*cornix* 'crow'); *cucubire* (*cicuma* 'little owl'; cf. *cavannus* 'tawny owl' [*Strix aluco*]); *cuculare* (*cuculus* 'cuckoo'); *friguttire*, *fringuttire*, *fringulare*, *fringultire* – *fritinnire* (*fringillus* /-a/-o 'chaffinch' – *frisio* 'hawfinch' [*Coccothraustes coccothraustes*], *fritilla* 'wryneck' [*Jynx torquilla*]; cf. *frindio*, *frigo*); *graccitare* (*graculus* 'jackdaw'); *grillare* (*grillus*/*gryllus* 'grasshopper'); *gruere* (*grus* 'crane'); *paupulare* (*pavo* 'common peafowl' [*Pavo cristatus*]); *pipare*, *pipiare*, *pipire*, *pipilare* (*pipio* 'nestling of doves'); *tinnire* (*tinnunculus* 'kestrel' [*Falco tinnunculus*], cf. *titiunculus*); *titiare* (*titus* 'wood pigeon' [*Columba palumbus*]); *trucilare* (*turdus* 'thrush'); *ululare* (*ulula* 'tawny owl'). For all these names and verbs and the exact identification of the bird in question, I refer to André, Noms;

²⁸ For *grundire* / *grunnire* IV (also *de-*; Leumann 557), see above s.v. γρούζω: perhaps not onomatopoeic from γρού / *gru*.

André, *Onomatop.* 148 ff.; Capponi; E.–M.; Tammisto; W.–H. – In many cases, however, the verb for the cry or sound does not resemble the name of the animal at all (cf. e.g. Suet. frg. p. 250: *mustelarum drindrare*; p. 251: *vulturum pulpare*; Anth. 762,23: *cygni drensant*, etc.). Sometimes the verb is based on a sound typical of one animal only (*baubor* [of dogs: βαῦ βαῦ], *coaxo* [of frogs: *coax*, κοάξ]), cf. Gr. βάζω and κοίζω (the latter of pigs: κοί κοί).

Such onomatopoetic verbs mostly described the animal's cry alone (e.g. Carm. Phil. 34: *cuculi cuculant*; Suet. frg. p. 161: *gruum gruere*, etc.), and so they are usually not found in reference to people (which, however, is not to say that they could not have been used of people as well). A second group is made up of verbs describing many different sounds, not only those produced by animals but also human voices and other sounds (cf. e.g. *tinnire* which was used of several clanging, metallic or ringing sounds, including human speech; likewise, *ululo* 'to howl, to yell' does not allude to the owl's cry exclusively but also to other animals as well as people, even ghosts). This means that in the above Latin evidence there seem to be only two onomatopoetic verbs that characterize the human voice alone, i.e. *cornicor* 'to croak out' in Pers. 5,12 (also some late sources) and *graculor* 'to scream (like a jackdaw)' in Apul. met. 3,10,1 (emended). Significantly, both verbs are deponent (see below). The sound of the cry of those birds could be described (technically) with other verbs, probably *coracinare*, etc. (typically of the raven, but *corvus* and *cornix*, like κορώνη and κόραξ, are etymologically related) and *graccitare*. These and other cases will be discussed below, but before that I shall give a list of Latin denominatives which are not onomatopoetic, but are related to animal names in some other way.²⁹

²⁹ The following cases are omitted: *aucupo(r)* and *auspico(r)* [also *ex-*, *red-*], both compound verbs (Flobert 106 f.); *bovinor* 'to rail, to revile' (Fest. p. 30: *bovinatur conviciatur*; a connection with *bos* 'ox' is not demonstrable, cf. W.–H. 113; E.–M. 75; Flobert 188; Opelt 230 on *bovinator*); *bubulcito(r)* (Flobert 63, 289; *bubulcus* 'one who drives cattle, teamster' < *bos*); *hinnio* 'to neigh, to whinny' (onomatop., giving the aspirate to *hinnus* 'hinny' < Gr. ἵννος, γίννος); *lupor* 'to play the prostitute' (*lupa* 'prostitute' < 'she-wolf'); *pull(ul)o* I and *pullulasco* III were normally used of new shoots and sprouts, not young animals; the etymology of both *subo* I and *surio* IV 'to be on heat' (the former of female, the latter of male animals) remains uncertain (a connection with *sus* was posited in antiquity). – Moreover, I have not included cases where the

accipitro I 'to tear, to rend'. Gell. 19,7,11: *accipitret posuit* (scil. Laevius) *pro laceret*. As for *accipitrina* (scil. *ars*) 'the act of a hawk, rapacity' (Plaut. Bacch. 274), one may note that adjectives in *-inus* from bird names are attested in Latin from early times (H. Nowicki, Glotta 74 [1997/98] 104 ff.). – *accipiter* 'hawk' (cf. Opelt 235).

**araneo* I (cf. *araneans* 'full of cobwebs', Apul. met. 4,22). – *araneus, aranea* 'spider'.

arieto I 'to strike violently, to batter, to buffet' (tr., from Plaut.); 'to charge violently against, to collide', etc. (intr., Acc., Verg., etc.). – *aries* 'ram'.

barrio IV 'to trumpet' (of elephants; Suet., Fest., etc.). – *barrus* 'elephant' (from Hor.; prob. Indian), cf. ThlL II 1756 f.

baubor I 'to bark, to bay', attested in Lucr. 5,1071 (of dogs) and in some late sources (Flobert 110; later also Act.: Gloss. IV-V; Isid. differ. 1,607: *canis baubat vel latrat*; Flobert 340). Cf. βάρυζω (see s.v.).

**belvo* I (cf. *belvatus* 'decorated with beasts', of embroidery, Plaut. Pseud. 147: *Alexandrina belvata tonsilia tappetia*; otherwise late; Mignot 275). – *belva* 'beast' (term of abuse: Lilja 30 ff.; Opelt, passim; Faust 85 f.).

burdio IV 'to prance, to bear proudly' (of horses), according to Gloss. II 31,39: *burdit* ψηριτιᾶ (ψιριτιᾶ Buech.), γαυριᾶ; cf. above κορωνιάω with n. 23 on κερουτιάω. – *burdo, burdus* 'mule' (from Edict. Diocl., prob. Celtic).

caballico I 'to ride' (some late sources). – *caballus* 'horse' (esp. a riding-horse or pack-horse; from Lucil.; loan-word of uncertain origin; term of abuse: Opelt 220, 222 n. 21).

cac(c)abo (Nemes. auc. 13; Anth. 733,12; 762,19) = κακκαβίζω (see s.v.).

cancero I always seems to allude to a disease (late medical sources; note that *cancerascere* does not exist: Mignot 167 f.; cf. above s.v. καρκινώω) – *cancer* 'crab'.

caperro I 'to become wrinkled'. Plaut. Epid. 609: *quid illuc est quod illi caperrat frons severitudine?* The verb may derive from *capere* 'goat', and it was already explained in antiquity by reference to a goat's wrinkled

evidence from Romance languages might suggest the existence of a denominative verb in Latin (e.g. **piccare* [*pica, picus*], **soricare* [*sorex*], etc.).

forehead (though this etymology is not without problems, cf. E.–M.; W.–H.). For the transitive use, cf. *caperratus* 'wrinkled' (from Naev.).

caprio I is found only in Anthim. 23 f. where it seems to be a cooking term, perhaps referring to maceration (23: *pulli capriati facti melius comeduntur*; 24: *pavones caprientur bene*). – *caper* 'goat'.

catto I (Isid. orig. 12,2,38: *musionem vulgus catum a captura vocant. Alii dicunt, quod cattat*). – *cat(t)us/-a* 'cat' (both wild and domesticated; from Palladius; cf. Keller I 74).

catulio IV 'to be on heat' (Varro, Laber., Non.). – *catulus* 'young dog, whelp'.

cimico I 'to be infested with bugs' (probably; Gloss.), cf. above s.v. κοίζω. – *cimex* 'bed-bug' (term of abuse: Opelt 93, 228).

coaxo I 'to croak', of frogs (from *coax*, κοάξ [Ar. Ra.], onomatop. name for the frog's croak; *quaxare* Fest. p. 259), is first attested in Suet. Aug. 94 where it is likely to be a literary coinage (cf. further ThLL III 1392). In Greek no similar verb is known. Cf. κοίζω above s.v.

columbor I 'to bill and coo', only Maecen. Sen. epist. 114,5. – *columba* 'dove'.

equio IV 'to be on heat', of mares (Plin. nat., Col., Chiron).

equito I 'to ride' (< *eques*, with several prefixed formations), cf. ἵππεύω. – *equus* 'horse'.

equor I 'to procure horses', a rare military term (cf. *aquor*, *frumentor*, etc.) found only in the supine form in Pap. Hunt, in: Raccolta Lumbroso p. 265 col. II 56 (cf. Arch.Pap.Forsch. 8 [1927] 95); cf. Flobert 134, 522 (listed under "situatifs centripètes").

felio IV is the verb for the leopard's cry in Suet. frg. p. 247; Carm. poet. min. V 61,50; Eug. Tolet. carm. 41,50. – Prob. from *feles* (of several small carnivora, incl. the marten, polecat, wild cat).

formico I 'to experience fornication' (of the skin; Plin. nat. 30,120); 'to be slight and irregular' (of the pulse; Plin. nat. 7,171), the technical term for the former being *formicatio* (= μυρμηκίασις), i.e. a sensation as of ants were crawling under the skin (Plin. nat. 28,71; 30,72; late medical sources). – *formica* 'ant'.

gallo I is explained in Gloss. II 257,32 as βιβάζω, i.e. 'to put the female to the male' (of animals). Here, then, the object would be a *gallina*. – *gallus* 'cock'.

gallulasco III alludes to the sound of a boy's voice when breaking (Novius Atell. 20). Cf. *hirquitallio* and τραγίζω in the same sense. – *gallus* 'cock' (through **gallulus*).

hirquitallio IV 'to get a man's voice', of boys growing up, cf. Cens. 14,7: *quod Aristoteles appellat τραγίζειν, antiqui nostri irquitallire, et inde ipsos putant irquitillos appellari, quod tum corpus ircum olere incipiat*. Note that also in Greek τραγίζω could mean 'to smell like a goat' (Gal.). – *hircus* 'goat' (with an obscure element, cf. Gr. τᾶλις; term of abuse: Lilja 32, 42; Opelt 81 f., 174, 243; Faust 88 f.).

**ostreo* I (cf. *ostreatus* 'striped like an oyster', Plaut. Poen. 398: *iam quasi ostreatum tergum ulceribus gestito*; Mignot 275). – *ostreum/a* 'oyster'.

pediculo I (also *-duc-*) is the Latin equivalent of Gr. φθειρίζω: Gloss. II–III passim; Regula mag. 81,2. – *pediculus* 'louse' (replacing *pedis* in later sources, but already established in Petr., Plin., Cels.; full evidence in ThLL X 976 f.); *pedis* as a term of abuse: Opelt 93.

piscor I 'to fish', attested from Plaut. onwards (Flobert 75, 522; later also Act.: Flobert 314), cf. Gr. ἰχθυάω. – *piscis* 'fish'.

pulico I is given in Gloss. II and III (passim) as ψυλλίζω 'to catch fleas' (probably, unless it means 'to be afflicted with fleas', see above s.v.). – *pulex* 'flea' (from Plaut.; term of abuse: Opelt 93).

**testudino* I (?), cf. *testudinatus /testudineatus*, of a roof having four converging sides and no *impluvium* (Vitr., Col.). – *testudo* 'tortoise' (or anything arched like a tortoise-shell).

vermescere 'to be eaten by worms' (Aug. trin. 3,9,17, etc.); cf. also *vermigerare* in some late sources.³⁰ – *vermis* 'worm'.

vermiculo I 'to infest', of grubs, etc. (Plin. nat. 17,220, of trees, in Pass. [taken as deponent by Flobert 131]); cf. the adj. *vermiculatus*, suggesting **vermiculo* 'to make like a grub' and referring to an effect of wavy lines (of mosaics, etc.; from Lucil.), to be compared with *belvatus*, etc. – *vermiculus* 'grub, maggot', etc.

vulpinor I 'to behave like a fox', i.e. with cunning (later Act.: Gloss. V 648,36: *vulpinare fraudes et dolos facere*): Var. Men. 327: *vulpinare modo*

³⁰ Note that *verminor* (-o) 'to be affected with griping pains' (Pompon. Atell. 56, etc.) and *vermis*, which have been associated with each other from antiquity, are not etymologically related: Flobert 206 n. 3.

et concursa qualubet: erras (cf. Non. p. 46), probably addressed to a zealous adherent of mystery cults (see the commentary by J.-P. Cèbe [1987] 1412 f.); Apul. met. 3,22,6: *Ain...vulpinaris, amasio?* (taken as adj. by W.-H.); cf. Flobert 109. The adj. *vulpinus* is first attested in Gratt., Cels. and Phaedr. *Vulpes* 'fox' was often associated with cunning: Hor. sat. 2,3,186; Pers. 5,117 (also cowardice: Petr. 44,14). – Cf. Gloss. III 316,64: αλοπεκία *vulpina*; 507,32: *alupecia vulpina*, and above s.v. ἄλωπεκίζω.

The noteworthy thing about this evidence is that, unlike the Greek material, agentives and factitives used of people are extremely rare in Latin. They are almost non-existent in the early comedy and totally lacking among the verbs of Greek origin (-ίζω).³¹ Names of some animals are frequently found in an abusive, pejorative or obscene sense in Roman comedy, Plautus in particular, but despite many obvious Greek elements in Plautus' language, there are no traces of related denominative verbs.³² So, to say in Latin that "someone is / behaves / lives like a pig", one evidently used the noun 'pig' itself (cf. Opelt 229, 233 ff.; Faust 92 f.; there is no denominative corresponding to *porcus, sus* or *succula*), whereas in Greek one could well use the agentive ὑηνέω or χοιρίζω (< ὕς 'hog, (wild) boar'; χοῖρος 'pig'; cf. Eng. *to pig*, Ger. *schweinen*, Finn. *sikailla* / *porsastella* [from *sika* 'swine' / *porsas* 'pig']).³³ To be sure, one could plausibly assume a verb like **porcinari* (< adj. *porcinus*) in Latin, but if this type had been common, we would probably know more about it (for *vulpinari*, etc., see below). Many adjectives of the type *porcinus* could allude to human appearance, behaviour or temper (e.g. *asininus, caninus, caprinus, colubrinus, hircinus, taurinus, viperinus*) and several animal names were employed to describe persons from early comedy to late antiquity (often in pejorative sense: Opelt 233 ff. and passim; Faust 81 ff.), but no de-adjectival verbs are known. It is true

³¹ As can be observed from the extensive lists given by Mignot, passim. For the verbs in -ίζειν in Latin (-*issare* / -*izare* / -*idiare*), see Mignot, op.cit. 330 ff.; M. Fruyt, BSL 82 (1987) 248 ff. A number of treatises on the Latin vocabulary relating to animals are provided by F. Cupaiuolo, *Bibliografia della lingua latina* (1949–1991) (Studi latini 11), Napoli 1993, 475 f.

³² Evidence in Lilja 30 ff., 90 ff.

³³ In Greek, of course, one could also say στέλεχος εἶ,... ὄνος,... κανθήλιος: Lysipp. 8 (PCG V).

that the Greek language is generally more flexible and richer in various suffixed derivations (compare the enormously productive $-\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ with predominantly denominative functions), yet the scanty amount of comparable animal denominatives in Latin is a matter of some interest. For despite their limited number, the Latin verbal affixes covered a relatively extensive semantic range, and so in principle they could have been used for coining more variegated denominatives (incl. those based on names of animals) than are actually attested.

The Latin verbs which most resemble the Greek (agentive) denominatives are *columbor* 'to bill and coo', *cornicor* 'to croak out', *graculor* 'to scream (like a jackdaw)' and *vulpinor* 'to play the fox', all typical formations, since intransitive denominatives (or de-adjectivals) in Latin are often deponent. *Columbor* is extremely rare (Maecen. Sen. epist. 114,5: *labris columbatur*; Flobert 122) and may have a Greek pattern (either similar or identical). The same is true of *cornicor* and *graculor*, both onomatopoeic verbs (see above). The former is known from Pers. 5,12: *nescio quid tecum grave cornicaris inepte* (explained by Sch. and also found in some late sources [note that the Persian phrase was borrowed by Hier. Ep. 125,16]; Flobert 129), and the latter is found in Apul. met. 3,10,1: *hi gaudii nimietate graculari (gratulari codd., cf. H. Armini, Eranos 26 [1928] 289; Flobert 138)*. Like (perhaps) *columbor*, these verbs sound literary coinages; Maecenas and Persius may well have been familiar with $*\kappa\omicron\rho\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (see s.v.) and similar Greek expressions,³⁴ and the possibility exists that *graculor* in Apul. goes back to a Greek original (cf. $\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\acute{\alpha}\omega$), perhaps through intermediate Latin sources. *Vulpinor*, attested in Varro (whence, perhaps, Apul.), is probably a calque of $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\pi\epsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (known from Ar. onwards). It would be interesting to know whether Varro was the first writer to use this verb.³⁵

Three further verbs can be adduced here, *accipitro*, *arieto* and *caperro*. They can be taken as agentives, though it is likely that *accipitro* (=

³⁴ A close Latin model for the Persian metaphor is unlikely, though the passage (5,10–13) seems to echo some earlier writers, cf. Gli *auctores* di Persio. Primo censimento a cura di D. De Venuto, F. Iengo, R. Scarcia (Studi su Persio e la scoliastica persiana 1), Roma 1972, 47.

³⁵ One wonders whether *baubor* in Lucr. 5,1071 (*cum deserti baubantur in aedibus*, of dogs) also belongs to this category (cf. $\beta\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\omega$).

lacero in Laev. according to Gell.) alludes to some tearing beast (cf. λυκόω). But who knows whether it was also applied to people 'acting like a hawk' (in some specific regard)? In any case, the verb sounds like a literary coinage by the neoteric poet, perhaps in imitation of a Greek model (Hofmann–Szantyr 767, with references; cf. ἱερακίζω, though with a different meaning). The etymology of *caperro* is uncertain, so a connection with *caper* can be held as only possible. *Arieto* (cf. Eng. 'to ram') instead was used early on also of people 'striking against' something (e.g. a door), though the verb cannot be taken as strictly metaphorical (well established in Latin from early times, *arieto* was used of many kinds of 'battering, buffeting, colliding', etc., and it probably did not usually associate with the animal).

As factitives could be listed **belvo* and **ostreo* (cf. *belvatus*, *ostreatus*: Plaut.) as well as **testudino* (cf. *testudinatus*: Vitr., Col.) and **vermiculo* (cf. *vermiculatus*, when referring to mosaics, etc.), though such verbal paradigms should probably be taken as secondary and based on adjectives in *-atus* (Mignot 272 ff.). These are highly technical expressions and can be compared with Gr. **μύω* [reconstr. in this particular sense], **παρδαλόω*, **σαυρόω*, **στρουθόω* (perhaps also *σιαλόω*, when alluding to embellishing [Hsch.]), all related to handicraft or manufacture and deduced from verbal adjectives. It is a plausible guess that Plaut. as well as Vitruvius/Col. knew many similar expressions from Greek sources (cf. Plaut. Pseud. 147: *Alexandrina belvata tonsilia tappetia*). Adjectives like **θηριωτός* and **όστρεωτός* would be plausible in technical Greek.

For many of the other technical expressions one may assume a Greek model. Take, for example, *formico*: 1) 'to experience fornication' (*formicatio*, cf. μυρμηκίασις); 2) 'to be feeble and irregular' (of the pulse). Since μυρμηκίζω was used of both fornication and irregular pulse by Greek medical writers (cf. also μυρμηκιάω in LXX), it may be that the use of those terms by Pliny and others goes back to common Greek sources (cf. similarly *cancero* καρκινόω, *cimico* κορίζω, *pediculo* φθειρίζω, *pulico* ψυλλίζω [late / Gloss.; the possibility that there were earlier forms in *-ari* cannot be excluded]; for *vermiculo* / *vermescere* there are various corresponding expressions in Greek, cf. above). So, many of the Latin verbs would seem to be semantic and/or structural calques from Greek, adapted from literary sources or taken from various lexica, manuals and repertoires (for the phenomenon, cf. E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II, Lund 1933, 433 ff.). Note also

the early verb *hirquitallio* = τραγίζω, of boys' voice when breaking; here both languages use the word for 'goat', but in Latin there is also *gallulasco* in the same sense. For *catulio* and *equio*, of animals in heat, there are some comparable Greek expressions. On the whole, Latin denominatives without a Greek model with similar animal imagery are very rare (*burdio* [but cf. κορωνιάω with n. 23], *caprio* [but cf. τραγίζω in the sense 'to smell like a goat'], *catto* [but cf. γαλιάω: polecats used to catch mice in Greece], *felio*, *gallo*; also *coaxo*).

Whereas Greek denominatives are well represented in many types of literature from the classical period to late antiquity, the Latin material falls broadly into three groups: early period (rather insignificant, though there is something in Plautus), technical literature (mainly Plin. nat.; medical writers), various late sources (especially glosses). Examples from poetry and literary prose are almost non-existent.

Why is it, then, that the Latin evidence is so scanty in comparison with the Greek material? The first thing one may think of is the importance of animal imagery and metaphors in Greek literature, above all in early comedy (Aristophanes and others: Taillardat, passim). A distinction between humans and animals was made early on by Greek philosophers and rhetors, and adjectives like 'swinish' or 'bestial' were often used to characterize bad or low behaviour.³⁶ It is true that animal imagery was also rich in a writer like Plautus, but it may be of some relevance that verbs were not a typical characteristic of Plautian metaphor. This means that the reader is likely to find many animals in Plautus, but not in verbal expressions.³⁷ By comparison, over half of the images in any play by Terence are expressed and implied by the verb alone, whereas metaphors from animals are extremely rare in his diction; in both respects Terence clearly echoes Menander's usage (Fantham 77 ff.). In the rest of the extant Republican literature, the comparison of men with animals is by no means frequently

³⁶ K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1974, 74 f.

³⁷ In her study, Fantham 56 registers only the expressive *gannire* 'to yelp, to snarl' (of dogs), used of persons in Plaut. *Asin.* 422 (probably of a louder form of 'nagging'); the verb also in Ter. *Ad.* 556, *Ph.* 1030 ('grumbling' or 'complaining'). Cf. further Fantham 116 (and 124) on *delitiscere*, *inreperere* and *rodere* in Cicero, suggesting animal associations.

attested (see Fantham, *passim*), and the same is largely true of the Latin literature as a whole, though the examples of the use of animal imagery are evenly distributed through the centuries (for abusive terms, see Faust 96 f.; Opelt, *passim*).³⁸ Many of the Greek examples concerned various types of transformations into animals, but there is nothing of the like in Latin (even if a lot of metamorphic literature was produced in Rome).

Besides the differences between various literary genres and styles as well as individual authors, there is surely something that may be taken as language-specific. So the quantitative differences in our material between the two languages can also be explained by the fact that in Latin there is little comparable with Gr. -ίζω (or -εύω and other productive affixes), which could form agentives or imitatives from innumerable nouns. Verbal expressions of the type 'to play X, to act like X, to be X' are not particularly common in Latin. For this purpose there were a number of deponents in *-ari* functioning as agentives (*agricol-*, *arbitr-*, *domin-*, etc.; also de-adjectivals like *laet-*; cf. Flobert 520 ff. ["prédicatifs"]), and the possibility moreover exists that this usage was influenced by Greek (Leumann 546: "Gräzismus?"). This would make it even more likely that *vulpinor* and similar Latin evidence goes back to Greek originals.

Abbreviations

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³⁸ For the metaphoric and metonymic use of animal names in Latin, see also M. Fruyt, *Glotta* 67 (1989) 106 ff. As is well known, not only men but also plants were frequently named after parts of animals or the animals themselves: Strömberg, *Theophrastea*, *passim*; J. André, *Latomus* 22 (1963) 652 ff.; see also his book cited above s.v. ἔλεφαντιάω.

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THE AMAZONS: REPRESENTATIVES OF MALE OR FEMALE VIOLENCE?*

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The women most frequently depicted as acting violently against male antagonists in Attic vase-paintings are without doubt the Amazons. But how should the Amazons be considered, as regards the way in which their violent behaviour is expressed? Are their violent actions really representative of female aggression? Or should they rather be understood as reflecting the same kind of violence as shown by male warriors? An attempt to answer these questions will here be made by an analysis of how the Amazons are depicted in Attic black- and red-figure vase-paintings.

Beginning as early as the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., Amazons appear in large numbers on Attic, black-figure vases and their popularity continues also during the following, red-figure period.¹ In order

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¹ Representations of Amazons in Archaic and Classical Greek art are collected in D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957, and in P. Devambez & A. Kauffmann-Samaras, *LIMC* 1, s.v. "Amazones", 586–653, Zürich 1981. For a résumé of recent research concerning the Amazons, see A. Stewart, "Imag(in)ing the Other. Amazons and Ethnicity in Fifth Century Athens", *Poetics Today* 16:4, 1995, 571–597, esp. 572–576. Other works important for this study, but not included in Stewart are: J. Blok, *The Early Amazons*, Leiden 1995, esp. 349–430; H.A. Shapiro, "Amazons, Thracians, and Scythians", *GRBS* 24:1, 1983, 105–114; H. Blinkenberg-Hastrup, "Amazoner eller barbar?", *Klassisk arkaeologiske studier* 2, 1995, 101–116; U. Stahre, "Penthesileia – A Deadly Different Amazon and Achilles' Lost Honour", in L. Larsson Lovén & A. Strömberg, *Aspects of Women in Antiquity*, Jonsered 1998, 154–168.

to discern any iconographic differences between male and female violence, this examination will focus on the arms used by the assailants.² The study is based on the hypothesis that Attic vase-painters emphasized various types of violence, including violence used by women, through the sort of weapon with which they were depicted.³

An account will be given of the offensive and defensive weapons which Amazons are represented with in Attic black- and red-figure vase-paintings. Four categories of weapons are used. The first consists of weapons characteristic of the heavily armed Greek warrior. The second comprises weapons normally shown in connection with barbarian warriors. A third group is represented by one weapon only, the particular sword called the *machaira*. Finally, the fourth category embraces other objects used for violent purposes.

The iconographical significance of the weapons will then be established by an analysis of what other figures use them in Attic vase-paintings. Lastly, a comparison will be made with the weapons which the vase-painters seem to have considered as characteristic of women. The result will show that the Amazons are always shown with the same arms as the male warrior, and they are therefore more related to the violent actions of males than of females.

I shall now begin the interpretation by looking at Amazons armed with the same weapons as the heavily armed Greek warrior.

The weapons of the heavily armed Greek warrior

Amazons depicted with the same weapons as the heavily armed Greek warrior occur on all types of Attic black- and red-figure vases. The arms

² This investigation is part of my forthcoming dissertation, *Walking on the Wild Side: The Iconography of Female Violence in Attic-Vase Painting*. The aim is to widen the scope of our understanding of the attitude towards women in ancient Athenian society. The iconographical part of the examination will present the elements characterizing female violence in comparison with male violence. Moreover, it will explain the circumstances which caused the female violence which the vase-painters preferred to represent, and in what way it differed from the underlying motives of male assailants.

³ See F. Lissarrague, "Orphée mis à mort", *Musica e storia* 2, 1994, 269–307, esp. 286.

utilized by these Greek warriors, when shown on vase-paintings, consist of both offensive and defensive weapons.⁴ The offensive are the spear and the sword. The defensive include two different types of shields.⁵ The most common in connection with Amazons is the Argive round shield. Less frequent is the second type, the Boeotian shield, which clearly differs from the round one, by the incisions on two sides.

The Amazon fights exclusively with weapons characteristic of the heavily armed Greek soldier up to the middle of the sixth century. This is in accordance with their remaining costume during this period, which more or less corresponds to how heavily armed warriors are represented.⁶ In conformity with these, the Amazons are also depicted dressed in helmets, cuirasses and greaves. Sometimes the white skin of the Amazons is the only sign in the picture that tells us that the figure is to be differentiated from an ordinary heavily armed male warrior. There should therefore be no doubt that the Amazon's acts of violence in this early stage, at least on the iconographical level, associated these female with the Greek male warrior.⁷

The Amazon depicted as a heavily armed warrior lives on until the end of the production of black- and red-figure, Attic vases, but it soon encounters competition from an Amazon of a different appearance.

⁴ F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier*, Paris 1990, 14; J.K. Anderson, "Hoplite Weapons and Offensive Arms" in V.D. Hanson (ed.), *Hoplites*, London 1993, 15–37, esp. 22.

⁵ No iconographic difference seems to have existed between these different types of shields. On vase-paintings, warriors otherwise dressed and armed as hoplites use the Boeotian incised shield and are shown fighting side by side with identically dressed warriors armed with the round shield. The same condition is observable in connection with Amazons.

⁶ Devambez (n. 1), 637; Blinkenberg Hastrup (n. 1), 102; Blok (n. 1), 407–408, who nevertheless has found some details in the clothing of these early Amazons that distinguish it from the costume of the Greek warrior, a phenomenon which, according to Blok is the beginning of the process that resulted in the barbarization of the Amazon.

⁷ Blok (n. 1), 404.

Barbarian weapons

The second category of Amazon arms consists of weapons usually depicted only in connection with barbarians of different origins in Attic vase-paintings. They include both offensive and defensive arms. The barbarian weapons begin to show up in connection with Amazons from about 550 B.C. Their non-Greek arms seem to be due to the introduction of a new type of Amazon, who differs from her forerunners, not just by the new kinds of weapons, but also by her costume, which is of a barbarian kind.⁸ After her introduction, the barbarian Amazon exists side by side with the earlier one dressed as a warrior of Greek origin.

The new types of weapons are the Scythian bow and battle-axe, the sickle-spear of uncertain origin and the Thracian shield. The Scythian bow and the Thracian shield are the foreign weapons first introduced in the hands of Amazons in Attic vase-paintings. This takes place soon after the middle of the sixth century, whereas Amazons armed with battle-axes are brought in at a slightly later date, at the end of the same century. The Scythian bow, the axe and the Thracian shield henceforth become, during the red-figure period, very common elements in depictions of Amazons, in contrast to the rare sickle-spear, which is represented on only one Classical vase-painting.

The Scythian bow. The bow carried by Amazons is, with few exceptions, the composite bow characteristic of Scythian archers.⁹ This type of

⁸ The most detailed account of the alterations of the costume of the Amazon is given by Blok (n. 1), 407–418.

⁹ A small number of Attic, red-figure vases from the Classical period shows Amazons armed with a segment-bow, shaped like a letter D, von Bothmer (n. 1), Pl. 76:1, 77:2, 81:2, 4. The origin of this bow has not yet been demonstrated, though it is sometimes said to be of Greek derivation, M.F. Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase Painting*, Groningen 1963, 48. Besides the Amazons, also Persian warriors are now and then depicted with the straight bow, A. Bovon, "La représentation des guerriers Perses et la notion de barbare dans la I^{re} moitié du V^e siècle", BCH 87, 1963, 579–602, esp. figs. 3 and 4. However, Persians, just like Amazons, also readily carry the Scythian bow, Bovon, op. cit., Fig. 6 *bis*; : K. Schauenburg, "EYPYMEΔΩΝ EIMI", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 90, 1975, 97–121, esp. Taf. 38,1. For that reason, it seems as if the vase-painters did not make an important distinction between these different types of bows in the hands of Amazons and Persians.

bow is in Attic vase-paintings distinguished by its shape, which consists of two curves bowed inwards and meeting each other at the middle of the length of the weapon, in such a manner that it looks like a letter W.

With the composite bow goes a quiver, *gorytos*, which like the bow, is a distinctive Scythian element.¹⁰ It was used both as a quiver and as a sheath for the bow. On vase-paintings, it is recognizable by its broad, rectangular shape with a rounded ending, frequently decorated, with a flap hanging from its open side.¹¹ The quiver is usually attached to its carrier fastened at the waist by a belt, with a strap carried on the shoulder running diagonally over the body down to the waist, where the quiver is placed.¹²

About the same time as the Amazon is supplied with the composite bow and the *gorytos*, her dress also changes.¹³ The basic elements in her new costume consist of a long-sleeved coat, trousers and a pointed cap. It has recently been pointed out that this new dress of the Amazon is more or less identical with how Scythian archers are depicted in vase-paintings.¹⁴

There are, as is well known, a good many other figures depicted carrying the Scythian bow in Attic vase-paintings, both barbarians and non-

E. Bulanda, *Bogen und Pfeil bei den Völkern des Altertums*, Leipzig 1913, esp. 84–89, discerns several shapes of bows depicted in ancient Greek art. Many of the details that Bulanda uses to distinguish between his types of bows are, in my opinion, insignificant and seem to have more to do with artistic variations. I hold that Bulanda's diverse types do not represent more than the two shapes of bows here discussed.

¹⁰ For a detailed description of the *gorytos*, see Vos (n. 9), 49, and A.M. Snodgrass, *Arms and armour of the Greeks*, London 1967, 82.

¹¹ See Vos (n. 9), Pl. 9 (a–b), for illustrations in which the double function of the *gorytos* is clearly perceivable. The use of the flap has not yet been established. Vos, *op. cit.*, 50 and note 1, presents different proposals, at the same time as she states that it should probably be understood just as a kind of decoration. However, one picture, Bulanda (n. 9), 111, fig. 77, shows clearly how the flap is placed over the opening of the quiver, as a cover.

¹² Another type of quiver has also been noted in Attic vase-paintings, the one shaped like a cylinder and placed on the back of its carrier, which seems to belong together with the D-shaped bow, Bulanda (n. 9), 111–112; Vos (n. 9), 50. However, no Amazons are depicted with it.

¹³ Blok (n. 1), 408–409.

¹⁴ Shapiro (n. 1), 110–111; Blok (n. 1), 409–411; Blinkenberg Hastrup (n. 1), 101–115. Earlier this costume was traditionally described by scholars as "Oriental" or "Asiatic".

barbarians. A few dozen pictures even show heavily armed Greek warriors with the weapon.¹⁵ But, if we exclude the goddess Artemis, who, is always shown with some sort of bow as her attribute, this weapon is very unusual in the hands of women acting violent against a man. The only certain example is a painting by the Sotades Painter showing an unidentified woman defending herself with a Scythian bow and a stone against an intrusive Satyr, which, after all, does not effect the overall impression of the Scythian bow as a weapon used chiefly by male barbarian warriors, beside the Amazons.¹⁶

Moreover, since the bow appears in connection with the Amazon at the same time as she is shown in her new Scythian dress, it is obvious that they should be understood as elements belonging together, and both are used to emphasize the non-Greek identity of the Amazon.¹⁷

The battle-axe. Another weapon of barbarian origin wielded by Amazons is the battle-axe, *sagaris*. The axe appears only casually on black-figure vases at the end of the sixth century B.C., but becomes a very common weapon in connection with these female warriors in red-figure

¹⁵ Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 290–291, nos. A640–A646.

¹⁶ Giessen KIII-46; ARV² 768,35. The woman is wearing a *sakkos*, a short chiton covered by an animal skin and Thracian boots. Beazley, *ibid.*, interpreted the woman as Amymone. The problem with this reading is that Amymone in the other paintings is always shown as a respectable woman, without any allusions to a wild character, and with a hydria as her distinctive attribute. More plausible proposals are that the woman represents either Artemis or Atalanta (H. Hinkel, "Die giessener Satyrspiel-schale", *AA*, 1968, 652–663, esp. 655–658, fig. 5) or an Amazon (H. Hoffmann, *Sotades*, Oxford 1997, 92–93, fig. 51). It is true that both the dress and the Scythian bow on occasions are carried by both Artemis and Atalanta, as well as by the Amazons, though there is no other vase-painting showing either of these women pursued by a Sartyr, which makes all interpretations uncertain. There is also one other painting (San Simeon, *State Hist. Mon.* 5546) which according to L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic vase-paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston II*, Boston 1954, 75 n. 34, shows a Thracian woman attacking Orpheus with a bow. Since I have not been able to find a picture of it, I am not able to tell whether she is using a Schytian bow or not.

¹⁷ The Scythian connection of the composite bow is further marked by the circumstance that early Amazons armed with it wear also the Scythian cap. Not until the late sixth century are there isolated paintings showing the heavily armed Amazon with the composite bow, LIMC 1, "Amazones" nos. 57 and 83.

motifs from the first few decades of the fifth century B.C. The Scythian origin of the battle-axe has long been known and before the axe is introduced in connection with Amazons, it is shown in the hands of Scythian archers.¹⁸ In spite of this fact, it is still sometimes referred to as a typical Persian or Oriental weapon.

The battle-axe has already been pointed out by scholars as the barbarian weapon *par excellence*, since it is always shown in the hands of figures of barbarian derivation.¹⁹ Besides Amazons and Scythian archers, the axe is used only by Persians²⁰ and Negroes²¹ in Attic vase-paintings.

The sickle-spear. A third type of weapon with a probably foreign origin carried by an Amazon is very rare in vase-paintings on the whole. This peculiar weapon is a spear with a hooked projection, like a sickle, fastened at the change-over from the shaft to the blade. Only one fragmentary, red-figure picture has been preserved showing an Amazon handling it (Fig. 1).²² This unparalleled painting represents a battle scene including two Amazons and one Greek warrior. The Amazon to the left is fighting face to face with the warrior. Behind her, the second Amazon is seen carrying the unusual weapon and simultaneously blowing a trumpet.

Only five, other, red-figure vase-paintings in which the weapon appears have been identified and they all show it in the hands of either Phrygians or Persians.²³ It has been noticed that the picture with the

¹⁸ H. Schoppa, *Die Darstellung der Perser in der griechischen Kunst bis zum Beginn des Hellenismus*,

Munich 1933 (diss.), 54; Vos (n. 9), 50–51.

¹⁹ Vos (n. 9), 51; Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 180. One exception is the red-figure dinos by the Agrigento Painter, Athens MN 1489 (CC 1597), in which the battle-axe is used by a hunter striking at a boar; see A. Schnapp, *Le chasseur et la cité*, Paris 1997, n. 420.

²⁰ Schoppa (n. 19), 54.

²¹ Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 179, states that the battle-axe is the weapon most commonly depicted in connection with Negroes.

²² Florence 21 B 268, Leipsic T 591, Chicago Univ. and Naples, Astarita, 263 (ARV² 1274, i). All fragments published in von Bothmer (n. 1), Pl. 79:1, who was the first to notice the weapon in vase-paintings, op. cit., 181.

²³ M.C. Miller, "Midas as the Great King in Attic Fifth Century Vase-Painting", *AK* 31:2, 1988, 79–89, esp. 81–82 with footnotes 12 and 17. To this list should be added the

Amazon carrying it is the only one displaying it in a battle-scene.²⁴ In the majority of the other paintings, it is represented as a ceremonial weapon, carried at the courts of the Phrygian king Midas or by Persian satraps.

It has been suggested that this kind of weapon was called *dorydrepanon* by the Greeks, who, according to literary sources, used it both in seafights and in sieges, as well as in land battle.²⁵ Still, on the basis of the vase-paintings, it seems unquestionable that the artists gave it an Oriental connection.²⁶

The Thracian shield. The Thracian crescent shield named *pelta* is the last in the row of barbarian arms carried by Amazons.²⁷ This type of shield, with its easily recognizable shape, has given its name to the mercenaries of Thracian origin, *peltasts*, who probably introduced the weapon into Athens. Contrary to the conventional types of Greek shields made of metal, the *pelta* was produced from willow or some other light kind of wood.

unattributed Midas cup, Vatican 16585, on which the weapon has been observed by von Bothmer (n. 1), 181. N. Sekunda, "The *Rhomphaia*, a Thracian Weapon of the Hellenistic Period", in A.G. Poulter (ed.), *Ancient Bulgaria I*, Nottingham 1983, 275–288, esp. 276, alleges that the hero Perseus sometimes appears with the spear-sickle in ancient art. This is not true of Attic vase-paintings, in which Perseus normally uses an ordinary sickle, *drepanon*, in beheading Medusa, U. Kron, "Sickles in Greek Sanctuaries: Votives and Cultic Instruments", in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence*, 187–215, esp. 190–193. However, in Southern-Italian vase-paintings, Perseus is often shown with a similar weapon, but with a short handle, which makes it look more like a sickle-sword than a sickle-spear, LIMC 7, "Perseus", nos. 68, 94, 95, 147, 189 and 190.

²⁴ Miller (n. 24), 82, footnote 17.

²⁵ Sekunda (n. 24), 278–279, followed by Miller (n. 24), 82, identifies the sickle-spear with the *dorydrepanon* on the basis of descriptions of it in ancient literature. See also LSJ, s.v. "δору-δρέπανον", 445–446.

²⁶ Miller (n. 24), 82, footnote 18, informs us that, even if it is shown in vase-paintings in Oriental contexts, there is no description of it in either Persian art or literature.

²⁷ A close study of the *pelta* in Attic vase-painting and ancient literature has been made by Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 151–153 with notes 3–4, who points out that the *pelta* is always depicted with a crescent shape on vase-paintings, while ancient literary references describe the shield as being of different shapes. See also J.G.P. Best, *Thracian peltasts and their influence on Greek warfare*, Groningen 1969, 3; Shapiro (n. 1), 107.

The two earliest Amazons armed with *peltai* are depicted on one and the same black-figure cup in Munich, dated to about 525 B.C.²⁸ The picture shows an Amazon carrying her injured colleague on her back. Both are armed with the Thracian shield. This scene is later in time than the first, occasional vase-paintings showing male warriors armed with the shield, of which the earliest has been dated to the decades around 550 B.C.²⁹

The *pelta* is, besides the Amazons, also depicted in the hands of the Thracian women. However, the *pelta*, as the Scythian bow, is not one of the common weapons used by these barbarian women. Only one red-figure painting by Polygnotos, illustrating their killing of Orpheus, shows two of them armed with *peltai*, besides their more usual weapons.³⁰

There is, however, no question that the *pelta* was primarily associated with male warriors. It has been established that the *pelta* occur in relation to warriors of different kinds.³¹ It is depicted in connection, not only with Amazons, but also with male warriors dressed in various articles of clothing characteristic of barbarians of different origins, as well as in connection with a large number of warriors depicted as ordinary, heavily armed, Greek soldiers.

Amazons as barbarian warriors

As regards the case of the Scythian arms, it seems obvious that the artists used them to denote the distant identity of the Amazon. How the *pelta* should be understood in this context is not so evident, since it is generally believed that there was a Thracian fashion in Athens between 540 and 430 B.C., a fashion which inspired Athenian artists to depict all types of warriors with Thracian attributes, among them, the *pelta*, irrespective of the

²⁸ Munich, Ant.Slg. 2030; Shapiro (n. 1), 107 and pl. 3(A); von Bothmer (n. 1), pl. 61:3.

²⁹ Copenhagen 13966 (Para. 48); Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 294, no. P15, dates the vase to about 560 B.C., while Shapiro (n. 1), 107 and note 11, dates the same vase to about 540 B.C. However, both mention it as the earliest example of a warrior armed with a *pelta*.

³⁰ Princeton 1986–59, LIMC 7, "Orpheus", no. 57.

³¹ Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 233 and 294–299.

derivation of the carriers.³² It is therefore not obvious that the Thracian shield was really meant to lay stress on the alien status of the Amazon. It may well be that the appearance of the *pelta* in combination with Amazons is only to be understood as a reflection of the iconographical development of the male warrior in general, an assumption further supported by the fact that other attributes typical of Thracians are quite sparse in connection with Amazons.³³

The emphasis on the Amazon as a barbarian, initiated in the middle of the sixth century, takes place not only by her being depicted in a Scythian costume, but also by her being supplied with two types of weapon typical of warriors of Scythian origin, the composite bow and the battle-axe. The same seems also to be true of the rare sickle-spear. Whether the Thracian *pelta* should also be interpreted as a sign emphasizing the alien derivation of the Amazon or whether it should be understood only as a new detail among the already existing weapons of the heavily armed warrior is still not clear.

The weapons with a barbarian connection used by Amazons are also, as we have observed, very common in association with male warriors of all

³² Raeck (n. 14), 69; M.-A. Desbals, *La Thrace et les thraces dans l'imaginaire Grec aux époques archaïque et classique I-II*, Paris 1997 (diss.), 257–268. The reason for Thracian elements starting to turn up in Attic vase-paintings is usually credited to the fact that Peisistratos at this time is said to have hired Thracian mercenaries, whose arms and costumes, when they arrived at Athens, are believed to have inspired artistic depictions, Best (n. 28), 5–6; Shapiro (n. 1), 107–108.

³³ On red-figure paintings from the fifth century, there are Amazons shown with other Thracian attributes than the *pelta*. Most common are the Thracian boots, less frequent the cap made of fox-skin, *alopekis*, and the decorated cloak, *zeira*.

The animal skin sporadically worn by Amazons has, by some scholars, Shapiro (n. 1), 108–109; Blok (n. 1), 417, been maintained as a Thracian attribute, mainly on the basis that also Dionysus and his Maenads carry it. However, there is to my knowledge only one vase-painting showing a Thracian figure wearing an animal-skin (Once Rome, Coll. Braun; ARV² 1050,1). Instead, giants and hunters without any Thracian connection are often shown equipped with animal skins. My opinion is that the animal skin in the first place alludes to the wild sphere in the Greek imagination to which both the Amazons and the Dionysian circle belonged, as well as giants and hunters.

It is interesting to note that in early, black-figure pictures only Amazons represented as heavily armed warriors are depicted with the animal skin, LIMC 1, "Amazones" nos. 14, 24, 50 and 53, as if the artists wanted to remind their public of the wild and untamed side of the Amazon, even though she fought as a real warrior.

possible ethnic origins. It has also been demonstrated that these weapons are very rare in the hands of other women acting violent against male opponents. The male dominance concerning the use of the weapons of a barbarian origin makes it believable that these were, for one thing, connected with Amazons in order to emphasize, together with the costume, their non-Greek descent and not in order to give their violent actions a female aspect.

I now pass on to interpret the less well-known weapons used by Amazons with violent intentions.

The *machaira*

Besides the more conventional weapons of Greek and barbarian warriors, Amazons are sometimes shown fighting with a single-edged, slashing sword, generally named the *machaira* or, on occasions, the *kopis*.³⁴ The *machaira* is clearly distinguished in paintings from the ordinary straight sword, the *xiphos*, whose blade is sharpened on both edges and which is usually depicted with a cruciform hilt. The difference can clearly be seen on the detailed example of a *machaira* shown in a painting by the Niobid

³⁴ The following authors equate the *machaira* with the *kopis*: Snodgrass (n. 10), 97; M. Daumas, "L'amphore de Panaguristé et les sept contre Thèbes", *AK* 21:1, 1978, 23–39, esp. 24, note 14; Anderson (n. 4), 26; T.H. Carpenter, "Harmodios and Apollo in Fifth-Century Athens: What's in a Pose?", in J.H. Oakley et al. (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters*, Oxford 1997, 171–179, esp. 172.

No clear description of the appearance of either the *machaira* or the *kopis* is to be found in ancient Greek literature. The only detailed commentary concerns the *machaira*, which in Hesychius' lexicon is described as a sword used for cultic purposes with a blade made out of iron only in the front, M. Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon III*, 77, no. 423, see also *RE* 14:1 (1928), s.v. "Machaireus", cols. 135–136. Besides that, there is an accepted view that says that the denomination of *machaira* was used for all sorts of knives adapted for various purposes during classical times, *LSJ*, s.v. "μάχαιρα", 1085. The modern meaning of the term is obviously imprecise, when one observes that some scholars use it to denote sacrificial knives of entirely different shapes than the sword here in question, U. Kron, "Frauenfeste in Demeterheiligtümern: Das Thesmophorion von Bitalemi", *AA* 1992, 634–650, esp. 640–643 and Abb. 11.

Painter, in his famous scene of the confrontation between Theseus and Penthesilea (Fig. 2).³⁵

The *machaira* is normally illustrated with one of the following characteristics. Firstly, the blade, the cutting edge of which has a markedly convex form, widening gradually from around the centre of its length and then contracting again heavily towards its tip. The back of the blade, not sharpened, is rectilinear or just slightly curved.

A second characteristic is the design of its hilt. In general, it has a hand-guard and a coiled pommel, which project only on the cutting side of the weapon. The hilt is often designed as a sitting bird with the curled shape of the pommel serving as the head.

This type of slashing sword was not only depicted in art, but existed in real life during ancient times in Greece, as is shown by a preserved example with a shape corresponding to this type found on vase-paintings.³⁶

It has earlier been argued that, at the same time as the earliest examples of the *machaira* appeared in Attic vase-paintings, a new pose for combatants was introduced.³⁷ The figure takes a step forward with his right leg, turning his body away from the viewer. His right hand, holding the sword, is either lifted back over his head or brought to the left side of his head, as he gets ready to slash. However, in the six earliest Attic paintings which I have found, dated between 550 and 500 B.C., showing the *machaira* when used in battle, the figure handling it is never represented completely in this pose.³⁸ Later on, the pose is often given to combatants wielding the weapon, if they are shown in a superior position. Moreover, this pose is, as already noted, not only limited to the *machaira*, but is also given to figures

³⁵ Palermo, NM G 1238, ARV² 599,2; 1661.

³⁶ Snodgrass (n. 10), fig. 50.

³⁷ The new pose is often called the Harmodios blow, since it was used for Harmodios in the Tyrannicide group placed in the Agora in 477 B.C., cf. B.B. Shefton, "Some Iconographic Remarks on the Tyrannicides", AJA 64, 1960, 173–179, esp. 173; Carpenter (n. 35), 171.

³⁸ Basel, Antikenmus., Slg. Ludwig BS 408.1963, CVA Switzerland 4, Taf. 26:2, 27:2 (= 172–173); Joslyn Art Mus. 1953.255, ABV 247,93; Kiel, Kunsthalle Antikenslg. B 517, CVA Deutschland 55, Taf. 26:1 (= 2691); Athens, Acr. 211, ARV² 29,20; Philadelphia 3499, ARV² 134,10; Geneva Market (Koutoulakis), ARV² 1630, 1 *bis* and 1621,40 *bis*.

using the ordinary sword, the *xiphos*.³⁹ The pose is thus not a guarantee for the *machaira*, as the *machaira* is not a necessity for the pose.

It is clear that the *machaira* was connected in a relatively early phase with the Amazons, since they are depicted using it already on a black-figure hydria from about 530 B.C.⁴⁰ Thereafter, Amazons armed with the *machaira* appear now and then on red-figure vases during the rest of the sixth and fifth centuries.⁴¹ The *machaira* is never shown in connection with other violent women than the Amazons.

Two different opinions prevail among scholars concerning the utilisation of the *machaira* as a weapon. The first states that the weapon belonged to the usual armament of Greek hoplites.⁴² Meanwhile, the second lays stress on its widely accepted application as a sacrificial knife, even when used as a weapon, and as such mainly appearing in descriptions of exceptionally ruthless violence in ancient Greek art and literature.⁴³

³⁹ Carpenter (n. 35), 176.

⁴⁰ Joslyn Art Mus. 1953.255 (n. 39).

⁴¹ Rome, Cons. 185 (23), ARV² 274,41; Naples, MN 2421, ARV² 600,13; New York, MM 07.286.84, ARV² 613,1; Bryn Mawr P 218, ARV² 830,2; London, BME 167, ARV² 571,77; Ferrara, T 1052, ARV² 991,53; Louvre, Cp 10729, ARV² 1160,2; Louvre, G 443, ARV² 1159,1; Ferrara T 18c, 20 410, ARV² 1213,1; Basel, Antikenmus. und Slg. Ludwig BS 486, ARV² 612,2; New York, MM 44.11.12., ARV² 1344,3; New York, MM 06.1021.195, ARV² 1478,5.

⁴² H. Trümper, *Kriegerische Fachausdrücke in Griechischen Epos: Untersuchungen zum Wortschatze Homers*, Basel 1950, 61, 65–66, 74 and 126–128; Andersson (n. 4), 26; Snodgrass (n. 10), 58 and 97–98.

⁴³ This belief was first stated by G. Roux, "Meurtre dans un sanctuaire sur l'amphore de Panaguriste", *AK* 7, 1964, 30–41, esp. 33–36. The *machaira* is shown in Attic vase-paintings illustrating animal sacrifice see, F.T. van Straten, *Hiera kalá*, Leiden 1995, figs. 6, 7, 116, 123, 155, 156 and 157, and nos. V 222, V223, V230, V232 and V379. It also occurs on two scenes depicting Heracles' fight against Bousiris and his men, van Straten, *op. cit.*, V341, fig. 49 and V352.

The *machaira* depicted as a weapon with a possible reference to its use as a sacrificial knife occurs in only two vase-paintings. Both scenes depicts the episode of Priam's death included in paintings showing the Iliupersis (Malibu, Getty Mus. 83.AE.362; 84.AE.80; 85.AE.385.1–2 and Naples, Mus.Naz. 81669, LIMC 8 "Iliupersis", nos. 7 and 11). The artist's allusion to the use of the *machaira* as a sacrificial knife may in these pictures be accentuated by its combination with the bloodstained altar on which Priam is placed.

In accordance with the latter opinion the *machaira* has previously been observed, not just in connection with Amazons, but also together with a lot of other creatures of wild and barbarian disposition in Attic vase-paintings.⁴⁴ Moreover, scholars has noted the sword in the hands of hunters, and the circumstance that Apollo from time to time uses it against giants has recently been discussed.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the circumstance that the *machaira* is also used by ordinary warriors of apparently Greek origin, appearing in the same medium without being parts of especially brutal contexts, has until now not been satisfactorily discussed.

In Attic vase-painting, there are three different types of stock warriors who display the *machaira*.⁴⁶ Firstly, the type dressed in *petasos* and *chlamys*.⁴⁷ The second presents the combatant wearing the cone-shaped cap, the *pilos*.⁴⁸ Thirdly, there is the heavily armed soldier, who is the most common type.⁴⁹

However, in the rest of the paintings in which the *machaira* is used as a weapon, there is no such possible reference.

⁴⁴ Roux (n. 44); Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 31 with note 63; Carpenter (n. 35), 172–174; Best (n. 28), 7–8; J.-P. Descoedres, CVA, Switzerland 4, 82.

⁴⁵ A hunter armed with the *machaira* has been observed by Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 31 note 63. Another example is to be found in Schnapp (n. 20), n. 418. Both pictures show a boar hunt. Apollo fighting with the *machaira* is discussed by Carpenter (n. 35), 172 and 174, who thinks that the god had lost his own weapons in the fight and therefore had to use a *machaira* dropped by one of the giants. See also Roux (n. 44), 35, explaining the same circumstance by reminding us of Apollo's role as supervisor of sacrifices in Delphi.

⁴⁶ Since the *machaira* is also used as a weapon in hunting scenes by persons in similar costumes to those of warriors, the following examples include only scenes that clearly show that the person wielding the *machaira* is engaged in battle. Consequently, fragments in which the context of the action is not obvious are excluded.

⁴⁷ Louvre G 216, ARV² 637,39.

⁴⁸ Ferrara T. 19 C VP, ARV² 628,1. The *pilos* is said to have been made of felt and had a wide field of applications, W.H. Gross, s.v. "Pilos", *Der Kleine Pauly* 4 (1972), col. 852. It is generally believed to have been used by warriors to protect their skulls from their hard and uncomfortable helmets, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Kiel, Kunsthalle Antikenslg. B 517 (n. 39); Berlin, Antiquarium F 2287, ARV² 433, 68; 1653; Providence 23.323, ARV² 653, 1; Geneva Market (n. 39); Philadelphia 3499 (n. 39); Berlin, Antiquarium F 2288, ARV² 438,130 and 1701; Leipzig T. 626, ARV² 433,66; Malibu, Getty Mus. 83AE 362; 84.AE.80; 85.AE.385.1–2 (n. 44); Louvre G 117,

These three kinds of warriors can be seen on vase-paintings fighting side by side.⁵⁰ It is consequently likely that they all represent different iconographical variants of Greek soldiers.⁵¹ All the same, it does not seem as if the warriors' different looks had any influence on the painters' decision to depict them with the *machaira*, since all three types of warriors can be seen brandishing the weapon.

After this survey, it should be clear that the *machaira* is also to be included among the weapons which the artists thought were suitable for heavily armed Greek soldiers and other male combatants, even though they did not overstep the limit of what was thought of as permissible violence. And so, the arms of the Amazon are still, until now, completely of the same sort as those of the male warrior in general. We shall now see whether this circumstance is also valid for the last weapons utilized by the Amazons.

Stones and slings

There are only two Attic paintings in which a stone-throwing Amazon can be certainly identified.⁵² The first picture is shown on a red-figure

ARV² 433,62; Leningrad 657 (St. 848), ARV² 413,19; Edinburgh, NM 1887.213, ARV² 364,46; Ferrara T 579, ARV² 612,1; Madrid, Mus. Arch. Nat. 111 08, ARV² 1083(a); Naples, Mus.Naz. 81669 (n. 44); Paris, Louvre G 152, ARV 369,1.

⁵⁰ Ferrara T. 19 C VP (n. 49); Basel, Antikenmus. und Slg. Ludvig BS 486 (n. 42); Rome, Vat. O18, von Bothmer, n. 64, pl. 80,2; Capua, Mus. Camp. 7527, CVA Italia 23, Tav. 8:1 (= 1083); New York, MM 31.11.13, ARV² 1248,9; Syracuse 371 75, ARV² 1104,2; Naples, MN RC 161, ARV² 1055,74; Oxford, Ashm. Mus. G290 (V522), LIMC 1, "Amazones", n. 238; Naples, MN 2421, ARV² 600,13; Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts 95.48, LIMC 1, "Amazones", n. 240.

⁵¹ According to Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 20, ancient texts mention that there was a hierarchy as between different categories of soldiers, based on their financial prerequisite. At the very top of the scale were, of course, the heavily armed soldiers. On a lower level were the lightly armed warriors, made up of those who could not afford to arm themselves in the same way. Furthermore, it is suggested by Lissarrague op. cit., 52, that warriors depicted with *piloi* may represent some sort of lightly armed auxiliaries. If so, the question must be whether the warrior dressed in *petasos* and *chlamys* should also be interpreted in a similar way. The differences in costume between Greek warriors might then, if this conclusion is correct, have been used by painters to distinguish their various positions in a military hierarchy.

⁵² Amazons brandishing stones have to some extent been observed by E. Serbeteri,

painting by the Eretria Painter and is dated about the middle of the fifth century (Fig. 3).⁵³ The picture represents 18 combatant figures organized in five groups. The Amazon Eurymache, furthest to the left in the picture, is busy throwing a stone at her enemy. The second picture on a volute-krater by the Bologna Painter, is also a scene including a lot of combatant figures.⁵⁴ Just below one of its handles, an Amazon wearing a cap with ear-flaps and armed with a stone is assisting one of her heavily armed sisters against a Greek warrior.

The ancient texts relate that stones could also be discharged with the help of a sling, *sphendone*, and indeed, on a white-ground vase-painting attributed to the Klügmann Painter, an Amazon is shown handling a sling (Fig. 4).⁵⁵ The unique picture depicts her placing the object she is going to use as a missile in the sling. What sort of missile she is dealing with cannot be seen, but probably it is a very small stone or maybe a very small, lead ball, such as were also employed with this sort of weapon.⁵⁶

”Attic Pottery from a Deposit in Eretria”, in J.H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson & O. Palagia, *Athenian Potters and Painters*, Oxford 1997, 491–499, esp. 495–496 and fig. 5, who argues that an Amazon armed with a stone is shown in a red-figure fragment from Eretria (inv. no. 18118a). The fragment shows the heads of two figures wearing Attic helmets. The figure to the left is holding a stone in the left hand, appearing behind the heads. Serbeteri’s interpretation rests on her belief that only Amazons are shown armed with stones of a smaller size. However, also male figures are represented wielding tiny stones, so that circumstance is in my opinion not enough to decide the identity of the stone-throwing figure.

The woman armed with a stone and a bow depicted in a painting by the Sotades Painter (Giessen KIII-46) has, among other suggestions, been interpreted as an Amazon. However, the identity of the woman is not secured (n. 16). One more fragment which today has disappeared, may have showed an Amazon with a stone. The motif is only preserved as an engraving in S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints Grecs et Etrusques II*, Paris 1900, 347, n. 52.

⁵³ New York 31.11.13 (ARV² 1248,9), von Bothmer (n. 1), 162, n. 15, Pl. 77:1.

⁵⁴ Basle Antikenmus. und Slg. Ludwig BS 486 (n. 42).

⁵⁵ New York 10.210.11 (ARV² 1200,38), von Bothmer (n. 1), 202, n. 153, Pl. 84,1.

⁵⁶ The basic work of slings and sling bullets are G. Fougeres articles ”Fundas” and ”Glans” in M. Daremberg & E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* 2, Paris 1896, 1363–1366 and 1608–1611. More recent studies concerning these subjects are quoted in H.P. Isler, ”Glandes: Schleudergeschosse aus den Grabungen

The sling does not often appear in Attic vase-paintings. Occasionally athletes are shown handling it.⁵⁷ But most of the few known examples show the sling in different contexts of bird-hunting.⁵⁸ Additionally, there is also at least one vase-painting representing a sling in the hands of a Greek warrior.⁵⁹

Unlike slings, stones are far from unusual objects shown as weapons in Attic vase-paintings and can be found in the hands of a good many different figures. The greatest number of figures armed with stones are monstrous and bestial creatures from the world of the ancient Greek imagination. Among the most typical stone-throwers are the Centaur, the Giant and the Minotaur.⁶⁰ Other wild beings more sporadically shown with stones are the river god Acheloos and Theseus' famous antagonists Sinis and Procrustes.⁶¹

Among the wild and unrestrained could also be counted other women who, besides the Amazons, are depicted as armed with stones. These include the already mentioned, Thracian women when they put Orpheus to death,

auf dem Monte Iato, AA 1994, 239–254, esp. 239 footnote 2. Add H.G. Buchholz, "Die Schleuder als Waffe im Ägäischen Kulturkreis", *Anadolu* 4, 1965, 133–159.

⁵⁷ *Kunstwerke der Antike* (Auktion, 34), Basle 1967, 67, n. 134.

⁵⁸ According to S. Bleecker Luce, Jr., "The origin of the 'Nolan' amphora", *AJA* 20, 1916, 439–474, esp. 473, there are four vases showing Heracles striking at the Stymphalian birds with a sling. The famous François vase (Florence, Mus. Arch. 4209, ABV 76,1; 682) shows dwarfs or pygmies carrying slings when chasing cranes. Yet another hunter, but with another type of sling and quarry, is discussed by Y. Garlan, "Une représentation archaïque de la fronde à bâton?", *BCH* 94:2, 1970, 625–630.

⁵⁹ A red-figure amphora (Once Rouen, Coll. Bellon 609; ARV² 648,35) shows a man in a *pilos* equipped with a sling attacking a heavily armed warrior depicted on the other side of the same vase, see F. Inghirami, *Pittura di vasi fittili* 2, Fiesole 1835, Tav. 169. Since warriors and hunters are sometimes depicted with the same attributes, it is often hard to distinguish their identity if there is no other clue in the picture. This is the case with two red-figure paintings showing men with slings, without revealing whether they are aiming their slings at a warrior or an animal. For pictures, see P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des Strengen Rothfigurigen Stiles*, Stuttgart 1893, Taf. 18:1 and N. Kunisch, *Makron*, Mainz/Rhein 1997, 161, n. 5.

⁶⁰ LIMC 8, "Kentaroi et Kentaurides", nos. 105, 167, 170a and 183; LIMC 4, "Gigantes", nos. 111, 120, 153 and 318; LIMC 6, "Minotauros", nos. 18, 19, 20 and 23.

⁶¹ LIMC 1, "Acheloos", nos. 248, 252 and 256; LIMC 7, "Theseus", nos. 53, 64, 136 and 151.

two vase-paintings representing Maenads defending themselves against Satyrs, and the nymph Amymone in a similar scene.⁶²

The stone used as a weapon is consequently relatively frequent in connection with a mixed company of creatures to whom the Greeks ascribed a wild and uncontrolled nature, also including certain types of women. Nonetheless, the stone is not a weapon shown only in contexts of these marginal kinds of violence. In addition, it is employed by mythological heroes in various situations, even though they are occasional.⁶³ It is considerably more frequent in hunting scenes, in which hunters are seen brandishing the stone while chasing their quarry.⁶⁴ Still, it is most important for my case that stones were used as weapons in ordinary battle-scenes as well, and then in the hands of ordinary Greek warriors.

The three different groups of Greek warriors, distinguished by their diverse costumes, noticed above when armed with the *machaira*, are all depicted brandishing stones.⁶⁵ And again, it seems as if their different clothing did not matter when the vase-painters decided to illustrate them fighting with stones.

It is also mentioned in the written sources that stones and slings were used in battle by Greek warriors.⁶⁶ It seems chiefly to have been the lightly armed troops who equipped themselves with these implements, among other, equally accessible weapons. However, not only lightly armed soldiers are reported as being armed with stones. In the *Iliad* also, fighters of such

⁶² Thracian women: LIMC 7, "Orpheus", nos. 34, 35, 39, 44, 45 and 57. Maenads: LIMC 4, "Gigantes", no. 316; Amymone (n. 53).

⁶³ LIMC 5, "Kadmos", nos. 13 and 15–19; LIMC 7, "Orpheus", n. 59.

⁶⁴ Schnapp (n. 20), nos. 87, 95, 198, 275, 279, 303, 304, 402 and 408.

⁶⁵ Since stones are also used by hunters, only battle scenes are included. *Petastos* and *chlamys*: Capua, Mus. Campano 7527 (n. 51); Berlin, Ant. F 2295, ARV² 364, 45. *Pilos*: Basle, Antikenmus. und Slg. Ludvig BS 486 (n. 42); Madrid, Mus.Arch.Nat. 111 26, ARV² 1564; Sarajevo MN 28, CVA, Yugoslavia 4, Pl. 44:1–2, 45:1–2; Rome, Vat. O18 (n. 51). Heavily armed warrior: Athens, NM 2674 (C.C.823), ABV 200, 11; Malibu, Getty Mus. 84.AE.38, for picture see, W.A.P. Childs, "A New Representation of a City on an Attic Red-figured Kylix", *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5, Malibu 1991, 27–40, esp. fig. 1a; Pontecagnano, Mus. Arch. T1240, picture in F. Lissarrague, "Autour du guerrier", in *La cité des images*, Lausanne 1984, 35–48, esp. fig. 56.

⁶⁶ References in Lissarrague 1990 (n. 4), 20; Anderson (n. 4), 15 and 17.

good repute as Achilles and Hector are described as combating against each other, using stones.⁶⁷

The stone and the sling should consequently be counted among the arms used by male warriors. The utilization of these weapons by the Amazons does not seem to differ from the way in which ordinary Greek soldiers of different appearances and in similar violent situations are shown using the stone, as described in Attic vase-paintings and in the ancient texts.

Amazons and other female violence

The Amazons are consequently practising their violence with the same types of weapons as the male warriors. But the range of the different types of weapons used by the Amazons becomes in time greater than the total arsenal used by any group of male warriors. The large mixture of both Greek and barbarian weapons used by the Amazons gives them an exceptional image, which places them in an iconographical sphere between the representations of the Greek and those of the barbarian warrior. Their unfeminine behaviour is thereby stressed by the vase-painters' consistent depiction of them as in the first place comparable with the male warriors.

Still, the Amazons are not the only women who commit physical violence on men in Attic vase-paintings.⁶⁸ These other brutal women are displayed with many different weapons. I shall here concentrate on the females shown with two categories of weapons most commonly used only by women. These weapons are the pestle, *hyperon*, and the spit, *obelos*. Both implements were normally used for cooking purposes and only occasionally as weapons. In this connection they can be said to be more or less specific to violence committed by women.

The weapons here attributed to female violence have by scholars been noted in the hands of Thracian women, Trojan women and the Nereid Doris.⁶⁹ The Thracian women are seen wielding both spits and pestles in the

⁶⁷ *Iliad*, 7: 263–273.

⁶⁸ The other violent women depicted in vase-paintings will be discussed in my forthcoming dissertation (n. 2).

⁶⁹ F. Brommer, "Herakles und Nereus", in F. Lissarrague & F. Thelamon (eds.), *Image et céramique Grecque*, Roven 1983, 103–110, esp. 107; D. Williams, "Onesimos and the

pictures illustrating the death of Orpheus.⁷⁰ On a *stamnos* in Basle, four of them are seen busy murdering Orpheus (Fig. 5).⁷¹ He has already been hit by a spit with a decorated end, which in vase-paintings normally distinguishes it from the spear of much the same shape but is usually shown with a plain finish. In the same picture, two of the women are attacking with pestles, depicted as long poles, narrowing in the middle.⁷² A third Thracian woman is throwing a boulder at Orpheus, meanwhile another is stabbing him in the throat with a sword. These barbarian females are the only women using the spit as a weapon in Attic vase-paintings, but, as noted above, pestles are to be found in connection with other women as well. Both spits and pestles can also, in very exceptional cases, be used by male figures acting violently but are never shown in the hands of Greek warriors.⁷³

Getty Iliupersis”, *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5, 1991, 41–64, esp. 52; Lissarrague 1994 (n. 3), 281.

⁷⁰ Spits: LIMC 7, ”Orpheus”, nos. 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 45, 49 and 55. Pestles: LIMC 7, ”Orpheus”, nos. 25, 27, 34, 35, 43, 45 and 49.

⁷¹ Basle, Antikenmus. BS 1411, ARV² 414, 34^{ter}, LIMC 7, ”Orpheus”, no. 35.

⁷² A pestle of a smaller size, *doidux* or *aletribanon*, was also utilized by the Greeks, but it is never shown as a weapon in vase-paintings, Lissarrague 1994 (n. 3), 280–281.

⁷³ Two paintings show the pestle in connection with violent male figures. Firstly, the controversial scene on the lekythos Athens NM 1129, in which a woman, traditionally interpreted as Lamia, is seen bound to a palm, being tortured by a group of Satyrs (LIMC 6, ”Lamia”, n. 2). One of her tormentors is brandishing a big pestle towards her skull. It is widely accepted that the motif depicts an episode from a satyr play. On the other hand, the content of the play is not known and this is therefore a debated subject. Most scholars presume, in spite of their interpretation of the scene, that the sight of a Satyr handling a pestle, an object normally associated with the world of women, would have aroused laughter in the ancient spectators. For references and an account of the various interpretations of the content of the scene, see M. Halm-Tisserant, ”Folklore et superstition en Grèce Classique”, *Kernos* 2, 1989, 67–82.

The second man with a pestle appears on a red-figure cup in Munich, Antikenslg. 8762 (LIMC 6, ”Nereus”, n. 54), where Heracles is seen destroying Nereus’ house. Nereus himself rushes in from the right, towards Heracles, with his right arm extended in front of him and his left arm hidden under his dress. The pestle is shown beside Nereus, on a level with his thigh, by which it is partly hidden. The problem is whether Nereus is holding the pestle or not. F. Brommer, *Herakles II: Die unkanonischen Taten des Helden*, Darmstadt 1984, 113, has proposed that Nereus is using it as a weapon against Heracles. The difficulty with Brommer’s interpretation is the way in which Nereus is holding the

The Trojan women threaten their Greek counterparts with pestles when fighting side by side with their husbands in four red-figure paintings displaying the Iliupersis.⁷⁴ A third female figure represented wielding a pestle is Doris, the mother of the Nereids. A *pelike* in Munich shows the unique scene in which Doris with a pestle is trying to frighten away the intruder Heracles, depicted on the reverse side of the vase, from her and the sea god Nereus' joint home.⁷⁵

The violence practised by these various types of females has one thing in common which distinguishes them from the Amazons, namely the reason for their violent actions, which is expressed by the choice of weapon. Whereas all the women armed with pestles make use of them for the purpose of preserving and protecting their own private domains, the Amazon in the first place fights to secure her reputation as a successful warrior, just like her male prototypes.

It is true that the impetus behind the frenzy of the Thracian women is not known to us, since the written sources give us different explanations. Nevertheless, the generally accepted view among scholars is that the outrage of the women was brought about by Orpheus' attempt to induce the Thracian men to abandon their wives. The violence of the Trojan women was also caused by an external enemy, in this case the Greek heroes, who threatened the town and the homes of these women. Likewise, the Nereid's defence of her house was called for by an unauthorized intrusion.

Even though the women armed with pestles and spits are shown behaving in a hostile manner towards Greek heroes of various sorts, it is hard to say whether the ancient Greeks regarded them as acting incorrectly

pestle. Since his right arm is extended in front of him, the only possibility is that he is clutching the utensil with his hidden left arm. His arm must then be placed over his back in a manner that makes his left hand reach the pestle on his right side, which seems rather odd. This may be possible if he is trying to hide the pestle from Heracles. A second and more probable explanation is that the pestle belongs to the stores messed about by Heracles and is thus not at all handled by Nereus. Spits are used in scenes showing the centauromachy at the wedding-feast of Perithoos, L.D. Caskey & J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase-Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston III*, Boston 1963, 85.

⁷⁴ Malibu, Getty Mus. 83.AE.362, 84.AE.80, 85.AE.385 (n. 44); Napels, Mus. Naz. 81669 (n. 44); Paris, Louvre G 152, LIMC 8, "Iliupersis", no. 8; Rome, Villa Giulia 3578, LIMC 1, "Andromache I", n. 48.

⁷⁵ Munich, Staatl. Ant.slg. 8762, LIMC 6, "Nereus", no. 56.

or not. It may well be that the same audience conceived the women's defence of home and husband as excusable or even preferable, since after all they were trying to preserve the normal order. The Amazon, as opposed to the woman defending her home, is the invading party, disturbing the present state of things instead of protecting them. Thus, the outrage committed by the Amazon is based on quite different preconditions than the violence which seems to characterize the violent deeds typical of these other females.

Iconographically, this difference between the motivations behind the aggressive undertakings of the Amazons and these other types of violent women seems to be marked by, among other things, variety in the weapons which they are brandishing. Women practising violence for womanly reasons of defence are depicted with weapons which never occur in the hands of a male warrior. Amazons fighting for the same reasons as men are presented in the vase-paintings with the same weapons as their male colleagues. The representation of the Amazon all the same differs from those of male warriors by the great number of different types of arms of various origins that she is handling, which place her in a category of her own. At the same time, it is obvious that the vase-painters cultivated the Amazons' position as worthy opponents of the Greek hero. The arms given to the Amazon are, for that reason, of the same kind as the weapons used by skilled male warriors, no matter whether Greek or barbarian. In that sense, the violence of the Amazons cannot be interpreted as representative of female aggression.

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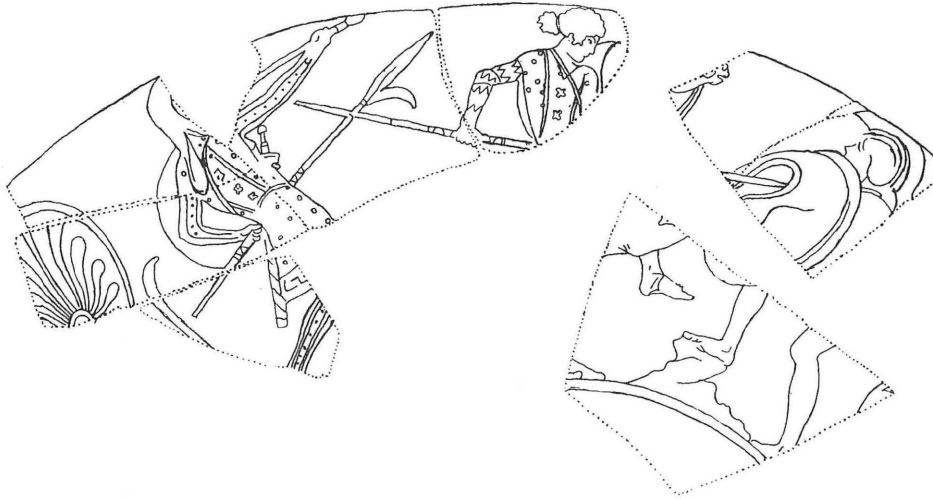


Fig. 1. Amazon carrying a sickle-spear.

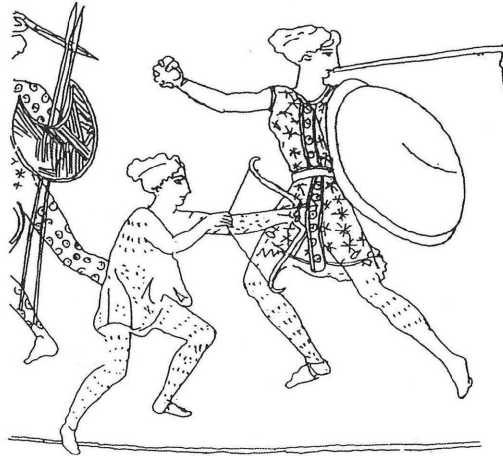
Detail of Florence 21 B 268; Leipsic T 591; Chicago, Univ.; Naples, Astarita, 263.

(D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957, pl. 79:1)

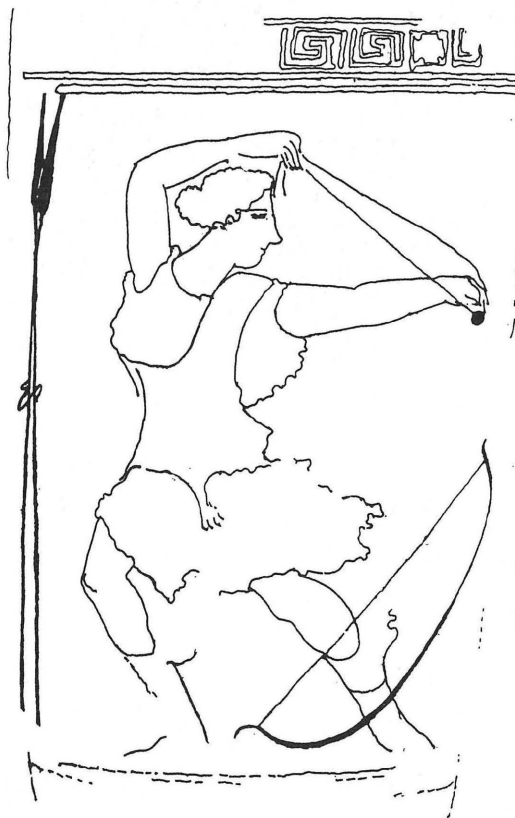


Fig. 2. Defeated Amazon dropping her *machaira*.

Palermo, NM G 1238. Courtesy Museo Archeologico Regionale Agrigento.



**Fig. 3. Amazon wielding a stone. New York, MM 31.11.13.
(A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler*, Mainz/Rhein 1988, pl. 154a).**



**Fig. 4. Amazon armed with a sling. New York, MM 39.11.11.
(D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957, pl. 84:1)**



**Fig. 5. Thracian women attacking Orpheus with pestles, spit, boulder and sword.
Basle, Antikenmus. BS 1411. Courtesy Antikenmuseum Basel
und Sammlung Ludwig.**

GENUCILIA PLATES – COMMON *AGALMATA* OR DEPICTIONS OF THE MYTH OF PERSEPHONE¹

LEENA PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN

One of the most widespread motifs of the late classical vase painting in South Italy and Sicily is the female head in profile, documented on several hundred, even thousands, of comparatively small vases as a single-figured decoration usually in a floral setting.² The practice of decorating a vase with only a profile head goes back to the first decades of sixth century B.C. in mainland Greece, where the motif appears, more or less simultaneously, in archaic Attic as well as Corinthian pottery. The female profile becomes, however, almost a standard form of decoration³ from 350 onwards in southern areas of Italy, especially in Apulia. Identification of the female figure is difficult, since most lack distinguishing attributes. Many scholars think that these ladies have lost a particular significance; other scholars interpret them as various deities,⁴ if they offer any identification at all. How

¹ I have had the pleasure of presenting my ideas in two colloquia, *The Writing Woman: Ritual and Religious Perspectives*, organized by The Finnish Institute at Athens, May 1997, and the Nordic colloquium *Keramik i kontext 2*, organized by the CVA-team in Helsinki, June 1999. I thank all my colleagues for their constructive remarks.

² A.D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, 531, 561, 609, where the author calls them head vases; A.D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, London 1989, 92, 99

³ An obsession, as it is called by A.D. Ure, *Boeotian Vases with Women's Heads*, *AJA* 57 (1953) 249.

⁴ E.g. A. Cambitoglou, *Groups of Apulian Red-Figured Vases Decorated with Heads of Women or of Nike*, *JHS* 74 (1954) 121; K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, München 1981, 69–72; A.D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia*, Oxford 1982, repr. 1998, p. lii, 447–448; E. Simon, *Hermeneutisches zur Anodos von Göttinnen*, *Ausgewählte Schriften I*, Mainz 1998, 134. P. A. Lehnert, *Female Heads on Greek, South Italian, and Sicilian Vases from the Sixth*

much "visual literacy" can one assume for the ancient viewers? Did all female heads represent the same figure, or did the viewer assign a different identification to the head depending on the vase's context of use? This paper will explore the latter possibility for one series of plates.

One of the most appealing interpretations is that the female heads represent the *anodos* or ascent of a deity from the earth or sea. Until around 500 B.C. artists frequently depicted the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus. In the early classical period the birth motif expanded and also began appearing in the form of the *anodos* of Aphrodite, Pandora, Kore-Persephone, and Gaia.⁵ The iconography of such *anodos* scenes is easily understood: a goddess is shown usually from the shoulders up to convey the action of rising up from the earth. Often other figures or a setting from the myth accompany the goddess ensuring attribution. Thus, Persephone can easily be accepted as the central figure in floral surroundings or among silens and satyrs, conspicuous figures of a rural setting, both alluding to Persephone's return from the underworld in the beginning of the early spring and the blooming of nature.

More difficult to interpret are the very plain and simplified representations of female heads on vases of the late classical and early hellenistic period. The pictorial decoration becomes modest and simplified, either owing to the Platonic ideas of the fourth century, the vases' connections to the mystery cults,⁶ or the change of working methods in the workshops. The studies of these types of vases have generally concentrated on the chronology, workshops, individual painters and their distribution through trade, and only rarely on the identification of the heads. It is, of course, a possibility that in different geographical areas the vessels with the

to the Third Century B.C. as Representations of Persephone/Kore, an unpublished Master thesis from Michigan State University, 1978. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Kathleen M. Lynch, University of Virginia/Excavations of the Athenian Agora, for obtaining a copy of the thesis for me, and for her many useful remarks in various phases of my writing this article.

⁵ H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne*, Paris 1965, 11–14; C. Bérard, *Anodoi. Essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthonies*, Neuchâtel 1974, 43–45, 55–60; E.H. Loeb, *Die Geburt der Götter in der griechischen Kunst der klassischen Zeit*, Jerusalem 1979, 12–13, 140–141; Trendall 1989, 93.

⁶ Loeb, 13; Ch. Zindel, *Meeresleben und Jenseitsfahrt. Die Fischteller der Sammlung Florence Gottet*, Zürich 1998, 186.

female heads were connected with different deities. Was the striking preference for female heads more than just a casual motif for the workshops, as well as for the consumers, and could these vases correlate with the popularity of chthonic religions in which women play an important role, especially with the widespread cult of Persephone and Demeter in South Italy?⁷

Chronology, iconography and shape

How much visual literacy can we assume for ancient viewers, and how can we possibly reconstruct the identity of a generic-looking female profile in modern times? Should we just accept it as a mere decoration without any ritual, religious or other internal significance? These questions apply to a series of vases called Genucilia plates apparently produced in Falerii, Caere and Rome during the latter half of the fourth century and the two first decades of the third century B.C.⁸ It is the purpose of this article to test the possibility that the Genucilia plates – the last and northernmost production of female profile vases – are connected with Persephone by tracing the range of the cult, the popularity and modes of her iconography in the fourth century B.C., as well as considering some of the known find contexts of the plates. Even if the Genucilia plates were a manifestation of the cultural and artistic common language around Rome and the southern Etruscan centres, there must be, to my mind, a reason for such a persistent production with only two variations in the pictorial design: the profile head and the star.⁹ Both designs were produced in a relatively restricted area for a

⁷ Lehnert 47, 108, 156–158.

⁸ For the chronology see M. Del Chiaro, *The Genucilia Group: A Class of Etruscan Red-figured Plates*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1957, 306–313, 328, whose dates are corrected by G. Colonna, *ArchClass* 11 (1959) 134–136; C.C. van Essen, *Review of Del Chiaro's Genucilia Group*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 17 (1960) 97–99. The lower chronology is nowadays generally accepted, L. Bacchielli, *I piattelli Genucilia*, in *Italian Iron Age Artefacts in the British Museum* (ed. by J. Swaddling), London 1986, 375–376.

⁹ The departures from the two main motifs in the pictorial design, such as the prow of a ship and a satyr like male profile, are isolated cases. Some of the alternative motifs may have had political undercurrents, see G. Pianu, *La diffusione della tarda ceramica a figure rosse: un problema storico-commerciale*, *QAEI* 10 (1985) 81.

relatively long period, some three generations, with no variation at all in the shape of the plate. The style was a relic from the long red-figure tradition, and is sometimes called the pseudo- or degenerate red-figure technique as the figures were executed by actual painting, not by reserving space.

The most common decoration in the inner depression of the Genucilia plates was the female profile, most often turned to the left. Over the decades it lost its aesthetic appeal completely, and the later plates tend to show real monsters.¹⁰ The other, somewhat later variation of the main decoration, is a star with different kinds of rosettes or other small decorations in between the rays (see p. 103, 105–106). Both medallion decorations are encircled by a wave pattern on the rim, running mostly towards the left. In the early plates, the waves were framed with two incised grooves, and the lip, part of the exterior of the bowl and the base were all painted with a diluted glaze.

The shape of the plates, regardless of decoration, remained consistent with only small variations throughout the whole production: a clearly distinguished foot with a base, a broad flat bowl and a wide overhanging lip. The diameter of the plate is c. 14 cm and the height c. 5 cm. A totally black-glazed version of the shape was also popular in Rome and Southern Etruria around 300 B.C.¹¹ The characteristics of the shape itself, especially with a painted decoration, justifies its use as a religious object, an *agalma*, in which a deity of a sanctuary or a person, alive and dedicated to a cult, or dead in the grave, was meant to delight.¹² During the fourth century B.C. the symposium lost its significance along with the necessary vast set of dishes. The table utensils were diminished in number and shapes, most of the remaining shapes being better adapted for food than for liquids.¹³ A small Genucilia vessel with its complicated lip would have been an uncomfortable dish, indeed, for ordinary drinking or eating.¹⁴ The shape was better suited for a votive offering.

¹⁰ See, for instance, the plates 22–24 in Del Chiaro, 351–355.

¹¹ J.-P. Morel, *Céramique campanienne: les formes*, Rome 1981, 80–81, planche 1, formes 1111–1112.

¹² For the term *agalma*, G. Zuntz, *Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia*, London 1971, 106.

¹³ M. Torelli, *L'arte degli etruschi*, Roma–Bari 1985, 163, 188.

¹⁴ For comparison see the discussion of the use of the fish plates by Zindel, 172–176; he does not accept the everyday use of the fish plates as a realistic possibility.

The extent of the cult of Persephone in the Genucilia group's production area

How prevalent was the cult of Persephone alone or with her mother Demeter/Ceres¹⁵ in and around the area which produced Genucilia plates? On an impasto urn dated to the early 6th century B.C. and discovered in a tomb in the necropolis of Colonneta in Falerii Veteres there is a Faliscan inscription with the names of Ceres and Liber.¹⁶ Even though of a private nature, the find shows that the goddess was known and worshipped with one of her triadic companions at this early stage. This is a very early proof of Demeter-Ceres' connection to Bacchus-Liber, who as a god of the dead, was almost equivalent to the underworld god Hades, and in this way connected also to Persephone.

In Rome itself, a temple to Ceres, Liber and Libera, corresponding to the Eleusinian triad, was consecrated in 493 B.C. on the eastern slope of the Aventine hill as a public dedication after a vow by the dictator A. Postumius.¹⁷ According to the literary sources, the temple itself was constructed in the traditional Etrusco-italic style, but the sculptural decoration and paintings were executed by Greek artists, Damophilos and Gorgasos.¹⁸ It is probably during this century that the first hellenization of the cult took place in Rome. The cult in Rome is likely to have had an intimate relationship to the cults in Cumae, Tarentum and Sicily, as the priestesses of Ceres in Rome were always of South Italian origin. The anniversary of this triad was celebrated on the 19th of April in the form of a festival called

¹⁵ Since Homer, Demeter and Persephone were always associated. For the intimate connection between the deities, see H. Le Bonniec, *Le culte de Cérés a Rome. Des origines à la fin de la République*, Paris 1958, 292–294; A. Peschlow-Bindokat, *Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, JDAI 87 (1972) 60.

¹⁶ E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg 1953, 279–283, n. 241; Le Bonniec 303–304; G. Giacomelli, *Il falisco*, in *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica* 6:1, *Lingue e dialetti*, Roma 1978, 509, 525–526. I thank my colleague Timo Sironen, phil.lic., from the University of Oulu, for his remarks on the dating and text of this inscription.

¹⁷ Dion. Hal. 6, 17, 2–4; 6, 94, 3.

¹⁸ Plin. nat. 35,154.

Cerialia.¹⁹ At least in the latter half of the third century, there seems to have been another festival in August of more private nature, in which men were not allowed to participate. It was conducted by Roman *matronae* and included a nocturnal initiation.²⁰ This feast seems to have concentrated on two remarkable events in the myth of Persephone and Ceres: the abduction of Persephone by Hades and her return from the underworld. Thus, it borrowed features from the Greek Thesmophoria rather than from the Eleusinian mysteries and was interpreted as a metaphor for a young woman's life, in which the abduction symbolized her marriage.²¹ Throughout its area of influence in the fourth century B.C., the cult of Persephone seems to have displayed more private features, one of which was a common sacrificial meal.²²

The iconography of Persephone in the fourth century B.C.

The underworld god Hades carrying off Persephone as his bride appears as a motif on Apulian vase painting around 370 and was very popular during the second half of the century. This motif appears almost without exception in sepulchral contexts in Southern Italy.²³ It is also attested in the Macedonian painting in the middle of the fourth century, on the north wall of the well-known tomb of Persephone in Vergina.²⁴ The general interest in the Persephone cycle was based on her connections to Orphism

¹⁹ For the beginnings of the cult see Le Bonniec, 297–302; G. Pugliese Carratelli, Lazio, Roma e Magna Graecia, *ParPas* 23 (1968) 341–342; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Römer*, München 1990, 266 n. 25. For the chronology and development of the cult of Ceres, see also F. Bernstein, *Ludi publici. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der öffentlichen Spiele im republikanischen Rom*, Stuttgart 1998, 81–82, 165–166.

²⁰ Cic. *leg.* 2,9,22; Liv. 22, 56, 4: for the year 216; Val.Max. 1,1,15; M. Beard – J. North – S. Price, *Religions of Rome*, Cambridge 1998, I: 70–71, II: 179–181.

²¹ Lehnert, 103–4, 107; R. Lindner, *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst*, Würzburg 1984, 24–25; V. Hinz, *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und in der Magna Graecia*, Wiesbaden 1998, 230.

²² Hinz, 229.

²³ Lindner, 45.

²⁴ LIMC VIII, s.v. Persephone, 969, nr 213 (G. Güntner).

and mystery religions, and the hope for an afterlife her myth suggested. Nearer to our area of interest, Persephone and Hades were depicted in Southern Etruria, in the Tomba Golini I in Orvieto at an infernal banquet, another popular theme, and dated to c. 350, and in Tarquinia in the contemporary Tomba dell'Orco II.²⁵ Even later, the subject of Persephone's abduction was very popular on Roman sarcophagi.

I have listed only a few examples of the moving of the pictorial motifs, which originally happened through the mediation of Greek artists coming from Magna Graecia and Campania. The prototypes of the Genucilia plates, made by the Berkeley Genucilia painter active in Falerii before 350, also have a strong Greek flavour and Attic character in their use of a relief line, which was abandoned in all subsequent production.²⁶ In the plates of this first Genucilia painter, the shoulders of the lady in profile are still quite visible, a feature which becomes less defined in his later products and disappears totally in the succeeding artists' plates. The head itself fills most of the medallion. The original concept of showing the woman from the shoulders upwards is an important criterion, however, for identifying the profile vases as depicting an *anodos*, the symbolic ascent of Persephone. Comparanda for the *anodos* of Persephone unaccompanied by clarifying attributes can be found on two red-figure lekythoi decorated only with a woman depicted from the waist or pelvis upwards, in both cases identified as Persephone by scholars.²⁷ Furthermore, on a red-figure krater from Dresden the intent gaze between Hermes and the resurrecting Persephone is emphasized by the inclined head.²⁸

Another characteristic feature of the *anodos* of Persephone is a floral setting, which is also present in the Genucilia vessels. In the earliest plates a laurel wreath surrounds the medallion instead of the wave pattern, and often a solitary leaf appears at the nape of the woman's neck. It is not easy to explain the leaf detail if it is not understood as a survival from an ampler

²⁵ Pittura etrusca al museo di Villa Giulia, *Studi di archeologia* 6 (1989), 155–159. See also Hinz, 229.

²⁶ Del Chiaro, 251–253.

²⁷ Bérard, 134–136, pl. 16, fig. 56–57.

²⁸ Dresden 350; Bérard, pl. 16, fig. 53. See also Peschlow-Bindokat, 95–96.

floral ornament.²⁹ In more complicated depictions, the flowering plants can perhaps be understood as transmitting the idea of the triumph of life over death.³⁰ The wave pattern around the inner depression of a plate is common enough in South Italian vasepainting and can be without any specific meaning. In the Apulian fishplates it is considered, however, to be an essential part of their use as grave goods, in the same manner as funerary wreaths made of evergreen leaves.³¹

The distinguishing mark of all the Genucilia ladies is their jewellery, a beaded necklace and a pendant type of earring. The curly hair is dressed with a decorative diadem, originally with three spikes³² and a net like *sakkos*. The diadem resembles Persephone's bridal crown, which was a characteristic feature in Apulian vase painting.³³ The eyes are also worth noting, especially on the earliest and most carefully executed examples. Under the clearly marked eyebrow there are usually three lines which form the eyeball. The pupil itself is drawn on the upper half of the eye,³⁴ creating thus the impression of her looking upwards at the person assisting at the *anodos*.

Examples of female profiles

I have used seven fragments from the excavations of Ficana, a Latin site near Ostia on the southern shore of the Tiber, to illustrate the female profile motif. The first is a rim fragment with two densely set waves and part of the medallion. The profile from the eyes down to the throat and shoulder is preserved, and the first bead of the necklace is visible. The

²⁹ Id. 315.

³⁰ Trendall 1989, 267.

³¹ Zindel, *passim*, 195.

³² In some plates the spikes are very similar to leaves. Cf. L. Bacchielli, *Un piattello "di Genucilia"*. I rapporti di Cirene con l'Italia nella seconda metà del IV sec. a.C., *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia* 8 (1976) 99.

³³ Lindner 51.

³⁴ This feature can sometimes be observed on the female profile plates from other production areas, too. Cf. Cambitoglou, 121.

slightly open mouth is turned down sharply at the corner. The eye is indicated by the eyebrow and two lines for the upper lid (Fig. 1).³⁵ The two grooves framing the waves as well as the careful painting dates this fragment to the early phase of the production, soon after 350 B.C.

The second fragment preserves part of the rim and bowl and shows five beads of the necklace, the jaw and the lower lip of the left-facing profile (Fig. 2).³⁶ It can be ascribed to a somewhat later production, to the latter half of the fourth century. The waves are within two incised lines. The nearest parallels for this kind of a profile head come from the production of the Group of the Florence Genucilia painter, which covers at least three separate artists, the painters of Ostia, Tarquinia and Florence, according to Del Chiaro's classification.³⁷

The third fragment preserves part of the rim and bowl. One can discern with difficulty the upper part of the head with the diadem and three framing waves (Fig. 3).³⁸ Of the eye, only a dot remains, unless it is a dot in front of it, as the eye was accentuated by some of the painters. The diadem with a dot pattern has spikes, the foremost of which reaches over the inner groove of the wave pattern. The hair under the diadem is also visible. The dating is to the latter half of the fourth century.

The fourth small fragment preserves part of a diadem with two spikes

³⁵ I am grateful to the Soprintendenza archeologica di Ostia for letting me publish these fragments before the final publication of excavation zone 6b. Instead of a chronological order, I have organized the fragments so that they form a whole profile. Ficana nr. 43900; diam. 16,0 cm; the waves are painted with dark brown slip, the linear painting of the band on the exterior of the bowl and the overhanging lip changes from orange to black. The clay according to Munsell, 5 YR 7/6, reddish yellow. In this fragment the edge is turned slightly upwards. A near parallel to this fragment comes from Ostia, M.G. Lauro, Una classe di ceramiche ad Ostia: il gruppo Genucilia, *Rivista di studi Liguri* 45 (1979) 58–59, inv.n. 16542, fig. 7a.

³⁶ Ficana nr. 43868; diam. 14,0 cm; the slip, also on the overhanging lip, is of dark brown colour. The clay, 5 YR 7/6, reddish yellow. Cf. the chin-throat-line in Lauro 54–55, inv.n. 5207, figs 2 & 3c.

³⁷ Del Chiaro, 258–261.

³⁸ Ficana nr. 43920. The slip is orange brown, also on the lip and the exterior of the bowl. The clay, 5 YR 7/4, pink.

and parts of two waves inside the framing grooves (Fig. 4).³⁹ The marking of the foremost spike with a dot, as well as the painting of the waves, brings this fragment very near to the Florence Genucilia painter and the latter half of the fourth century.⁴⁰

The fifth fragment is part of the medallion. The dotted diadem with at least one spike, the net like *sakkos*, part of the ear and the earring with pendants, as well as the wavy tress of hair, can still be seen (Fig. 5).⁴¹ The quality of the painting dates this fragment to the decades after 350.

The sixth fragment, part of the rim, shows the net *sakkos* and a little of the diadem with vertical strokes. The spare space at the nape of the neck seems to have developed into a curving leaf like element, imitating the adjoining wave pattern between the grooves (Fig. 6).⁴²

The seventh fragment is one of the earliest of this small collection (Fig. 7).⁴³ Only part of the beaded necklace and two pendants of the earring are visible. The two densely set waves are framed with grooves, and the rim, which is turned slightly up, as in the first example (Fig. 1), is emphasized with orange slip. The skill of the potter and/or the painter can easily be discerned even in this small fragment. Accordingly, the date is closer to 350 B.C.

The Genucilia fragments from Ficana, depicting the female profile, are from the latter half of the fourth century, except two (Figs. 1, 7), which belong to the very early production, c. 350. They all represent plates of good quality and seem to have parallels, naturally enough, with Ostia and belong, in the old classification of Del Chiaro, to the group of the Florence Genucilia Painter.

³⁹ Ficana nr. 38366. The slip, also on the overhanging lip, is dark brownish. The clay, 5 YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

⁴⁰ Del Chiaro, 258, 344–345, pl. 19d.

⁴¹ Ficana nr. 43912, 12,0 x 8,5 cm. The slip is blackish brown. The clay, 5 YR 7/6, reddish yellow. A somewhat similar earring with three pendants, tress, diadem and *sakkos* come from Ostia, in Lauro 56, inv.n. 5208, fig. 4b.

⁴² Ficana nr. 38367. Dark brown slip, which also covers the overhanging lip. The clay, 5 YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

⁴³ Ficana nr. 38368; the slip is brown orange. The clay, 5 YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

Star pattern

The star or cross pattern is a slightly later iconographic variation, though equally consistent as the female profile. The star consists of four or more leaf-shaped rays grouped around a central dot. The filling motifs in-between the rays vary from dot rosettes to striped chevrons. Is it possible that the star motif is also connected with the cult of Persephone?⁴⁴ The problem is determining whether the star is merely an abstract design or whether it possesses some hidden significance. Both the iconography of the female profile and the myth of Persephone may offer clues to an interpretation of the star motif.

The *sakkos* of the Genucilia heads was sometimes decorated with one or several stars of different quality.⁴⁵ For some reason the painters elevated this simple detail to the main motif of the medallion.⁴⁶ In order to clarify the importance of the star in Persephone's iconography, we must return to accounts of the myth. Persephone's abduction is briefly mentioned in Hesiod's *Theogony* without any details,⁴⁷ and again in the Homeric hymn to Demeter, created at the latest in the sixth century. The author of the hymn includes a description of the starry sky, οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα, as important to the scene before Persephone's appearance in the underworld.⁴⁸ A very late source, the epic poet Claudian of the fourth century A.D., in his poem, *de raptu Proserpinae*, describes in more detail the stars deserting their

⁴⁴ A few plates with the star and the Greek letters EPA painted on the rim before firing have been interpreted by M. Cristofani as signifying Heracles, *Altre novità sui Genucilia*, *QAEI* 10 (1985) 21–23. The prominent inscription on these plates set them apart as exceptions. As dedications, it seems more likely that the deity of the inscription is Hera not Herakles. Furthermore, the plates on p. 23, fig. 3 seem to belong to a relatively late phase of the production.

⁴⁵ One of the most obvious cases is the production of the Copenhagen Genucilia Painter, see Del Chiaro, 261–262, 345, pl. 19f.

⁴⁶ It is especially in the Apulian vase painting that the star often served as an ornament, not always, however, K. Schauenburg, *Gestirnbilder in Athen und Unteritalien*, *Antike Kunst* 5 (1962) 61.

⁴⁷ Hes. *Theog.* 912–914.

⁴⁸ h.Hom. Cer. 33. For the dating of the hymn, F. Cassola, *Inni omerici*, 1975, Milano 1991 (5), p. LVIII–LXII.

accustomed courses and the disturbed movement of other celestial bodies as Hades emerged from the depths of the earth to claim his bride.⁴⁹ The contrast between light and darkness as well as the stars in the sky, are conceits in both narratives.

In depictions of the rape of Persephone on South Italian vases, torches are not only placed in Demeter's and Hecate's hands, but Persephone is also depicted holding them; torches are, in fact, specifically her attributes.⁵⁰ Most often the torches are depicted as cross headed. Examples of stars in the sky as well as torches, carried by the assisting female goddesses, can be seen on an Apulian volute krater by the Iliupersis-painter from 360,⁵¹ and on an Apulian loutrophoros by the Dareios-painter from c. 340.⁵² Stars and torches also appear on an Apulian volute krater by a follower of the Baltimore-painter from 320.⁵³ In this vase, the events are presented in three registers set one above the other: Persephone's companions playing ball in the lowest register, the abduction in the middle, and Olympian goddesses and gods uppermost. The stars, along with the torches, should be seen as part of the nighttime atmosphere of the middle scene, not just elements used to separate the scene from the celestial sphere of the gods above.⁵⁴

There is also an Apulian bowl from ca. 330 B.C. which depicts two crucial moments of Persephone's myth: the abduction and the *anodos*.⁵⁵ Only the main protagonists, Hades and Persephone, are depicted, perhaps due to the limited space available in the tondo. There is a solitary star and then, interesting enough, in the segment below the main depiction, a female head in three quarter profile emerging from among the flora. It cannot be any one other than Persephone in her resurrection.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Claud. rapt. Pros. 2,186–194.

⁵⁰ Peschlow-Bindokat, 92, 96, 102; Hinz, 41, 118–119, 197. RE (1909) Mau, s.v. Fackeln, 1946.

⁵¹ London BM F 277; LIMC IV s.v. Hades 381 nr 84 (R. Lindner).

⁵² LIMC IV s.v. Hades 382, nr 86.

⁵³ KH Basel; LIMC IV s.v. Hades 382, nr 88.

⁵⁴ For the division of the three fields, see Lindner, 26.

⁵⁵ In private ownership in Vienna; Lindner, Tafel 6; LIMC VIII s.v. Persephone, 968, nr 197.

⁵⁶ In this case, it is a little farfetched to name this head as Demeter, as is done by

The possibility that the star is an alternative and complement to the profile decoration of the Genucilia plates relies first, on a concrete level, to the importance of the star and perhaps also of the cross-headed torch as means of lighting and temporal setting in depictions of the abduction of Persephone.⁵⁷ Secondly, the star could symbolize the darkness during Persephone's absence from the earth and her subsequent rebirth after darkness, a most important aspect in the definition of Persephone as the mistress of the underworld and queen of the dead. Furthermore, if we wish to connect the plates to female devotées and especially to brides, very much of the same symbolism is still valid. Death and marriage, closely associated, were followed by a new life and fertility. Consequently, the female profile is equivalent to the *anodos*, while the star would symbolize the abduction, hope and expectation of the future rebirth, the light after darkness. A similar symbolic quality can be ascribed to the iconography of a nimbus. When painted round the heads of the underworld gods, it may refer to a person's hope in a life beyond death.⁵⁸

Since we do not have enough information about the rituals of the cult of Persephone and Ceres for the fourth century B.C., we cannot ascertain the extent of dualism, if any, in the cult at this time. The feast mentioned by Livy for the year 216 B.C. (see p. 98), must have been observed earlier as nothing in the narrative gives the impression of its being celebrated for the first time that year. Furthermore, the Persephone cycle is so evident in fourth century B.C. Apulian vase-painting that it is difficult to accept a late, third century awakening to this crucial aspect of the cult in Rome and its surroundings.

Examples of the star pattern

The first example of the star motif here is another fragment from Ficana. It has a dotted chevron placed relatively centrally in each quadrant (Fig. 8).⁵⁹ It has parallels from Caere, and is datable to c. 300.⁶⁰ The other

Lindner, 28.

⁵⁷ The torches are discussed by Lindner, 45–46.

⁵⁸ Schauenburg, 62–63. This idea is followed also by Lindner, 28.

⁵⁹ Ficana nr. 43863. The diam. c. 15 cm; the brown slip covers also the hanging lip, the

item is from a private Finnish collection. It has W-shaped motifs in each quadrant as a filler (Fig. 9).⁶¹ It also has parallels from Caere,⁶² and is datable to 300. Both of these examples of the star motif belong to the early phases of the production, distinguished by relatively good quality.

Some find contexts

Genucilia plates have been discovered in domestic sites as well as in sepulchral contexts.⁶³ If my idea of their connection to Persephone is right, they were, in the end, destined for tombs, where they actually occur sometimes in large quantities, a dozen or more is by no means a rarity.⁶⁴ The great number can partly be due to the serial production and, accordingly, the reasonable price of these vases. Furthermore, it seems to have been a distinctive feature, at least in sanctuaries of Persephone, that pottery offerings were of modest quality, numerous and adaptable for both food and drink, and probably used in the rituals.⁶⁵ The Genucilia plates could well have fulfilled all these requirements. A predilection for the star motif seems to be prominent at least in some tombs of the necropolis of Caere.⁶⁶

wave pattern is framed by two incised grooves. The clay, 5 YR 6/6, reddish yellow.

⁶⁰ Del Chiaro, 284, pl. 25c; *Gli Etruschi e Cerveteri. Nuove acquisizioni delle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche*, catalogo della mostra a Palazzo Reale, Milano, 1980, 171, the tomb 200, at the Laghetto necropolis.

⁶¹ Helen and Veikko Väänänen collection, at the Classical Department of the University of Helsinki; diam. mouth 13,7 cm, diam. foot 7,5 cm, height 5,4 cm; the clay, 7.5 YR 8/3, pink. The slip varies from orange to dark brown; the five waves are not framed with incisions, the overhanging lip and the base of the foot are covered with opaque slip, on the exterior of the bowl there is a painted band.

⁶² Del Chiaro, 287.

⁶³ For the diffusion of the Genucilia plates in the Mediterranean, Pianu, 75, 79.

⁶⁴ I. Scott Ryberg, *An Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the Second Century B.C.*, London 1940, 101; *Gli etruschi e Cerveteri*, 251–253. The tomb 69 from the necropolis Laghetto I contained 21 Genucilia plates, all of which were decorated with star patterns, nos. 5–25.

⁶⁵ Hinz 48–49.

⁶⁶ *Gli etruschi e Cerveteri*, 97, 98, n. 23.

Unfortunately, there is no indication of the sex of the deceased. We know, however, that at least one owner of a Genucilia plate was a lady, *P(o)plia Cenucilia*, the eponym of the whole group. Her name was painted before firing in Latin characters under the foot of a profile motif plate of Caeretan origin.⁶⁷ One plate can be directly associated with cult of Persephone. A profile motif plate of somewhat later production originates from the Fosse di Persephone at Locri,⁶⁸ This votive deposit at the extramural cult area of Mannella was dedicated to Persephone, the tutelary goddess of Locri.

This paper has presented evidence which may identify the Genucilia plates as implements of the cult of Persephone in the area around Rome during the fourth century B.C. They appear in two varieties, with a female profile and a star, which can both be interpreted as allegoric symbols of the most important phases of the goddess' cult. The star may symbolize her abduction by Hades, and the female profile the resurrection of the goddess with the coming of spring. The simple iconography would be in harmony with the generalizing iconographic tendencies of the fourth century B.C. to no longer depict narrative mythological scenes, nor to depict aspects of the mystery religions other than by indicating the rituals indirectly as here. The small plate, or several of them, could be kept at home as a memento of participating in the rituals, possibly of secret nature, and then put into the grave to accompany the deceased on the journey to the life beyond. These seemingly generic images take on specific meaning when their context of use is re-established. The ancient viewer associated the image and the vase form with specific activities, in this case probably a ritual, which allow one to mentally identify the figure or symbol with the myth of Persephone.

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⁶⁷ CVA, USA 2, Providence 1, pl. 29a–c; CIL I² 2891. Del Chiaro, 293; For the Roman, Phaliscan and Etruscan contacts of the lady and her family, see M. Cristofani – G. Proietti, *Novità sui Genucilia*, *Prospettiva* 31 (1982) 71; V. Jolivet, *La ceramique etrusque des IV–III s. a Rome*, *QAEI* 10 (1985) 65–66.

⁶⁸ Reggio Calabria, Museo Civico, no. 772; Del Chiaro, 270.

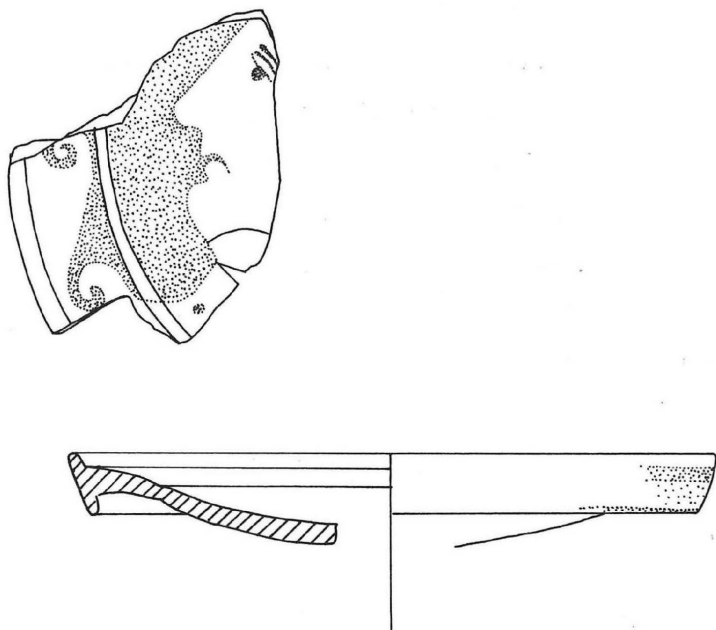


Fig. 1 (scale 1:2)

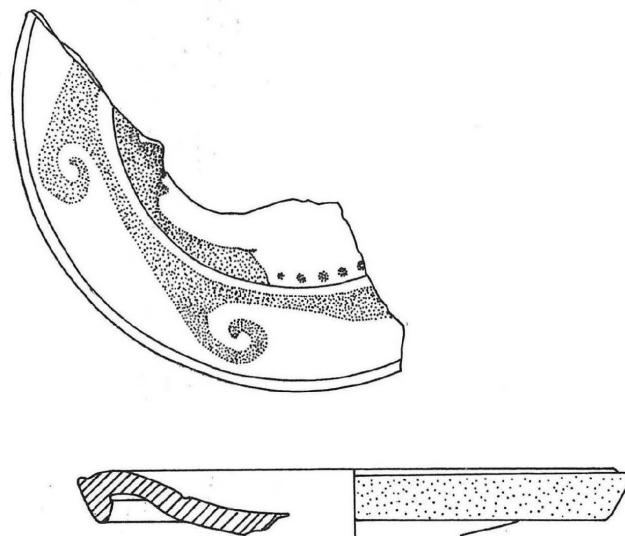


Fig. 2 (scale 1:2)

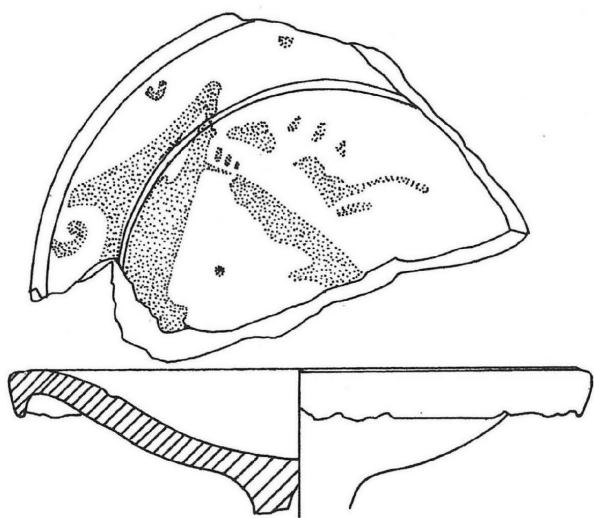


Fig. 3 (scale 1:2)

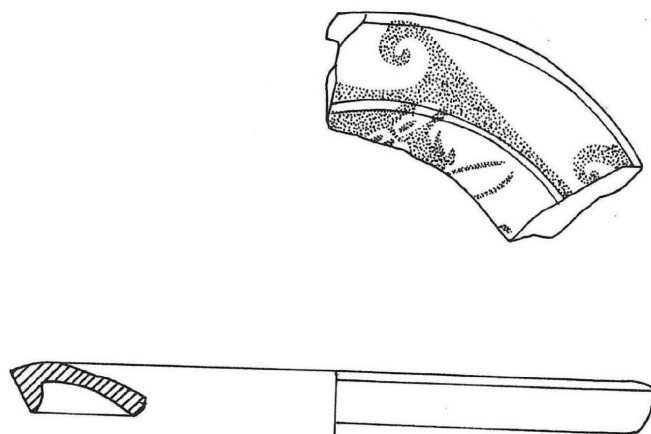


Fig. 4 (scale 1:2)

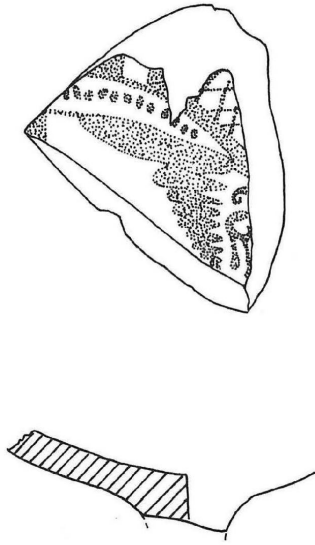


Fig. 5 (scale 1:2)

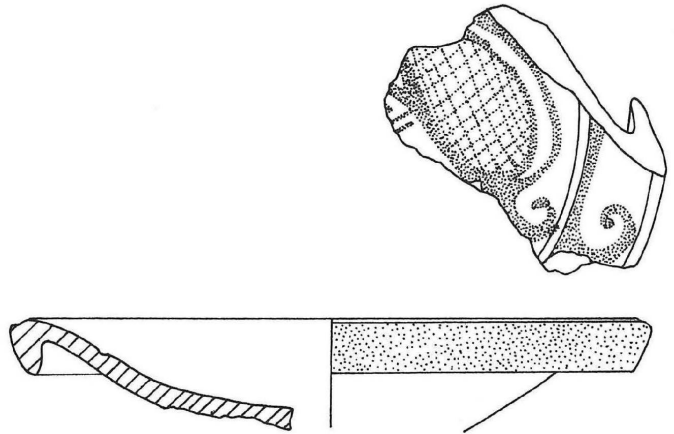


Fig. 6 (scale 1:2)

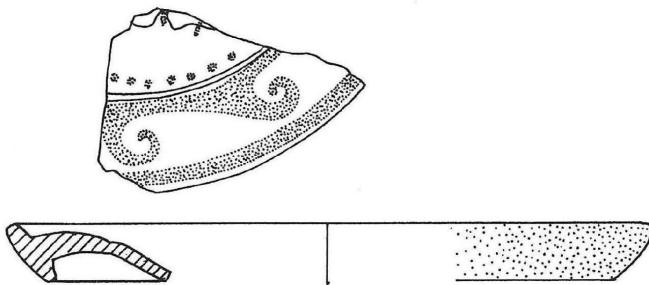


Fig. 7 (scale 1:2)

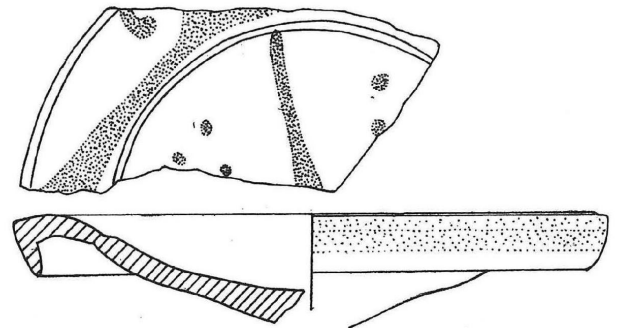


Fig. 8 (scale 1:2)

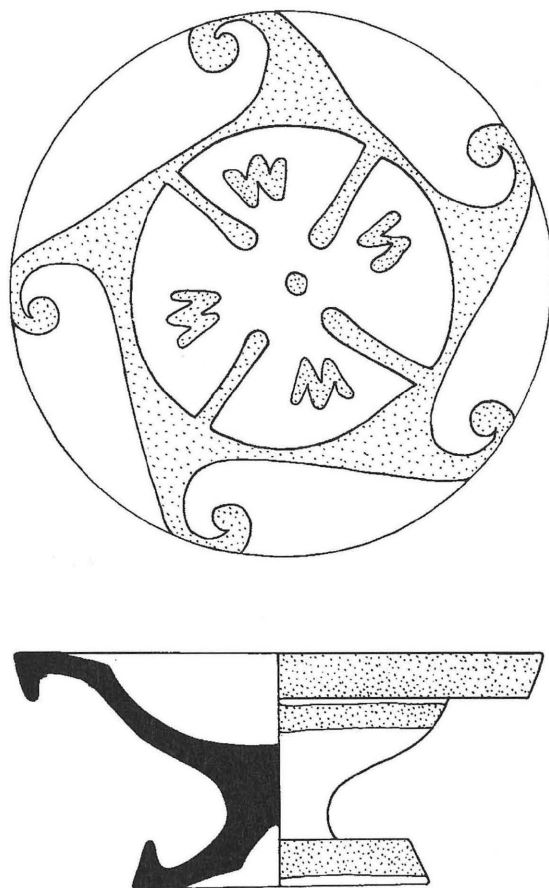


Fig. 9 (scale 1:2)

**LEX VOCONIA AND CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES
OF SUCCESSION**
Privileging Agnatic Obligation over Cognatic Family Feeling

JANNE PÖLÖNEN

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the motives behind the enactment of the *lex Voconia*.¹ In 169 BC Q. Voconius Saxa passed a law that prohibited anyone from having more than the heirs through legacies or in consequence of someone's death. Another of its clauses forbade anyone with registered property of 100.000 *asses* to name a female heir.² According to the *Sententiae*, a work attributed to the third century jurist Julius Paulus, female relatives remoter than sisters were denied the right of intestate

¹ I wish to thank Dr. Antti Arjava, Dr. Unto Paananen, Mr. Kaj Sandberg, Dr. Päivi Setälä, Mr. Timo Sironen and Mr. Ville Vuolanto for providing me with invaluable advice and criticism, however the responsibility remains mine. I owe special thanks to Hugh Macpherson for correcting and improving the language of the body type, any remaining errors must be result of my last minute adjustments.

² Gaius *inst.* 2,226: *Ideo postea lata est lex Voconia, qua cautum est, ne cui plus legatorum nomine mortisue causa capere liceret, quam heredes caperent*; 2,274: *Item mulier, quae ab eo, qui centum milia aeris census est, per legem Voconiam heres institui non potest, tamen fideicommisso relictam sibi hereditatem capere potest*; Liv. *perioch.* 41. J. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society*, London 1986, 170; J. K. Evans, *War, Women and Children in Ancient Rome*, London and New York 1991, 72. The second clause (Gaius *inst.* 2.274) concerned the first census class, or *classici*, who's census registered property was 100.000 *asses* or more: G. Botsford, *The Roman Assemblies*, reprint, New York 1968 (1909), 84–85, 90–91; A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor*, Oxford 1978, 113. It remains unclear whether the quantity of legacies was restricted to the *classici* according to the second provision, or did it concern also *infra classem* as it seems likely: Evans, 96 n. 101; However Sirks, "Sacra, Succession and the *lex Voconia*," *Latomus* 53 (1994) 273–291.

succession among agnates *Voconiana ratione*.³ There is also juridical case of doubtful origin and actuality (*Fraus legis Voconiae*) presented in *Declamationes Minores* by (Pseudo-)Quintilianus, according to which it was not permitted to leave a woman more than half of an estate.⁴ Cassius Dio maintains that, contrary to the *lex Voconia*, Augustus privileged certain women with capacity to inherit more than 100.000 sesterces.⁵ Cicero and St. Augustine condemned the law as favourable for men and truly unjust towards women.⁶ Finally, Aulus Gellius has preserved a passage of a speech by Cato the Elder supporting this law, in which he appears to attack women and their wealthy dowries. However, Gellius also claimed that the law had long been forgotten.⁷

The obvious disadvantage to women has provoked theories according to which the main motivation behind this law was to deprive women of their increasing wealth.⁸ Alternatively it would have put an end to the irritating

³ Paul. *sent.* 4,8,20. According to the *Sententiae*, The Twelve Tables did not make this distinction by sex. The passage suggests that the enactment was done simultaneously with Voconian law or at a later date, but in both cases more or less under the same motives: Gardner, *Women*, 171. Gaius does not make any connection to the *lex Voconia*, which may hint to misinterpretation in the *Sententiae*: Gaius *inst.* 3,14. See also J. Crook, "Women in Roman Succession," in B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome*, London and Sydney 1986, 60. On *sententiae* and its post-classical origin: F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science*, Oxford 1946, 176–179; F. Wieacker, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, München 1988, 133.

⁴ Quint. *decl.* 264,4. The case, however, is fictive and based on conclusion of the two clauses (see note 2), hence it only represents an interpretation of the *lex Voconia*. A. Quarino, *Lex Voconia*, *Labeo* 28 (1982) 120.

⁵ Dio 56,10,2. The alleged limit of 100.000 sesterces cannot be true because Cicero does not mention any actual limit on women's inheritances (see note 10). The controversy obviously resulted from the modernisation of the initial limitation of concern to persons having property worth 100.000 *asses* or more.

⁶ Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,106; Cic. *rep.* 3,17; Aug. *civ.* 3,21.

⁷ Gell. 17,6; 20,1,23. Gardner and Evans have emphasised that this speech implies only Cato's motives, not necessarily those of Voconius and the supporters of the bill: Gardner, *Women*, 171; Evans, 74. After all, Gellius selected the passage only because of Cato's use of the term *servus recepticius*. Further discussion below.

⁸ A. Steinwenter, *RE* XII.2 (1925) 2426–2427 s.v. *Lex Voconia*; A. Watson, *The Law of Succession in the Later Roman Republic*, Oxford 1971, 29; Astin, 113–118; Vigneron,

feminine luxury that was checked already by the *lex Oppia* in 215 BC and later by other sumptuary laws.⁹ Gardner has decisively refuted these interpretations.¹⁰ The strongest counter-argument is found in Cicero's statement, which implies that the law did not set any limit for the wealth that women could eventually possess or inherit.¹¹ Women could be left enormously rich legacies equal to heirs' shares, and the law allowed daughters to be left bequests equal to their intestate portions when sons also survived.¹² The injustice occurred when a father died without sons but having daughters, who were forced by the Voconian law to share their paternal estates with an additional male heir diminishing daughters' shares below due statutory portions.¹³

The *lex Voconia* ignored the loophole provided by remaining intestate because intestacy was an unthinkable option for upper class Romans.¹⁴ The

"L'antiféministe loi Voconia et les Schleichwege des Lebens," *Labeo* 29 (1983) 145–146; J. P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society*, Princeton 1984, 92–93, 227–228.

⁹ J. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome*, London 1967, 121–122; M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, Munich 1971, 684; S. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*, New York 1975, 162–163; P. Culham, "The Lex Oppia," *Latomus* 1982, 786–793, esp. 792–793.

¹⁰ Gardner, *Women*, 171–175. See also Evans, 73–75; Sirks, 291–293.

¹¹ Cic. *rep.* 3,17: The daughter of P. Crassus could still inherit 100.000.000 sesterces. Gardner, *Women*, 173.

¹² Evans, 73–74.

¹³ Gardner, *Women*, 174; Evans, 73. Second clause of second set of pontifical rules (IIb) on obligation to perform *sacra* (Cic. *leg.* 2,48–49) held that the largest legacy should not exceed the part left to all heirs or heir. The clause of the *lex Voconia* had identical intent by giving the pontifical rule a civil law sanction. Discussion in Sirks, 274–276, 289. Hence the sole daughter's share was diminished by introduction of *extraneus* male heir from 1/1 to 1/2, two daughters' shares from 1/2 to 1/3, three daughters' shares from 1/3 to 1/4, etc. The law was not unjust because the sole daughter could not be instituted as *heir* but because her share was unduly diminished to half.

¹⁴ J. Crook, "Intestacy in Roman Society," *PCPhS* 19 (1973) 44; E. Champlin, *Final Judgments: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 B.C.-A.D. 250*, Cambridge 1991, 46 against D. Daube, "The preponderance of intestacy at Rome," *Tulane Law Review* 39 (1965) 253 ff. However, see P. Voci, "Linee storiche del diritto ereditario romano I. Dalle origini ai Severi," *ANRW* II.14 (1982) 395 concerning the Early Republic. The

law did not try to control women's wealth, and barring women from the right of intestate succession would not have made the case much stronger.¹⁵ Rather the suggested goals of delimiting female wealth must have been the consequences, rather than the causes of the legislation in question. This applies also to Gardner's reasonable view, according to which the *lex Voconia* was enacted to secure sufficient financial backing for the purposes of male public life.¹⁶ Evans' theory of the *lex Voconia* as an early predecessor of *collatio dotis* puts too much weight on dowries and their values.¹⁷ Moreover, no plausible reason can be produced to explain why the restriction – in Evans' theory – was confined only to the wealthiest class, since the same problems would surely have concerned the next class below.¹⁸

theory of strengthening agnatic tutelage by encouraging intestacies is truly misguided. For bibliography and discussion: Vigneron, 143–144; Gardner, Women, 174.

¹⁵ Both Gardner and Evans argue that to truly cut women out of property it would have been necessary to exclude them from intestate succession: Gardner, Women, 174; Evans, 75–76. The *Voconiana ratio* indeed had this effect but in practice the easier testation and revision of wills due to *testamentum per aes et libram* must have reduced the effects of intestate succession to minimum.

¹⁶ Gardner, Women, 175–176.

¹⁷ Evans, 78–83. In my opinion Evans fails to prove that elite fathers provided their daughters with richest dowries possible. Even if the values of dowries were increased due to lucrative warfare, so were the values of the estates. The relative size of dowries in times of the *lex Voconia* was probably roughly the same that remained the experience during the Principate, usually less than 10 percent of the whole estate in the upper-classes: R. P. Saller, "Roman dowry and the devolution of property in the Principate," CQ 34 (1984) 119. See also S. Treggiari, Roman Marriage: *Iusti Coniuges* from the Time of Cicero to the Times of Ulpian, Cambridge 1991, 363.

¹⁸ Other attempts to explain the restriction to first census class are hardly acceptable: Pomeroy's suggestion that the *lex Voconia* prevented large fortunes from escaping *tributum* is ingenious but not convincing: S. B. Pomeroy, "The relationship of the married woman to her blood relatives in Rome," Ancient society 7 (1976) 222; Crook, "Women," 66. Mitchell goes astray suggesting obscurely that law was meant to secure the existence of persons bound to obligations towards state according to their registration in the first census class, which finds no support in the sources: R. E. Mitchell, Patricians and Plebeians: The Origin of the Roman State, Ithaca and London 1990, 250. I am aware of the forthcoming publication of a monograph by T. Van der Meer, Made for Men: A Study of the Origins and the Influence on Roman Society of the *lex Voconia* (169 BC).

It is not until recently that the similarities between pontifical *ius sacrum* and the clauses of the *lex Voconia* have been fully appreciated. Sirks' assertion that the primary concern was the continuation of *sacra pro familia* reveals the essential aspect of the *lex Voconia*.¹⁹ However, to fully understand the legislation in question due attention must be paid to the political and social background of the legislation, the hereditary nature of Roman aristocracy, the struggle of the orders and the changing testamentary practice and ideology.²⁰ Even if it is difficult to define the actual content of the Voconian law or to be sure that nothing relevant is omitted, some facts about content and context can be deduced from the sources and these allow, or urge, crucial questions to be asked. Why was the law confined only to the uppermost census class? Why were the actual effects of the law restricted in practice to daughters without surviving brothers? What motivation was there behind the exclusion of women and restriction of legacies? It is my aim to demonstrate that the *lex Voconia* was intended to protect and maintain the Roman hereditary aristocracy. The law was promoted by the need to make aristocratic *patresfamiliarum* fulfil their obligations towards their legally defined *familiae*, and the actual enactment resulted from combination of conflicting ideologies of succession and current political situation at Rome.

Unfortunately it did not come out to be available for consideration in this paper.

¹⁹ Sirks, 274–276, 293–296. This is already implicit in Crook's statement that the *lex Voconia* "was concerned with instituting women as *heirs*:" J. Crook, "Intestacy in Roman Society," PCPhS 19 (1973) 43.

²⁰ According to Sirks the pontiffs wanted the *sacrae pro familia* to be performed by male *sui heredes* because *extraneus* heirs might feel themselves less obliged to maintain the family tradition. It was also desirable not to let *sacrae* to devolve on women because their *familiae* could not be perpetuated. The fundamental merit of Sirks theory is the emphasis on importance of having male *heres* to perpetuate the *sacra pro familia*. Nevertheless, Sirks fails completely to appreciate the fact, explicitly attested by Gaius (*inst.* 2,226), that the actual problem behind the restriction on legacies in Voconian law was the desertion of wills by instituted heirs because of lavish legacies, or *inane nomen heredis*. Moreover, Sirks' allusion to "reference group for the rest of Roman society" hardly explains why the transmission of *sacrae* was perhaps "not considered important enough for this lower classes," 293. Sirks mentions growing disregard of social rules but without definition and due consideration of the prevailing testamentary practice, 293. Yet Sirks does not pay any attention to the effects of *sine manu* marriage, the financial consequences of the law, or the actual situation that provoked the law and motives of its supporters. In all, Sirks' article has its merit but calls for further study.

Right down from The Twelve Tables Roman civil law was dominated by agnatic principles emphasising the importance of male lineage.²¹ The Roman *familia* that was transmitted by succession was seen as a unity of individuals by name, estate and sacral tradition, all under the absolute control of the oldest living male ascendant, the *paterfamilias* – Cicero’s remarks imply that this conception of inheritance still had acceptance in the last century of the Republic.²² The most important factor here is that at birth children always belonged legally to the *familia* of their father.²³ Consequently only males could transmit the family name, *dignitas* and rites since any child born to a daughter belonged to the *familia* of her husband, the son-in-law, and took the *nomen* and *sacra* of his *familia*.²⁴ In this respect it did not make any difference whether marriage was *cum manu* or *sine manu*, it was only necessary to have a male heir to continue the agnatic *familia* and its traditions, continuance of which was the original purpose of Roman wills.²⁵

The testamentary dispositions of Scipios’ show that it was probably already customary before the time of the *lex Voconia* to institute sons as heirs and to give daughters their shares by way of a legacy after

²¹ J. Crook, "Women," 59; Gardner, *Women*, 163. On the agnatic structure of Roman society: J. Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen*, London 1993, 82–83.

²² Cic. *dom.* 13,35: *hereditates nominis, pecuniae, sacrorum secutae sunt*. See also Festus (Lindsay p. 370): *olim sacra non solum publica curiosissime administrabant, sed etiam privata: relictusque heres sic (ut) pecuniae, etiam sacrorum erat; ut ea diligentissime administrare esset necessarium*; Liv. 45,40,7; Plin. *paneg.* 37,2; Vopisc. *Aurelian.* 14,7; Voci, 396–401. On the concept of *familia*: R. P. Saller, "Familia, Domus & Roman Conception of the Family," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 337–342.

²³ Gai. *inst.* 1,55–6; Treggiari, 43.

²⁴ F. Schulz, *Classical Roman Law*, Oxford 1954, 221; Gardner, *Women*, 169. Dig. 50,16,195,5 (Ulp.): *Mulier autem familiae suae et caput et finis est*; M. Corbier, "Divorce and Adoption as Roman Familial Strategies," in B. Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1991, 53. According to Seneca son provided father with *domus ac familiae perpetuitas*: Sen. *benef.* 3,33,4; Saller, "Familia," 343. Practical reasons also favoured male heirs because the administration of the inheritance likely required public activities that were considered unsuitable for women or required male litigant.

²⁵ Voci, 396–401.

disinheriting them, if these were not already given in a dowry.²⁶ The preference for instituting male descendants, or adoptive sons, as heirs to continue their *familiae* appears to be a consistent strategy during the Republic.²⁷ This is also emphasised by the civil law rules that required sons to be legally disinherited by name while a *ceteri* clause sufficed for daughters.²⁸ Romans did not employ primogeniture as a common strategy of succession which, given the fact that property was allowed to devolve equally on sons and daughters on intestacy, suggests that financial discrimination against daughters in Roman society was not expected.²⁹ The legacy was not necessarily a financially discriminative form of bequest; on the contrary it provided the legatee with pure and unburdened benefit.³⁰ In all, there was nothing revolutionary in excluding women from the title of

²⁶ Polyb. 31,22, 26–28; G. Boyer, "Le droit successoral romain dans les oeuvres de Polybe," RIDA 4 (1950) 169–187; See also S. Dixon, "Polybius on Roman Women and Property," AJPh 106 (1987) 147–170; Crook, "Women," 64; Sirks, 291.

²⁷ I. Shatzman, Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics, Bruxelles 1975, 50–53. On adopting male heirs: M. Humbert, Le remariage à Rome: Étude l'histoire juridique et sociale, Milan 1972, 95; Corbier, 63–67; Sirks, 280–281; J. Gardner, Family and *Familia* in Roman Law and Life, Oxford 1998, 114–132, 200–202. Naming sons as heirs and disinheriting daughters continued to be the standard practice during the Principate, however daughters were commonly preferred to all other heirs than sons: Champlin, 120. *Laudatio Turiae* inscribed c. 40 BC is one of the first cases for daughter being named heir in her father's will untouched by the *lex Voconia*: CIL VI, 1527. Still it is impossible to know if the father was registered in the first census class, that is doubtful.

²⁸ It was apparently common for fathers to name son or sons as heirs and then let all others, including daughters and wives *in manu*, to be disinherited. There is no controversy in assigning *ceteri* clause to the origin of *testamentum per aes et libram*, however Voci, 411–412.

²⁹ On primogeniture: Champlin, 111–112; A. Arjava, Women and Law in Late Antiquity, Helsinki 1996, 62 n. 117. The principle of equality is emphasised in the later development of the law of inheritance as daughters and sons had similar rights of *bonorum possessio contra tabulas* and *querela inofficiosi testamenti*. K. Hopkins, Death and Renewal, Cambridge 1983, 76–78; Saller, *Patriarchy*, 164. Sirks downplays the equality by "lack of precision in the early rules," 295.

³⁰ Schulz, Classical, 215.

heir, which indeed had no intent of financial discrimination against daughters.³¹

But in whose interests was it to promote agnatic succession through the male line? As Gardner puts it "the priorities of the Roman man in the street were not bound up with preserving the *familia*, but doing best for his family."³² It was the concern of the Roman hereditary aristocracy, originally of patrician families.³³ The origin and the qualification of the patriciate is heavily disputed, but one can safely state that patrician families formed an exclusive order that was above all characterised by religious capacity and succession to it.³⁴ The cornerstone of the patrician privileges was the exclusive right of their magistrates and priests to order public *auspicia*.³⁵ By the closing of the patriciate during the fifth century patricians managed to practically monopolise for themselves the sacral priesthods as well as

³¹ Simply custom was turned to law, or *ius* was declared in a *lex*: P. Stein, *Regulae Iuris*, Edinburgh 1966, 9–19, 24. On discrimination: Crook, "Women," 64, 77; Crook, "Intestacy," 43. Champlin, 113–120 is too pessimistic in regard to financial discrimination of daughters. Further discussion and counter-arguments in forthcoming: J. Pölönen, "Division of Wealth Between Men and Women In Roman Succession (c. 50 BC –AD 250).

³² Gardner, *Family*, 4.

³³ On hereditary nature of Roman aristocracy: Voci, 419; H. H. Scullard, *Roman Politics 220–150 B.C.*, second edition, Oxford 1973 (1951), 8–12; Hopkins, 36ff; T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 BC)*, London and New York 1995, 9–10, 108.

³⁴ E. S. Staveley, "The Nature and Aims of the Patriciate," *Historia* 32 (1983) 24–57; Cornell, 242–268, 327–340. See also P. C. Ranouil, *Recherches sur la Patriciat: 509–366 av.J.-C.*, Paris 1976; J.-C. Richard, *Les Origines de la plèbe romaine. Essai sur la formation du dualisme patricio-plébéien*, Paris 1978; Mitchell, *Patricians*, 70–76, 101–102 prompts the religious character of patricians and in his view *patres* were, in the first place, priests.

³⁵ J. Linderski, "The Auspices and the Struggle of the Orders," in W. Eder (ed.), *Staat und Staatlichkeit in der frühen römischen Republik*, Stuttgart 1990, 34–48, esp. 41, 47; Staveley, 38–39; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich 1912, 454. On difference between public and private auspices, the latter of which was open to plebeians: Linderski, "The Auspices," 47; P. Catalano, *Contributi allo studio del diritto augurale*, vol.1, Torino 1960, 199 ff, 451 ff.

sacral and political magistracies.³⁶ When oppressed by plebeian demands for the rights to consulship and intermarriage in 445 BC the patricians' only counter-argument was the plebeians' lack of (public) auspices.³⁷ The legal distinction between the two groups is clearly attested by the procedures of *transitio ad plebem* and *patrem* that remained in use until the end of the Republic.³⁸ The required knowledge of the sacral tradition was transmitted within the patrician *familiae* and the religious offices, and according to Mitchell the consequent seats in the senate, were hereditary. The claim and access to the patrician privileges was strictly controlled by the vote of *patres* in *comitia calata*, presided over by supreme pontiff, on adoptions, admissions to patrician status and wills, that determined the succession to *familiae* and *sacrae*.³⁹

In the Rome of the Twelve Tables wills were made either *comitiis calatis* or *in procinctu*, however only in case there was no (male) *sui heredes*. A more flexible, and more private, form of will also emerged through *mancipatio familiae*, already recognised in the Twelve Tables, which eventually developed to *testamentum per aes et libram*. The first two disappeared from use sometime during the Republic.⁴⁰ The *mancipatio*

³⁶ "La serrata del patriziato" was coined by G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* I, (Turin 1907) 2nd ed. Firenze 1960, 234. The result was formation of new exclusive caste of patricians: Staveley, 41.

³⁷ Liv. 4,6,2; See also 4,2,5-7; 6,41,4-6; 10,8,9; Messala in Gell. 13,15.

³⁸ Zon. 7,15,9; Cic. *dom.* 14,37; Botsford, 162–165. The *transitio ad plebem* required *detestatio sacrorum* by which a person renounced his participation in the *sacra* of his original *familia*: A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Philadelphia 1953, 434.

³⁹ The discussion on hereditary nature of religious offices and priesthood, their transmission in *familiae*, and the supervision by *comitia calata* and *pontifex maximus* can be found in Mitchell, *Patricians*, 83–113. The sacral, private and public law was developed by pontiffs and this was exclusively the domain of Roman (patrician) aristocracy: Schulz, *History*, 6–8, 11–12, 19–21. On *comitia calata* see also Botsford, 152–167. On entering *sacrae* of other *familia*: Wissowa, 401–402.

⁴⁰ Gaius *inst.* 2,101–103; Gell. 15,27,3 (Labeo); Voci, 394–395, 402–404; Schulz, *Classical*, 240–241; W. W. Buckland, *A Text-book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian* (3rd ed. rev. P. Stein), Cambridge 1963, 288–285. *Testamentum in procinctu* fell out of use probably during the last two centuries of the Republic: Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,9; Cic. *de orat.* 1,228.

familiae was not strictly speaking a *testamentum* but a legal action to convey person's property after his death through trusted friend (*familiae emptor*) to the desired recipients. The *familiae emptor* was not *heres*, nor were the recipients *heredes*, the act involved only property, not the *nomen* and *sacra* that were left to *proximi adgnati* or *gentiles* by intestate succession.⁴¹ Why the separation of property and family tradition? The actual *testamenta* could be ratified only in *comitia calata* twice a year or in a battle line. The action was created to allow persons making an early death but having no male *sui heredes* and no valid will at least to distribute their property to whom ever they wished.⁴² The two forms of will remained in use, while *mancipatio familiae* was only emergency action, at least until the third century.

Later in the Republic the *mancipatio familiae* was assimilated to *testamentum comitiis calatis* with identical *institutio heredis*, and was transformed to the standard *testamentum per aes et libram*, according to Schulz, sometime during the second century.⁴³ It is, however, likely that the *mancipatio familiae* had attracted popularity beyond emergency situations by the middle of the third century because of the possibilities to guide property separately from *sacra*. This is implied by the decision of *pontifex maximus* Tiberius Coruncanius, admitted to the pontifical college in 254 BC, that *sacra* should go together with property.⁴⁴ Obviously the old cumbersome *testamentum comitiis calatis* became obsolete when the transmission of both the property and *sacra*, or the *institutio heredis*, was made possible

⁴¹ The *familiae emptor* only *heredis locum optinebat*: Gaius *inst.* 2,103–104; Schulz, *Classical*, 241–242; Voci 403. According to Voci this process marks the initial separation of property and family tradition: Voci, 404. Gardner, *Family*, 201 correctly points out that will by *mancipatio* was originally introduced to "provide for the transmission of patrimonies when there were no *sui heredes*..."

⁴² Gaius *inst.* 2,102: *Accessit deinde tertium genus testamenti, quod per aes et libram agitur: qui enim neque calatis comitiis neque in procinctu testamentum faceret, is, si subita morte urgebatur, amico familiam suam, id est patrimonium suum, mancipio dabat eumque rogabat, quid cuique post mortem suam dari vellet.*

⁴³ Schulz, *Classical*, 242–243. The process is described in Gai. *inst.* 2,103–105.

⁴⁴ Cic. *leg.* 2,52: *placuit...eos, qui tantundem caperent, quantum omnes heredes, sacris alligari*; 2,47–53; Voci, 407. The *hereditas sine sacris* became common proverb: Festus (Lindsay p. 370); Plaut. *Capt.* 775; *Trin.* 484. The decree of Coruncanius was probably motivated by growing tendency to leave agnates with empty name of heir when no (male) *sui heredes* existed.

by *testamentum per aes et libram*.⁴⁵ The enactment of the *lex Furia* sometime between 204–169 BC implies a date at the end of the third or at the beginning of the second century.⁴⁶ The new will was a private act of civil law and no vote of the assembly was required, consequently fathers were free to institute as heirs whomever they wished, even others than *sui heredes*, without control by the *comitia calata*.⁴⁷

Gaius saw the *lex Voconia* as a part of a legislation that was carried out to encourage named *heredes* to accept inheritances by preventing testators from using up their estates by legacies and manumissions of slaves.⁴⁸ The original problem was that in the old days testators were allowed to use up their whole estate through legacies and grants of freedom, so the named *heres* was left with the empty name of heir (*inane nomen*

⁴⁵ During the third century emerged the secular science of law in side of pontifical law: Schulz, *History*, 8–11. In less than two hundred years the profane branch of law became so alien to the sacral that P. Mucius Scaevola, consul of 133 BC. and a father of *pontifex maximus* of 82 BC, stated "*pontificem bonum neminem esse, nisi qui ius civile cognosset.*" Cic. *leg.* 2,47. On Scaevolae: W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen*, Graz 1967, 18, 12. Cicero immediately continues explaining how small part of the civil law is of interest to the pontiffs, however it remained their duty to make sure that the memory of rites should not die out at the death of the *paterfamilias*. The secularisation of the law seem to match with the accession of plebeians to the college of pontiffs in 300 BC. The first plebeian *pontifex maximus*, Ti. Coruncanus (cos. 280, pont. max. 254: Kunkel, 7.), is credited in later tradition with democratisation of the law: Cic. *de orat.* 3.33.133–134; Dig. 1,2,2,35 (Pomp.). Schulz takes pains to undermine the importance of Coruncanus but his arguments are hardly decisive, *History*, 10. The first jurists to write legal treatise other than collections of *formulae* was Sex. Aelius Paetus Catus of plebeian origin: Dig. 1,2,2,38; Schulz, *History*, 35.

⁴⁶ Rotondi, 282–283. In times of the Twelve Tables the separation of the whole estate from the heirship and *sacra* was apparently rare. The legislation to prevent *inane nomen heredis* indicates that the dispersal of property separately from heirship was made possible in larger scale by institutionalisation of *testamentum per aes et libram*, hence at the time of the *lex Furia* the problem had to be dealt with.

⁴⁷ Sirks, 288 however assuming that *institutio heredis* was possible by *macipatio familiae*.

⁴⁸ Gaius *inst.* 2,224–228: *ex qua lege plane quidem aliquid utique heredes habere videbantur; sed tamen fere vitium simile nascebatur. nam in multas legatariorum personas distributo patrimonio poterat testator adeo heredi minimum relinquere, ut non expediret heredi huius lucri gratia totius hereditatis onera sustinere.* Just. *inst.* 2,22, pr.

heredis).⁴⁹ The obvious result of this was that the named heirs did not take up their inheritances and consequently, so Gaius says, many people died intestate.⁵⁰ After the *mancipatio familiae* had been turned to *testamentum per aes et libram* it was still possible to divert property from *sacra* by legacies but it was tied to leaving a valid will with obligatory *institutio heredis* instead of "selling" the *familia* and dying intestate. While Coruncanus postulated that all those who received as much as heirs should be bound to perform family rites, the *lex Voconia*, after the new form of will was institutionalised, forbade that any one should receive by legacy as much as the heirs did. Therefore the rites were bound to property and property together with rites to the title of heir.

The *lex Voconia* itself implies that women were instituted as heirs already by the time of its promulgation, something very unlikely to happen under the supervision of *patres*. Cicero, who implies that both young and mature women – obviously daughters and wives – were instituted as heirs before the *lex Voconia*, seems to give reliable confirmation.⁵¹ Obviously some fathers registered in the first census class actually began to institute their daughters as heirs against the traditional orthodoxy when they had no surviving sons.⁵² Others apparently opted to use devices of *ius civile* to

⁴⁹ Gaius *inst.* 2,224. Gaius traces this idea back to a statement in the Twelve Tables: *uti legassit suae rei, ita ius esto*. Nevertheless, this clause does not concern the actual wills ratified in *comitia calata* or in *procinctu*, it recognises the possibility of *mancipatio familiae* as an emergency procedure: A. Watson, *Rome of the XII Tables: Persons and Property*, Princeton 1975, 52–61. This is also suggested by the term *legassit* that also later denoted gifts out of *hereditas*.

⁵⁰ Gaius *inst.* 2,224: *Sed olim quidem licebat totum patrimonium legatis atque libertatibus erogare nec quicquam heredi relinquere praeterquam inane nomen heredis...qua de causa, qui scripti heredes erant, ab hereditate se abstinebant, et idcirco plerique intestati moriebantur*. This passage must relate to the standard *testamentum per aes et libram* because of the presumed institution of heirs and their capacity to refuse, that were impossible in the original *mancipatio familiae*.

⁵¹ According to Cicero the *lex Voconia hereditatem ademit nulli neque virgini neque mulieris: sanxit in posterum, qui post eos censores census esset, ne quis heredem virginem neve mulierem faceret*. Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,107. Repetition of *virgines* and *mulieres* may hint to the actual wording of the law.

⁵² To this same general direction points the possibility provided for fathers to oust agnatic relatives from their daughters' properties by giving them fiduciary tutors in a

circumvent *ius sacrum* in order to provide sufficiently for their daughters without incurring rites.⁵³ The introduction of new values to Roman aristocracy from the fourth century onwards can be partly explained by formation of patricio-plebeian nobility. It can, of course, only be speculated in what way the growing influx of new men influenced the ideology of the patrician aristocracy and eventually the patricio-plebeian elite, however at least something can be said about the values of conservative patricians.⁵⁴

The conventional *manus* marriage by *confarreatio*, restricted to patricians, was required from people, and their parents, for being eligible as major *flamines* and *rex sacrorum*, and according to Linderski, this probably concerned all the religious privileges.⁵⁵ The rule of *trinoctium* already present in the XII Tables prevented wife from entering *manus* of her husband by *usus* that resulted in marriage without *manus* – obviously the earliest form of *sine manu* marriage – that was applied to mixed marriages between patricians and plebeians to prevent contamination of patrician *familiae* and *auspicia*.⁵⁶ It was indeed the *confarreatio* and *auspices* that

will: Gaius *inst.* 2,122; 1,144–146; Gardner, *Women*, 14–22.

⁵³ Cic. *leg.* 2,48–53. Discussion on the tricks: Sirks, 276 n. 18.

⁵⁴ On formation of the nobility: K.-J. Hölkeskamp, *Die Entstehung der Nobilität*, Stuttgart 1987, 241–258; Ferenczy, 47–66; Cornell, 339–344. As soon as the influential plebeian families were admitted to power-sharing with patricians they also adopted the patrician policy of isolation from "lower" plebeians, and eventually established their own noble consular lineages. Cicero complains that due to *neglegentia nobilitatis auguri disciplina omissa veritas auspiorum spreata est, species tantum retenta*: Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,3,9. *Leges Liciniae Sextiae* of 367 BC and *Lex Ogulnia* of 300 BC admitted plebeians to colleges of *duumviri sacris faciundis*, pontiffs and augurs: Rotondi, 216–220, 236; Cornell, 333–344. On the concept, origin, influx and influence of *novi homines* see T. P. Wisemann, *New Men in the Roman Senate 139 B.C.-A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, esp. 107 ff.; Scullard, 11–12.

⁵⁵ Gaius *inst.* 1,112: *Nam flamines maiores, id est Diales, Martiales, Quirinales, item reges sacrorum, nisi ex farreatis nati non leguntur; ac ne ipsi quidem sine confarreatione sacerdotium habere possunt.* J. Linderski, "Religious Aspects of the Conflict of the Orders: The Case of *confarreatio*," in K. Raaflaub (ed.), *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome*, Berkeley 1986, 246; Staveley, 36–37; Treggiari, 21–24.

⁵⁶ Linderski, "Religious," 259–261, 259: "Livy (10.23) under the year 295 illustrates the tendency of patricians to avoid *manus* when marrying their daughters into plebeian families." On *trinoctium* in XII Tables: Watson, *Rome*, 17. The most famous attempt to

created the exclusive patrician order in the first place.⁵⁷ The *confarreatio* ceremony, like *testamentum comitiis calatis*, was supervised by *pontifex maximus* and thus provided another form of control on accession to patrician *familiae*.⁵⁸ Therefore it can be concluded that the *manus* marriage by *confarreatio* represented the true patrician tradition while *sine manu* marriage was not a possible option for patricians intending to continue their exclusive sacral tradition.⁵⁹ The *conventio in manum* allowed divorces only in exceptional cases, hence the famous divorce c. 230 BC of plebeian consul Sp. Carvilius Ruga and consequent introduction of *actio rei uxoriae* indicate the new conception of the marriage among the nobility.⁶⁰ The wife who married *sine manu* could not participate in the *sacra* of her husband; hence the popularity of *sine manu* marriage and the decline of *sacra* were closely related issues. Moreover, it was possible for husbands to institute their wives as heirs by *testamentum per aes et libram*.⁶¹

The actual need to protect the continuity of the old values, that had foundation in patrician tradition, became current due to the ongoing political oppression of patrician families and the threat to the survival of their privileges. Yet there can be detected a general expression of conservative ideology against the liberal values of the day, not to forget that religion was

prevent contamination of the patrician lineages was the ban of intermarriage added to the Twelve Tables during the second year of the decemvirate, however it was soon repelled by *lex Canuleia* in 445 BC: Cornell, 245.

⁵⁷ P. Noailles, *Fas et Ius: Etudes de droit romaine*, Paris 1948, 32. For discussion see Linderski, "Religious," 249–252.

⁵⁸ Linderski, "Religious," 250 n. 20; Mitchell, *Patricians*, 87.

⁵⁹ Linderski, "The Auspices," 48.

⁶⁰ Gell. 4,3,2; Watson, *Rome*, 31–33; Treggiari, 435–482; F. Münzer, *RE* III.2 (1952) 1630–1631 s.v. 10) Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga; J. Gardner, "Recovery of Dowry in Roman Law," *CQ* 35 (1985) 449–453. During the Late Republic divorces became notoriously frequent. According to Bradley's study at least one half of the consular families between 80 and 50 BC were influenced by divorces and remarriages: K. R. Bradley, "Remarriage and the Structure of the Upper-Class Roman Family," in B. Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1991, 83.

⁶¹ Among the earliest cases is Dig. 32,1,29,1 (Labeo) that reports wife instituted as heir to a share equal to the smallest portion among other heirs that indeed may reflect the rule of the *lex Voconia*.

still taken seriously.⁶² The patricians began to lose their dominance and privileges from the fourth century onwards which is best demonstrated by the increasing number of curule magistrates and senators from plebeian families – in 179 BC the Senate consisted of 88 patricians and 216 plebeians.⁶³ Nevertheless, until the very end of the Republic the patricians retained for themselves the exclusive control of *auctoritas patrum* and *interregnum*, both guarded by their privileged *auspicia*.⁶⁴ The narrowing group of patricians was able to retain for themselves the other post of yearly consul until 172 BC when for the first time both consuls were elected from plebeian families (M. Popilius Laenas and P. Aelius Ligus).⁶⁵ According to Scullard, the hitherto unprecedented plebeian domination continued until 169 BC when a conservative counteraction was launched by the nobility. The total loss of the consulship for the first time must have provoked some thought of loss among the patricians and made them concerned about their future – after all the auspical continuity from Romulus was at stake.⁶⁶ The moment was suitable for conservative legislation.

⁶² Discussion on religious duty: Gai. *inst.* 2,55; Sirks, 274, 290.

⁶³ Scullard, 9 n. 3–6.

⁶⁴ Linderski, "The Auspices," 42, on patrician priesthoods 47. Still in the third century AD only senators descended from *patriciis et consulibus usque ad omnes illustres viros* were entitled to deliver speeches in the senate: Dig. 1.9.12 (Ulp.).

⁶⁵ Liv. 41,28,3; Scullard, 192–195: in 172 all praetors and curule aediles were also plebeians. Although law allowed the colleges of consul and censor to be filled exclusively by plebeians, the circumstances occurred not until 172 BC and 131 BC respectively. R. Develin, "The Integration of the Plebeians into the Political Order after 336 B.C.," in K. Raaflaub (ed.), *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome*, Berkeley 1986, 327–328.

⁶⁶ Develin, 328, 352 undermines the events of year 172. The demographic trend certainly favoured the growth of plebeian domination, however this did not reduce the patrician's concern for their privileges and tradition, indeed it stresses the need to prevent patrician families from coming to an end: Cic. *Flacc.* 106; Tac. *ann.* 2,37. The date of termination for the struggle can in constitutional sense be put to 287 BC (*lex Hortensia*), however, as von Ungern-Sternberg reasonably estimates, "the conflict of the Orders", as to describe the "permanent antagonism within republican society and constitution", "really ended only when the Empire was established": J. von Ungern-Sternberg, "The End of the Conflict of the Orders," in K. Raaflaub (ed.), *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome*, Berkeley 1986, 375–377. On auspical continuity: Linderski, "The Auspices," 43.

The above line of thought may find support from the sole surviving contemporary source, the Cato's speech. The passage was selected by Gellius only for the use of the term *servus recepticius*, hence it is very likely that what we have is only one aspect pursued by Cato in his speech. Cato does not attack the wealth of women but their quality of possession over it during the marriage. In traditional *manus* marriage all the property including the dowry that a woman brought with her was automatically transferred to the *potestas* of the husband. But to his audience Cato depicts the monstrous results of the liberal *sine manu* marriage. The wife brings in a large dowry that is not transferred to the *potestas* of the husband but retained partly in the wife's possession. Having the *dominium* she lets the husband have access to her property only against a loan, and when a quarrel, or divorce, occurs the husband chased by *servus recepticius* of the wife must return the loan, as well as the dowry. The clauses of the *lex Voconia*, as far as they are known, do not concern marriages as such, but for the conservative aristocracy it must have worked as most fruitful provocation towards support of the old values.

In all, at the eve of the *lex Voconia* the Roman society had come to a point where Roman fathers had to confront conflicting ideologies: on the one hand the Roman father was a *paterfamilias* of his agnatic *familia*, on the other he was the father of his cognatic family.⁶⁷ The law was needed to secure the succession through males by *testamentum per aes et libram* which was of private and public interest to any *paterfamilias* claiming status or privilege from the *nomen*, *sacra* and *dignitas* of his ancestors, and wanted to see this tradition to be continued and transmitted in the agnatic line by his descendants. The most traditional quarter was formed by patricians who through family trees going back to Regal period and beyond claimed habitual access and exclusive rights to many sacral and secular offices and priesthoods, not to mention senate, and considered themselves as the only true source of public *auspicia*. Somewhat similar motives may have been shared by some *patresfamiliarum* of the plebeian noble families that had established themselves in sacral and secular offices open to plebeians, and had interest in preserving their private *sacra* and *auspices* of their family

⁶⁷ The interaction of legal and social conception of the Roman family is admirably discussed by Gardner in: *Family and Familiae* in *Roman Law and Life*.

lineages. The most important security for the perpetuation of *familiae* was the protection of the succession by males. This matter was left open to fathers to decide by *testamentum per aes et libram*, hence the control earlier practised by *comitia calata* had to be forced upon the new form of will by law.⁶⁸ The most effective way to guarantee the succession through males among the hereditary aristocracy was to force fathers of first census class to disinherit their daughters, or in other words, to exclude them from the title of heir. There was absolutely no reason to extend this command to *infra classem*.

Normally sons continued the tradition as *heredes* and daughters received their shares by dowries and legacies – there was no conflict of obligation and emotion. Nevertheless, approximately 20 percent of the Roman fathers died without surviving sons.⁶⁹ A conservative *paterfamilias* would have considered his brothers, nephews, trusted friends or adoptive sons as those to take up his *familia* and duty to uphold its traditions. The surviving daughters who as *sui heredes* had rights from the estate equally with sons created conflicting sentiments. A father would therefore opt not to name a male heir at all and institute his daughter, or to compromise by instituting an *extraneus* male as heir but charge him to pay out to daughters their shares by legacies, which in a dutiful father's will could comprise even the whole estate.⁷⁰ Another hazard occurred if a father died without any

⁶⁸ Formal statute, *plebiscitum* (Liv. *perioch.* 41), was needed because *institutio heredis* was now purely a matter of civil law which had become totally alienated from *ius sacrorum* (see above n. 45). Sirks' suggestion that formal statute was needed to stop a development made possible by civil law tricks is wrong, 294. The civil legislation in Rome was always passed in an assembly that convened inside the *pomerium*, originally in *comitia curiata* and later in *concilium plebis*: K. Sandberg, "The *Concilium Plebis* as a Legislative Body During the Republic," in U. Paananen (ed.), *Senatus Populusque Romanus: Studies in Roman Republican Legislation*, Helsinki 1993, 81–88. Moreover, after the formation of patricio-plebeian nobility the tribunate lost its revolutionary nature and the office was indeed often held by members of the nobility: E. Ferenczy, *From the Patrician State to the Patricio-Plebeian State*, Amsterdam 1976, 64 with n. 106. Therefore the passing of conservative *lex Voconia* in *concilium plebis* by *tribunus plebis* in 169 BC was not extraordinary.

⁶⁹ Hopkins, 97–100; Champlin, 106.

⁷⁰ This is what actually happened to P. Sextilius Rufus who was asked to pass on the whole estate to testator's daughter: Cic. *fin.* 2,55. The case is common example of ways

children and wanted to leave his property to his wife. In my opinion, there hardly can be established any other motive behind the dispersal of the estates in such quantity that needed to be checked by extensive legislation against the *inane nomen heredis*.⁷¹ A will which did not provide heir with sufficient share of the property ran a serious risk of becoming deserted and invalidated, and consequently the estate would have devolved on *sui heres* daughters according to the rules of intestate succession.⁷² As a result the *familia* would have had no male successor which was again strongly against the interests of the *patresfamilium* and the continuity of the *familia*. Hence, the two clauses of the *lex Voconia* created a double check on cases where fathers died without *sui heredes* other than daughters: it was obligatory to name a male heir and to provide him with a portion similar to that of *sui heres* – a situation that corresponds quite closely with position of *adrogatus* by *testamentum comitiis calatis*.⁷³

to circumvent the *lex Voconia*: Evans, 76 with references. It is however probable that simply the pre-Voconian practice of charging *extraneus* heir to give bulk of the property to surviving daughters continued after the *lex Voconia* according to the decemviral principle that testator's wishes in regard to his property were to be respected.

⁷¹ If fathers had sons, there hardly was any common and general reason for robbing them from their paternal property after institution as heirs in the extent suggested by the legislation to prevent heirs from rejecting wills. Otherwise one must expect that it became common practice to spread the estates out of *familia* in huge quantity, i.e. giving out more than half shares of the estates. More likely the so-called dispersal was caused by the legacies to daughters and wives. According to Champlin the bequest to friends and servants were usually only of marginal importance compared to the total value of the estate: Champlin, chapter 7. On legacies see also A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Family and Inheritance in the Augustan Marriage Laws," PCPS 207 1981, 67. Hence I am not convinced by Gardner's discussion as a general explanation for the dispersal of estates and the legislation to prevent it, Family, 214–216.

⁷² Daughters could indeed perform *sacra familia* but only as long as they remained *sui iuris*, in any case they could not perpetuate their *familiae*: O. de Cazanove, "L'incapacité sacrificielle des femmes à Rome. À propos de Plutarque, *Quaest. Rom.*85," Phoenix 41 (1987) 167; Sirks, 287.

⁷³ By its outcome my theory comes close to Gardner who stresses the need to secure resources for the male public life. There is, however, sharp difference in motive and range of effect. In Gardner's opinion the law seem to be overall solution to the financial problems of the young nobles, in my view it was enacted with aim of forcing fathers to fulfil their agnatic obligations to maintain hereditary aristocratic *familiae*, and financially

Moreover, in order to secure the continuity of the rites and auspices without contamination, it was advantageous to make sure that noble *patres-familiarum* who had no natural male successor were practically forced to choose heirs from the surplus sons of other noble *familiae*.⁷⁴ This was apparently a common interest and based on the presumption that fathers, if forced to select a male heir, were likely to choose from close relatives or other noble families according to their status and capacity to uphold the traditions. At the same time the law discouraged blending of the ranks, and prevented any possibility of access by outsiders to the noble or patrician *familiae*. If there were no available *familiae* in the hands of sole surviving daughters, there would be no claims to its credits by their husbands. For the same purpose, supposing subsequent remarriage, husbands were prevented from considering their *sine manu* wives as potential heirs of their *familiae*.⁷⁵

The *Voconiana ratio* fits well in to the Voconian ideology, however it represents a compromise between the father's obligation and emotion: instead of cutting all women out of intestate succession the unfortunate consequences of intestacy were limited to the nearest female kin.⁷⁶ It was only towards the end of the Republic that noble aristocracy more and more came to see their lineages perpetuated through daughters and their

it concerned only cases where no sons survived. The financial aspect of inheritance is of course not to be undermined because membership in rank needed to be re-established every generation by sufficient possessions: R. P. Saller, "Roman Heirship Strategies in Principle and in Practice," in D. I. Kertzer – R. P. Saller (ed.), *The Family in Italy: From Antiquity to the Present*, New Heaven and London 1991, 26. Nevertheless the *lex Voconia* was not an attempt to solve that problem.

⁷⁴ Families having no surviving sons provided potential source of resources to other upper class families with surplus sons: Hopkins, 74.

⁷⁵ Treggiari, 366 correctly points out that "the law encouraged the idea that property should stay, as far as possible, in the lineage where it originated." The same holds true for *sacrae*: Cic. *leg.* 2,47. Sirks, 287, points out that *coemptio* removed a *sui iuris* woman from the *sacra* of her original *familia*, however failing to consider that women retained their *sui iuris* status in *sine manu* marriage.

⁷⁶ In intestate succession the *sacra* and property could not be separated and therefore it was felt preferable to allow estate to pass on to daughters and sisters instead of cutting them out only to guide *sacra* to male heirs. The *Voconiana ratio* is a good demonstration of the feeling that regarding to property nearest female kin were thought to deserve equally from paternal property with their male counterparts.

children.⁷⁷ Similarly daughters became increasingly eligible to be named as their fathers' sole heirs when there were no surviving sons, a feature well established in the legal texts of the Late Principate.⁷⁸ The end of the Republic can in general be described as a transition period in mentalities from *agnatio* to *cognatio* – in due course *familia* and ancestry lost significance in the society and politics of the Empire.⁷⁹ The *lex Voconia* was still discussed in Cicero's days but as in pre-Voconian experience, in law and social sentiment the daughter was thought to deserve her due share of the patrimony.⁸⁰

Summary

The *Lex Voconia* was a product of a conflicting conception of the duties of Roman males as *patresfamilia* of their agnatic *familiae* and as fathers of their cognatic families. Institutionalisation of *testamentum per aes et libram* likely at the end of the third century BC made it possible for fathers to institute heirs without supervision of *comitia calata* and proper observation of *ius sacrum*. When fathers had no surviving male *sui heredes* they began to institute their daughters without male co-heirs or provide them with due legacies from the instituted *extraneus* male heirs. In latter case the heirs were likely to desert the wills and both ways the *familiae* were at risk of coming to an end. This was strongly against the interests of Roman

⁷⁷ Saller, "Familia," 348–349. See note 43 for examples – from the late Republic onwards – on children adapting the name of both father and mother.

⁷⁸ Dig. 32,1,38,4 (Scaev.); 23,3,85 (Scaev.); 32,1,97 (Paul.); 31,1,89,1 (Scaev.); 31,1,77,24 (Pap.); 34,9,16,1 (Pap.); 34,4,30,3 (Scaev.); 23,4,22 (Iul.); 34,2,16 (Scaev.); 32,1,38,4 (Scaev.); 35,2,22,pr (Paul.); 34,1,18 (Scaev.); 31,1,34,7 (Mod.)?; 36,1,80,6 (Scaev.); 31,1,88,9 (Scaev.); 36,1,46,1 (Marc.); 36,1,80,8 (Scaev.); 36,1,23,4 (Ulp.); 32,1,38,2 (Scaev.); 34,3,28,9 (Scaev.); 32,1,39,2 (Scaev.). See also land-transfers illustrated by brick stamps where daughters frequently appear to have received the whole *figlinae* or shared them with sons: P. Setälä, *Private Domini in the Roman Brick Stamps in the Empire*, Helsinki 1977, 232 ff.; Treggiari, 383.

⁷⁹ Crook, "Women," 58; Saller, "Familia," 349–355.

⁸⁰ Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,104: *Faciebat omnia cum pupilla, legis aequitas, voluntas patris, edicta praetorum, consuetudo iuris eius quod erat tum cum Asellus est mortuus.*

hereditary aristocracy. The *Lex Voconia* prevented the institution of daughters as heirs by excluding women from the title of heir and provided *extraneus* heirs with sufficient benefit that was supposed to secure the transmission of *sacrae* and the continuation of agnatic *familiae*.

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WHAT'S IN THE NAME: THE SO-CALLED FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

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In this journal Ernst Badian, as so often, raised an interesting question: who first gave the totally inaccurate name of the First Triumvirate to the informal alliance of Pompey, Crassus and Caesar in 60?¹ For once, he uncharacteristically did not also provide the definitive answer. He was able only to state that the term was already known to Wilhelm Drumann and Paul Groebe in their classic *Geschichte Roms*.² After referring to 'das erste Triumvirat', they gave as sources Livy, Velleius, Suetonius, Dio, Plutarch (five times), Appian, Zonaras, Florus and Cicero (twice), a total of twelve references, none of which in fact call it any such thing.

It is indeed hazardous attempting to identify the origin of such an error. There always lurks the possibility that an overlooked writer may have anticipated the identified culprit.³ This particular case is, however, of such interest in the history of the late Republic that an attempt should be made.

There are many Renaissance writers who may be consulted. The discovery of the fragments of the *fasti* in the sixteenth century depredations in the Forum produced a number of outstanding works of editing and commentary and the beginning, in fact, of modern scholarship on the political history of the Republic. The greatest Republican historian of the age, Carlo Sigonio, in his edition of the *fasti* with commentary in 1556 referred to a

¹ 'M.Lepidus and the Second Triumvirate', *Arctos* 25 (1991) 5–16.

² Drumann and Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*, 6 vols, Bern 1899–1929, 3 (1906), 179.

³ As I found in an earlier exercise of this kind: 'To be taken with a pinch of salt: the destruction of Carthage', *CPh* 81 (1986) 140–146; cf. Brian Warmington, 'The destruction of Carthage, a retractatio', *CPh* 83 (1988) 308–310, Giulia Piccaluga, 'Chi ha sparato il sale sulle rovine di Carthagine?', *Cultura e scuola* 1988, 153–165.

'conspiratio', 'coitio' and 'societas'.⁴ Onofrio Panvinio in his edition, 1558, made no comment.⁵ Bartolomeo Marliani in his annals, 1560, wrote of 'conspiratio inter tres principes civitatis'.⁶ Alongside these three Italians, the Spanish Antonio Agustin in his essay on Roman families wrote similarly of 'tyrannis trium virorum clarissimorum'.⁷

At the end of the sixteenth century there appeared one of the earliest biographies of Caesar, by Stefano Schiappalaria. He described the formation of the alliance thus: Caesar 'entrò nell'amicitia e autorità loro (Pompey and Crassus) per terzo'. On the next page, however, we read: 'quel Triumvirato (così volle (Cicero) nominarlo) aspirava alla monarchia'.⁸ The error therefore goes back at least to the sixteenth century, but its subsequent history is also not without interest.

The Flemish Stefan Pigge in his annales of 1615 employed an eloquent array of terms: 'foedus', 'amicitia', 'coitio', 'conspiratio' and 'coniuratio'.⁹ The French historian Scipion Dupleix in his Roman history, 1638, noted only that Caesar reconciled Pompey, and Crassus and that Varro wrote his *Tricipitina* against the coalition.¹⁰ It is unfortunate that chapters 9–15 (Jugurtha to the end of the Republic) of Saint-Evremond's essay on the character of the Romans written in the 1660s are missing.¹¹ Another biographer of Caesar, the Flemish Hubert Goltz in 1663 described the union as a 'quasi conspiratio', while his contemporary, the Englishman Samuel

⁴ Sigonio, *Commentarius in fastos et triumphus romanos*, Venice 1556, 125.

⁵ Panvinio, *Fasti*, Venice 1558, 174.

⁶ Marliani, *Annales consulum*, Rome 1560.

⁷ Agustin, *de familiis Romanorum*, first published with Fulvio Orsini, *Familiae romanae*, Rome 1577, but reprinted by Graevius, *Thesaurus* 7.1222.

⁸ Schiappalaria, *La vita di C. Julio Cesare*, Antwerp 1578, 45–46. For this forgotten author, the only resort is Mario Cosenza, *Dictionary of Italian humanists*, 4 vols, Boston 1962, 4.3227, who knows only that he came from Genoa, and served the Hapsburgs.

⁹ Pigge, *Annales romanorum*, Antwerp 1615, 3.346, 351.

¹⁰ Dupleix, *Histoire romaine depuis la fondation de Rome*, 3 vols, Paris 1638, 2.520.

¹¹ Saint-Evremond, *Réflexions sur les divers génies du peuple romaine*, first published in Paris 1705.

Clarke, wrote of a 'league'.¹² The German Johannes Fabricius in his 'numismatic biography' of 1678 did not mention the alliance.¹³

It was, however, in 1681 that the first monograph on the subject of the alliance appeared: Samuel Broe, Seigneur de Citri et de la Guette's history of the triumvirates. One can hardly speak of entries in biographical dictionaries on this man, although they do exist; for he is cited virtually only as the author of this work, although he also wrote histories of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, of Florida, of Mexico, and of Peru. This work on the late Republic is therefore anomalous in his production. He wrote of 'that league which was afterwards called the Triumvirate', without specifying when or by whom.¹⁴ The name 'triumvirate' had now become embedded in a book title, but it is unlikely that this volume was sufficiently well known to have great influence.

One of the leading German scholars of this period, Johannes Graeve, among his many editions of texts, included Suetonius. He made no comment, however, on the 'societas' of chapter 19.¹⁵ The century concluded with Laurence Echard's pioneering history of the Republic, which appeared in 1695. He did cite Guette among the few available modern sources; it is only natural therefore that he wrote of 'this Triumvirate'.¹⁶

The age of the Enlightenment was rich in studies of the Republic, as one would expect. Aubert de Vertot d'Auboeuf (usually known as Vertot), author of the 'Roman revolutions' of 1719, mentioned only Caesar's

¹² Goltz, C. Julius Caesar, Bruges 1663, 5; Clarke, The life and death of Julius Caesar, London 1665, 7.

¹³ Fabricius, C. Julius Caesar numismaticus sive dissertatio historica, London 1678.

¹⁴ Broe, Histoire des deux triumvirats, Paris 1681, Eng. trans. by Thos. Otway, The history of the two triumvirates, London, 2 vols in 1, London 1686. There are 'articles' on Broe in Jocher, Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexikon, Leipzig 1750–, 2.340, Nouvelle biographie générale, Paris 1855–1866, 10.623; see also Index bio-bibliographicus notorum hominum, Osnabruck 1974–, 37.424.

¹⁵ Suetonius, ed. Graeve, 1677, 2nd ed. The Hague 1691.

¹⁶ Echard, The Roman history from the building of the City to the perfect settlement of the Empire by Caesar Augustus, London 1695, 290. On Echard, 'The forgotten historian: Laurence Echard and the first history of the Roman Republic', Ancient society 27 (1996), 277–315.

reconciliation of Pompey and Crassus in order to gain the consulship.¹⁷ The Jesuit Francois Catrou's monumental history called the union 'un Triumvirat'.¹⁸ Montesquieu, in his work of astonishing synthesis, the *Considerations* of 1734, covering from the foundation of Rome to the fall of Constantinople, in chapter 11 was more circumspect: 'enfin il (Pompey) s'unit d'intérêts avec César et Crassus'.¹⁹ Another French historian ignored his caution. Charles Rollin in his Roman history of the later 1730s described Caesar as forming the league famous (si connue) as the Triumvirate.²⁰ An English contemporary, Nathaniel Hooke, in his history of Rome down to 28 BC, in 1738 also wrote of the alliance 'commonly called the first triumvirate'.²¹ And for the first time historians began to elaborate on the significance of the alliance. Thomas Blackwell in his memoirs of the court of Augustus of 1753, lashed out at

'the fatal and pernicious Combination that first blasted the vigour of the Roman Republic. It was a latent, but effective Tyranny established in a free Commonwealth; an oligarchy, or Government of three, who ruled absolutely.'²²

The greatest historian of the Republic in this century, the Huguenot Louis de Beaufort in his famous precursor of the *Römische Staatsrecht* in 1766 was, as one would have hoped, precise: Pompey allied with Caesar (se leguer avec lui). The name triumvirs applied only to the personalities of 43, although even in their case it was 'plus véritablement une tyrannie qu'une

¹⁷ Vertot, *Histoire des révolutions arrivées dans le cours de la République romaine*, 3 vols, Paris 1719, 3.714.

¹⁸ Catrou, *Histoire romaine*, 20 vols, Paris 1725–1737, 16.176, 179.

¹⁹ Montesquieu, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, Amsterdam 1734; ed. Truc, Paris 1967, 57.

²⁰ Rollin, *Histoire romaine*, 7 vols, Paris 1738–1741, 6.558.

²¹ Hooke, *Roman history from the building of the city to the ruin of the Commonwealth*, 3 vols, London 1738, book 8, chap. 11.

²² Blackwell, *Memoirs of the court of Augustus*, 3 vols, Edinburgh 1753–1763, 1.176.

magistrature légitime'.²³ Oliver Goldsmith in his history followed Blackwell's lead in criticising the alliance:

'This was called the First Triumvirate, by which we find the constitution weakened by a new interest, that had not hitherto taken place in the government.'²⁴

A specialist who should have known better, because the evidence (or rather the lack of it) was in front of him, the numismatist William Cooke, in his numismatic history of 1781 still persisted in writing of the first triumvirate.²⁵ The Scottish historian Adam Ferguson in his history of the Republic, 1783, followed suit: it was 'a private combination ... afterwards, by a kind of mockery ... termed the Triumvirate', although as usual he did not specify when or by whom.²⁶ Charles Hereford, in his history 1792, similarly but more prosaically stated that 'This league, from the number which composed it, was termed the Triumvirate'!²⁷

The secret was finally revealed in 1807 by Pierre Levesque in his 'critical history': 'Leur coalition forma ce que les modernes appellent le premier triumvirat'.²⁸ Jules Michelet in 1831 returned to Vertot's idea of reconciliation: Caesar 'trouva moyen de reconcilier Pompée et Crassus'.²⁹ There was a return to anonymity with the English historian Thomas Arnold in his well known history of 1838–1843:

'He had already effected that famous coalition between Pompey, Crassus and himself which has been distinguished by the name of the

²³ de Beaufort, *La République romaine*, 2 vols, The Hague 1766, 1.248, 410. On de Beaufort, see Gibbon's complement, Venice 1986.

²⁴ Goldsmith, *Roman history*, 2 vols, London 1769, 1.418.

²⁵ Cooke, *The medallic history of imperial Rome*, 2 vols, London 1781, 1.34; cf. the coin evidence for 43, plate 4.

²⁶ Ferguson, *The history of the progress and termination of the Roman Republic*, 3 vols, London 1783, 2.160.

²⁷ Hereford, *History of Rome*, 2 vols, London 1792, 2.267.

²⁸ Levesque, *Histoire critique de la République romaine*, 3 vols, Paris 1807, 3.78.

²⁹ Michelet, *Histoire romaine*, Paris 1831, book 3, chap. 5.

triumvirate or "Commission of Three", an appellation borrowed from the usual number of persons employed by the state as commissioners for executing any particular service, and bestowed in mockery on the three individuals who were purposing to dispose of the whole government of the Commonwealth with no authority but their own ambition.'³⁰

Conyers Middleton, the notorious sceptic, in his biography of Cicero in 1839 was correct in calling it 'a triple alliance', and also fulminated against it in very similar vein:

'This is commonly called the first triumvirate: which was nothing else in reality but a traitorous conspiracy of three, the most powerful citizens of Rome, to extort from their country by violence what they could not obtain by law.'³¹

Finally the modern era of Roman historiography dawned. Although Barthold Georg Niebuhr's history of Rome did not progress beyond the Punic wars (because he was forever returning to revise the early volumes), we have notes of his lectures on the Republic. Perhaps the fault lies with his students, but there is nothing on the alliance.³² Theodor Mommsen, on the other hand, mentioned it often: 'the second coalition' (the first being that of 71–70, between Pompey and Crassus), 'the coalition'.³³ Equally careful was the unjustly neglected George Long in his analysis of the decline of the Republic: 'an alliance', 'the confederation', and the 'Coalition'.³⁴ Christian Lange's Roman antiquities of 1876 similarly mentioned 'ein Bund'.³⁵

In the same year, however, there appeared a second volume, almost exactly two centuries after that of Broe, with the title of *The Roman trium-*

³⁰ Arnold, *History of Rome*, 3 vols, London 1838–1843, 2.347.

³¹ Middleton, *History of the life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, London 1839, 78.

³² Niebuhr, *Lectures on the history of Rome*, 3 vols, London 1849.

³³ Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 3 vols, Berlin 1854–1856, Eng. trans. from 8th ed. *History of Rome*, 5 vols, NY 1895, 4.504, 514, 515.

³⁴ Long, *The decline of the Roman Republic*, 5 vols, London 1869, 3.401–402.

³⁵ Lange, *Römische Alterthümer*, Berlin 1876, 3.278.

virates. The author was Charles Merivale, Dean of Ely, and the slim volume was simply a history from Sulla to Actium. He thus went out of his way to give a strange and inappropriate title to the history of this period. He wrote of 'the league between these three aspirants to a dominant power in the state, which is marked as the First Triumvirate.' He then immediately admitted that it was not

'a regularly appointed board of three for the administration of affairs. It neither had, nor pretended to have, any legal basis; it was no more than a spontaneous and possibly a tacit understanding ... In the eyes of others it was a regnum.'

According to Merivale, they obtained their title 'rather as a nickname than as an established fact.'³⁶

After Drumann and Groebe, referred to at the beginning of this essay, in the twentieth century Guglielmo Ferrero in his study of the greatness and decline of Rome 1902–1904 referred carefully to the 'coalition', but then spoiled everything by his marginal title, 'the triumvirate revealed'.³⁷ William Heitland's 1909 history of the Republic oscillated wildly: 'a coalition', 'the so-called First Triumvirate', 'the so-called Triumvirs', 'The Three', and 'the Triumvirs'.³⁸ Herbert Havell in 1914 wrote of 'that famous Triple Alliance ... which is known in history as the First Triumvirate'.³⁹ Ernst Meyer's famous study of the principate in 1918 followed the major German tradition in referring carefully to the 'Koalition', 'Verbindung', 'Bund' and 'Verschwörung'.⁴⁰ Max Cary was the author of the relevant chapter in the *Cambridge Ancient History* and followed Heitland's model. He wrote of 'a partnership', 'an alliance', and 'the coalition', 'or as it came

³⁶ Merivale, *The Roman triumvirates*, London 1876, 67, 192.

³⁷ Ferrero, *Grandezza e decadenza di Roma*, 5 vols, Milan 1902–1904, Eng. trans. *The greatness and decline of Rome*, 5 vols, NY 1909, 1.316, 317, 324, cf. 320.

³⁸ Heitland, *The Roman Republic*, 3 vols, Cambridge 1909, 3.123, 124, 125, 130.

³⁹ Havell, *Republican Rome*, London 1914, 487.

⁴⁰ Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompeius*, Berlin 1918, 3rd. ed. 1922, 55.

to be called, the First Triumvirate', but the chapter was entitled 'The first triumvirate'.⁴¹

The Americans entered the field with Frank Marsh's standard volume in the Methuen series on the later Republic. He noted:

'This combination is known as the First Triumvirate, but it should be borne in mind that it was simply an agreement between three politicians, two of whom were private citizens and the third a candidate for office, to work together for their own personal advantage.'⁴²

The unchallenged classic of Republican historiography in the twentieth century appeared in 1939. Ronald Syme wrote of a 'secret compact', 'the dynasts', and 'the dynasts' coalition' – but also of 'the triumvirate'.⁴³ Even Homer nods. And following Marsh's lead, the French volume in the parallel Clio series, the *Histoire générale*, Jerome Carcopino's Roman history in 1943 under the heading 'le premier triumvirat' warned that this was a modern term, 'une expression amphibologique'(!). It had nothing in common with the second triumvirate,

'n'eut rien d'une institution consacrée. Ce fut, en marge de l'état, l'association privé de trois hommes qui ... unissaient sous la foi des serments, leurs influences et leurs projets pour diriger la République.'⁴⁴

In the Italian series, *Storia di Roma*, the author of the fifth volume, Roberto Paribeni, in 1950 also drew attention to the anomalies: 'il così detto primo triumvirato', 'la denominazione impropria di primo triumvirato, sorta dopo che ne fu palese l'esistenza e l'azione', and after the name of triumvirate was given to a very different thing, the magistracy of 43.⁴⁵

In her famous study of Caesarian politics, Lily Ross Taylor wrote that Pompey 'made a deal with Caesar and Crassus ... the so-called first trium-

⁴¹ Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 9, 1938, 514–515.

⁴² Marsh, History of the Roman world 146–30, London 1934, 179.

⁴³ Syme, The Roman revolution, Oxford 1939, 35–37.

⁴⁴ Carcopino, Histoire romaine, 2.2., Paris 1943, 716.

⁴⁵ Paribeni, L'età di Cesare e di Augusto, Bologna 1950, 83.

virate, which was, as Cicero recognised, a rival *factio*', and that 'they called themselves amici or socii, friends in the old tradition of Roman political alliance'. Her favourite – and revealing – phrase was 'deal'.⁴⁶ Richard Smith in his study of the failure of the Republic of 1955, which blamed all the reformers for the collapse of the system, wrote of 'the first triumvirate' without further ado.⁴⁷ Alfred Heuss in his 1960 history preferred 'dieser Dreibund, das sogenannte Erste Triumvirat – einer privaten Verständigung'.⁴⁸ More outspoken was Erich Gruen in his study of the collapse in 1974:

'The phrase "first triumvirate" itself is a modern construct, unattested in the ancient evidence. It draws on false analogy from the triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus in 43, which possessed formal sanction and received dictatorial authority. By contrast, the union of political cliques in 59 was an informal amicitia.'⁴⁹

Perhaps cautioned by these various strictures, Peter Wiseman in the second edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* in 1989 preferred the term 'alliance'.⁵⁰

We may turn finally to biographies of the three participants in the alliance. James Froude's study of Caesar in 1907 was remarkably vague and misleading, referring only to the fact that 'all parties outside the patrician circle were combined for a common purpose'(!)⁵¹ Groebe, also author of the entry on Caesar in *RE*, naturally stated that 'das Bund ... wurde von den Triumvirn eidlich bekräftigt'.⁵² William Warde Fowler in 1925 referred to 'the coalition' and 'the triple league' of 60, but by 56 it had become 'the

⁴⁶ Taylor, *Party politics at Rome in the age of Caesar*, Berkeley 1949, 21, 48, 71, 132.

⁴⁷ Smith, *The failure of the Roman Republic*, Cambridge 1955, 113.

⁴⁸ Heuss, *Römische Geschichte*, Braunschweig 1960, 200.

⁴⁹ Gruen, *The last generation of the Republic*, Berkeley 1974, 90.

⁵⁰ *Cambridge Ancient History*², vol. 9, 1989, 367, 374.

⁵¹ Froude, *Caesar*, London 1907, 188.

⁵² *RE* X, 1917, 186–259.

triumvirate'.⁵³ John Buchan, similarly, in his biography dedicated to Aircraftman T.E. Shaw, began with 'the alliance of the dynasts', but again by Lucca, 'the triumvirate was reestablished'.⁵⁴ Matthias Gelzer's study, on the other hand, obviously took pains to be precise: there was 'an agreement', making the 'three confederates', 'the coalition of the three great principes', otherwise called 'the three allies' and 'the three dynasts'.⁵⁵ Herman Strasburger's special study of Caesar's early years in 1966 never wavered from the term 'Dreibund'.⁵⁶ Zvi Yavetz in his analysis of the changing historiography of Caesar wrote simply of 'the alliance between Pompey, Crassus and Caesar'.⁵⁷ The most recent biography, by Christian Meier, on the other hand, refers both to an 'alliance' and the 'triumvirate'.⁵⁸

The biographers of Pompey may again begin with Gelzer, who in 1949 preferred 'Dreibund'.⁵⁹ More characteristic of the English tradition, on the other hand, John Leach in 1978, although sometimes using the term 'coalition' or 'the three', after introducing the 'coalition which has become known as the first triumvirate', almost always referred to the 'triumvirs'.⁶⁰ Robin Seager's biography of the next year wrote of 'the coalition' or 'the three partners' in 'the compact which modern scholarship has misleadingly dubbed the "first triumvirate"'.⁶¹ Most recently Peter Greenhalgh carefully referred to 'the secret compact', 'the partnership', 'the coalition', 'the three headed monster' and the 'Big Three'.⁶²

⁵³ Fowler, *Julius Caesar and the foundation of the Roman imperial system*, London 1925, 102, 115, 178.

⁵⁴ Buchan, *Julius Caesar*, London 1933, 69, 92.

⁵⁵ Gelzer, *Caesar*, Stuttgart 1921, 6th ed. 1959, Eng. trans. Oxford 1969, 68, 117, 121, 127.

⁵⁶ Strasburger, *Caesars Eintritt in die Geschichte*, Darmstadt 1966, 23, 38, 48, 70, 87, 100, 134, 139.

⁵⁷ Yavetz, *Julius Caesar and his public image*, London 1983, 137.

⁵⁸ Meier, *Caesar*, Berlin 1982, Eng. trans. London 1995, 188.

⁵⁹ Gelzer, *Pompeius*, Munich 1949, 140, 142, 144, 145, 149.

⁶⁰ Leach, *Pompey the Great*, London 1978, 121–123, 125, 127–131, 141, 144–145, 148.

⁶¹ Seager, *Pompey, a political biography*, Oxford 1979, 82, 84.

⁶² Greenhalgh, *Pompey*, London 1986, 201–204.

Crassus has, of course, attracted less attention. Albino Garzetti in the long series of articles in *Athenaeum* in the 1940s complained about the use of the term first triumvirate which was unknown to all sources, because there was no legally constituted office. He referred constantly to the alliance as 'complotto', 'patto', 'lega', 'alleanza', 'accordo', 'unione'.⁶³ Frank Adcock in 1966 nevertheless called the alliance the first triumvirate, although seeming to prefer the term 'coalition',⁶⁴ as did Bruce Marshall.⁶⁵ More recently Allan Ward in his 1977 study, after introducing 'the coalition', 'often designated as the "First Triumvirate"', employed various alternatives: 'a mutual union', 'the partnership', and 'the three dynasts'.⁶⁶

Three things have emerged from this survey of scholarship of what is justly regarded as a turning-point in the political history of the late Republic: a paradox or mystery, clear patterns, and a possible answer. The paradox is that a political alliance has been continually referred to for centuries by the most eminent scholars by a name which not only does not exist in any primary source, but which is also completely and obviously erroneous. The mystery is that almost all of these scholars have been fully aware of this contradiction and yet have continued to use the term, instead of confining it to an explanatory footnote.

The patterns are telling. The great scholars of the Renaissance did not make any mistake about the coalition, nor did the leading scholars of the seventeenth century. By the next century, however, many histories, both English and French, were employing the misleading term; they even began to suggest that it was well known. At the same time, it is interesting to note, historians also began to criticise the coalition in very strong terms as undermining the Republican political system. Why historians of this age should have been more alert to such damaging political alliances or cliques than their predecessors is hard to see, given the many examples from all periods of history. It seems that for the first time in 1807 Levesque revealed that the term was a modern invention. Arnold obviously followed Ferguson in asserting that its origin was 'mockery'. In more recent times it may be

⁶³ Garzetti, *Athenaeum* 22 (1944) 5–11.

⁶⁴ Adcock, *Marcus Crassus millionaire*, Cambridge 1966, 41, 43, 45.

⁶⁵ Marshall, *Crassus*, Amsterdam 1976, 99f.

⁶⁶ Ward, *Marcus Crassus and the late Republic*, Missouri 1977, 214, 216, 218, 220.

asserted that German scholars have been more precise than generally English, French or Italian, although general histories, such as those by Marsh, Carcopino and Paribeni all began to issue cautions. Among the biographers of the three participants the same national variations are met, as one would expect, with a tendency in most recent studies to be more exact.

It was, as far as can be determined, one of the earliest biographers of Caesar, the Italian Schiappalaria, who was the first person to use the term 'triumvirate', falsely citing Cicero as his authority. The error thus has a far longer history than one would at first suspect, going back at least to this little known biographer of the late sixteenth century.⁶⁷

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⁶⁷ I thank Ernst Badian for providing the stimulus to this discussion and the British Library for providing the marvellous facilities for carrying it out.

DIE ÄDILITÄT DES ATTENTÄTERS CASSIUS

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Es hängt wohl mit der verhältnismäßig umfangreichen Quellenlage zusammen, daß eine in die Vierzigerjahre des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts gehörende Einzelheit, auf die nur eine einzige antike Quelle – wenn auch nicht ausführlich – eingeht, von der Forschung unbeachtet geblieben ist. Es überrascht hingegen, Plutarch als den vernachlässigten Zeugen und Cassius als die vernachlässigte Hauptfigur zu sehen. Daß der Sachverhalt unverzüglich geschildert und geklärt werden muß, versteht sich daraus, daß es sich hier um keine Kleinigkeit, sondern um einen fehlenden Magistrat, und zwar einen fehlenden Ädil, handelt.¹

Mein Dank gilt der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung und Herrn Dr. F. Bernstein für Durchsicht.

¹ D.h., um einen Ädil, der in den von Broughton zusammengestellten Fasti fehlt. Die Philologen, die einen Kommentar zur Brutusvita oder eine Übersetzung davon verfaßt haben, wußten nicht, was sie vor ihren Augen gehabt haben; vgl. etwa R. Del Re, *Plutarco: Vita di Bruto*, Firenze 1963, 4. Ausgabe; I. Scott-Kilvert, New York 1965; R. Flacelière-E. Chambry, Paris 1978. Die Historiker, die vermutlich den Beleg erkannt hätten, waren mit der Textstelle nicht vertraut: die Passage und die darin bezeugte Ädilität wurden nicht bemerkt von W. Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, Königsberg 1835, 2.121–22; P. Willems, *Le Sénat de la république romaine*, Louvain 1878, 1.534–35; F. Fröhlich, *Cassius* 59, RE 3 (1897) 1728–29; J. Seidel, *Fasti aedilicii von der Einrichtung der plebejischen Ädilität bis zum Tode Caesars*, Breslau 1908; T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, New York 1951–52, Atlanta 1986; G. V. Sumner, *The Lex Annalis under Caesar*, Phoenix 25 (1971) 259–71, 365. Auch I. Shatzman, *Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics*, Bruxelles 1975, 317–19, ist die Stelle entgangen, obwohl sie Aufschluss über den Reichtum des Cassius gibt. Kenntnis von der Textstelle wurde genommen von F. Hinard, *Les Proscriptions de la Rome républicaine*, Roma 1985, 448; aus der Überzeugung aber, daß der politische Werdegang des Cassius bereits gründlich untersucht worden war, gab er die Quelle an, um folgende Aussage in seinem Haupttext zu stützen: "Il n'est sans doute pas nécessaire de passer en revue tout ce qu'on

Daß C. Cassius Longinus "zu den kompromißlosen Anhängern der Tradition" gehörte,² wird durch den übersehenen Textteil bestätigt, denn er soll ungeachtet des sich fortsetzenden Bürgerkrieges beabsichtigt haben, die ädilizischen Spiele zu veranstalten. λέγεται δὲ Βροῦτος μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν βαρύνεσθαι, Κάσσιος δὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα μισεῖν, ἄλλα τε κατ' αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος ἐγκλήματα καὶ λεόντων ἀφαίρεσιν, οὓς Κάσσιος μὲν ἀγορανομεῖν μέλλων παρεσκευάσατο, Καῖσαρ δὲ καταληφθέντας ἐν Μεγάροις, ὅθ' ἡ πόλις ἦλω διὰ Καληνοῦ, κατέσχει (Plut. Brut. 8.6). Es erheben sich verschiedene Fragen, nicht zuletzt die nach der Historizität der uns nur an dieser Stelle überlieferten Geschichte. Gegen den Bericht, der an und für sich nicht unwahrscheinlich ist, könnte etwa eingewendet werden, Plutarch habe die ganze Geschichte erfunden oder zumindest übertrieben, um die Beweggründe des Cassius verständlich zu machen. Doch ein derartiger Einwand kann nicht überzeugen: hat Plutarch doch gerade noch berichtet, daß Cassius eher "die nächste" als "die angesehenste" von den Präturen des Jahres 44 erhielt, weswegen er dem Diktator nicht wohlwollend gesinnt, sondern auf ihn wütend war (Brut. 7.1, 5: οὐ τοσοῦτον εὐνοίας ἔχων δι' ἣν ἔλαβεν ὅσον ὀργῆς ὧν ἀπέτυχε).³ Um an der Annahme, daß es sich bei der Geschichte über die ädilizischen Spiele um einen verzerrten Bericht handelt, festhalten zu können, wird man zu einer weiteren Annahme gezwungen, daß nämlich Plutarch in den ihm verfügbaren Quellen keinen anderen – jedenfalls erbitterten – Streit zwischen den beiden Männern hat finden können, was – eingedenk der Berühmtheit der betreffenden Männer – schwer vorstellbar ist. Hinzu kommt, daß Plutarch die verschiedenen Einstellungen der zwei Attentäter – Brutus habe sich über das Amt geärgert, Cassius sich über den Amtsinhaber aufgeregt – ausdrücklich nicht seiner eigenen, sondern einer weit verbreiteten Auffassung nach (λέγεται) wiedergibt. Daß sich diese Überlieferung, die über den glühenden Hass sprach, über das aus-

sait de la carrière de ce pompéien converti que César avait fait préteur pérégrin pour 44..." Ganz im Gegenteil ist das bestimmt notwendig!

² J. Bleicken, Augustus: eine Biographie, Berlin 1998, 9.

³ H. Bruhns, Caesar und die römische Oberschicht in den Jahren 49–44 v. Chr., Göttingen 1978, 147, meinte, der Brutus eingeräumte Vorzug werde in der Brutusbiographie "als Cassius' Hauptmotiv für die Teilnahme an der Verschwörung angesehen." Diese Aussage ist schlechthin falsch. Weil Plutarch Kenntnis von der mit der Prätur verbundenen Zurücksetzung hatte, hätte er sie als Hauptmotiv ausgeben können. Gerade das hat er aber nicht getan.

schwie, was ihn erregte bzw. schürte, wäre eine jeglicher Wahrscheinlichkeit entbehrende Folgerung. Sowohl die Wirkung als auch die eng mit ihr verquickte Ursache dürfen als allgemeine Meinungen, also nicht allein als die des Plutarch, angesehen werden. Den mitgeteilten Gedanken des Cassius dürfen wir nicht unbedingt Glauben schenken, doch die λεόντων ἀφαίρεσιν und der Ausdruck ἀγορανομεῖν μέλλων sollten ernstgenommen werden.

Für sich jedoch sprechen die Fakten nicht. Es stellen sich die Fragen, wann und wie genau die Löwen weggenommen wurden. Aus den Worten des Plutarch geht hervor, daß das betreffende Gut in Megara in den Besitz Caesars übergang. Dem Texte freilich ist zu entnehmen, daß Caesar die Löwen "bei der Einnahme der Stadt durch Calenus erbeutet hatte."⁴ Demgegenüber ist hinlänglich bekannt, daß Plutarch am Intervall zwischen Ereignissen kein Interesse hatte, folglich besteht die Möglichkeit, daß das zweite Geschehnis einen langen Abstand zum ersten hatte. Auf die Frage, wann Calenus sich in oder in der Nähe von Megara befand, kann keine sehr befriedigende Antwort gegeben werden. Nach der am 9. August 48 stattfindenden Schlacht bei Pharsalus hat Athen den Widerstand sofort aufgegeben (Dio 42.14.1–3), Megara andererseits gegen Calenus weiter gekämpft und erst viel später (Dio 42.14.3: πολλῶ ... ὕστερον χρόνῳ) kapituliert. Wann auch immer die Stadt eingenommen wurde, sie war danach dem Legatus pro praetore Calenus unterstellt, der Achaia bis ins Jahr 47 – zumindest bis zum 3. Juni, doch wird er nach Rom bis Ende September zurückgekehrt sein – verwaltet hat.⁵ Jedenfalls hat Calenus die Verhältnisse in Megara für höchstens ein knappes Jahr kontrolliert. Natürlich fragt man sich auch, zu welchem Zeitpunkt sich die Löwen in Megara befanden. Als die Eroberung der Stadt im Gange war, sollen die Megarer die Löwen aus den Käfigen befreit haben; die Tiere sollten die Römer angreifen, doch sie entschieden sich, ihre unbewaffneten Befreier zu zerreißen (Plut. Brut. 8.7). Sieht man von den Einzelheiten der Geschichte ab – vielleicht gehörten die Löwen noch nicht dem Pompeianer Cassius, denn Plutarch hatte Interesse nur an dem einen Besitzerwechsel, nicht an dem Zeitpunkt, zu dem die Löwen in den Besitz des Cassius übergangen –, so darf gefolgert werden,

⁴ Übersetzung von K. Ziegler, Plutarch: Grosse Griechen und Römer, Zürich/Stuttgart 1957.

⁵ MRR 2.281, 290.

daß die Löwen sich wahrscheinlich bereits vor der Schlacht bei Pharsalus und sicher bei der Einnahme von Megara in der Stadt befanden. Spätestens jetzt, als Calenus zurückkehrte, werden die Tiere nach Rom verschifft worden sein. So unbefriedigend es auch sein mag, die Entwendung der Löwen kann nicht genauer als gegen Ende des Jahres 48 bzw. in die erste Hälfte des Jahres 47 datiert werden.

Es bleibt herauszufinden, auf welche Weise Caesar dazu kam, die Tiere in seinen Besitz zu bringen. erinnert man sich daran, daß Cicero als Pompeianer keinen finanziellen Schaden erlitten hat, scheint sich hieraus ein Hinweis für das Verständnis zu ergeben. Dementsprechend wird Caesar die Löwen nicht gestohlen haben. Hätte Cassius zu ihrer Beschaffung Geld aufgewandt, hätte Caesar es ihm wohl zurückerstattet. Gleichwohl dürfte Cassius die Tiere nicht kostenlos erhalten haben. Daß er mitten im Bürgerkrieg einen Statthalter überredet hat, für Löwen zu sorgen, ist durchaus möglich, wenn auch schwer vorstellbar.⁶ Bedenkt man aber, daß Cassius selbst in der Vergangenheit als Statthalter in Syrien und damit in einem Verbreitungsgebiet des Löwen gedient hatte, liegt der Schluß nahe, daß auswärtige Klientelen in seiner ehemaligen Provinz – seien sie Individuen oder aber Gemeinden – ihm diesen Dienst erwiesen haben.⁷ So hat Caesar möglicherweise den Cassius, den er gleichzeitig begnadigte bzw. bereits begnadigt hatte, lediglich gebeten, ihm das Geschenk der Syrier zu überlassen. Es ist davon auszugehen, daß Cassius kein Geld, sondern allein die Möglichkeit, eindrucksvolle Spiele zu veranstalten, verloren hat.

Die Löwen eröffnen einen Einblick in die Einstellungen, wenn auch nicht in den Charakter, des Tyrannen und des Befreiers. Die meines Wissens einzige Stellungnahme zur Haltung des Cassius hat das Verhältnis des Cassius zu Caesar "auf der persönlichen Ebene" vor dem Jahre 45 als "ungetrübt" betrachtet; darüber hinaus wird behauptet: "Die Wegnahme der

⁶ Diejenigen Löwen, die im Gebiet von Abdera und in Akarnanien im 5. Jhd. v. Chr. zu finden waren (vgl. A. Steier, Löwe, RE 13 [1926] 970–71), können vermutlich im 1. Jhd. nicht mehr in Frage kommen.

⁷ Cassius hat etwa dreieinhalb Jahre in Syrien verbracht, davon die zwei letzten als Statthalter. Die in aller Regel nach einem Jahr wechselnde Statthalterschaft hätte "die Anknüpfung von größeren Klientelen" verhindert (J. Bleicken, Rez., Gnomon 36 [1964] 186), doch war der Aufenthalt des Cassius in Syrien – um von seinem Erfolg da ganz zu schweigen – länger als üblich.

Löwen im Jahr 47 kann nicht so schwer gewogen haben.”⁸ Hier wird der von Plutarch angegebene Hauptgrund ohne nähere Darlegung abgelehnt. Bekanntlich erwog Brutus im Jahre 44 aber, das Wagnis der persönlichen Aufsicht der Ludi Apollinares einzugehen, überdies unterstreicht der hier besprochene Zwischenfall die Bedeutung solcher Spiele. Es überrascht nicht, daß Cassius tierisch ungehalten war. Vielleicht hat Plutarch selbst die Spiele nicht hoch genug eingeschätzt. Bezüglich der Stadtprätur des Jahres 44 soll Caesar gesagt haben, daß Cassius den Platz verdient habe, er aber Brutus nicht übergehen könne. In der Caesarvita hat Plutarch die Worte des Diktators nicht auszulegen versucht (Caes. 62.5: ὡς δίκαιότερα μὲν λέγοι Κάσσιος),⁹ doch wird der Spruch (Brut. 7.4: ”δίκαιότερα μὲν λέγει Κάσσιος”) in der Brutusvita dadurch verständlich gemacht, daß Cassius viele Heldentaten im Partherkriege vollbracht hatte (Brut. 7.3). Appian hat andererseits die Aussage berichtet, ohne sie zu erläutern (BC 2.112: ὡς τὰ μὲν δίκαια Κάσσιος ἀποφαίνουσι). Es wäre nicht verwunderlich, wenn allein das Zitat in den verfügbaren Quellen zu finden war, so daß die Erwähnung der Leistungen des Cassius im Feldzug gegen die Parther als der Erklärungsversuch Plutarchs aufzufassen ist.¹⁰ Die Bemerkung Caesars, daß die Ernennung des Cassius Gerechtigkeit herstellen würde, muß vor dem Hintergrund des Erwerbs der Löwen gesehen werden: die Ernennung zur Stadtprätur hätte eine Art Ausgleich gebracht, weil unter den Prätores nur der Stadtprätör öffentliche Spiele veranstaltete. In diesem Licht besehen, läßt sich der Spruch Caesars ungezwungen als ein Geständnis ansehen. Die uns überlieferte Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen den zwei Männern ist in sich völlig konsistent: mit der gleichsam kampflosen Preisgabe der Löwen blieb ein Makel an dem einen haften, dem anderen aber blieb ein schlechtes Gewissen.¹¹

⁸ M. H. Dettenhofer, *Perdita Iuventus: Zwischen den Generationen von Caesar und Augustus*, München 1992, 248 u. A. 14.

⁹ Hier ist das Zeitwort vielleicht nicht historisch richtig. Ob Cassius so um den Vorrang wetteifert hätte, scheint zumindest fraglich zu sein, aber ein Streit zwischen Brutus und Cassius um die Stadtprätur ist nicht zu verneinen.

¹⁰ Ein offenkundiger Fall von einem gescheiterten Versuch, ein Zitat deutlich zu machen, ist an anderer Stelle Plutarchs (Mor. 196F) zu finden; vgl. Rank and Participation in the Republican Senate, Stuttgart 1998, 303 A. 71.

¹¹ Aus der Bemerkung Caesars ergeben sich demnach keine Rückschlüsse auf die

Obwohl Plutarch die Wegnahme der Löwen als Hauptmotiv des Cassius ausgegeben hat, hat die Forschung es dennoch versäumt, die Geschichte um die Löwen einer Analyse zu unterziehen. Schon von daher erschien es notwendig, ein neues Kapitel in der Geschichte der späten Republik aufzuschlagen. In der Forschung hat sich die Ansicht durchgesetzt, daß Cassius ein gieriger Mensch war,¹² und gerade deswegen besteht die Gefahr, daß die bislang übersehene Wegnahme der Löwen nur als ein weiterer Beweis für die vielberufene Gier des Cassius angesehen wird. Wie gesagt, es wird keine Geldfrage gewesen sein, die Motive Caesars sind vielmehr zu hinterfragen. Eine Nachricht des älteren Plinius (NH 8.53) bietet eine Antwort. Er berichtet, daß Pompeius Magnus 600 Löwen (darunter 315 mähnentragende) im Zirkus kämpfen ließ, und der Diktator Caesar 400 Löwen.¹³ Wieviele der 400 Caesar dem Cassius verdankte, läßt sich nicht sagen, aber nach dem Erwerb war die Gesamtzahl immer noch viel niedriger als die, die Pompeius vorgeführt hatte. Wegen der Dedikationsspiele für Venus Genetrix, die er im September 46 veranstaltete,¹⁴ wird Caesar seinen Anhängern befohlen haben, nach Löwen Ausschau zu halten. Caesar, der angeblich so großzügig war, konkurrierte mit Pompeius nach dem gerade errungenen Sieg bei Pharsalus und dem Tode seines Konkurrenten.¹⁵ Gegen Cassius aber richteten die Historiker ihre Angriffe. Aufgrund einer lediglich erwogenen Anklage wegen Erpressungen zog der RE-Biograph den Schluß,

bisherige Ämterlaufbahn des Cassius. Daß die Ernennung nur gerecht gewesen wäre, weil Cassius die Ädilität bekleidet hatte und in dieser Hinsicht dem Brutus überlegen war, kann wohl kaum erwogen werden. Die Ernennung wäre allenfalls insofern gerecht gewesen, als Cassius bislang überhaupt keine oder auch keine eindrucksvollen Spiele gegeben hatte.

¹² Gewiss hat er Juden durch Verkauf versklavt (Jos. BJ 1.8.9) – unter denen vielleicht L. Aiadius P. l. Dama Iudaeus von Aquileia (CIJ I 643).

¹³ Den Zahlenangaben zu den *venationes* des Pompeius ist nicht so ohne weiteres zu trauen; vgl. F. Bernstein, *Ludi Publici: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der öffentlichen Spiele im republikanischen Rom*, Stuttgart 1998, 304 A. 439.

¹⁴ Zum Unterschied zwischen den Dedikationsspielen und den seit 45 im Juli stattfindenden *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, s. Bernstein, *Spiele* 335–36.

¹⁵ Vgl. Bernstein, *Spiele*, 330–35, wo der Wettbewerb deutlich gemacht wird, insbesondere 333: "Trat schon der von Caesar gelobte Tempel der Venus Victrix in Konkurrenz zu dem Heiligtum des Pompeius, so gilt dies erst recht für die Spiele, die bei der Dedikation gegeben wurden."

daß Cassius schon damals eine später kennzeichnende Eigenschaft aufwies, nämlich "seine bis zur Härte gesteigerte Habsucht."¹⁶ Das Urteil Drumanns – "Unbefriedigter Ehrgeiz machte ihn zum Meuchelmörder"¹⁷ – wird am Ende des RE-Artikels billigend wiederholt, was überrascht, da in diesem Gemeinschaftswerk sonst fast nichts von Voreingenommenheit zu spüren ist. Noch einmal wird jenes Urteil in einem ansonsten verdienstvollen Beitrag von Huß wiederholt, wo der Verfasser das Zitat folgendermaßen einleitet: "Das Urteil, das Drumann einst über ihn gefällt hat, besteht auch heute noch zu Recht."¹⁸ Die passende Erwiderung ist leicht zu finden. Unbefriedigter Ehrgeiz hatte Caesar zu einem mehrfachen Mörder gemacht. Drumann hat eigentlich dazu geneigt, Unsinn zu reden.¹⁹ In jedem Fall aber erscheint Drumanns Verdikt aufgrund unserer Beobachtungen zur Stelle Plutarchs in einem neuen Licht, nicht zuletzt, als diese wichtige Stelle von ihm unberücksichtigt blieb. Caesar ließ seinem begnadigten Gegner nicht die Ehre zuteil werden, die Löwen vorzuführen. An Caesar ist zumindest auszusetzen, daß seine bis zur Krankheit gesteigerte Eifersucht hier direkt zu Beschlagnahmung der Löwen und indirekt zu seinem eigenen Tode geführt hat. Was bei Caesar für alle gut sichtbar gemacht wird, das ist nichts als die Eitelkeit einer kleineren Natur, der Hochmut eines entarteten Patriciers.

Aber zurück zur Sache. Was die Bekleidung dieses Amtes von Cassius anbelangt, läßt sich feststellen, daß der Diktator ihm eine Ädilität anvertraut haben wird. Wäre Cassius nämlich bei einer Bewerbung um die Ädilität wegen des Widerstands Caesars durchgefallen – oder hätte er deswegen auf seine Kandidatur verzichtet –, dann wäre in den Quellen doch davon und nicht von den Tieren die Rede gewesen.²⁰ Die Frage nach der Datierung der

¹⁶ F. Fröhlich, Cassius 59, RE 3 (1897) 1728.

¹⁷ Gesch. Roms 2.151–52.

¹⁸ W. Huß, Die Menschlichen und Politischen Beziehungen zwischen Brutus und Cassius, WJ 3 (1977) 117.

¹⁹ Dettenhofer, Zw. d. Generationen, 217, meint – allerdings ohne ihre Auffassung näher darzulegen –, Cassius sei "ehrgeiziger ... als sein Schwager" M. Brutus gewesen, doch ist es ihr anzurechnen, daß sie die caesarfreundliche Tendenz der Forschung erkennt (S. 123) und auf "die cassiusfeindliche Darstellung von Drumann" als Beispiel für eine "extrem tendenziöse Geschichtsschreibung" (S. 252 A. 31) verweist.

²⁰ Die m. W. einzige Stellungnahme zu der Frage findet sich bei Dettenhofer (Zw. d. Generationen, 247), die unlängst behauptete: "Nachdem er das Tribunat bekleidet hatte,

Ädilität steht mit dem Problem, ob es sich um eine kurulische oder um eine plebejische handelte, in engstem Zusammenhang. Geht man von einer Herkunft der Löwen aus Syrien aus, die sich dann bereits im Sommer 48 in Megara befanden, so dürfte Cassius beabsichtigt haben, sich gleich nach einem ruhmreichen Sieg des Pompeius um eine Ädilität des Jahres 47 zu bewerben.²¹ Zu dem Zeitpunkt im Jahre 48 aber, zu dem die plebejischen Ädilen des Jahres 47 gewählt worden sein werden, hat Cassius unter dem Oberbefehl des Bibulus die syrische Flotte kommandiert. Demnach wird er im Jahre 47 zu einem kurulischen Ädilen desselben Jahres bzw. einem plebejischen²² oder kurulischen Ädilen des folgenden Jahres gewählt worden sein. Schon für das Jahr 47 wird Cassius als Legat Caesars angesehen,²³ was genauso wie eine Ämterkumulierung durchaus möglich ist.

seine Kandidatur für die Aedilität aber dem Bürgerkrieg zum Opfer gefallen war, war die Praetur die nächste Stufe seiner Karriereleiter." Die Folgerung scheint unabhängig zu sein (vgl. S. 216: "In der Forschung fand diese Notiz Plutarchs bisher keine Beachtung"), ist daher wahrscheinlich nicht auf eine Äußerung Drumanns (S. 123) zurückzuführen, wo es sich jedoch augenscheinlich um einen aufgrund des Alters des Cassius gezogenen Schluss handelt ("da der lange Bürgerkrieg ... ihn in seiner Laufbahn zurücksetzte"). E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompejus*, 2. Aufl., Stuttgart/Berlin 1919, 503 A. 3, sprach ungenau von "Löwen, die C. Cassius ... für seine Aedilität verwahrte." Dettenhofer (S. 216–17) scheint geglaubt zu haben, daß Cassius voller Zuversicht der Wahl entgegenschau, sich daher auf "Ämterabsprachen der Pompeianer" verlassen haben wird, die sich alle nach Caesars Sieg als "hinfällig" herausstellten. Der Streit um Caesars Nachfolge im Oberpontifikat, auf den sie (S. 216 A. 37) hinwies, war bestimmt umsonst gewesen, doch ist die Nachfolgeregelung eines auf Lebenszeit ernannten Priesters offensichtlich nicht der Weg, der ans Ziel bringt.

²¹ Vgl. Dettenhofer, *Zw. d. Generationen*, 216: "Cassius muß also geplant haben, sich für das Jahr 47 oder 46 um die Aedilität zu bewerben."

²² Die Wahl der plebejischen Ädilen muß im Sommer 47 stattgefunden haben, als Cassius offenbar noch nicht in der Stadt war. Doch er war zu Caesar übergegangen, so daß er durchaus in Abwesenheit zum plebejischen Ädilen hätte gewählt werden können. Vgl. nämlich zu C. Caelius Rufus, der eins der Volkstribunate der Jahre 47–42 erlangte, *The Tribune-Designate C. Rufus*, *Epigraphica* 57 (1995) 9–11.

²³ *MRR* 2.290 (unter d. J. 47, ohne Fragezeichen), 543: "Leg., Lieut. under Caesar 47–46"; B. E. Thomasson, *Legatus: Beiträge zur Römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Stockholm 1991, 24: er "ist im J. 47 ... zum Legaten gemacht worden"; Dettenhofer, *Zw. d. Generationen*, 218: "vermutlich ... schon kurz nach seiner Begnadigung," *ibid.* 219: "möglicherweise ... durchgehend seit Herbst 47."

Dieser Ansicht liegt jedoch eine mißverständene Stelle Ciceros zugrunde.²⁴ Der einzige Beleg für die Legatenstelle (Cic. Fam. 6.6.10: *Cassium sibi legavit*) dürfte um Oktober 46 zu datieren sein. Cassius mag im Jahre 45 immer noch Legat gewesen sein, doch empfiehlt es sich, die Legatenstelle nach der antiken Quelle zu datieren und das Amt in das vorige, für ihn ansonsten unbelegte Jahr zu setzen. In der Summe läßt sich jedenfalls festhalten, daß Cassius einer jener Ädilen der letzten drei Monate des Jahres 47 war. Um welche Ädilität es sich dabei handelte, ist nicht bezeugt. Sollte Cassius jedoch im Herbst 47 gewählt worden sein, muß er die kurulische Ädilität bekleidet haben.

Berücksichtigt man nochmals die Löwen, dürfte die Datierung eine weitere Bestätigung finden. Caesar hat seinen neuen Anhänger wohl lieber unter den kurulischen Ädilen des Jahres 47 als unter denen des folgenden Jahres gesehen.²⁵ Andernfalls wäre der Diktator sicherlich gezwungen gewesen, wenigstens einen Teil der Löwen, wenn auch nicht den Löwenanteil, zurückzugeben und den Traum von eigenen prunkvollen Spielen aufzugeben. Die Verleihung einer kurulischen Ädilität des Jahres 47 hat demgegenüber die eigenen Spiele gerettet, die Übernahme der Löwen sogar gerechtfertigt, denn die kurulischen Ädilen des Jahres 47 hatten das Amt zu spät angetreten, um überhaupt noch irgendwelche öffentlichen Spiele, die in ihre *cura* fielen, zu geben. Die Problemlösung wird dem Diktator nicht entgangen sein. Der berühmte Cassius ist zu den Ädilen der Republik, nicht aber zu den ädilizischen Spielgebern zu rechnen. In der ausgehenden Republik hat sich ein ehemaliger Ädil gerühmt, er sei *sine ullo munere* aufgestiegen,²⁶ aber keiner dagegen wäre darauf stolz gewesen, *'sine ludis'*

²⁴ Der August 47 geschriebene Brief an Cassius (Cic. Fam. 15.15.2) enthält die Worte *te, ut opinor, ipso legato ac deprecatore*, doch Cicero stellt sich hier eine andere als die gegenwärtige politische Situation vor. Broughton (MRR 2.290) hat diesen Beleg daher zu Unrecht angegeben. Willems (Le Sénat, 1.534) hat nur auf Fam. 6.6.10 verwiesen, ohne den Dienst zu datieren; Thomasson (Verwaltungsgesch., 117) hat von den Belegstellen, die Broughton anführte, nur jene herangezogen, hat aber an dessen Datierung festgehalten.

²⁵ Auch eher als unter den plebejischen Ädilen d. J. 46, für die bereits die Stimmen abgegeben worden sein werden.

²⁶ D.h., ohne Gladiatorenkämpfe zu finanzieren; vgl. Three Aedileships: Philippus, Cotta, Curio, *Acta Classica* 38 (1995) 97–98.

zu einer höheren Stellung avanciert zu sein. Die Erinnerung an seine entlöwenierte Ädilität hat Cassius selbst wohl kaum wachgehalten. Der hier erarbeitete Bestandteil seines Werdegangs aber ist jedenfalls wie folgt festzuhalten: Aed. (Cur.) 47, Leg. 46.

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BECCAS TALENTE
Luxurius AnthLat 316 SB = 321 R

W. J. SCHNEIDER

In cinaedum bona sua corruptoribus dantem

*Divitias grandesque epulas et munera multa,
quod proavi atque atavi quodque reliquit avus,
des licet in cunctos et spargas, Becca, maritos,
plus tamen ille cupit cui dare saepe cupis.
nescio quid miserum est quod celas, Becca, * talento * ;
vendere debueras, si bona membra dares.*

<i>cupit</i>	R olim
<i>capit</i>	A (scripsit etiam Happ – non sine aliqua dubitatione)
post Becca	plenius dist. vulg.
<i>talento</i>	cruces pos. SB, qui de
<i>lomento</i>	alucinatur
<i>cavento</i>	W

Der Text ist der von **SB**'s Teubneriana. Während die älteren Herausgeber in Vers 5 nach der Apostrophe interpungieren und *talento* mit Enjambement zum Pentameter ziehen, hat neuerdings **SB** Schwierigkeiten mit der Textüberlieferung: "talento sanum esse vix credo; pretio enim certo quid opus est, aut quid homini Afro cum talentis?" **W** hat sich diesen Bedenken angeschlossen und eine eigene Konjektur zum Besten gegeben¹.

¹ Wer trotz der hier im folgenden vorgebrachten Rechtfertigung der Hs. meinen sollte ändern zu müssen, ohne sich an dem ergänzungslosen *vendere debueras* zu stören, der wäre vermutlich mit *tacendo* und dem darin enthaltenen Hinweis auf die spezifischen

Gewiß: in der realen Wirtschaftswelt Nordafrikas hätte im 5. oder 6. Jh. n.Chr. niemand mehr ernstlich in Talenten, Minen und Drachmen einen Handel unter Dach und Fach gebracht. Anders steht es indessen mit den Ausdrucksgepflogenheiten einer Epigrammatik, die sich auf die großen Traditionen der Literatursprache beruft und versucht, in schwieriger Zeit anzuschließen an das kulturelle Erbe der vergangenen Jahrhunderte. Hier nämlich steht das Talent nach wie vor hoch in Kurs und schlechterdings für einen großen Haufen Geld². Schon in der klassischen Epoche fehlte dem römischen Währungssystem nicht anders als der lateinischen Dichtersprache ein Äquivalent zum griechischen Talent, welches auch hier bei Luxurius nicht auf der Gegenstandsebene im Geschäftsjargon des vandalischen Nordafrika, sondern in den sublimen Regionen einer literarischen Kunstsprache gewogen sein will. Mit Blick auf die Thematik der gewerblichen Prostitution, die im finalen Couplet anklingt, mag es zudem sehr wohl sein, daß eine literarische Reminiszenz an die *μεγαλόμισθοι* genannten Hetären des spätklassischen Athen und der hellenistischen Potentaten intendiert ist, deren Gunst um ähnliche Beträge feil war.

Dergleichen 'Anachronismen' sind letztlich vor dem Hintergrund einer stark klassizistisch geprägten Erinnerungskultur zu sehen, die den rhetorisch-literarischen Hervorbringungen der römischen Kaiserzeit³ und letztlich noch der poetischen Produktivität selbst unseres Vandalendichters

tacenda et pudenda Beccas besser bedient. SB's unbestreitbare Verdienste um die Textkonstitution der *Anthologia Latina* werden nicht geschmälert, wenn man feststellt, daß sein editorisches Temperament der Einbildungskraft des Konjektors in dem Maße die Zügel hat schießen lassen, wie es dem soliden, etwas bodenständigen Kommentator H mitunter am nötigen Mut gebricht, sich vom überlieferten Wortlaut zu trennen.

² Bereits H hat in seinem Kommentar sehr zurecht erklärt, daß *talento* hier unabhängig von der damals in Nordafrika realiter gültigen Währungseinheit gesagt sei und schlechterdings für einen enormen Geldbetrag stehe. Im übrigen hatte schon Catull c. 12. 6ff. ganz ähnlich formuliert: ... *crede Pollioni / fratri, qui tua furta vel talento / mutari velit*, wozu die Kommentare zu vergleichen sind. Wir könnten als sprachgeschichtliche Parallele jüngerer Zeit ergänzend auf die Bedeutungsentwicklung von dt. *Batzen* hinweisen, einem Begriff, der ursprünglich ein bestimmtes Münznominal bezeichnete, um im Laufe der Jahrhunderte dann die Funktion der konkreten Wertangabe einzubüßen zugunsten eines recht allgemeinen Ausdrucks für einen höheren Geldbetrag.

³ Cf. bes. Verf., *Gegenwärtige Vergangenheit*. Zu einer mißdeuteten Wendung bei Martianus Capella (9. 928f.), RhM 142, 1999, 93ff. bes. 98ff.

ihren Stempel aufgedrückt hat⁴. Leider fehlt bis heute, soweit ich sehe, eine Untersuchung, die die literarischen Ambitionen des Luxurius und mehr noch: seine programmatische Erneuerung des klassischen Kulturbegriffs ins Visier genommen hätte. Auch in dieser Hinsicht ist der nurmehr auf die sprach(wissenschaft)lichen und grammatischen Probleme des Textes fixierte Kommentar von **H** eine Enttäuschung.

Schon eine oberflächliche Inaugenscheinnahme der Themen und Motive der Epigrammsammlung des Luxurius vermöchte nämlich sehr rasch zu zeigen, wie hier Probleme von Akkulturation, von Kulturerwerb und -perversion, von Bildung und Verbildung eines Naturzustandes immer wieder den entscheidenden Focus der epigrammatischen Optik abgeben. Die Präponderanz dieser Thematik dürfte nur sehr schwer von den historischen Gegebenheiten zu trennen sein, denen die Herrschaft der Vandalen die kulturell ehemals blühende Provinz des römischen Nordafrika ausgesetzt hatte⁵.

*

Ich komme zum zweiten Punkt, der Gedankenführung des Textes, die den Erklärern und Editoren im mittleren Distichon Schwierigkeiten gemacht hat und eng mit der Frage nach dem literarischen Geschick des Autors und dem Witz seiner Pointen verbunden ist. Die Lektüre seiner rund achtzig Stücke umfassenden Epigrammsammlung läßt den Leser immer wieder vor allerhand Sperrigkeiten des stilistischen Ausdrucks sowie tatsächlichen oder scheinbaren Inkongruenzen der Gedankenführung und schiefen Antithesen ratlos verharren. Die Luzidität der elastischen Sprache eines Martial dürfen wir von ihm ebenso wenig erwarten wie des Letzteren Brillanz und Esprit. Dennoch gilt es von Fall zu Fall, zwischen den – philologischen – Al-

⁴ Ich beschränke mich auf die Nennung einer einzigen weiteren zeitgenössischen Parallele für dergleichen von der Philologie inkriminierte Anachronismen: Prokop anecd. 17. 5/6 spricht über Hetären ἐς τριώβολον μισθαρνούσας; zu dieser Stelle sind neuerdings die rechtfertigenden Bemerkungen von B. Baldwin, Three-Obol Girls in Procopius, Hermes 120, 1992, 255ff. heranzuziehen, die wichtiges Material zu dem hier von uns angesprochenen Phänomen bieten.

⁵ Ich hoffe an anderer Stelle die Begründung für diese These in extenso liefern zu können.

ternativen einer verunglückten Textüberlieferung oder eines defizitären auktorialen Acumens abzuwägen. Wir wollen das auch hier tun.

Nach dem eher getragenen Duktus des eröffnenden Hexameters bedeutet die kumulative Verwendung der *qu*- Laute im Pentameter (5 Mal in den 14 Silben!), die phonetisch zusätzlich durch drei Stellen mit semi-vokalischem *v* noch verstärkt wird, einen abrupten Stimmungswechsel der Sprachmelodie und unterstreicht den wohl als 'mock-heroic' zu klassifizierenden Charakter der ganzen Einleitung. Das hiermit hervorgerufene *κακέμφοτον* dient der satirischen Bloßstellung des sein Erbe verprassenden Kinäden.

Gehen wir zum zweiten Distichon über, so wollen wir uns zunächst die mehrheitlich geteilte Einschätzung zueigen machen, daß das in Vers 4 überlieferte *capit* eine kaum erträgliche Tautologie mit sich bringt. Die Änderung zu *cupit* ist mithin ernsthaft in Erwägung zu ziehen. Der sich dadurch ergebende Sinn ist dann aber nicht einfach, wie man bislang geglaubt zu haben scheint, die gnomische Einsicht 'wer mehr hat oder bekommt, will immer noch mehr dazu haben', wäre doch das Motiv der unersättlichen Pleonexie auf Seiten der *mariti* nur schlecht dazu angetan, den Leser auf dem Strang der eigentlichen Becca-Problematik weiterzubringen, die ihren Aufschluß im abschließenden Couplet erfahren soll. Das Mitteldistichon ist m.E. folgendermaßen zu verstehen: 'Magst du auch all deine Güter auf deine sämtlichen Bewerber verteilen (und damit eine Konkurrenzsituation um deine Gunst herbeiführen), so verlangt trotzdem derjenige jeweils noch mehr, dem du öfter zu Willen sein möchtest'. Bei einem solchen Verständnis wird dann die Frage virulent, aus welchem Grunde wohl sich diese paradoxen Verhältnisse ergeben konnten, sollte man doch bei einer so freigebigen Regalierung sämtlicher Aspiranten annehmen, daß derjenige, dem die besondere Gunst des vermögenden Kinäden zuteil wird, dieser bevorzugten Rolle ohne Zusatzforderungen nachkommen würde. Aber weit gefehlt!

Schließt man sich dieser Interpretation der Verse 3 und 4 an, so kommt die Schlußpointe *nescioquid miserum est ...*, die als Auflösung des Paradoxons die eben nicht als *bona membra* zu apostrophierende Leiblichkeit Beccas ins Visier nimmt, nicht mehr derart unvermutet. Die maliziöse Deutung, die der Sprecher dem Verhalten Beccas unterlegt, trifft den Leser nun nicht mehr ohne Vorbereitung: In der Rückschau stellt sich

der Gedankengang des kleinen Sechszehlers mithin als einigermaßen logisch entwickelt dar.

Thematisch gesehen ist unser Epigramm nicht ohne weiteres aus dem Motivrepertoire der Kinädensatire herzuleiten. Es bespottet nicht die besonderen sexuellen Vorlieben Beccas als ein tremendum an sich, sondern gibt die Art der Realisierung dieser Neigungen der Lächerlichkeit preis. Der Sprecher kann sich sogar als persona gerieren, die am Ende mit bitterer Ironie das idealtypische Verhaltensmuster der männlichen Prostitution anempfiehlt, wie wir es aus der Antike seit Aischines' Timarchos-Rede kennen – freilich nur, um seinen eigentlichen Hieb gegen das Ziel seines Hohns um so treffsicherer zu führen. Man vergleiche allerdings, was Martial 6. 50. 1ff. vorbringt:

*Cum coleret puros pauper Telesinus amicos,
errabat gelida sordidus in togula.
obscenos ex quo coepit curare cinaedos,
argentum, mensas, praedia solus emit.*

Dieses Epigramm vertauscht gewissermaßen die Perspektiven, indem es nicht wie Luxurius die Situation des Kinäden, sondern die eines der *mariti* in den Blick nimmt. Es zeigt im übrigen auch, daß entgegen anderslautender Äußerungen das Motiv der Bereicherung durch Umgang mit *pathici* nicht erst eine Erfindung des späten Autors gewesen ist.

Luxurius ergänzt das in der Epigrammatik traditionelle Motiv des Kinäden oder *semivir* um ein Element, das in der Vetula-Skoptik zuhause ist. Ich führe nur Martial 7. 75 an, ein Epigramm, welches gleichfalls pointiert mit der Doppeldeutigkeit von *dare* spielt:

*Vis futui gratis, cum sis deformis anusque.
res perridicula est: vis dare nec dare vis.*

Unter solchen Bedingungen bleibt *dare* im erotischen Sinn an die Voraussetzung des *dare* im finanziellen Sinne gekoppelt. Nicht die sexuelle *déviance* oder ἀρρητοποιία ist Gegenstand von Luxurius' Spott, sondern ein nicht näher genanntes körperliches *vitium*⁶ wird dem κωμωιδούμενος

⁶ Bereits H hat vergleichend auf Martial 6. 37 hingewiesen.

anhängig gemacht, um den verbüffenden Tatbestand der Verschwendung materieller Güter durch jemanden zu erklären, dessen sexuelle Praktiken den damals landläufigen Erwartungen zufolge viel eher der lukrativen Sicherung des Lebensunterhalts als *scortum masculum* hätte dienen können.

Sigla:

- A** cod. Parisinus lat. 10318 (Salmasianus) saec. VIII, ut vid., script.
- H** H. Happ, *Luxurius I. Text und Untersuchungen*, Stuttgart 1986. II. Kommentar zu AL 37. 18. 203. 287–375 Riese, Stuttgart 1986
- R** A. Riese (Hsg.), *Anthologia Latina sive poesis Latinae supplementum I. Carmina in codicibus scripta I: Libri Salmasiani aliorumque carmina* (Leipzig 1868)
- SB** D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Hsg.), *Anthologia Latina I. Carmina in codicibus scripta fasc. 1: Libri Salmasiani aliorumque carmina* (Stuttgart 1982)
- W** W.S. Watt, Notes on the *Anthologia Latina*, HSCP 91, 1987

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MINORA LATINO-SABELLICA I OSSERVAZIONI SULLA DISTRIBUZIONE TIPOLOGICA DELLE ISCRIZIONI OSCHE

TIMO SIRONEN

In questo breve contributo si cercherà di fare delle osservazioni sulla cultura epigrafica delle popolazioni che usavano la lingua osca. Risulta alquanto strano che uno studio di questo genere non sia mai stato finora compiuto.¹ La cultura epigrafica di una società presuppone il raggiungimento di un certo livello socio-economico e culturale. Per esempio, dall'esigenza di catalogare le merci scaturisce la necessità di utilizzare segni di riconoscimento e, di conseguenza, un sistema scrittorio, cioè un alfabeto o originariamente inventato o imprestato/adattato, ad esempio agli inizi a base sillabica come nel mondo miceneo, adattato sul sistema scrittorio dei Fenici. Nel mondo antico sia l'alfabeto che la cultura scritta vedono la luce in un

¹ Cfr., però, S. Panciera, "La cultura epigrafica latina di Roma in età repubblicana. Le officine lapidarie", in *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.-6. sept. 1991 habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 319-342. Cfr. anche T. Sironen, "La documentazione epigrafica osca di Ercolano. Considerazioni e riletture", in *Ercolano 1738-1988. 250 anni di ricerca archeologica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ravello-Ercolano-Pompei, 30.10.-5.11.1988*, Roma 1993, 537-541. Cfr. inoltre M. Lejeune & D. Briquel, "Lingue e scritture", in *Italia omnium terrarum parens*, Milano 1989, 435-436 e 451-452. - Alcune idee di questo articolo sono nate in un seminario tenutosi nel novembre 1983 all'Istituto di Antichità Greche e Romane dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia con il professor Filippo Coarelli ed in un altro tenutosi il 3 maggio 1997 all'Istituto di Epigrafia Latina dell'Università "La Sapienza" di Roma, presieduto dal professor Silvio Panciera nonché in un terzo seminario svoltosi l'11 febbraio 1998 agli Istituti di Storia e di Archeologia dell'Università di Oulu presieduto dal collega, libero docente Eero Jarva. Ringrazio i professori nonché tutti i partecipanti ai suddetti seminari per preziosissimi suggerimenti e osservazioni di carattere generale. È uscito - in una forma meno completa - nei *Preatti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina a Roma 18-24 settembre 1997*.

contesto di scambi culturali, spesso grazie a prestiti. Dopo aver subito una prima applicazione, seguita da altre in diacronia e diatopia, un alfabeto è caratterizzato da varietà sino alla definitiva standardizzazione, e poi, di nuovo, con il suo eventuale scioglimento.

Nel caso del mondo dei parlanti osco, gli influssi sulla cultura e sull'alfabeto provenivano da tre componenti culturali diverse: quella greca della Lucania e del territorio dei Brezi² nei secoli V–III a.C., quella etrusca della Campania nei secoli V–IV a.C. e quella latino-romana dei territori dei Marsi, dei Peligni, dei Vestini e dei Marrucini nei secoli III–I a.C.. Questi tre diversi influssi culturali (cioè greco, etrusco e romano) si possono a mio parere rintracciare, almeno parzialmente, anche nella distribuzione tipologica delle iscrizioni oscche e nell'evoluzione diacronica della cultura epigrafica osca in genere. La tipologia delle iscrizioni oscche è di poco meno ricca di quella della epigrafia greca e latina, benché il grado di complessità e quantità epigrafica sia correlato con il livello di urbanizzazione dei singoli insediamenti. Infatti, la cultura epigrafica rispecchia abbastanza da vicino la società che la produce.

Prima delle osservazioni sul tema, occorrerà soffermarsi su problemi metodologici, dato che nella tipologia dell'epigrafia osca vi sono enormi lacune e differenze regionali. Si rischia quindi di trarre delle conclusioni azzardate in base ad *argumenta ex silentio*. È ovvio che vi sia sempre una certa aleatorietà nella documentazione di qualsiasi società antica, soprattutto se periferica come quella dei parlanti dell'osco. Ma che significato assume una lacuna nella tipologia epigrafica? Nella documentazione epigrafica osca, come del resto pure in quella greca e latina, esistono dei vuoti significativi. Ad esempio, la mancanza di epigrafi di carattere edilizio potrebbe riflettere una scarsa o inesistente urbanizzazione oppure una mancata monumentalizzazione / restauro di eventuali edifici pubblici o sacri. D'altronde v'è la spiegazione alternativa di massicce distruzioni in guerra, anche sistematiche – basterà pensare solo alle devastazioni subite nei territori sabellici durante e dopo le guerre sannitiche, quella annibalica e quella sociale. È ovvio che vi sia stata anche asportazione / riempiego di blocchi (anche iscritti), andati poi persi, consumati o erasi.

L'assenza di iscrizioni funerarie oscche, ad esempio nel Sannio del III e II secolo a.C., potrebbe spiegarsi con l'assenza di urbanizzazione in

² Cfr. L'identità culturale dei Brezi, a cura di P. Poccetti, Napoli 1988.

insediamenti con originaria cultura trasumante, sviluppatasi solo fino ad un livello paganico-vicanico. Invece, in città magnogreche finite in mano alle popolazioni sabelliche, come ad esempio nella Paestum lucana del IV secolo a.C., la mancanza di iscrizioni funerarie osche si spiegherà con la ininterrotta continuità nell'uso di pitture funerarie anepigrafi, mutuata dalla cultura (magnogreca) precedente. Per contro, la (sproporzionata) presenza di iscrizioni di culto funerario in osco, come le famose IÚVILAS a Capua, non potrà spiegarsi che con l'influsso locale etrusco(-campano). Così sarebbe spiegabile anche la mancanza di *defixiones* osche nel Sannio: una buona parte degli insediamenti dei Sanniti non avranno raggiunto un adeguato livello di urbanizzazione.

Occorrerebbe infatti parlare di diverse culture epigrafiche osche, dato che non ne esisteva una e del tutto omogenea: basti pensare che l'osco si scriveva in tre diversi alfabeti, cioè oltre a quello epicorico di origine etrusca della Campania, anche in alfabeto greco nel contesto magnogreco nonché nei suoi πρόσχωροι e in alfabeto latino nei territori delle popolazioni nordsabelliche. Qui non tratterò comunque la cultura epigrafica di queste ultime popolazioni delle quali ho discusso quella dei Peligni già in un'altra sede³.

Le osservazioni sulla cultura epigrafica osca si faranno in seguito sostanzialmente attraverso uno studio sulla distribuzione tipologica delle iscrizioni osche, ma prima occorrerà fare qualche accenno statistico anche alla distribuzione cronologica e quella diatopica di queste epigrafi. I documenti epigrafici in osco sono in tutto poco più di 550. Per la relativa scarsità del materiale epigrafico osco non conviene limitarsi, però, ad analizzare esclusivamente le iscrizioni lapidee. È vero, comunque, che vi è tanta differenza di peso statistico tra diverse epigrafi: ad esempio quella tra un alfabetario graffito su ceramica e un testo come la Tabula Bantina, cioè tra una ventina di lettere (senza significato) su *instrumentum domesticum* e una trentina di frasi più o meno lunghe di una legge interessantissima su bronzo.

Il corpus delle iscrizioni osche, rinvenute prima del 1978, si potrà trovare comodamente nelle opere di E. Vetter⁴ e di P. Poccetti.⁵ Le epigrafi

³ T. Sironen, "La cultura epigrafica dei Peligni", in *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae* 3.-6. sept. 1991 habiti, Helsinki 1995, 343-346.

⁴ E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte I*, Heidelberg 1953.

osche rinvenute dopo la raccolta poccettiana, e quelle riedite, sono state pubblicate ogni anno negli Studi Etruschi, nella sezione della Rivista Epigrafica Italiana. La consultazione del corpus del Vetter per un'indagine tipologica è facilitata in più dall'ordinamento tipologico delle iscrizioni, come anche nell'opera del Pocchetti.

La rappresentatività è abbastanza buona sia in tipologia che in diacronia come anche in diatopia. In altre culture epigrafiche di "periferia" la rappresentatività tipologica rimane alquanto mediocre: una buona parte delle iscrizioni etrusche sono sepolcrali (come del resto anche di quelle puniche e di quelle licie), nonostante la presenza di stele votive e graffiti su ceramica nonché dipinti, mentre sono pochissime le iscrizioni edilizie. Questo sarà anche un tipico riflesso culturale di società in epoca arcaica: succesivamente, però, si avrà un'accentuazione dell'aspetto urbano ed una concentrazione della ricchezza di preferenza sull'edilizia pubblica, mentre nell'età arcaica questo fenomeno si manifestava per le tombe (anche ricchissime, come quelle orientalizzanti in Etruria e a Preneste), pure iscritte, come quelle paleosabelliche.⁶ Ma in quell'età non abbiamo nessuna documentazione epigrafica di edifici pubblici o sacri. E quando appare la documentazione degli edifici (sacri), scompare quella delle tombe: questo implica un passaggio della ricchezza da un settore all'altro, cioè da quello privato a quello pubblico, e presuppone uno svuotamento delle esigenze del potere gentilizio ed una concentrazione del potere statale, quindi della città. Si può dare un altro esempio di come il materiale sepolcrale rispecchi la società; è sintomatica la distribuzione delle migliaia di corredi di tombe puniche a Cartagine: non vi è un solo corredo militare, bensì tutti appartengono a mercanti e quindi riconducono ad una città prevalentemente di mercanti.⁷

⁵ P. Pocchetti, Documenti italici a supplemento del manuale di E. Vetter, Pisa 1979.

⁶ Queste ultime, databili tra il VI ed il IV secolo a.C., provenienti da S. Omero, Campovalano, Bellante, Penna S. Andrea, Capecstrano, Casteldieri e Crecchio. Cfr. A. Morandi, Le iscrizioni medio-adriatiche, Firenze 1974.

⁷ Corredi mercenari sono stati rinvenuti, ma piuttosto lontani da Cartagine, ad esempio la celebre corazza da parata di tipo sabellico di Ksour-es-Saf, del III-II secolo a.C., purtroppo anepigrafe, e un'altra in Algeria. Ringrazio il dottor Habib Ben Jdid del Museo di Bardo a Tunisi per avermi dato questi dati nel 1996.

La diatopia delle iscrizioni osche va da modesti insediamenti e santuari delle montagne del Sannio, come Campochiaro e Montevairano, a insediamenti urbani come Capua, Cuma, Pompei, Paestum e Messina dei Mamertini. In tutto le provenienze dei documenti epigrafici in osco ammontano a poco più di 70. Numericamente spicca la Campania con quasi il 45 %, seguita dal Sannio (compresi I Frentani) con il 40 %, mentre la Lucania raggiunge il 10 % e il Bruzio e Messina solo il 5 %. Si ricordi, però, che la documentazione epigrafica osca di città come Pompei copre un quarto della totalità delle attestazioni, Capua l'8 % e il santuario federale di Pietrabbondante il 5 %. D'altra parte bisogna stare attenti all'aumento, anche impressionante, di materiale in singoli insediamenti o santuari, come appunto nel caso di Rossano di Vaglio: in poco più di un decennio, una ventina di anni fa, gli scavi hanno portato il materiale epigrafico osco di questo santuario a moltiplicarsi quasi per dieci.

La diacronia delle epigrafi osche è di oltre quattro secoli: le prime epigrafi in osco sono degli inizi del IV secolo a.C. e quelle più recenti sono i graffiti pompeiani di età giulio-claudia. Tuttavia, la maggior parte delle iscrizioni risalerà al III e al II secolo a.C., almeno nel Sannio e in Campania; le epigrafi della Lucania si datano tra il IV e il I secolo,⁸ mentre quelle del Bruzio e di Messina grosso modo nel III secolo a.C. Comunque, è difficilissimo datare con esattezza le epigrafi osche: non disponiamo di liste di magistrati eponimi (o di altri personaggi noti) nelle fonti letterarie come invece nel mondo greco-romano; perciò vi sono studiosi di documenti linguistici italici secondo i quali la datazione delle epigrafi è compito di archeologi, non di linguisti oppure epigrafisti stessi.

Per quanto riguarda la rappresentività della tipologia delle iscrizioni osche, è sorprendente poter constatare che possediamo quasi tutti i tipi noti dell'epigrafia greca e latina, cioè trattati, decreti, iscrizioni edilizie, leggi, testi cultuali/*leges sacrae*, dediche, are e basi votive, iscrizioni sepolcrali, defixiones, bolli sia laterizi che su ceramica e graffiti nonché dipinti. Mancano comunque, almeno finora, del tutto elogia onorari, basi di donari, cippi miliari ed epigrammi. Spiccano i bolli, i graffiti e i dipinti per il loro elevata quantità, quasi 300 in tutto, cioè più della metà dell'intera documen-

⁸ E' soprattutto il santuario di Rossano di Vaglio (PZ) che restituisce una documentazione epigrafica distribuita in un lungo arco di tempo, ma anche l'esistenza (casuale ?) della *Tabula Bantina*.

tazione. Comunque, i bolli laterizi e i graffiti, benché fino a pochi decenni fa siano stati in genere trascurati, costituiscono una fonte importantissima per poter studiare i rapporti di acculturazione ed i rapporti tra popolazioni a livello socio-economico e culturale diverso. Pare, tuttavia, sproporzionato che quasi la metà dei bolli provenga da due soli insediamenti nel Sannio, cioè da Boiano e da Campochiaro. Molti altri bolli sono stati rinvenuti a Pompei – una quarantina, cioè un terzo della totalità delle attestazioni – nonché ad Hipponium-Vibo Valentia nel Bruzio – un 10 % – dove, come anche a Messina, vi sono dei bolli pure in greco, ma sempre del periodo sabellico.

Se non contassimo le IUVILAS di Capua appartenenti alla categoria delle iscrizioni sepolcrali, la percentuale delle iscrizioni sepolcrali scenderebbe dal 10 % a solo il 3 %, un fatto piuttosto significativo, anche perché sono state trovate migliaia di tombe, purtroppo tutte anepigrafi, a Campo Consolino presso Alfedena.⁹

Le iscrizioni edilizie e i decreti, in tutto più o meno 80 in tutto, costituiscono circa il 15 % della totalità delle epigrafi oscche e un'elevata percentuale di esse, quasi la metà, proviene, ovviamente, da Pompei. Altre attestazioni relativamente abbondanti di questo gruppo le abbiamo in due importanti santuari: una quindicina a Pietrabbondante e quasi dieci a Rossano di Vaglio.

Le dediche sono in tutto una cinquantina, cioè neanche il 10 % del materiale epigrafico in tutto. Quasi il 40 % di queste proviene dalla Lucania, soprattutto da Rossano di Vaglio; stranamente solo tre dall'intera Campania (da Ercolano, Cuma e Roccamonfina). Comunque, ci si può chiedere se questa situazione documentaria sia un po' distorta: parrebbe, anzi, piuttosto frutto del caso.

Quello che risalta agli occhi è la distribuzione diatopica delle *defixiones*: sono solo undici, sei delle quali provengono dalla Campania, cioè da Capua e da Cuma, tre da ambedue, due dalla Lucania (i ritrovamenti alquanto recenti di Laos e di Roccagloriosa) e tre dal Bruzio, cioè da Tiriolo e da Cirò. Tutti questi insediamenti sono piuttosto urbanizzati e con forte influsso della cultura (magno)greca, anche se quattro delle attestazioni campane sono tarde, l'ultima addirittura del periodo romano, in alfabeto latino. Bisogna comunque tener conto che le *defixiones* sono in genere

⁹ Cfr. T. Sironen, art. cit. nella n. 3 qui sopra, 345 n. 11.

compilate da persone dei ceti subalterni e, quindi, se è originariamente un fenomeno di cultura greca, sarebbe forse meglio chiamarla subcultura. Però, a Capua e a Cuma non è da escludere più tardi un influsso romano, come fanno pensare i contesti e l'alfabeto usato in alcune di queste maledizioni. Indovinerei che difficilmente nel futuro si troveranno *defixiones* dal Sannio.

Si aggiunga che il gruppo delle epigrafi frammentarie, una quarantina ossia poco meno di 10 %, appartiene al gruppo tipologico delle indefinibili.

Università di Oulu

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CLXXVII. VERKANNTEN NAMEN

Alexandris. Diesen Frauennamen erkenne ich in CIL VI 22971, die zweifellos folgendermaßen gelesen werden muß: *Nicomachus l(ibertus)*, / *Alexandris l(iberta)*. Normalerweise hat man *Alexandris* als einen anomalen Genetiv von *Alexander* erklärt, aber die hier vorgeschlagene Deutung ist vorzuziehen; so erhält man ein Freigelassenenpaar (man hat bisher nicht erkannt, daß auf *Nicomachus* ein L folgt, das zweifellos als *l(ibertus)* aufzulösen ist).¹ Ein Frauenname *Alexandris* scheint in der römischen Namengebung sonst nicht nachgewiesen, ist aber in der griechischen Anthroponymie präsent,² – wie auch der entsprechende Männername Ἀλεξανδρίδας, schon im Jahre 316 v.Chr. belegt.³ Nichts hindert uns also anzunehmen, daß in Rom neben dem auch nicht sonderlich üblichen *Alexandra* und dem populären *Alexandria* (was freilich morphologisch nicht zusammengehört, im allgemeinen Bewußtsein aber doch als feminines

* Olli Salomies hat das Ms durchgesehen, Uta-Maria Liertz und Manfred G. Schmidt haben mein Deutsch verbessert. Marco Buonocore, Antonio Felle und Giorgio Filippi haben meine Nachforschungen besonders zu christlichen Inschriften auf mancherlei Weise unterstützt. Allen gebührt mein herzlicher Dank.

¹ Die richtige Lesung entnehme ich dem guten Photo bei A. Gunnella, *Le antichità di Palazzo Medici Riccardi I. Le iscrizioni del cortile*, *Cultura e Memoria* 9, Firenze 1998, 134–136 Nr. 64.

² AM 75, 1960, 160 aus Samos und IG XII 5, 712, 24 aus Syros, beide aus der Kaiserzeit.

³ IG V 2, 549, 31 (Spartaner).

Pendant zu *Alexander* aufgefaßt werden konnte) ein weiterer Frauenname *Alexandris* okkasionell in Gebrauch kommen konnte.

Theoriscus. Dieser Name kann in CIL VI 200 II, 20 (70 n. Chr.) vorliegen. Die vom CIL festgelegte Vulgata ist I..ORISCVS, aber Metellus, Smetius in der Edition (im Neapolitanus scheint er L..ORISCVS zu schreiben [von mir im Kodex kontrolliert]) und Pighius bieten T...ORISCVS. Ich habe die Stelle am Original nachgeprüft; der Name scheint mit einem T zu beginnen. Das Cognomen könnte *T[he]oriscus* gelautet haben. Ein solcher Name konnte freilich bisher nicht nachgewiesen werden, er würde aber eine plausible Bildung darstellen. An Namen, die zur Sippe *Θέωρος* (Bechtel HPN 516) gehören, kenne ich *Θεωρικός* aus Athen (3 Belege in LGPN II 225), *Θεωρίων* aus Iulis auf Keos (IG XII 5, 609) und *Θεωρύλος*, mehrmals auf Delos und Keos belegt (s. LGPN I 224). Daneben eine Bildung auf *-iscus* anzunehmen, dürfte keine unüberwindlichen Schwierigkeiten bereiten.

CLXXVIII. FALSCH NAMEN

Baionius. Dieser Gentilname ist zu tilgen. Schulze ZGLE 186 registriert ihn aus CIL VI 200 II, 13 und X 5192 (Casinum), aber schon Salomies, Repertorium² 480 hat gesehen, daß in beiden Fällen zweifellos *Balonius* vorliegt. Und freilich hat die Autopsie von CIL VI 200 zweifelsfrei ergeben, daß dort *Balonius* steht (so hatten übrigens schon die Gewährsleute des 16. Jh. gelesen). Was CIL X 5192 angeht, wird in der einzigen erhaltenen Abschrift der verschollenen Inschrift mehrmals auf die Angabe der Querstriche verzichtet, so daß die palmare Änderung von BAIONIA PHILEMAI in *Balonia Philemat(io)* keinen Widerspruch erregen dürfte. An sich wäre *Baionius* eine mögliche Bildung (Schulze vergleicht *Baienius* (*Baius*) – *Baionius* mit *Cei* – *Ceionius*), aber nach Beseitigung der beiden Belege läßt dieser Name sich zur Zeit nicht nachweisen.

Sepulta. Ein solches Cognomen existiert nicht. Kajanto Latin Cognomina 356 registriert es (unter den zu Partizipien gebildeten Cognomina) aus CIL VI 26820 und IX 3758 (regio IV), doch handelt es sich in beiden Fällen zweifellos um das Partizip selbst: *Statia C. f. sepulta* bzw. *Statedia N. f. sepulta*. Der letztere findet sich nicht einmal im Cognominaindex des CIL IX verzeichnet; so bleibt unerklärlich, wo Kajanto es hergeholt hat (glück-

licherweise hat er einen ähnlichen Fall aus derselben Regio IV, CIL IX 4019 *Pomponia M. f. sepulta*, nicht aufgenommen). Ein Cognomen *Sepultus -a* wäre recht eigentümlich; Kajanto vergleicht *Humatus*, das hilft aber nicht weiter. Diese Note erwuchs aus einem Gespräch, das ich in der Sala Barberini der Vatikanischen Bibliothek mit Marco Buonocore führte, der mir die Frage nach der Existenz eines solchen Cognomens stellte.

CLXXIX. PRÄTEXTAT, PRISCILLA UND SILVAGNI

Ausgangspunkt zu dieser Miszelle ist die von mir vor kurzem bei den Arbeiten an der Neuauflage des griechischen Namenbuches festgestellte Identität von ICUR 15119 und 26052. Die beiden Fassungen beziehen sich sicher auf ein und dieselbe Inschrift, deren Text Ζωσειθέα Ζήσις / ἐν θαίῳ lautet; unter dem Text ist ein betendes Mädchen abgebildet. Die Lesung ist sicher. Die Inschrift stammt zweifellos aus der Prätextatkatakombe; sie wurde von de Rossi aufgenommen und befindet sich immer noch dort. Die Inschrift steht also unter der Nummer 15119 an richtiger Stelle. Die Fassung in 26052 stammt aus Silvagnis Scheden, in denen als Aufbewahrungsort Korridor I 20 der Priscillakatakombe angegeben wird. Silvagni ist ein tückisches Versehen unterlaufen, und vielleicht sind seine Papiere durcheinandergeraten, wodurch diese Schede einem falschem Bündel zugeordnet wurde. Da Silvagni in der Prätextatkatakombe wahrscheinlich nicht gearbeitet hat (wenigstens bekommt man diesen Eindruck aus den Angaben von Ferrua in den Lemmata der aus dieser Katakombe in ICUR V publizierten Inschriften, in denen Silvagnis Name als Abschreiber überhaupt nicht erscheint),⁴ kann die Schede von einem anderen Bearbeiter des

⁴ Unter den von Ferrua in ICUR V 13871–15267 publizierten Inschriften der Prätextatkatakombe habe ich, abgesehen von einigen von ihm im ersten Band der ICUR und in den Monumenta epigraphica christiana aufgenommenen Texten, Silvagnis Namen nur im Lemma von drei Inschriften notiert, nämlich ICUR 14964, 14971 g und 15194, die Silvagni "ex ectypo apud curatores coemeteriorum sacrorum" aufgenommen hat. Wer weiß, ob nicht auch 15119 (und 13971) auf diese Weise unter Silvagnis Scheden geraten ist. Dasselbst finden sich ja auch Silvagnis Scheden zu Priscilla, wie man ausdrücklich den Lemmata von ICUR 25075, 25102, 25109, 25131, 25171, 25198, 25452, 25453, 25477, 25505, 25614, 25640, 25760, 26222 a, 26226, 26238, 26242 a entnehmen kann, in denen die Provenienz von Silvagnis Abschriften auf dieselbe Weise ausgedrückt wird

Materials herrühren; darauf könnte auch hinweisen, daß die Wiedergabe der Urkunde in 26052 unvollständig ist, indem hier das Bild des Mädchens nicht erwähnt wird. Im übrigen hat Silvagni in Priscilla viele Inschriften kopiert (was auch dazu beigetragen haben mag, daß die ihm zugeschickte Kopie unter Priscillianische Scheden geriet), und die meisten von ihm gesehenen Inschriften befinden sich noch dort und lassen sich so als echtes Priscillagut nachweisen; nur wenige Inschriften von den von Silvagni gesehenen wären verlorengegangen. Auch dies erhärtet die Annahme, daß die Zuweisung der Inschrift der Priscillakatakombe und somit ihre nochmalige Publikation unter 26052 auf einer merkwürdigen Verwechslung beruht.

Wegen der Einmaligkeit des Namens der Verstorbenen, dazu noch in griechischer Schrift und abnormaler Orthographie, ergab sich mir die oben erwähnte Entdeckung sozusagen von selbst, als ich dabei war, einzelne, im Namenbuch enthaltene Belege zu kontrollieren. Mich beschlich aber der leise Verdacht, daß möglicherweise weitere ähnliche Paare vorliegen könnten. Ich habe daher die Inschriften der Prätextatkatakombe (hrsg. von Ferrua, ICUR V 13871–15267) und die der Priscillakatakombe (hrsg. von Mazzoleni, ICUR IX 24828–26311) daraufhin kontrolliert, ob sich weitere ähnliche Fälle (doppelte Publikation, das Priscillaexemplar nicht mehr vorhanden) finden ließen. Und siehe, mehrere weitere identische Paare ließen sich dingfest machen.⁵ Beginnen wir mit ICUR 13971 und 24883. Die unter der Nummer 13971 publizierte Inschrift, die sich noch in der Prätextatkatakombe befindet, lautet AD·IVTRIX; links ist ein Anker, rechts ein Vogel abgebildet. 24883, ganz wie 13971 als 'tabula marmorea quadripartita' definiert, stammt aus Silvagnis Scheden und ist verlorengegangen. Ihr Text ist identisch mit dem von 13971, auch hier ist zwischen AD und IVTRIX ein Punkt angegeben. Und ganz wie beim vorigen Paar, fehlt in der zweiten Fassung jeder Hinweis auf die abgebildeten Figuren. Ich halte die Identität für sicher und führe die zweifache Publikation auf dieselben Gründe zurück wie beim vorigen Paar.

wie in denen von 14964, 14971 g und 15194; alle die in der Praefatio zu Priscilla ICUR IX S. 173 genannten im Päpstlichen Institut befindlichen Scheden dürften dieselbe Herkunft haben. Also ein Durcheinander von Scheden aus Prätextat und Priscilla in Silvagnis Nachlaß?

⁵ Außer den hier angeführten Fällen könnten sich noch unter den Fragmenten weitere Paare verbergen, deren fragmentarischer Zustand eine Identifizierung nicht zuläßt.

Das Sprichwort sagt: Aller guten Dinge sind drei. Das Schönste kommt hier. Die lange Grabinschrift einer Lea ICUR 14399 findet sich auch in 25314 aus Silvagnis Scheden mit der Angabe, sie sei vom Editor nicht mehr aufgefunden. Sie existiert aber in der Prätexatkatakombe; dieser Fall bildet also ein perfektes Pendant zu den zwei vorigen Paaren.

Der Appetit kommt beim Essen. Nur ein paar Schritte weiter begegnet man in beiden Bänden unter den Nummern 14406 und 25318 derselben Grabinschrift eines Leo (von Mazzoleni in 25318 falsch *Leoni* statt *Leoni[s]* wiedergegeben). Ebenso verhält es sich mit der Grabinschrift von Licinia Fructosa, die sich in der Prätexatkatakombe befindet (ICUR 14426), ihren Weg aus Silvagnis Scheden aber auch in die Priscillaedition unter 25321 fand. Und noch mehr kam zum Vorschein, als ich die Edition der Priscilla-inschriften weiter durchblätterte. Auch 25341 stammt in Wirklichkeit aus der Prätexatkatakombe, wo sie sich noch heute findet, und zwar in unversehrtem Zustand: 14445, das Epitaph einer Senatorin namens *Q. Mamilia Titiana*.⁶ Alles auf dieselbe Weise zu erklären wie die vorigen Fälle.⁷

Ziehen wir das Fazit. Alle sechs Inschriften stammen aus der Prätexatkatakombe, haben aber ihren Weg auch in den der Priscillakatakombe gewidmeten IX Band der ICUR gefunden. Keine von ihnen wurde von Mazzoleni, dem neuen Editor von ICUR IX, in Priscilla gefunden. Die doppelte Publikation ist bei allen auf ähnliche Weise zu erklären: Die von einem anonymen Abschreiber in Prätexat gefertigten Scheden der sechs Inschriften sind in den Besitz von Silvagni gekommen und aus einem nicht durchschaubaren Grund unter die Priscilla-Materialien geraten. Darüber kann wohl kein Zweifel herrschen. Einige der Inschriften wurden von de Rossi Anfang der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts gesehen (14426, 15119); das allein bürgt für ihre Provenienz aus Prätexat. Alle Inschriften

⁶ Die Identität wurde schon von M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina*, Rome 1994, 189 vermerkt.

⁷ Außer diesen sechs Inschriften 24883, 25314, 25318, 25321, 25341 und 26052 finden sich unter den Inschriften aus Priscilla nur wenige weitere Inschriften publiziert, die von Silvagni gesehen, später aber verloren gegangen sind, nämlich 24918, 25134, 25167, 25227, 25523, 25530, 25588, 25613, 25264, 25640 (hier wird die Provenienz aus Priscilla durch Marucchis Zeugnis sichergestellt), 25735, 25941 *c*, 26105, 26123 (hier ist die Provenienz aus Priscilla durch Marucchi sichergestellt), 26193 *a*, 26218 *a*, 26247 *b*, 26267 *b fg*, 26309 *a*, für die man keine extrapriscillianische Provenienz nachweisen kann; dazu kommt noch 25124, von der ein Fragment heute fehlt.

bis auf ICUR 14445, die im Korridor Da gefunden wurde und sich dort immer noch befindet, wurden im Treppenhaus F gefunden bzw. sind dort aufbewahrt. Es ist also anzunehmen, daß gerade die Scheden dieser zusammenhängenden Gruppe irgendwie unter Silvagnis Priscilla-Aufzeichnungen gerieten. Einige Einzelheiten bleiben etwas unklar: Während für ICUR 24883 und 25314 keine Angaben zum genaueren Fundplatz bzw. Aufbewahrungsort gegeben werden, wurde 26052, laut Silvagnis Schede, 'in amb. I 20' gefunden; und von 14406, 14426 und 14445 wird gesagt, sie befänden sich 'nello scalone' bzw. 'a metà dello scalone' der unteren Katakombe. Wie das zu erklären sei, steht dahin; könnte 'scalone' sich auf die 'scala F' und 'amb. I 20' auf einen Korridor in der Prätextatkatakombe (wir wissen nicht genau, wo 15119 gefunden wurde) beziehen? Oder wir müssen annehmen, daß die Angaben über den Aufbewahrungsort aus anderen Scheden echt priscillianischer Inschriften in die der vier Inschriften eingeflossen sind.

CLXXX. WEITERE VERKANNTÉ IDENTITÄTEN

Diesmal handelt es sich ausschließlich um stadtrömische Inschriften.

CIL VI 18419 = 26456. Es handelt sich um eine kleine Urne, die zum ersten Mal im *Giornale de' Letterati* im Jahre 1744 publiziert wurde; daraus 18419. Sie befand sich damals in einem Weingarten nahe S. Agnese an der Nomentana, aber bald danach geriet sie in die bekannte Sammlung des Kardinals Passionei in Tusculum. Später kam sie in englische Hände und befindet sich heute im British Museum, wo sie von Hübner gesehen wurde; nach seiner Abschrift wurde sie unter 26456 ediert. Die letztere Fassung ist besser. Es handelt sich sehr wahrscheinlich um dasselbe Exemplar, nicht etwa um ein Original und eine Kopie (ich erwähne dies eigens, da Hübner anscheinend Zweifel an der Echtheit der Inschrift hatte (aus dem Wortlaut unter 26456 zu schließen), denn ganz wie der erste Autor im *Giornale de' Letterati* las auch Passionei in 2 ZOSIMENE statt Hübners ZOSIMENI.

CIL VI 18880 ist auch unter die Fragmente 30522, 61 geraten.

CIL VI 20121/2 aus Ptolemaeus, sched. 2, 360 und 25249 aus Manutius, Cod. Vat. Lat. 5241 p. 251 sind zwei Exemplare ein und derselben Inschrift. Sie sind getrennt publiziert, weil die erste Zeile von Ptolemaeus *C. Iulio Marcello*, von Manutius *d.m. Q. Marcello* wiedergegeben wird. Ich

würde der ersten Fassung den Vorzug geben. Sonst unterscheiden sich die beiden Abschriften nur in der Wiedergabe des Namens des Vaters: CLYCO Ptolemaeus, GLYCO Manutius. CLYCO wäre eine Art *lectio difficilior* und deswegen vielleicht zu wählen. [Die Identität wurde schon von Lehmann unter 25249 notiert, nicht aber unter 20121/2.]

CIL VI 22802, gesehen von Gatti, steht vollständiger 28906 aus Oderici, Diss. 228, 80. Wenn Oderici den Namen der Mutter richtig wiedergegeben hat, dann muß *Mursine* gelesen werden; Gatti, der die Buchstaben dieser Zeile nur zur Hälfte sah, läßt im Corpus MY- drucken.

CIL VI 13272 aus Cod. Vallicell. G, 47 f. 82' als heidnisch = ICUR 556 aus Muratori 1312, 2 (auch "ex schedis Vallicellianis") und Marini, Cod. Vat. Lat. 9078 p. 678, 9 als christlich (daraus de Rossi, sched. 2321). Die Textgestaltung ist in beiden Exemplaren dieselbe. Schwer zu sagen, ob es sich um eine heidnische oder eine christliche Inschrift handelt; de Rossi schließt sich Marinis Ansicht an.

Unter den altchristlichen Inschriften unbekannter Herkunft im Thermenmuseum ist ein Fragment versehentlich zweimal publiziert worden: ICUR 2046, 3 (gesehen von Silvagni) steht vollständiger in 2067 aus Lupi und Brunati.

ICUR 2375, gesehen von de Rossi in der Galleria Lapidaria der Vatikanischen Museen = 3742 aus Fontanini (der auch im Lemma von 2375 zitiert wird), der den Text in Orti sah (glücklicherweise ist die stadtrömische Provenienz hier von Silvagni erkannt). Am Anfang des Textes ist *Quiraco* (2375) statt *Quiriaco* (3742) zu wählen. Die Identität wurde schon von Ferrua, Corona di osservazioni alle iscrizioni cristiane di Roma incertae originis, MemPontAccArch in 8°, 3 (1979) 69 erkannt.

ICUR 13832 aus Marini, Cod. Vat. Lat. 9081 f. 175' (so zu zitieren; Ferrua zitiert etwas irreführend 9081 n. 1800') = 22787 aus Reggi (in einer Hs. des Kapitels von S. Maria in Via lata) und Marini, Cod. Vat. Lat. 9074 p. 862 n. 9. Die Herkunft der Inschrift aus dem Coemeterium Maius scheint mir evident, und sie steht in 22787 an richtiger Stelle (wenn Marini a.O. die Herkunft durch "Romae in Coemeterio S. Agnetis. A. 1767" angibt, folgt er nur der Gewohnheit seiner Zeit, auch das Coemeterium Maius als S. Agnese zu bezeichnen). Die von Marini, Cod. Vat. Lat. 9081 gegebene Zuweisung an S. Sebastiano (Marini sagt explizit "R(omae) apud me. E Coem(eterio) S. Sebastiani") ist einem Lapsus dieses sonst sehr zuverlässigen Autors zuzuschreiben. – Die Inschrift lautet ΓΡΗΓΟΡΕΙΑ / ΜΥΡΙΣΜΙΑΝΗ; schwer

zu sagen, ob Gregoria den Stein der Myrismiane errichtet hat oder umgekehrt oder ob die Verstorbene Gregoria Myrismiane hieß – Zweinamigkeit ist ja ein übliches Phänomen in altchristlichen Inschriften (außerdem könnte Gregoria eine Signumbildung vertreten und hat sogar den Anschein eines Gentilnamens erwecken können).

ICUR 14226 nach Autopsie von Ferrua ist zu tilgen. Die Inschrift wurde früher in so gut wie unversehrtem Zustand von de Rossi gesehen und von ihm Inscr. I 128 unter dem Jahre 356 n.Chr. publiziert, dann später von Ferrua in ICUR 13906 aus de Rossi wiederholt.

Zwei Inschriften, die aufgrund der Angaben in den Acta Lipsanothecae von Ferrua im Band VII der ICUR der Katakombe der Cyriaca zugewiesen wurden (18502 und 19373) stammen in Wirklichkeit aus dem Coemeterium Maius, wo sie von anderen Autoren der Acta Lipsanothecae gesehen wurden (die diese Katakombe, wie damals üblich, S. Agnese nannten): ICUR 22360 und 22663. Die beiden existieren noch im Museo Pio Cristiano, so daß die Textform feststeht (die in 18502 und 19373 aus den Acta gegebene Lesung ist fehlerhaft).

ICUR 18396 und 20612 sind Exempla ein und derselben Inschrift, die nach der Kopie des Blasius von Oderici, Dissertationes 346 Nr. 18 publiziert wurde. 18396 entstammt einer Schede von de Rossi (aus Oderici), aber in 20612 zog Ferrua Oderici nochmals heran, ohne zu bemerken, daß auch de Rossis Schede aus derselben Stelle in Oderici stammt. 18396 steht übrigens unter Cyriaca, 20612 aber unter den Inschriften unbekannter Herkunft der Via Tiburtina; welche Zuweisung von beiden vorzuziehen sei, ist wohl Geschmackssache. Den Namen des Errichters druckt Ferrua in 18296 (wohl de Rossis Abschrift imitierend ASAPIV*s*), in 20612 (also direkt aus Oderici) AGAPIV*s*; schon dieses Schwanken zeigt, daß der Name – natürlich – *Agapius* war; die Überlegungen von Ferrua zu einer eventuellen aus ἄσαπής abzuleitenden Bildung *Asapius* sind stillschweigend zu übergehen.

Das schon von Silvagni, ICUR 3285 unter den Inschriften unbekannter Provenienz publizierte Epitaph eines Aphrodisius wurde später zweimal neu herausgegeben, zum ersten von Ferrua, ICUR 23473, zum zweiten von Carletti ICUR 27260. Der Text ist nur durch Doni, Cod. Marucell. A 293, 82 mit der Fundortangabe 'via Salaria vetere in vinea Gregorii Ammiani' überliefert. Ferrua wies die Inschrift der Felicitas-Katakombe, Carletti allgemein der via Salaria vetus zu. Schwer zu sagen, wo die Inschrift am ehesten herkommt. An sich könnte sie von wo auch

immer in den Weingarten von Gregorio Ammiani gelangt sein (so hatte Silvagni gut getan, indem er den Text in den ersten Band aufnahm); wenn sie aber in der Nähe des einstigen Aufbewahrungplatzes gefunden wurde, dann könnte man sie beliebig sowohl mit Ferrua der Felicitas-Katakombe zuschreiben als auch mit Carletti den näheren Fundort offen lassen.

CLXXXI. VARIA URBANA

1. CIL VI 1833 *b* enthält, wie es scheint, einen Beleg des Wortes *decurionatus*, freilich abgekürzt: *L. Volusi Plocami maioris; scribae librario q(uaestorio) III (= trium) decurionat(uum)*. Die Lesung ist sicher, wie man dem von M. Buonocore, *Schiavi e liberti dei Volusi Saturnini*, Roma 1984, 100f Nr. 55 Taf. XI Abb. 31 publizierten guten Photo entnehmen kann. In stadtrömischen Inschriften begegnen häufig *scribae librarii quaestorii trium decuriarum*. Und so würde man auch hier erwarten, auf dem Stein steht aber *decurionat*. Mommsen, *StR* I³ 347, 1 erklärt das als falsche Auflösung des Steinmetzen. Andererseits kann man sich fragen, wie der Steinmetz gerade auf eine solche Form gekommen ist. Es wäre zweifellos besser verständlich, wenn schon im Original *decurionat*. gestanden hätte. Das Wort *decurionatus* bedeutet Dekurionenwürde, entweder im militärischen oder munizipalen Bereich, und irgendwie hat wohl der Autor unseres Textes dieses Wort im Sinne gehabt, das hier ganz okkasionell in einer anderen Bedeutung gebraucht worden wäre, etwa 'Dekurienkörperschaft'. Die angesehenste Körperschaft unter den Apparitoren der römischen Magistratur waren die quästorischen Schreiber, so daß eine Assoziation mit den eigentlichen Dekurionen nicht ausgeschlossen wäre; die Mitgliedschaft einer Schreiberdekurie konnte als eine 'Würde' angesehen werden, und so kam es zu der ganz okkasionell gebrauchten Bedeutung, die in unserer Inschrift vorliegen könnte.⁸

2. Der Anfang von CIL VI 1955 ist durch Canina folgendermaßen überliefert: *L·TOSSIVS·C·II / AMPHIO*. Henzen meint, das müsse entweder als *C.f.* oder *L.l.* verstanden werden. Die Inschrift ist verhältnismäßig früh, wohl aus augusteischer Zeit, in der Freigelassene noch gelegentlich einen

⁸ Kein Deut von diesem Beleg in gängigen Wörterbüchern, der Münchener Thesaurus mit eingeschlossen.

von dem des Patrons verschiedenen Vornamen führen konnten; nichts steht also an sich im Wege, *L. Tossius C.l. Amphio* zu verstehen. Andererseits könnte Caninas II die kursive Form |^l von F wiedergeben.

3. Henzen druckt das Cognomen des Verstorbenen in CIL VI 5883 in der Form ERASMVS. Die Inschrift ist nur durch Smetius und Ligorio samt einigen von diesen abhängenden Autoren überliefert. Henzen wählt die ligorianische Textform, die gerade ERASMVS hat. Smetius gibt aber ERASMIVS, und dieser Lesart ist unbedingt der Vorzug zu geben. Und zwar nicht nur weil Smetius ein besserer Autor ist, sondern auch, weil *Erasmus* der eigentliche Grundname ist und *Erasmus* davon nur eine Art verkürzte Ableitung darstellt. In Rom sind beide einigermaßen bezeugt: von beiden kommen zur Zeit drei Belege in stadtrömischen Inschriften vor (s. mein Namenbuch 882).

4. CIL VI 9729 beginnt in der Lesung von Eduard Bormann EVPROSY/NE / IVLIAE SEO/NIS / ORNATRI/CI. Sie befand sich noch zu Bormanns Zeiten in Ravenna im Museo Classense, ist aber da nicht mehr vorhanden (freundliche Mitteilung von Gian Luca Gregori). Trotz der Autorität von Bormann (der aber andererseits wegen seiner bekannten Lebensgewohnheiten gelegentlich auch sehr schlecht gelesen hat) wage ich, den Namen anders zu verstehen, denn ein Frauenname *Seo* (oder *Seone*) -*nis* wäre eine Absurdität. Durch Annahme einer falschen Worttrennung ergibt sich eine einwandfreie Namensform: *Iuliaes Eonis*. Der Frauenname *Eo* ist gut bekannt in der stadtrömischen Anthroponymie,⁹ und die heteroklitische -*n*-Flexion ist auch sonst belegt: *Eoni Cossi Gaetulici* CIL VI 17170.

5. In CIL VI 10883 las Gatti, freilich mit Vorbehalt, den Namen des Errichters PHILOGTHVS. Was ist das? Vidman in seinem Cognominaindex läßt die Frage offen, meint aber, es könne *Philagathus* vorliegen. Das ist durchaus möglich. Da aber A und O nicht so sehr verwechselbar sind, könnte man auch an einen Namen mit *Philo-* denken. Etwa *Philocalus* würde nicht sehr weit davon bleiben, was Gatti zu sehen geglaubt hat.

6. CIL VI 13184 hat vor kurzem eine Behandlung bekommen durch L. Avetta, *La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini* (1987) 274f Nr. 212 (mit gutem Photo). Daraus geht hervor, daß das Cognomen des Mannes ursprünglich falsch POSBHORVS geschrieben und dann in POSPHORVS

⁹ Sechs Belege in stadtrömischen Inschriften, außer dem unsrigen: CIL VI 7389. 8567. 14901. 17170. 26468.

verbessert wurde. Wegen des ersten Irrtums denkt Avetta, daß das Cognomen des Mannes nicht *Phosphorus*, sondern *Bosphorus* sei. Dies ist kaum möglich. *Bosporus* ist ein recht selten belegter Name, gelegentlich durch Einfluß von *Phosphorus* mit *ph* geschrieben,¹⁰ während *Phosphorus* ein populäres Anthroponym in Rom war, 34mal belegt (die Zeugnisse vollständig in der Neuauflage des griechischen Namenbuches). Dieser Name wird oft *Posphor(us)* geschrieben, wobei es sich zweifellos um eine sekundäre Schreibung (eine Art Dissimilation) ohne das erste *h* handelt; konkret wird das durch eine interessante Parallele nahegelegt, CIL VI 8724: *C. Iulio Luciferi filio Posphoro architec(to) Aug(usti)*. Der Vater führt den Namen des Morgensterns in lateinischer, der Sohn in griechischer Fassung.¹¹ Den Namen *Bosporus* kann man dagegen in diesen Fällen nicht erblicken, denn ein orthographischer Wechsel zwischen B und P bliebe unmotiviert. Die ursprüngliche Form POSBHORVS in unserer Inschrift ist aus bloßer Nachlässigkeit entstanden – die Lautgruppe *bh* existiert ja überhaupt weder im Latein noch im Griechischen.

7. In CIL VI 14536, nur durch eine Abschrift von Giovanni Bembo überliefert, soll Henzen zufolge der Name des Errichters LAVRINVS AVGG LIB korrupt sein; er optiert für L·AVR ...INVS. Warum muß die Stelle aber korrupt sein? *Laurinus* ist doch ein guter Name, und auf eine Namensform mit bloßem Cognomen konnte jederzeit die Patronatsangabe *Augg. lib.* folgen.

8. CIL VI 14609. Die Festlegung des Cognomens der erstgenannten Person ist kontrovers. Henzen versteht (es liegt ein Dativ vor) *Herae[o]* (Bormann, der den Text für Henzen verglich, hat nur HE gesehen), und Vidman setzt im Cognominaindex den Namen als *Heraeus* fest. Ich hatte dagegen im Namenbuch für *Hera* optiert (zu lesen sei also Dat. *Herae*). Was Henzen nach dem damals sichtbaren HE zu verstehen glaubte, nahm er aus Marini, Cod. Vat. Lat. 9122 f. 62. Marini gibt aber nur *Herae*, danach eine Beschädigung des Steines. Ob dies aber einen Textausfall nach HERAE hinreichend begründet, stehe dahin. Was die zwei Namen selbst angeht, so ist *Hera(s)* ein beliebter Männername, während *Heraeus* im römischen

¹⁰ *Bospor* CIL VI 8781. *Bos<p>horus* 29375. Sonst in Rom nur *Bospor Rasin(i)* CIL XV 5499 (aber arretinischer Keramik, so daß der Namensträger nicht Stadtrömer gewesen sein dürfte).

¹¹ Vgl. Solin, Namenpaare, Helsinki 1990, 32.

Westen als Anthroponym nicht belegt zu sein scheint, wie eine wenn auch nicht sehr ausgedehnte Sondierung ergab. An sich ist Ἡραῖος ein guter griechischer Name (Bechtel HPN 528). Nach alledem ist es wohl vorzuziehen, den Namen in unserer Inschrift als *Hera(s)* festzulegen. Ich danke herzlich Marco Buonocore, der das Marini-Zitat geprüft hat.

9. In CIL VI 15778 scheint der Name *Caletyche* verkannt worden zu sein, von dem in Zeile 3 der Dativ fragmentarisch in der Form [---]JETYCHENI erhalten ist. Ich habe den Text in den Vatikanischen Museen nachgeprüft und stelle fest, daß der Steinmetz sich der Punkte als Worttrenner regelmässig bedient hat. Deswegen soll hier nicht der Modename *Tyche* festgelegt werden, wie es Vidman in seinem Cognominaindex (S. 346) macht, sondern *Caletyche*, ein Name, der sich ebenfalls einer gewissen Beliebtheit erfreute.

10. In CIL VI 22475 = I² 1338 lautet der Name der Frau nach gängiger Ansicht *Aquilliae M. l. Pamphil(ae)*. Nun will G. Vergantini, *La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini* (1987) 281 Nr. 229 (mit gutem Photo), nach PAMPHIL ein V erkennen und nimmt demzufolge eine merkwürdige Namenbildung *Pamphilu(sa)* in Kauf. Das ist ausgeschlossen, denn ein solcher Name würde sich allen griechischen Namenbildungsregeln widersetzen (der von der Autorin gegebene Vergleich *Philia / Pamphilia* hilft nicht weiter). Nach dem Photo zu urteilen, scheint mir das als V gedeutete Zeichen eher ein Trennpunkt zu sein; wohlgermerkt bedient sich der Steinmetz der Punkte auch am Ende der Zeilen. *Pamphil(ae)* bleibt also bestehen.

11. Das Cognomen des Errichters in CIL VI 28166 wird allgemein für korrupt gehalten. Sein Name wird von dem einzigen Zeugen Boldetti wie folgt wiedergegeben: C· / POPILIVS EVPO. Sowohl Henzen als auch Vidman im Cognominaindex erklären EVPO als korrupt überliefert. Muratori gibt LVPO, und Henzen hält dies für eine Berichtigung. In Wirklichkeit ist aber LVPO wohl eine jener typischen Nachlässigkeiten Muratoris, denn die lateinische Anthroponymie kennt keinen Namen *Lupo*; ein solcher Name existiert zwar, ist aber als keltische Bildung anzusehen, und ist auch nirgends in Rom belegt. Ich weiß nicht, was EVPO anderes darstellen könnte wenn nicht das überaus beliebte griechische Cognomen *Eupor*, hier in verkürzter Form geschrieben. Oder aber Boldetti hat nachlässig gelesen und das Schluß-R weggelassen; er begeht ja auch sonst solche nachlässigen Schreibungen wie in Zeile 2 ARRIA für ARRIAE.

12. In CIL VI 35612 ist der Name einer der bestatteten Personen folgendermaßen überliefert (der Stein wurde von Gatti gesehen, was für die Richtigkeit der Lesung bürgen dürfte): C·IVLIO·DIVI·AVG·L·HALYT·. Dazu schreibt Henzen: "intellege *Halyi*, erravit quadratarius". Muß man aber hier wirklich eine Verschreibung seitens des Steinmetzen annehmen? Die heteroklitische Flexion mit *-t-* ist auch in Namen auf *-ys* belegt, wenn auch nicht sonderlich üblich: *Abucci Philytis* CIL VI 8150; vgl. ferner *Stachydi* CIL VI 26731.¹² Andererseits ist dieser heteroklitische Flexionstyp bei anderen Endungen wie *-es*, *-os* recht verbreitet, wie man anhand von Formen wie *Hermetis* und *Erotis* sieht.¹³ Es bereitet also wohl keine unüberwindlichen Schwierigkeiten, einen Dativ *Halyt(i)* in unserer Inschrift anzunehmen. Will man diese heteroklitische Form nicht in Kauf nehmen, dann bleibt nur übrig anzunehmen, daß der Steinmetz sich markanter Serifen bedient hätte, von denen die obere des letzten Buchstabens des Cognomens von Gatti als Querstrich von T gedeutet wurde.

13. In CIL VI 38893 = I² 2530 (nicht mehr auffindbar) wurde für das in der Form CLLIO überlieferte Cognomen von Bang *Clitus*, von Lommatzsch *Chilo* konjiziert. Von den zwei Vorschlägen ist unbedingter Vorzug dem letzteren zu geben.

14. IG XIV 1624 ist mit höchst wahrscheinlich stadtrömisch. Sie befand sich im vorigen Jahrhundert in Frosinone in der Villa Ricci (heute Besitz von Eleonora Manzi, via Armando Fabi 343), deren früherer Besitzer Bouchard dort ein kleines Museum anlegte. Über die Herkunft der Inschriften kann nichts Sicheres eruiert werden, doch scheint alles dafür zu sprechen, daß sie allesamt aus Rom stammen.¹⁴ Kaibel hat unsere Inschrift in IG XIV als stadtrömisch gewertet, Moretti aber aus seinem Corpus ausgeklammert, und zwar wegen des Aufbewahrungsortes, und in den Band relegiert, der die griechischen Inschriften aus dem Rest von Latium zusammenstellen soll (Moretti, IGUR II S. 505). Mommsen, der allem

¹² Vgl. auch H.S., *Arctos* 31, 1997, 143 = *Analecta epigraphica*, Roma 1998, 397f.

¹³ Dazu H.S., *ZPE* 67, 1987, 200–206.

¹⁴ Vgl. M. Kajava – H. Solin, *Altari e urne urbani a Frosinone*, *Epigraphica* 49, 1987, 99–107. Dort werden die in der Villa noch vorhandenen Inschriften publiziert und ihnen stadtrömische Provenienz nachgewiesen. Und es liegt kein Grund vor, den verloren gegangenen Inschriften dieselbe Provenienz abzuspreehen, schon weil einige von ihnen Repliken von sicher stadtrömischen Inschriften darstellen (CIL X 697*).

Anschein nach die Inschrift gesehen hat, beurteilt sie CIL X 696* im Komm. als Fälschung. Ich wäre nicht so sicher; eher dürfte es sich um ein schlecht und fahrlässig geschriebenes Produkt aus dem 2. oder 3. Jahrhundert handeln. Oder vielleicht können die schweren Korruptelen auch von dem einzigen Zeugen, einem gewissen Giulio Navone, stammen.

15. In IG XIV 1627 = Moretti IGUR 1222 war der Name in Zeile 3 bisher umstritten (s. den Apparat von Moretti). Ich habe den Stein in den Vatikanischen Museen genau untersucht. Immitten des Namens findet sich eine Lücke von drei Buchstaben, links steht ΚΛΥ und rechts ΝΗ. Nach alledem bleibt nur übrig, hier den Namen Κλυτίνη in der Form Κλυ[τεί]νη festzulegen. Schon Moretti erkannte diesen Namen, las aber sicher versehentlich Κλυ[τ]ίνη. Sonstige Belege des Namens lassen sich in Rom nicht nachweisen.

16. C. Lega, Boll. Monum. Musei e Gallerie Pontif. 14, 1994, 75 Nr. 14 hat einen neuen Cippus des Grabes von C. Naevius C. l. Philomusus publiziert (die früheren Exemplare: A. Ferrua, Epigraphica 28, 1966, 39 Nr. 39: *C. Naevi C. l. Philomusi* [Lega zufolge soll dieses freilich identisch mit dem von ihr publizierten sein, was zwar möglich, aber alles andere als sicher ist]; Bull. com. 90, 1985, 422, wo *C. Naevi C. l. Philomusi* gelesen werden muß, vgl. Collezione epigr. dell'Antiquarium comunale del Celio, im Druck). Lega, die den Stein in ungünstiger Lage hat lesen müssen, will das Cognomen in der Form *Philom[us]a* festlegen, was onomastisch eine schwere Anomalie wäre. Ich habe die Lesung in den Vatikanischen Museen genau nachgeprüft und lese ohne Zögern *Philomusi* (die angebliche zweite Schräghaste des A gehört nicht zur Schrift, sondern ist eine Steinverletzung). Diese Verbesserung wurde von Claudia Lega und Giorgio Filippi, die mich bei der Nachprüfung der Lesung unterstützt haben, geteilt.

17. M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier hat BullInstHistBelgeRome 67, 1997, 99–152 verdienstlich die in Belgien aufbewahrten Inschriften italienischer Provenienz zusammengestellt. Ein paar kleinere Anmerkungen hierzu: In B 4 (S. 137–139) will die Editorin eine Frau namens *Cisso[nia Re]stituta* erkennen. Nun ist der Schriftträger eine Kolumbarientafel aus julisch-claudischer Zeit, vom Text ist erhalten [---]·CISSO / [---]STITVTAE, und alles spricht dafür, daß [---] *Cisso [et ... Re]stitutae* zu verstehen sei. *Cissonius* ist nur selten in Rom belegt und paßt nicht gut im Zusammenhang (und was stünde vor CISSO?). – In D 1 = CIL VI 29507 (S. 143–147) muß

der Name des Verstorbenen *Cn. Voluntilio Sophro(ni)* verstanden werden, denn ein Cognomen *Sophrus* wäre ein ghost name.

18. La collezione epigrafica dei Musei Capitolini (1987) 230–234 Nr. 149 (S. Priuli) wurde schon im Notiziario des Bull. com. 90, 1985, 418 summarisch publiziert. Die Inschrift ist in vieler Hinsicht interessant und hat den ausführlichen Kommentar von Priuli verdient. Ich nehme hier nur eine onomastische Einzelheit auf, nämlich den Namen *Glyceros*, der nicht ganz so selten ist, wie der Editor Anm. 1062 meint; und er ist nicht aus gr. *Γλυκέρος gebildet, sondern vertritt Γλυκέρωσ in lateinischer Schrift. Der Name ist eine römische Neubildung, wie die meisten Namen auf *-eros*, und muß von *Glycerus* unterschieden werden, denn die Flexionsformen auf *Glycerot-* zeigen, daß der Name im allgemeinen Bewußtsein als ein Eros-Name identifiziert wurde, obschon in Einzelfällen *Glycerus* durch Einfluß von Eros-Namen mit *-os* hätte geschrieben werden können.

19. Die von A. Ferrua, Epigraphica 27, 1965 (ersch. 1966) 141 nr. 27 Abb. 4 herausgegebene stadtrömische Inschrift hat folgenden Wortlaut: *d. m. Iul(ia) Sexti filia Crispina fecit sibi et parentibus suis, Isidorae matri, Iulio Phileto Diadumeno Aug. l[ib]ert[o patri...]*, wie es Ferrua ergänzt (die zahlreichen Schreibfehler des Steinmetzen wurden stillschweigend verbessert). Ferrua zufolge war Philetus Freigelassener eines julischen Kaisers des 3. Jh. (also etwa eines der Philippi) und war früher Sklave des Sohnes des Macrinus gewesen, von dem (der übrigens nicht *Diadumenus*, sondern *Diadumenianus* hieß) er sein zweites Cognomen erhalten hätte. Diese Erklärung ist strikt zurückzuweisen. Im allgemeinen wird der Gentilname in der Nomenklatur kaiserlicher Freigelassener in nachseverischer Zeit sehr selten – das späteste Zeugnis eines kaiserlichen Freigelassenen, der mit Gentile genannt wird, stammt aus dem dem Jahre 238 (CIL VI 816).¹⁵ Und ganz konkret läßt sich für unseren Fall sagen, daß, wenn Iulius Philetus Vater der Iulia Crispina sein soll, was durchaus möglich ist, er dann ein Sextus Iulius wäre, aber der Vorname *Sextus* schließt jegliche Verbindung mit einem julischen Kaiser aus. Wie die Schwierigkeiten zu erklären sind, weiß ich nicht. Wenn in der letzten Zeile wirklich *Aug. l[ib.]* zu ergänzen ist, wie es scheint (nach AVG ist der obere Teil einer Vertikalhaste ersichtlich, was doch zu einem L führen dürfte), dann bleibt eigentlich nur übrig, in Diadumenus eine weitere Person zu sehen; es ist also *Isidorae*

¹⁵ Vgl. Solin, Arctos 7, 1972, 179 = Analecta epigraphica 23.

matri (et) Iulio Phileto (patri et) Diadumeno Aug. l[ib]ert[o ---] zu verstehen. Da der Text voll von Schreibfehlern ist, nähme es nicht wunder, wenn auch das lexikalisch-syntaktische Gefüge gelitten hätte. Diadumenus, ein Verwandter oder Freund der Familie der Iulia Crispina oder ihr Mann, scheint Freigelassener eines Kaisers des 2. Jh. zu sein;¹⁶ durch diesen Ansatz wird auch besser verständlich, warum der Vater des Vornamens entbehrt (wenn es sich bei dessen Auslassung nicht um eine pure Nachlässigkeit handelt).

20. *Iscr. greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino* (1996) 277 Nr. 109 (G. Scaramella) hat am Anfang den Namen *[--- Ch]rysippa* im Nominativ. Die Editorin sieht darin einen Männernamen; das wäre also $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\pi\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, eine an sich mögliche Bildung, von der ich freilich keine Belege kenne.¹⁷ Dieser Name könnte in der Tat hier vorliegen, auch wenn davon keine Spuren in der römischen Namengebung vorhanden sind. Nun gibt es von der Struktur des Textes her – soweit ich sehe – keine Notwendigkeit, hier einen Männernamen festzulegen. Warum kann hier nicht der Frauenname *Chrysippe* vorliegen? Er ist ein gutes griechisches Anthroponym (z. B. IG II² 4669, 4./3. Jh. v. Chr.) und auch in Rom belegt: ICUR 10706 a. 17745. Gebildet ist er nach dem Heroinnenamen – die Namen von Heroinnen waren ja allezeit ein beliebtes Namenbildungsmittel in der römischen Anthroponymie – und konnte auch als Pendant zu dem in Rom populären *Chrysippus* (zur Zeit 22 Belege aus Rom bekannt) gebraucht werden, wie einer der stadtrömischen Belege, ICUR 17745, augenscheinlich zeigt, indem dort der Vater *Chrysippus* (in der Form *Chrisippus* geschrieben) der Tochter seinen Namen übertragen hat. Die Verwendung eines Frauennamens *Chrysippe* war in Rom also fest verankert. Was die Endung *-a* statt *-e* betrifft, ist es eine alltägliche Erscheinung, daß die Römer griechische Endungen auf *-η* durch lat. *-a* ersetzten, was gerade in mythologischen

¹⁶ Für diesen Ansatz spricht einerseits das Vorhandensein des Praenomens, was eine spätere Datierung im Prinzip ausschließt, andererseits *d. m.*, was wiederum für eine viel frühere Datierung weniger günstig ist.

¹⁷ Fehlt bei Bechtel HNP 472, und eine freilich nicht sehr ausgedehnte Sondierung hat keine Belege ans Licht gebracht, es wird aber welche geben (dagegen ist der von der Editorin herangezogene Beleg bei Cic. nat. deor. 1, 93 nichts anderes als ein okkasioneller Spitzname des Philosophen Chrysipp).

Namen deutlich wird. Etwa *Andromacha Antigona Antiopa Europa Helena Iliona Nioba* sind die Normalformen in Rom geworden.¹⁸

21. NSc. 1920, 288 Nr. 7 nennt zwei Geschwister namens *Atilia Helias* und *Atinius Helius*. Es fällt auf, daß die Gentilnamen nicht identisch sind. Hierfür lassen sich verschiedene Erklärungen finden. Entweder sind beide Namen richtig wiedergegeben (man könnte etwa denken, daß die zwei Geschwister verschiedene Väter hatten), oder aber beide waren entweder *Atilii* oder *Atinii*. Ähnliche Inkongruenzen in der Wiedergabe von Namen kommen in Inschriften gelegentlich vor (um ein Beispiel zu nennen: ein Mann heißt in CIL VI 8580 *P. Iunius Frontinus*, in 18398 aber *Flavius Phronimus*, wobei die letztere Form die bessere sein dürfte).¹⁹ Jedenfalls waren die zwei Geschwister miteinander eng verbunden, wie auch ihre Cognomina *Helius* und *Helias* nahelegen.

22. G. Annibaldi publiziert in NSc. 1941, 187–195 einen Grabbau aus der via Nomentana (Casale di S. Antonio, am 14 Km, also im Territorium von Ficulea). Unter den Inschriften veröffentlicht er auf S. 190 die Grabinschrift eines kaiserlichen Procurators wie folgt: NIKANORIS·AVG LIB·PROC· / CLAVD·CALVORE VIRO ET CONIVGI KARISS·ET SANCT. In CLAVD·CALVORE muß der Name der Frau stecken. Das auf S. 192 publizierte Photo Abb. 6 läßt folgende Lesung zu, die als gesichert gelten kann: *Claud(ia) Calliope*.

23. Ein paar Bemerkungen zur Edition der von Francesco Maria Torrigio (1580–1650) stammenden Scheden stadtrömischer Inschriften durch A. Ferrua RSA 5, 1975, 161–171.

a) Nr. 11 (S. 164): Das Ende des Textes ist ein harter Brocken; die zweite Zeile ist QVOD EMIT AB·IS·QVI·Q·CALVRI CVR überliefert (die erste Zeile wird D·CACIVS SIBI ET·SVIS POSTerisque wiedergegeben). Wenn Torrigio nicht ganz verkehrt abgeschrieben hat (dazu kommt, daß seine Scheden Ferrua zufolge sehr schwer zu entziffern waren), dann scheint *ab is qui* zu verstehen zu sein; der darauf folgende Name muß am ehesten in *Cacurius* geändert werden, denn *Calurius* ist kein Name; Ferrua denkt an *Calusius*, doch ist *Cacurius* vorzuziehen (*Calusius* ist ein seltener Name,

¹⁸ Dagegen hat der beliebte Name *Atalante* keinen einzigen Beleg auf *-a* aufzuweisen.

¹⁹ Vgl. zu diesem Fall L. Vidman, LF 101, 1979, 153–156. Den von Vidman angeführten Gründen dafür, daß *Phronimus* der richtige Name des Mannes sei, kann man noch hinzufügen, daß seine Mutter in 18398 *Fl(avia) Phronime* heißt.

nicht in Rom belegbar, während *Cacurius* des öfteren in stadtrömischen Inschriften begegnet); C und L werden besonders leicht in einer kursiven Vorlage verwechselt. Wie soll aber Q CACVRI CVR syntaktisch verstanden werden? Man möchte an den *curator* eines Grabvereins denken; derlei *curatores* kennen wir aus stadtrömischen Inschriften zuhauf. Der Name kann im Abl. abs. stehen, also *Q. Cacuri(o) cur[atore ---]* (vgl. z. B. CIL VI 4418²⁰); bei der Annahme eines Genetivs wäre die Wortstellung ein Stein des Anstoßes, denn man sagte normalerweise z. B. *arbitratu illius*, nicht umgekehrt. Oder aber CVR vertritt den Anfang des Cognomens des Q. *Cacurius*, doch Namen mit diesem Anlaut kommen sehr selten in Rom vor. Ist es aber überhaupt notwendig, hier ein Cognomen zu suchen? Wenn D. *Cacius* cognomenlos war, warum konnte nicht auch Q. *Cacurius* dies sein (das Fehlen des Cognomens kann auf Nachlässigkeit beruhen oder erklärt sich dadurch, daß Q. *Cacurius* im Text eine untergeordnete Stellung hatte,²¹ oder aber durch die frühe Zeit – nichts hindert uns, die Inschrift in die frühe Kaiserzeit zu setzen)? Andererseits weist die Namenform bei beiden in der Inschrift angeführten Personen sowohl ohne Cognomen als auch Filiation darauf, daß der Text doch irgendwie nachlässig konzipiert worden ist (auch CACVRI als abgekürzter Dativ wäre nicht alltäglich). Dies alles trägt dazu bei, daß die oben gegebene Erklärung doch etwas hypothetische bleibt, da nun einmal die Textgrundlage nicht ganz feststeht.

b) Nr. 13 (S. 165): Das überlieferte NIOTE erklärt *Ferrua* als *Neote*, aus gr. νεωτή = *renovata*. Die Erklärung ist zurückzuweisen, der Name aber wäre an sich in der griechisch-römischen Anthroponymie möglich, wenn man ihn als Ableitung aus dem Tiernamen νεοττός erklärt – Tiernamen wurden ja beliebig auf Personen übertragen – außerdem wurde νεοττός auch als Kosewort für ein Kind verwendet. Man vergleiche Νεωτίς AM 27, 1902, 370 Nr. 41 (Leukas, 3. Jh. v.Chr.); *Neottis* CIL VI 23073. Eine andere

²⁰ [*Iulio Orpheo Pyladis l. cur(atore) iter(um)* als Teil der Datierung. Ähnlich 7281 *Daphno sumptuario et Hedylalo a manu curatorib(us)*. Umgekehrte Wortstellung in 7281a mit denselben Personen; 6220 *curatoribus Pansa l., Cisso l.* usw.; 6221 *curatoribus Maximo, Helicone, Dapno*; 9322 *curatore Timone disp(ensatore)*; 10294; 10331; 34004.

²¹ In solchen Zusammenhängen konnte das Cognomen leichter als sonst weggelassen werden. Ein analoger Fall in CIL VI 4483 aus dem Monumentum Marcellae, also aus den ersten Jahrzehnten des 1. Jh. n.Chr.: *adsignatum a Fundilio curatore*.

Möglichkeit wäre eine Verschreibung oder Verlesung für *Niobe* anzunehmen.²²

c) Nr. 21 (S. 167) ist nicht unpubliziert: CIL VI 23756.

24. Via Imperiale (Tituli 3, Roma 1985) Nr. 268: vom Namen des Errichters ist [---]SPILVS erhalten. Die Editorin denkt an einen Namen [---] *Spilus*. Da Namen mit dieser Endung in der antiken Anthroponymie nicht vorhanden sind, drängt sich der Verdacht auf, hier sei [---] *s Pilus* zu lesen. *Pilus* wäre *Philus*. Freilich bedient sich der Steinmetz sonst der Punkte als Worttrenner, während zwischen S und PILVS kein Punkt gesetzt ist, aber vielleicht wurden die beiden Namensteile als so eng zusammengehörig empfunden, daß der Punkt wegbleiben konnte. – Auch Namen auf [---] *sphilus* sind in der römischen Namengebung unbekannt, und das Griechische kennt nur einen Namen Πρόσφιλος: Bechtel HPN 386.

25. In ICUR 212 ist wohl [Gno] *rimes* zu ergänzen. Der Index auf S. 513 gibt ... *rimes* als Grundform; es dürfte aber Gen. von *Gnorime* vorliegen. Dieser Name in Rom: CIL VI 11273. ICUR 2014 = 23580 (*Norimae*).

26. In ICUR 831 ist wiederum wahrscheinlich [C] *atarii* zu ergänzen. Das wäre aus *Catharius*, in Rom sonst noch bekannt aus ICUR 11855, auch dort ohne *h* geschrieben (der Hinweis des Editors auf den Volksnamen *Catari* ist unnötig, denn ganz gewiß liegt hier einer der ersten römischen Belege (wenn nicht der erste) aus der zu gr. καθάρως gebildeten Namensippe vor). Im griechischen Bereich erscheint Καθάρα schon früh als Frauenname (IG II² 12552, 5./4. Jh.), im ganzen sind die zu dieser Sippe gehörenden Namen aber selten in der vorchristlichen Anthroponymie, für die christliche Vorstellungswelt passen solche Namen jedoch gut,²³ auch wenn sie keine große Verbreitung finden, nicht einmal in der mittelalterlichen Namengebung, in der dank der Heiligen allein *Catharina* ein populärer Name wird.

27. In ICUR 1082 wäre man versucht, [Hie] *rissa* zu ergänzen; dieser Name in Rom noch CIL VI 18948. Sicher ist die Ergänzung freilich nicht; aus dem Kontext geht nicht einmal hervor, ob in -RISSA ein onomastisches Element vorliegt.

²² Freilich ist der Name nur selten in Rom belegt: CIL VI 9605 = 33811; außerhalb von Rom: CIL IX 2901. Doch war Niobe wohl eine bekannte Figur für gebildete Römer und konnte so auch in der römischen Namengebung Fuß fassen, denn die Niobe-Sage war in der antiken Dichtung und bildenden Kunst sehr beliebt.

²³ *Cathari* hieß auch eine häretische Sekte.

28. Um die Ergänzungen fragmentarischer Namenbelege fortzuführen, könnte in [---]IVMENIS in ICUR 3084 Gen. [*Phi*]lumenis für *-es* vorliegen. Die Graphie auf *-is* im Gen. von griechischen Namen der ersten Deklination auf *-e* ist in christlichen Inschriften durchaus üblich. Freilich stößt die Interpretation der Inschrift auf beträchtliche Schwierigkeiten, und um ehrlich zu sein, steht nicht einmal fest, ob in IVMENIS überhaupt eine Namensform steckt (falls es sich um einen Namen handeln sollte, blieben Sexus und Kasus ungewiß).

29. In ICUR 4392 ist wohl am ehesten [*Ni*]casius zu ergänzen.

30. Der Anfang von ICUR 5304 *locus Eritis* ist noch nicht befriedigend erklärt. Die Lesung ist sicher (ein Photo in G. Filippi, *Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 3, Indice della raccolta epigrafica di San Paolo fuori le mura, Città del Vaticano 1998, Fig. 67 Inv. 50794*), was aber dahinter steckt, steht dahin; nicht einmal der Sexus des Namenträgers steht fest. Ich habe im Namenbuch 335 für *Eros* plädiert, während Ferrua, *RPAA 62, 1989–1990 (1992) 199* dort den Namen *Eris* vermutet, wobei *Eritis* für *Eridis* stünde. Ein Name *Eris* existiert aber nicht, weder in der griechischen noch in der römischen Anthroponymie. Dagegen existiert ein Name Ἡρίς *Heris*, auch in Rom belegt (Moretti *IGUR 573 = ICUR 4731*, freilich ein Peregriner), doch würde man davon nicht einen Genetiv auf *-itis* erwarten. Und ich gestehe gerne, daß auch die Zugehörigkeit zu *Eros* nicht sehr plausibel anmutet. Non liquet.

31. Welcher Name in ICUR 5311 (verschollen) enthalten ist, läßt sich nicht ausmachen. Der Text ist durch Bosio, Suarès und Margarini wie folgt überliefert: HIC REQVIESCIT / EXSECIVSA. Ferrua, *RPAA 62, 1989–1990 (1992) 199* schlägt vor *Exsectusa*, aber seine Erklärung "cioè *exsecta e ventre matris, nuovo per fermo*" ist abenteuerlich. Was die Lesung selbst angeht, ist der Text bei den drei Gewährsleuten so gut wie identisch,²⁴ weswegen der Name auf dem Stein wohl in der überlieferten Form geschrieben war. Für seine Erklärung habe ich keine befriedigende Lösung zur Hand. Lateinische Namen wie *Expectatus* (Kajanto *Latin Cognomina 296*; auch christlich: ICUR 9816 a. 27069),²⁵ von *Respectus* nicht zu reden, bleiben zu

²⁴ Die einzige Variante ist Margarinis EXECIVSA.

²⁵ ICUR 27069 (von Kajanto aus Marini, *Cod. Vat. Lat. 9074 p. 866* genommen; in ICUR wird nicht auf Marini hingewiesen, der den Text zweimal, und zwar mit einer weiteren, aus Suarès genommenen Zeile DEODATVS P, die in ICUR fehlt, bietet: zuerst

weit von der überlieferten Namensform entfernt. Griechische Namen stehen kaum zu Gebote; der beliebte Name Ἐξηκίας (allein in Athen 11mal)²⁶ hilft nicht weiter, daneben war aber auch eine Bildung mit -ιος möglich: Ἐξάκιος SEG XXXVIII 521 (Illyrien, 2. Jh. v.Chr.), und dem könnte unser Name entsprechen, wenn es erlaubt wäre, *Exsecius a[---]* zu lesen (*xs* für *x* bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten). Doch bleibt die Anknüpfung recht hypothetisch.

32. ICUR 6390 aus Commodilla in der Abschrift von P. Bagatti ist wie folgt überliefert: ///// NOREVS. Schwierigkeiten bereitet die Festlegung des Namens, denn Bildungen auf *-noreus* sind mir aus der griechisch-römischen Anthroponymie nicht bekannt. Deswegen drängt sich der Gedanke auf, dahinter könnte sich der griechische Name *Horaeus* verbergen, der besonders als Frauenname (*Horaea*) in Rom beliebt war (17 Belege in meinem Namenbuch; *Horaeus* dagegen 4mal belegt). Die Verwechslung von H und N begegnet des öfteren (vgl. z. B. Anal. epigr. 214). Oder aber sollen wir *Honorius* verstehen, der in altchristlichen Urkunden mehrmals belegt ist. Ich würde freilich der ersten Alternative den Vorzug geben.

33. ICUR 7044 ist links gebrochen. Trotzdem ist es vollends unnötig, den ersten Namen als fragmentarisch anzusetzen, wie dies der Index mit ...aletia tut. Zweifellos liegt hier *Alethia* vor (es stehen keine anderen Namen zur Verfügung, die mit *-alet(h)ia* enden). Dieselbe Schreibung auch CIL VI 16066. 23738. ICUR 9534, 16.

34. In ICUR 7048a liegt kein Name ...ozus vor, wie es im Index steht; es ist eindeutig *[S]ozo pater* zu verstehen. *Sozo(n)* ist ja ein überaus beliebter Name in Rom.

35. ICUR 7789 aus Domitilla (gesehen von de Rossi und Ferrua) lautet SABVRTILL... / DONTIVS F... usw. Welcher Name könnte sich hinter DONTIVS verbergen? Namen auf *-dontius* sind mir nicht bekannt. Eine plausible Bildung wäre *Spendontius*, mit dem spätantiken Suffix *-ius* aus dem überaus häufigen *Spendo* gebildet; dieser Name wird oft *Spendont-*

als Konzept Cod. Vat. Lat. 9081 f. 141 Nr. 1761 und dann 9074 p. 866 Nr. 7) ist nicht Frauenname, wie Kajanto vermutet, sondern Vok. *Expectate* aus dem Männernamen.

²⁶ Die Belege in LGPN II 143. Sonst IG XII 9, 246 B, 76 (Euboia). SEG XXXI 318 (Argos).

flektiert,²⁷ während sonst Namen auf *-do(n)* nur vereinzelte Belege der Flexion auf *-nt-* aufweisen.²⁸ Ausgangspunkt für die Erklärung unseres Fragments muß ein Name sein, in dem die Flexion auf *-nt-* im allgemeinen Bewußtsein festgelegt ist. Ich würde *Spendontius* voll Zuversicht dem römischen Namenlexikon zufügen. – Auch der erste Name, *Saburtilla* (weniger wahrscheinlich *Saburtillus*), ist interessant. Er fehlt bei Kajanto *Latin Cognomina*, ist aber zweifellos als eine lateinische Bildung anzusehen, aus einem an sich unbelegten Gentilnamen *Saburtius* abgeleitet, der sich seinerseits leicht neben *Saburius* Schulze ZGLE 223. 404 postulieren läßt. *Saburtilla* in Rom: ICUR 8559. 14613. 19300. 27378.

36. In ICUR 7904 *c* ergänze man [*Her*]aclie. Andere Namen auf *-aclia* sind in der römischen Anthroponymie nicht bekannt.

37. In ICUR 8603 ist vielleicht [*G*]o<*r*>gonius zu verstehen.

38. Von dem Fragment ICUR 10625 *w* ist [---]AYΛHC[---] erhalten. Es birgt vielleicht den Frauennamen Ἀγρᾶύλη, in Rom sonst aus CIL VI 7373 in der Form *Aglaure* belegt; vgl. ferner den Männernamen *Agraulus* Bull.com. 54, 1926 (1927) 264; CIL V 7486. Zugrunde liegt der Heroinnenname Ἀγλαυρος (oder Ἀγραυλος), der in Rom also die Frauennamendung *-e* angenommen hat, ganz wie der griechische Frauename Πρόσοδος in Rom zu einem Männernamen wird (von diesem Männernamen gibt mein Namenbuch 1250f acht Belege), was zur Ingebrauchnahme eines Frauennamens *Prosode* führte. Oder aber *Agraulus* m. und *Agraule* f. wurden aus dem Adjektiv ἄγραυλος gebildet (im Namenbuch vertrete ich die erste Alternative).

39. Von der fragmentarischen Wandinschrift ICUR 13050 *b* ist [---]ONAI[---] (Zeile 1) und [---]EYΘP[---] (Zeile 2) erhalten (die Lesung dürfte sicher sein, vgl. Taf. XVIII 12). Wie der Herausgeber Ferrua ansprechend vermutet, kann in der ersten Zeile die Akklamation μνημονοαίετε ergänzt werden. In der zweiten Zeile schlage ich vor, den Namen Τεύθρας festzulegen. *Teuthra(n)s* ist dreimal in Rom belegt (CIL VI 4608. 15500. 17716).

²⁷ Im stadtrömischen Material sind Formen auf *-nt-* 12mal, Formen auf *-n-* jedoch nirgends belegt.

²⁸ Aus Rom kenne ich δοιῶς Ἴππομέδοντας Moretti IGUR 1241; *Medontis* CIL VI 15384; *Phaedonti* 8888.

40. ICUR 13670: Für ...TORMIANA denkt der Herausgeber Ferrua vermutungsweise an *Saturniana*, vielleicht zu Recht (freilich ist *Saturnianus* nur selten belegt). Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre *Formiana*.

41. ICUR 16118 lautet in Silvagnis Abschrift ...IARIS·ET CLAVDIA·PERISTERA. Der Editor Ferrua vermutet am Anfang den Namen *Eucharis*. Nun würde man gern in der Inschrift ein Ehepaar erwähnt sehen; *Eucharis* ist in der römischen Welt aber vor allem ein Frauenname (als Männername in Rom mir nur aus Moretti IGUR 783 bekannt);²⁹ dasselbe trifft für *Epicharis* zu.³⁰ Bei der Suche nach einem üblichen Männernamen, der hier passen würde, kommt als erster *Apollinaris* in den Sinn, für den ich eher optieren würde.

42. In ICUR 16333 könnte [*Abl*]abi ergänzt werden. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre [*Fl*]abi (*Flavius* kommt in altchristlichen Inschriften durchaus alleinstehend vor). *Ablabius* war ein beliebter Name unter den römischen Christen, was andere Bildungen auf *-ab(i)us* wie etwa *Arab(i)us Athabus Carabus* nicht waren.

43. ICUR 16593 *d* ist in der Form ...AENTIA· überliefert. Ich vermute hier den Namen *Faventia* (andere Ergänzungen kommen kaum in Frage). *Favor* und Namen auf *Favent-* werden in Inschriften oft ohne V geschrieben. *Faventia* ist kein sehr üblicher Name, kommt aber auch in altchristlichen stadtrömischen Inschriften vor, sogar mit identischer Schreibung ohne V: ICUR 20065. Zur Schreibung vgl. noch *Faentinus* ICUR 22384.

44. In ICUR 18150 ist mit Sicherheit [*D*]omnus zu ergänzen.

45. Der Name des Verstorbenen in ICUR 18988 ist umstritten. Ich habe die Inschrift in den Vatikanischen Museen überprüft; die Lesung ist über alle Zweifel erhaben. Es steht eindeutig EMPTVBISOMVLAV/TIOVIXIT κτλ. Diehl ILCV 3809 B erblickt hierin den Namen *Lautio* (oder *Lautius*),³¹ während Ferrua den Text in *Lau<ren>ti ῥqῥ(ui) vixit* ändern will. Am Anfang kann entweder Akkusativ oder Abl. abs. vorliegen. Aber dessen

²⁹ Im griechischen Bereich sowohl Männer- als auch Frauenname. Bechtel HPN 176 verzeichnet ihn als Männernamen, eine nicht sehr ausgedehnte Recherche ergab aber, daß beide gleich häufig sind.

³⁰ In der Tat scheint dieser Name sowohl im griechischen als auch im römischen Bereich ausschließlich als Frauenname in Gebrauch gewesen zu sein.

³¹ Im onomastischen Index, Band III S. 96.

ungeachtet kann hier wohl ohne Zögern der Name *Lautio* im Nominativ erkannt werden. Das wäre freilich ein neuer Name, doch leicht neben *Lautus Lautinus Lauticus* (Kajanto Latin Cognomina 231f) zu postulieren.

46. ICUR 19158 beginnt LOCVS PASCASI SVSTA QVI EMET A DELFINO AVRI SOLIDOS DVO DEFVNCTVS EST etc. Es war lange eine gängige Ansicht (de Rossi, Diehl), daß *Pascasius* und *Susta* Namen von zwei Personen sind. Demgegenüber meint Ferrua in ICUR, *Susta* sei der eigentliche Name des Verstorbenen, dem bei der Taufe ein neuer Name *Paschasius* zugelegt worden sei. Dies ist ausgeschlossen. *Susta* muß Frauenname sein, der Verstorbene muß aber wegen *defunctus* ein Mann gewesen sein; er hieß also *Paschasius* (die richtige Sachlage wurde schon von Diehl gesehen). Die Worte *Susta ... duo* sind als Parenthese zu nehmen: *locus Pascasi – Susta, qui emet a Delfino auri solidos duo – defunctus est*. Das Korrelat von *qui* ist *Susta, qui* steht also für *quae* – die Synesis des Genus ist ja gerade beim Relativpronomen im Spätlatein üblich. *Susta* steht für *Xysta*, einen beliebten Namen auch in den christlichen Gemeinden, vor allem als Männername (wegen des Märtyrers und Bischofs von Rom); die Schreibung *Susta* läßt sich auch sonst nachweisen.³²

47. Bei der Deutung von ICUR 19840 ist noch nicht das letzte Wort gesprochen worden. Ich stelle die Hypothese zur Diskussion, daß in BOYΔEIN, das in die Zeichnung eines Rindes geschrieben ist, ein Personenname enthalten sei. Βούδειν wäre gleich Βούδιον, eine Nebenform von Βοίδιον. Das wäre der Name einer weiteren Person, möglicherweise eines kleinen Kindes aus derselben Familie, zu der Sperantius gehörte. Βοίδιον war vor allem ein attischer Name (LGPN II registriert 12 Namensträgerinnen), kommt aber auch sonst im griechischen Bereich vor und ist nicht unbekannt in Rom (Moretti IGUR 160 II c, 28; in lateinischer Form *Boedion* CIL VI 27552).³³ Man könnte sich auch denken, daß Sperantius ein Signum der Budion wäre. Dagegen spricht aber, daß γλυκύς, χρηστέ Maskulina sind, während Βούδειν einen Frauennamen vertreten muß, denn -ιον beschränkt sich auf Frauennamen (der entsprechende Männername in der Nasalflexion trug das Suffix -ίων, und dieses Suffix wird nicht zu -iv verkürzt). Nun kann dieses Suffix anomal zuweilen auf Männernamen

³² ICUR 27493. *Systa* Epigraphica 31, 1969, 183 Nr. 1 (485 n.Chr.).

³³ Zum Namen vgl. Solin, ZPE 28, 1978, 76f. Ein paar griechische Belege: Delos IG XI 1272. Thessalien IG II² 8845.

übertragen sein, wenn davon auch nur geringe und sehr unsichere Spuren vorhanden sind.³⁴ Ich wage keine sichere Entscheidung, aber als Anthroponym sollte Βούδειν doch in erster Linie als Frauennamen beurteilt werden. Bisher wurde freilich hier das Appellativ βούδειν gesehen und die Figur als eine Art Scherz gedeutet. Wenn aber Βούδειν ein Name war, dann hatte er einen Bezug zur Figur des Rindes, in das er hineingeschrieben ist. Es war ja keine unbekannte Sitte, daß man Grabmonumente mit einem Tierbild schmückte, das auf das Cognomen des Verstorbenen direkt hinwies.³⁵ Merkwürdig bleibt allerdings, daß der Name der Verstorbenen in die Figur geschrieben wurde. Da es sich aber um eine sekundäre Bestattung handeln könnte, wird besser verständlich, wenn man eine solche eigentümliche Art der Verewigung der Verstorbenen wählte.

48. *Museros* in ICUR 21202 ist kein plausibler Name. Die Lesung scheint sicher zu sein (u. a. von Marini, de Rossi und Ferrua gesehen). Eine Verschreibung seitens des Steinmetzen für *Cruseros* (CR könnte in der kursiven Vorlage als M mißgedeutet sein)? Die Schreibung *Cruser-* ist in Rom belegt: CIL VI 10104. ICUR 8817. [Korrekturnote. Die Lesung des Namens ist sicher: ich konnte die Inschrift kürzlich in der Basilika der S. Agnese sehen.]

49. ICUR 21234 (gesehen von Bosio) beginnt PLVSIANII CONPARI. Dazu bemerkt Ferrua: "Nomen corruptum; fuit fortasse *Pelusianus*, ut dictum est etiam pro *Pelusiota*." Dies ist nun abwegig. *Plusiana -e* ist eine plausible Bildung neben *Plusia* (viermal in Rom) und *Plusias* (sechsmal in Rom).

50. Gleichermäßen abwegig ist es, wenn Ferrua in ICUR 21281 den Namen des Dedikanten zu *[Ma]nto* ergänzt. *Manto* ist Heroinnenname, nur

³⁴ Dazu Solin, ZPE 28, 1978, 77f.

³⁵ Dazu vgl. T. Ritti, Immagini onomastiche sui monumenti sepolcrali di età imperiale, MemLincei 21, 4, 1977, 257–397 (sehr unkritische Zusammenstellung, vgl. Arctos 16, 1982, 253f). Dort 289–298 zu Anspielungen auf Tiernamen. Auf S. 293f werden zwei Fälle besprochen, in denen die Cognomina von Rindernamen abgeleitet sind, wovon der zweite völlig unsicher bleibt (eine jüdische Inschrift, Frey CIJ 24* = JIWE II 40, wo Ritti den Namen des Verstorbenen ganz mißglückt *Bo[u?]too[rides?]* (sic!) liest; viel eher ist mit Noy *Bo[e]to* zu lesen), während in dem ersten, Moretti IGUR 950, der Bezug existiert, doch Ritti hat den Namen selbst mißverstanden und schlecht Βουδίωι ὦι καὶ Ταύρωι gelesen; zur Deutung vgl. Solin, ZPE 28, 1978, 76–78 (es ist eher Βουδίω(ν) τῶι καὶ Ταύρωι zu lesen).

okkasionell als Frauenname in Gebrauch (Bechtel HPN 295 aus IG XII 5, 873).³⁶ Der Sexus des Dedikanten bleibt ungewiß, man könnte aber für einen Männernamen plädieren. Warum nicht etwa *[Fro]nto*, auch in christlichen Urkunden belegt (Kajanto Latin Cognomina 236)?

51. ICUR 21759 *b* und 23028 wurden von Ferrua, RAL 1981, 109 Nr. 7 bzw. 113f Nr. 24 Abb. 3 f als heidnisch publiziert, ohne daß er in ICUR darauf Bezug genommen hätte. Es scheint nicht möglich, sicher zu entscheiden, ob die zwei Inschriften als heidnisch oder christlich einzustufen sind.

52. Von ICUR 21836 ist nur [---]DACIO erhalten. Ferrua ergänzt *[Hy]dacio*. Ein seltsamer Einfall. Ferrua hat wohl den Namen *Hydatius* im Sinn gehabt (so hieß u. a. der in epigraphischen Kreisen wohlbekannte Chronist), *Hydacius* verträte aber eine mittelalterliche Schreibung. Warum nicht *Audacius*, eine plausible Bildung (Kajanto, Latin Cognomina 268 mit einem christlichen Beleg)? – Ferrua merkt an, daß von dem ersten Buchstaben nur der Bogen erhalten ist, weswegen auch ein Name in griechischer Schrift möglich sei, wie Θάσιος.

53. In ICUR 22583 PACVBISV / SALONINVS / EVFRONI soll das letzte Element laut Marini und Ferrua eine Akklamation εὐφρόνει beinhalten; Diehl ILCV 3960 adn. plädiert dagegen für einen Personennamen, ohne weiteres zu Recht, denn im Griechischen existiert kein Verb *εὐφρονέω. Der Name *Euphro(n)*, in Rom zur Zeit neunmal belegt, wird regelrecht *Euphron-* flektiert (nicht also *Euphront-*).³⁷ Ferrua glaubt dieselbe Akklamation auch in ICUR 22833 (erhalten ist nur [---]PONI) erblicken zu können, aber auch dort liegt eher der Dativ eines Personennamens vor, entweder [Εὐ]φρονι oder [Σώ]φρονι (wenn nicht aus Εὐφρόνιος Σωφρόνιος).

54. ICUR 23874 (= 1567) wurde auch unter den stadtrömischen heidnischen Falsae publiziert: CIL VI 3566*. Die Inschrift, die sich in den Vatikanischen Museen befindet (dorthin aus dem bekannten Museum des Kardinals Stefano Borgia in Velletri gelangt), ist aber antik. Freilich bleibt christliche Zuweisung etwa unsicher, denn sie basiert allein auf Marinis Angabe, die Inschrift sei 'e coemeterio Thrasonis et Saturnini' nach Velletri

³⁶ Sonst Athen. Agora XVII 904. SEG XXIX 567 (Amphipolis). XXXIV 676 (Serrai), und auch sonst im thrakischen Gebiet, wobei der Name teilweise als thrakisch zu deuten ist.

³⁷ So CIL 28540. 34405. Moretti IGUR 1026. ICUR 9800.

geschleppt; aus diesem Komplex sind aber auch andere, sicher heidnische Inschriften bekannt.³⁸ Zur Deutung des Textes Solin, Ligoriana und Verwandtes, in: *E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften*, Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich 1994, 350.

55. ICUR 24013: Warum soll *Laurinia* gleich *Laurina* sein? Sind doch Namen auf *-ius -ia* ein charakteristischer Zug der altchristlichen Namengebung (auch zweifaches Suffix macht keine Schwierigkeiten). Wenn *Laurinia* ein Unicum ist, so kann dazu gesagt werden, daß auch *Laurinus -a* nicht sonderlich üblich ist. Unter den Ableitungen von *Laurus* finden sich verschiedene Bildungen (s. Arctos 32, 1998, 243), und eine von ihnen, *Laurinus*, hat ihrerseits in der späteren Kaiserzeit noch eine Weiterbildung *Laurinia* erfahren. Dies anzunehmen dürfte wohl keinerlei Schwierigkeiten bereiten.

56. ICUR 24044 (= Syll. inscr. chr. musei Vatic. 243) lautet MARCIANO EVMERO. Ferrua denkt an das Epitheton εὔμοιρος, während Kajanto in Syll. vol. 2, 59 den Namen Εὔμερος aus Pape – Benseler heranzieht. Ein solcher Name wäre aber eine undurchsichtige Bildung. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um den Namen *Eumoerus* (ohne jedoch Ferruas Vorschlag schlechthin von der Hand zu weisen), der auch sonst in Rom belegt ist: ICUR 12190. 26520 (Εὔμυρος; hier kann auch das Appell. vorliegen). RAC 51, 1975, 48 Nr. 29 (*Eumyrus*). Wenn denn nicht *Eu<e>mero* zu verstehen ist.

57. ICUR 24099: *Tartinus* könnte gleich *Tertinus* sein. In nachklassischer Zeit erscheint zuweilen *ar* für *er*, wenn auch normalerweise als vulgäre Assimilation an die vorhergehende Silbe erklärbar; doch findet sich *ar* durchaus auch in anderen Stellungen (s. ZPE 87, 1991, 246). Zu solchen Fällen könnte sich unser *Tartinus* gesellen. Sonst müßte man den Namen mit dem Herausgeber als Ableitung aus dem nicht sonderlich üblichen Gentilicium *Tartius* erklären.

58. ICUR 24177 ist kaum christlich, sondern ein römisches Epitaph etwa aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. Es befindet sich heute in Anagni, wo wir es genau überprüft haben: Solin–Tuomisto, *Le iscrizioni urbane ad Anagni* (Acta IRF 17), Roma 1996, 45 Nr. 35.

³⁸ Z. B. CIL VI 16635. 17551. 21213. 23534. 30128. ICUR 24177 (mit Sicherheit heidnisch). Zu diesen Inschriften vgl. Solin–Tuomisto, *Le iscrizioni urbane ad Anagni* (Acta IRF 17) 21f. und 24, 25, 35, 192, 223, 224.

59. ICUR 24235: Der merkwürdige Name (nur in einer alten Abschrift überliefert) CAPRASMA ist vielleicht als *Caprasina* erklärlich. Ein solcher Name ist freilich sonst nicht bekannt, stellt aber eine mögliche Bildung dar. Der Namensbildung mag ein an sich unbelegter Gentilname *Caprasius* zugrunde liegen, oder aber *Caprasina* ist irgendwie mit der Namensippe *Caper* zu verbinden (vgl. z. B. *Capratina* Kajanto Latin Cognomina 220).

60. ICUR 24505: In dem in der Form BENORICIANO überlieferten Namen des Verstorbenen vermutet der Herausgeber *Venericianus*. Da ein Name *Venericus* nicht bekannt ist (ich kenne nur die okkasionelle Bildung *Venericia* ICUR 12428), könnte erwogen werden, ob nicht eher *Beronicianus* vorliege. Dieser Name ist oft in Rom belegt (in der Neuauflage meines griechischen Namenbuches finden sich 15 Einträge).

61. In ICUR 24521 ist die Ergänzung [*Eust*]achius ein seltsamer Einfall (merkwürdigerweise fehlt der Name im Index).

62. ICUR 25112: zu Anfang der zweiten Zeile fällt des Herausgebers ergötzliche Ergänzung [*Ty*]cae auf. – Gleichmaßen ein seltsamer Einfall ist die Ergänzung [*puer*] Pann[*onicus*] in ICUR 25130.

63. In der Wiedergabe von ICUR 25244 ist dem Herausgeber ein tückischer Lapsus passiert, wenn er HERODOTENI schreibt. Der einzige Zeuge Boldetti hat aber HERODITENI, was natürlich entstelltes *Afroditeni* ist (die Verwechslung zwischen AF und HE seitens des Steinmetzen ist leicht verständlich). Ein Frauenname *Herodote* existiert überhaupt nicht in der römischen Anthroponymie (eine rasche Sichtung des Materials hat auch im griechischen Bereich keine Belege ans Licht gebracht – es wird aber welche geben), und auch der Männername *Herodotus* (der in Rom zunächst auf den Historiker bezogen wurde) ist nur durch den Ziegelstempel CIL XV 580 bekannt.

64. ICUR 25245 lautet GERON FELICISSIMVS. Bestürzt liest man im Kommentar: „*Felicissimus* est alterum cognomen, fortasse eius qui titulum ponit Hieroni.“ Was soll das? Was heißt „alterum cognomen“? Und *Geron* ist *Geron*, besser von *Hieron* fernzuhalten. *Geron* ist ein guter griechischer Name (Bechtel HPN 107 [-ωνος]; 478 [-οντος]),³⁹ und wenn er in der römischen Welt auch nur sporadisch belegt ist (CIL I² 2944. XII 743.

³⁹ Einige Belege: Athen 2mal in LGPN II; Gortyn 2mal in LGPN I; Epeiros 2mal in LGPN III 1.

XIII 8334), soll man nicht zu künstlichen Änderungen greifen, um ihn in der Überlieferung durch üblichere Bildungen zu ersetzen.

65. ICUR 25514 wurde schon von de Waal, Röm. Quartalschr. 11, 1897, 557 Nr. 8 veröffentlicht.

66. ICUR 25647 *a* wurde schon von de Rossi, Bull. arch. crist. 4. serie 4, 1886, 88 Nr. 128 publiziert, aber ganz anders: *[Oly]mpia / [On]esimus*.

67. Auch ICUR 25709 wurde zum ersten Mal von de Rossi publiziert, und zwar Bull. arch. crist. 5. serie 3, 1892, 113 Nr. 28; auch hier hat er ganz anders gelesen, nämlich *[---]o Cyriago*.

68. In ICUR 25739 würde man statt *[Phile]matio* eher *[Dal]matio*, *[Chro]matio* o. ä. ergänzen. Der an sich beliebte Frauename *Philematio* wird in der späteren Kaiserzeit seltener.

69. ICUR 26056 wurde schon in Nuovo Bull. arch. crist. 13, 1907, 228 publiziert. Der Text lautet $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\beta\iota\omicron[\zeta] \iota\delta\acute{\iota}\omega \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\iota} \text{ 'H}\sigma\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\omega$; der neue Herausgeber meint, am Anfang solle $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ emendiert werden, wobei er vergessen hat, daß dies ein Männername ist. Natürlich ist $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ gemeint. Es wird nicht angegeben, ob der obere Rand der Tafel unversehrt ist; wenn ja, dann war der Name der Frau auf eine andere Tafel geschrieben, oder aber er wurde im Inschrifttext überhaupt nicht mitgeteilt.

70. ICUR 26107: Unbegreiflich die Ergänzung des rechten Teils der ersten Zeile.

71. ICUR 26175 wurde schon von de Rossi, Bull. arch. crist. 5. serie 3, 1892, 112 Nr. 26 publiziert. Mazzoleni in ICUR druckt nach dem *Giornale degli scavi XPYCEP*, während de Rossi eine Lücke nach P angibt.

72. In ICUR 26187 ist wohl $[\text{Καλ}]λ\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ zu ergänzen, ein neuer Name für Rom, doch eine plausible Bildung neben *Callithea*.

73. In ICUR 26192 liegt zweifellos der Name Ἰσμῆνη vor, im Index verkannt (dort unter die Fragmente verbannt). *Ismene* ist freilich nicht sonderlich üblich (aus Rom kenne ich nur CIL VI 10358 [wo SIMENE überliefert ist, was vielleicht eher zu *Semne* führt] und 11795), doch war *Ismene* wohl eine einigermaßen bekannte Figur in Rom, auch wenn sie nicht oft in der römischen Literatur erwähnt wird.

74. ICUR 26204 *a* wurde schon von de Rossi, Bull. arch. crist. 5. serie 3, 1892, 73 Nr. 314 publiziert, aber anders: $\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\text{C}$. Die Identität der zwei Exemplare dürfte sicher sein, denn zusammen mit diesem Fragment publizierte de Rossi als Nr. 313 ein anderes (KYPIA...), das in ICUR 26089 als in demselben Ambulacrum C 6 befindlich angegeben wird.

CLXXXII. ZU INSCRIFTEN DES ORATORIUMS DER FELICITAS

Ein paar Worte zu den Wandinschriften, die im Oratorium der Felicitas bei den Trajansthermen in Rom vermutlich im Laufe des 4. Jh. n.Chr. auf den Wandverputz gekritzelt wurden (jedenfalls müssen sie älter sein als die bekannte Malerei der Felicitas mit ihren Söhnen aus der Mitte des 6. Jh.); zuletzt zum Baukomplex, zu den Malereien und Inschriften A. Cerrito, *Sull'oratorio di S. Felicita presso le Terme di Traiano a Roma*, in: *Domum tuam dilexi*, *Miscellanea in onore di A. Nestori* (Studi di ant. crist. 53), Città del Vaticano 1998, 155–184 (im einzelnen unkritisch).

Besonders wichtig ist das griechische Graffito (verschollen, nur aus alten Abschriften der ersten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts bekannt), dessen richtige Lesung ungefähr wie folgt lautet (zuletzt vgl. Cerrito 166f und sonst, die den Text freilich auf konfuse Weise wiedergibt;⁴⁰ zu der dort erwähnten Bibliographie noch hinzuzufügen Wessel, *Inscr. Gr. chr. Occ.* 405):

Ἄλεξάνδροιό ποτε δόμος ἔην, τὸ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἦν τὸ δίκαιον.

Ich gehe hier nicht auf alle exegetischen Einzelheiten näher ein (bemerke nur, daß der Vers metrisch hinkt). Zum Ausgangspunkt nehme ich die Frage, wie Ἄλεξάνδροιο δόμος zu verstehen sei, da die herkömmliche Deutung dieser Worte nicht das Richtige treffen kann. De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.* 4. serie 3, 1884–1885, 164 stellte die allgemein akzeptierte Hypothese auf, daß der im Gedicht genannte Hausbesitzer Alexander möglicherweise Mann der Märtyrerin Felicitas war, da einer ihrer sieben Söhne auch *Alexander* hieß, also seinen Namen vom Vater geerbt hätte; das von den berühmten Märtyrern bewohnte Haus, δόμος, wäre dann später zu ihrem Andenken zu einer Kapelle geweiht worden.⁴¹ Dies ist aber nicht möglich. Denn die Märtyrergruppe der Felicitas und ihrer sieben Söhne hat sich erst im 5. Jh., wenn sogar nicht etwas später, herausgebildet,⁴² während man für

⁴⁰ Wie auch den Text des Epigramms AP 7, 361 auf S. 174, 49.

⁴¹ Sonstige Bibliographie bei Cerrito 159. 174.

⁴² Dazu vgl. H. S., Die Inschrift des Berliner Christus-Maria-Diptychons, in: *Römische Inschriften – Neufunde, Neulesungen und Neuinterpretationen*. Festschrift für H. Lieb,

die Inschrift doch eine frühere Datierung annehmen möchte, etwa das 4. Jh., in welche Zeit auch das auf derselben Wand geschriebene Kalendarium (Inscr. It. XIII 2, 56) datiert wird und aus der ebenfalls die übrigen Graffiti stammen können. Selbst wenn die Inschrift aus einer Zeit stammen sollte, in der sich die Legende der Felicitas und ihrer Söhne schon durchgesetzt hatte, wäre es äußerst problematisch zu glauben, daß man zu dieser Zeit etwas über den Mann (der sonst nirgends erwähnt wird) der Felicitas gewußt hätte, die ihren Märtyrertod ja unter Antoninus Pius erlitten haben soll. Nun ist es aber nicht einmal klar, ob die Inschrift als christlich oder heidnisch einzu-stufen ist, und bei ihrer Deutung hängt viel davon ab, wie der Schlußteil des Gedichts zu verstehen ist. Dort könnte nämlich eine Reminiszenz an eine Stelle in der Anthologia Palatina vorliegen (AP 7, 361: $\upsilon\iota$ πατήρ τόδε σῆμα· τὸ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἦν τὸ δίκαιον "der Vater bestattete den Sohn, obwohl das Umgekehrte gerechter gewesen wäre");⁴³ dann setzt der Gedanke fort

Basel 1995, 363f. Dort habe ich für das 5. Jh. als die Zeit der Bildung der Gruppe plädiert. Aber das erste ganz explizite Zeugnis dafür, daß die sieben als Brüder angesehen wurden und nach welchem ihnen Felicitas als Mutter zugeordnet wird, stammt von Gregor dem Großen (in euang. 1, 3). Andererseits zeigt die Malerei mit ihren Inschriften in der Kapelle (z. B. Cerrito 163–166, 176–183; die Texte bei Diehl ILCV 1905), daß wenigstens bis Mitte des 6. Jh. die Legende sich schon herauskristallisiert hatte, denn sonst hätte der anonyme Fromme die Malerei (die Cerrito um einige Jahre vor Mitte des 6. Jh. setzt) nicht bestellen können. – Zusammenfassend zu Felicitas und ihren Söhnen F. Caraffa, BSS V, 1964, 605–608 (etwas unkritisch). – A. Ferrua, Civ. catt. 118, 1967, vol. II, 248–251 hat eine neue Inschrift für den Kult des Alexander gefunden (jetzt ICUR 24310), die er für damasisch hält. Ich muß gestehen, ich bin nicht überzeugt; hätte Ferrua, der allerdings ein ausgezeichnete Kenner der damasischen Epigrammen ist, recht, müßten wir die ganze Geschichte der Entstehung des Kultes der Felicitas und ihrer Söhne neu überdenken.

⁴³ Als erster hat diesen Vers herangezogen P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Hagiographica* (Studi e Testi 19), Città del Vaticano 1988, 102–104. Meines Erachtens handelt es sich so gut wie sicher um eine bewußte Reminiszenz, denn der Gedanke kehrt sonst nirgends im Griechischen wieder, weder in der Literatur noch in der grabinschriftlichen Poesie (dagegen war dies ein beliebter Topos in der lateinischen grabinschriftlichen Poesie, ist das aber nicht in der griechischen, obwohl er leicht in das Repertoire der Versschmiede sich hätte einschleichen können als Ausdruck des Todes eines Kindes vor den Eltern oder einem Elternteil). Man vergegenwärtige sich auch den schroffen Gegensatz der zwei Teile des Verses: die erste, selbständige Hälfte hinkt metrisch, während die zweite Teil, eben die Entlehnung metrisch in Ordnung ist. – Unser Graffito ist in keiner modernen Edition der Anthologia Graeca unter den Similia verzeichnet. – Zur Anthologia Graeca -

mit ἦν δὲ δικαιοσύνης ὁ φθόνος (d. h. der Götter) ὀξύτερος. Die Art der Adaption bleibt dunkel, denn was heißt "dies war einst Alexanders Haus, doch das Umgekehrte wäre gerecht gewesen"?⁴⁴ Oder hat der Verfasser des Graffitos den Vers so ungeschickt gehandhabt, daß ἔμπαινον hier eine andere Bedeutung bekommen hat, die wir durchzuschauen nicht imstande sind? So viel scheint festzustehen, daß "Alexanders Haus" sich eben auf den Raum bezieht, wo das Graffito geschrieben wurde; die Räume, ursprünglich als Dienstlokale konstruiert, wurden später für Wohnzwecke mit Verputz versehen,⁴⁵ und aus dieser Phase müssen die Graffiti stammen. Ein Besitzer irgendwann in der späteren Kaiserzeit (oder sogar der Bauherr der Wohnhausphase) hieß also Alexander. Was aber mit dem zweiten Teil des Verses gemeint war, verstehe ich nicht. Wessel scheint hier eine Anspielung an sakrale Zwecke zu sehen, indem er τὸ δίκαιον als "τὸ τῶν δικαίων (sc. εὐκτήριον sim.)" erklärt.⁴⁶ Diese Erklärung stößt aber auf sprachliche Schwierigkeiten; chronologisch wäre das wohl möglich, denn der Raum kann schon im 4. Jh. in christlichen Gebrauch übergegangen sein.⁴⁷ Mehr können wir nicht sagen, da nun einmal die Intentionen des Verfassers uns verborgen bleiben. Nach dem oben gesagten scheint es wahrscheinlich, daß der Raum irgendwann wohl im Laufe des 3. oder 4. Jh. von einem Alexander bewohnt wurde. Diese Deutung setzt voraus, daß wir ἦν lesen; man könnte aber auch die Variante ὅδε wählen, was bedeuten würde, daß Alexander der Hausbesitzer gerade im Augenblick des Einritzens des Verses

Stelle vgl. noch B. Lier, *Topica carminum sepulcralium latinorum*, *Philologus* 62 = NF 16, 1903, 457, der keine anderweitigen griechischen Belege für diesen Topos kennt, außer AP 7, 261 ἠιθέφ γὰρ σῆμα Βιάνορι χεῦατο μήτηρ· ἔπρεπε δ' ἐκ παιδὸς μήτερα τοῦδε τυχεῖν, der doch etwas fern bleibt (unser Graffito kennt Lier nicht).

⁴⁴ Was der Gegensatz zu Alexanders Haus war, können wir natürlich nicht erraten. Franchi de' Cavalieri zufolge müsse man verstehen "Alexander des Hauses oder vom Hause" (Alessandro avrebbe dovuto essere della casa). Das scheint nicht sehr einleuchtend. Ebenso gut könnte man sich denken, daß der Gegensatz wäre, daß das Haus nicht Alexanders wäre. Hätte der Verfasser also gemeint, daß Alexander ein ungerechter Besitzer des Hauses war?

⁴⁵ Vgl. G. Arciprete, *Felicitas, Oratorium*, *LTUR* 2, 1995, 246.

⁴⁶ Als eine zweite Alternative denkt er an τὸ δίκαιον = τὸ (τῶν) δικαίων, mit einer Begründung, die zurückzuweisen ist.

⁴⁷ Das scheint de Rossi 165 zu implizieren. Vgl. auch Arciprete 246.

war, und dabei könnte die oben in Anm. 44 angeführte Vermutung, der Verfasser habe mit dem Gegensatz 'dies sollte *nicht* Alexanders Haus sein' gemeint, an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnen; ein Kenner griechischer Poesie hätte scherzhaft ausgedrückt, daß Alexander eigentlich nicht der richtige Hausbesitzer war. Das alles ist nun recht hypothetisch. Jedenfalls bleibt die Person dieses Hausbesitzers völlig im Dunkeln. Denn *Alexander* war einer der beliebtesten Personennamen im kaiserzeitlichen Rom, so daß jeder Versuch, ihn mit einer sonst bekannten Person zu verbinden, zum Scheitern verurteilt ist. So sollte man endgültig die Idee aufgeben, hier liege ein Stück Familiengeschichte der Märtyrerin Felicitas vor.

Zu den anderen Graffiti habe ich nicht viel beizusteuern. Sie finden sich zuletzt bei Cerrito zusammengestellt. Ich bemerke nur, daß *Achillis, vivas* einen christlichen Beigeschmack hat. Zur Bildung sei notiert, daß wenn *Achillis* die regelrechte Schreibung vertritt, es sich dann um einen Frauennamen handelt, in Rom sonst nur aus CIL VI 13667 bekannt.

CLXXXIII. VERKANNTEN CHRISTLICHE INSCRIFTEN

Bei den Arbeiten an der Neuauflage des griechischen Namenbuches bin ich auf einige vor längerer Zeit publizierte stadtrömische christliche Inschriften gestoßen, die aus dem einen oder anderen Grund in den zehn Bänden der *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* zu fehlen scheinen. Bei der Suche nach eventuellen Identifizierungen habe ich von Antonio Felles Unterstützung profitiert.

De Rossi, Bull. arch. crist. 4. serie 3, 1884–1885, 65 aus Priscilla scheint in ICUR zu fehlen. Der Text lautet [---] *I]anuaris, Âur(elia) Eufrosinê mâtêr eius filiae / [---] Ianua?]ria[e] beñe mereñti*. Darunter ein Vogel. Warum der Text nicht in die ICUR aufgenommen wurde, bleibt das Geheimnis der Editoren; jedenfalls haftet ihm nichts an, was eine heidnische Zuweisung notwendig machte. Und neben der Provenienz spricht der Vogel eher für christlichen Kontext.

De Rossi, Bull. arch. crist. 4. serie 6, 1888–1889, 10 aus Priscilla fehlt in ICUR, obwohl die Inschrift sich bei Diehl ILCV 3403 findet und ihren Weg auch ins Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage I, Wiesbaden 1967, 247 Nr. 612 gefunden hat. Dies ist um so bedauerlicher, als der Text

einen interessanten Wortlaut hat: *spiritum Parhesiastae in pace; scripsit [---]nus*.

Die von A. de Waal, Röm. Quartalschrift 12, 1898, 348 Nr. 74 nach der Abschrift von F. Clementi, Kustos der Lipsanothek des Kardinal-Vikariats in Rom aus dem Jahr 1840 herausgegebene Inschrift scheint in ICUR zu fehlen. Die Inschrift dürfte aus Cyriaca stammen (vor Nr. 72 steht die Überschrift "vicino a S. Lorenzo"). De Waal gibt ihr folgenden Wortlaut: GEORGIO ONATIO..... Ich konnte sie in ICUR VII nicht finden, es ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, daß sie doch mit einer ganz verschiedenen Lesung irgendwo in ICUR verborgen ist. Es handelt sich um ein mit einem Griffel in den Verputz geritztes Graffito, was die richtige Lesung des Textes sehr schwierig macht; und da die Verfertiger der Scheden in den Acta Lipsanothecae bekanntlich auch grobe Fehler begangen haben, ist es möglich, daß dieselbe Inschrift in anderer Form aus einem anderen Zeugen in ICUR aufgenommen worden ist. Videant fortunatiores.

Zuletzt eine Inschrift, deren christliche Zuweisung unsicher bleibt und die ihren Weg weder ins CIL VI noch in die ICUR gefunden hat: *[---]a mater et Theod[--- pater(?)] / [---] filio Filoni carisi[mo ---]* aus der Bassilla-Katakombe (alias S. Ermete) von der via Flaminia, herausgegeben von A. M. Lupi, Dissertazioni, lettere ed altre operette I, Faenza 1785, 180. Es ist schwer zu entscheiden, ob der Text als heidnisch oder christlich einzustufen ist. Möglicherweise fehlt sie im CIL VI, weil von den Editoren als christlich angesehen, und in den ICUR wiederum, weil von Silvagni und seinen Nachfolgern als heidnisch angesehen. Zuletzt ist anzumerken, daß die Provenienzangaben nicht immer zuverlässig (mündliche Mitteilung von Carlo Carletti). Wäre der Text christlich, sollte er also entweder im ersten oder zehnten Band der ICUR stehen.

Universität Helsinki

DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF: *Geschichte der Philologie*. Mit einem Nachwort und Register von *Albert Henrichs*. 3. Auflage, Neudruck der 1. Auflage von 1921. B.G. Teubner, Stuttgart und Leipzig 1998. ISBN 3-519-07253-X. 128 S. DEM 48.

Eine Geschichte der Philologie, die selber schon "Geschichte" ist und "Geschichte" gemacht hat – so könnte man das vorliegende kleine Werk von Wilamowitz beschreiben. Ursprünglich als Eröffnung zu Alfred Gerckes und Eduard Nordens großer "Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaften" gedacht und auch erstmals veröffentlicht, hat sie bereits zu diesem Zeitpunkt, 1921 Aufsehen erregt wegen ihrer Klarheit, ihrem neuen Ansatz und ihrer Einheitlichkeit. Auch heute noch stellt sie, trotz oder vielleicht gerade wegen der üppigen Entwicklung der Altertumswissenschaften in alle Richtungen einen wichtigen Meilenstein dar.

Sehr gelungen, weil konsequent, fängt die Edition direkt mit Wilamowitz' Text an, ohne ihm Vorwort oder Einleitung voranzuschicken, das dem Leser gewissermaßen schon eine bestimmte Sichtweise aufoktroieren würde. Vielmehr wird er so direkt der klaren und ehrlichen Sprache Wilamowitz ausgesetzt, die sich mit Vergnügen liest und von der Weitsicht und Souveränität des Autors zeugt.

Erst im Anschluß findet sich ein umfassendes Nachwort von Albert Henrichs, der verdienstvoll das Werk in seinen historischen Kontext setzt und vielfältig mit z.B. Briefzitataten und zeitgenössischen Reaktionen belegt. So gibt er eine historische Wertung des Buches. Interessant ist auch seine Einschätzung der Bedeutung für die Gegenwart. Henrichs stellt eine gewisse Parallele zwischen der Situation der Altertumswissenschaft zum Zeitpunkt der Entstehung des Werkes und in ihrer aktuellen Neuorientierungsphase her – eine Idee, über die sich nachzudenken wohl lohnt.

Den krönenden Abschluß des Werkes bildet eine ausführliche, thematisch angeordnete Bibliographie, die in sich schon durch ihre großen Namen ein Bild der Altertumswissenschaften und ihrer Zeit gibt. Sie bietet aber genauso auch gute Anhaltspunkte für eine Orientierung vom heutigen Standpunkt aus. Den Band schließen ein ebenso ausführliches Namen- und Sachregister ab. Insgesamt sicher ein lohnenswertes Unterfangen.

Uta-Maria Liertz

SILVIA RICCARDI: *Die Erforschung der antiken Sklaverei in Italien vom Risorgimento bis Ettore Ciccotti*. Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 27. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1997. 315 S. DEM 98.

Bei dem vorliegenden Werk handelt es sich um eine von Heinz Bellen betreute Doktorarbeit an der Universität Mainz. In ihrem Heimatland studierte die Verf. bei Emilio Gabba.

Zwei politisch-ideologische Phänomene des 19. Jahrhunderts haben in erheblicher Weise auf das wissenschaftliche Studium der antiken Sklaverei eingewirkt, nämlich zunächst die abolitionistischen Bewegungen in den europäischen Großmächten und in den USA, und dann das Interesse marxistisch inspirierter Forscher.

Was den erstgenannten Hintergrund betrifft, hat sich die Wissenschaftsgeschichte bisher vor allem auf England, Frankreich, die Niederlande und Deutschland konzentriert. Im vorliegenden Werk zeigt die Verf., daß auch italienische Forscher unabhängige und interessante Arbeiten zur Frage vorgelegt haben. Die Forschungen der Verf. beziehen sich vor allem auf die Zeit um die Einigung Italiens (1861) bis zu Ettore Ciccotti (1863–1939), dessen Veröffentlichung seiner Arbeit *Il tramonto della schiavitù nel mondo antico* (1899, ND Bari 1977 mit ausführlichem Vorwort von M. Mazza) als den Höhepunkt der damaligen italienischen Auseinandersetzung mit der Frage bezeichnet wird.

Von den drei umfassenden Hauptabschnitten wird das letzte Ciccotti gewidmet (I. Zur Situation der klassischen Studien in Italien nach der Einigung; II. Die antike Sklaverei in den italienischen Forschungen des 19. Jahrhunderts). Dieser war ein Forscher, der von Anfang an im Geiste des historischen Materialismus arbeitete. Die Verf. hebt hervor, daß dies ein Grund sei, warum er zu Lebzeiten von den Fachkollegen nicht gebührend anerkannt wurde. Ciccotti war ein Vertreter jener neuen italienischen historischen Schule, die man die "ökonomisch-juristische" nennen könnte. Sie stand im Gegensatz zu der alten "germanischen" Schule, und wurde von jener als "dilettantisch" abgefertigt. Die ökonomisch-juristische Schule legte Wert auf gesellschaftliche Ereignisse, Wirtschaft und Politik. So erklärte Ciccotti z.B. den Niedergang des römischen Sklavenhaltersystems weder mit dem Einfluß des Stoizismus noch mit dem des Christentums, sondern mit der wirtschaftlich-sozialen Entwicklung.

Ciccotti stand mit seinem Standpunkt nicht allein, und im zweiten Hauptabschnitt wird die italienische Historiographie zur Sklavenfrage ausführlich behandelt. Dabei werden zwei wichtige Aspekte des Hintergrunds deutlich gemacht: Lokalgeschichte und Rechtswissenschaft. Gerade das Risorgimento bewirkte, daß italienische Historiker in allen Teilen des Landes sich mit Fragen auseinandersetzten, welche die verschiedenartigen ökonomischen und sozialen Struktur der jeweiligen Regionen betrafen, wobei man von der Geschichte Auskunft über z.B. Kontinuität und gemeinsame Kulturmerkmale (u.A. im Kreis des Rechtes) erhoffte. In diesem Kontext traten Probleme der Landwirtschaft und der Sklaverei selbstverständlich hervor.

Insgesamt stellt die Arbeit von Silvia Riccardi eine sehr schöne Leistung dar, worauf die Verf. stolz sein kann. Das Buch zeugt von soliden Kenntnissen der italienischen Geistes- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte und auch der relevanten internationalen Strömungen. Man empfiehlt es ohne Bedenken Kollegen mit historiographischen Interessen.

Christer Bruun

DOMINIC SCOTT: *Recollection and Experience. Plato's Theory of Learning and its Successors*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge 1995. ISBN 0-521-47455-8. 289 p. GBP 35.

In short, Plato's so-called theory of recollection says that learning is actually recollecting knowledge that the human soul has already in prenatal existence. The mind is

by no means a *tabula rasa*. The claim is, perhaps unfortunately, connected to the Platonic idea of souls as eternal, as entities that exist both before birth and after death. The philosophical issues the theory attempts to address have therefore not always been appreciated enough. Dominic Scott's book is a worthy attempt to view the theory of recollection from this point of view, and to place it in a historical framework. In what sense can the theory of recollection be seen as a predecessor of later theories of innate knowledge?

For Scott, Plato's theory is a version of innatism, but its significance is largely in the way it raises the question on the origins of knowledge, rather than in the answers it gives. In his view, the theory is exclusively about philosophical knowledge, and has little or nothing to say about ordinary, every-day concept formation. Its historical role in the debates on innate knowledge is that of a catalyst. To look for an ancient theory of learning that says something about mundane or pre-philosophical learning, or more precisely, about the origin of ordinary concepts, one must turn to Hellenistic philosophy.

Scott compares different versions of ancient innatism to seventeenth century dispositional innatism, claiming that the true ancestor of the dispositional innatism of the seventeenth century is not found in Plato, it is the Stoic theory. Between Plato and the Stoics and the Epicureans is Aristotle, a transmigratory figure, to whose thoughts the middle section of the book is dedicated. The book ranges boldly over these philosophers and as far as to the criticism of moral innatism by John Locke.

As Scott recognises, such a chronologically wide-scope approach requires certain selectiveness from the author, not only with respect to the philosophers chosen, but of topics as well. Scott focuses on three issues of learning and discovery: 1) the distinction between innatism and empiricism; 2) two levels of learning, philosophical or technical vs. pre-philosophical; and 3) optimism/pessimism with respect to ordinary cognitive achievements.

The two latter issues Scott sees as intimately connected, and they seem to be what actually drives the book. In an article in 1987, republished in the book, Scott argued that the widely accepted view that Plato's theory of recollection explains not only philosophical discovery but also ordinary learning, is wrong. Plato's interest is mostly in the former, and ordinary learning is given just a short, empiricist explanation. Moreover, the theory of recollection is accompanied by a conviction that what is learned by sense-perception is bound to be deficient *and* deceiving. The knowledge recollected is something altogether different. The gap between empirically gained information and true knowledge is wide.

According to Scott, Plato is not alone to draw this strict line between recollection and ordinary learning. Aristotle and the Stoics were more optimistic about the use of perceptual information in the process of learning, but even Aristotle's emphasis is on scientific principles rather than on ordinary concepts. Epicurus may have been, together with the Stoics, one of the first to show more interest in ordinary learning. He relied on perception as a way of gaining reliable information and developed, along with the Stoics, views on primary pre-verbal concepts, *prolēpseis*. These served as criteria of truth, accounting also for conceptual thought and the ability to understand language. But even Epicurus believed, nonetheless, that the aim of philosophy is to destroy false beliefs so often firmly connected to notions formed in this way, and to create new, philosophical ones in their place.

The first issue Scott focuses on is self-evidently of interest to any study on innatism. How should innatism be defined? What do we mean by saying that something is innate to the mind? And if an innate theory will accept some role to be played by sense-perception, how exactly will it differ from empiricism? Scott shows that even though Aristotle is an empiricist, he is a moderate one, for whom some innate dispositions like character traits and especially a desire to know fit into an otherwise empiricist theory of learning. Plato and the Stoics are innatists but of a significantly different version. For Plato, prenatal knowledge is latent in us, waiting to be revealed. The Stoics believed that rather than knowledge, humans have cognitive predispositions to form certain concepts rather than others. This, according to Scott, and the fact that the seventeenth century philosophers even used Stoic vocabulary of common notions and *prolēpseis*, makes their theory a descendant of Stoic dispositional innatism.

Scott is admirably capable of writing a philosophically interesting history of ancient views about learning and discovery, and he is sensitive to the different motivations and variations of theories. However, even though the book is explicitly *not* written to fulfill any "encyclopaedic ambitions", there are a few problems with Scott's choices. It is apparent for example that the jump from the Stoics to seventeenth-century philosophy is rather abrupt, and leaves something to be desired from a book which makes historical claims about the origin of seventeenth-century innatism. Yet regardless of this, I found the comparison illuminating.

What I find more genuinely problematic is that even though Scott is a careful and appreciative reader of Plato, the great philosopher may not have been given a fair ride for his money. Scott's view on what happens in Socrates' discussion with the slave boy in the *Meno* is far from uncontroversial, as is his reading of Plato in many places. For Scott, Plato has much to say about philosophical knowledge and ethics – about how, for instance, moral claims ought to be closely scrutinized – but next to nothing to tell about what he calls ordinary concept formation. This, I suspect, is partly due to the fact that starting from the theory of recollection, Scott has chosen to analyse the dialogues *Meno*, *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, and *Republic*. It would have been interesting to see what he has to say about the material, for example of the *Timaeus*. Could it have made one more inclined to see a dispositional innatist in Plato? Or at least a philosopher who is, after all, interested in learning and thought more generally?

In a sense, the weakness of the book is also its beauty: Scott has his own particular and well-argued view, and he displays it elegantly and openly.

Pauliina Remes

MONICA GALE: *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge UP, Cambridge 1994. ISBN 0-521-45135-3. 260 p. GBP 35 (H/b).

Lucretius' choice to write poetry instead of prose is chiefly to make Epicurus' rather rigid and epitomized doctrine of rationality more attractive to an educated Roman reader (especially Memmius, the poet's patron). The mythological element in *De rerum natura*, also, has this aim, and Gale discusses this view by extensively allegorizing the conception of myth in Lucretius' style. Myth, as rationalized and even demythologized,

becomes a philosophical example of not only entertaining but didactic value, thus leading the reader *per falsa ad vera*, and so is not in contradiction with Epicurus' rationalistic views that neither myth nor poetry were good methods of obtaining knowledge. Gale discusses this in ch. 4, too, where Epicurean epistemology and theology are compared with Lucretius' mythological imagery, and Lucretius' *lucida carmina* are paralleled with Epicurus' philosophy.

In ch. 5, these ideas are related to the myth of primitive man and *Kulturgeschichte* (as 'latent' myth). Further comes the ch. "The Deification of Epicurus", which is important, also, to understand Lucretius' deep relation with his master.

In chs. 1 and 2, we find out the basis, differences and criticisms of the conception of myth in Greek and Roman philosophical thought. In addition, Gale illuminates us on how Lucretius' target is to explain totally, not only rationalize (which seemed to have been Cicero's and Varro's aim) myths and allegories: there is nothing divine or supernatural behind them. If this is accepted, the way would be already shorter for acceptance of *vera ratio* and achievement of ἀταραξία. Especially in ch. 2, Gale writes and argues like a guest in Lucretius' near circle, and she becomes close to the 1st century BC Roman philosophical atmosphere.

In ch. 3, Gale argues that Lucretius' poem is not only a mythological/historical/encomiastic epic or simply didactic, but all this, or, as she says, 'the ultimate epic', or, in Murley's words, 'cosmic narration'. Lucretius is aware of his position as a poet after the line Homer–Empedocles–Ennius, who he proudly emulates.

In ch. 6, Gale handles the problematic Venus-proem along with the last book's description of the plague of Athens. Among other explanations, the proem seduces us to read the whole poem while the plague serves as an un-idealized exodus, bringing to mind the softness of birth and the hardness of death.

To conclude, Gale appropriately gives a new interpretation of the myth γιγαντομαχία: Epicurus the Giant, with help of Lucretius, conquers the old gods. Overall, Gale's argumentation of her subtle subject is solid and her examples are very illuminating. The text is well proofread, and the bibliography and indexes are very useful.

Sakari Pankkonen

CAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS: *Om Bildkonsten. Naturalis historia XXXIII–XXXVII*. Översättning av Bengt Ellenberger. Paul Åströms förlag, Jonsered 1997. ISBN 91–7081–130–X. 429 s. USD 47.90 (H/b).

XENOFON: *En persisk furstes uppfostran. Κύρου παιδεία*. Översättning med inledning och kommentarer av Lars Nyberg. Paul Åströms förlag, Jonsered 1998. ISBN 91–7081–055–9. 776 s. USD 35.90 (P/b).

Daß jetzt auch in Skandinavien zweisprachige Ausgaben von den als wichtig angesehenen Klassikern herausgegeben werden, soll herzlichst begrüßt werden. Nebst dem hier zu behandelnden Werk sind auf lateinisch *Epistulae ex Ponto*, *Epistulae Heroidum* und *Ibis*, *Nux* mit *Halieutica* von Ovid, *Ars poetica* von Horaz, *de reditu suo* von Rutilius Namatianus, *Elegiae* von Tibull, und eine Auswahl von Martialis publiziert worden. Zusätzlich sind noch *Pervigilium Veneris*, *Commentarii de bello civili* von Caesar und *Miles gloriosus* von Plautus in Vorbereitung.

Die Einleitung zu Plinius' *Naturalis historia*, Bücher 33–36 (eigentlich würde der Titel auf deutsch etwa *Über die bildende Kunst* lauten) wird sehr knapp gehalten: der Verfasser, das Werk, der Text, die Quellen, und der Stil werden berührt. Plinius' Text ist stellenweise schwierig, und der Übersetzer Ellenberger hat denjenigen aus der Collection Budé (1953–1985) vorgezogen. Trotz Ellenbergers Einwand ist auch das 34. Buch in der Sammlung Tusculum (König und Bayer, 1989) herausgegeben worden. Anmerkungen gibt es nahezu 500, was aber mehr als zweimal weniger ist als z.B. im Loeb Classical Library (Rackham und Eichholz, 1952–62). Doch wichtiger ist es hier, daß eine Übersetzung in flüssigem Stil dargeboten wird, was dem Übersetzer wohl gelungen ist: der ausserordentlich konzise Stil von Plinius muß ständig erweitert und in kleinere Sätze geteilt werden. Die Zwischenrubriken mit Inhaltsangaben sind in einem so bunten Werk wie *Naturalis historia* unentbehrlich. Auch die Indizes (Personennamen, Geographisches bzw. Sachliches) verbessern die Anwendbarkeit dieses Buches, allerdings doch mehr, wenn sie zuverlässiger gemacht worden wären: Es fehlen z.B. Homer (33.6), Glaukos (33.7), Lucius Brutus (33.9); Griechenland (33.9), Eleutherae (34.57, übersetzt mit Eleutheros!); agogae, aber uneinheitlich *balanitai*, *argyrit pro argyritis*, *bigati* in der Übersetzung 33.46, im Urtext aber 33.45 usw. Ein Teil von dem ans Ende des Werkes gestellten Literaturverzeichnis wirkt ein bißchen veraltet und enthält vorwiegend skandinavische Forscher. Aus irgendwelchen Gründen findet man hier weder Plinio, *Storia Naturale V. Mineralogia e storia dell'arte* (Conte und Ranucci, 1988) noch Isagers *Pliny on Art and Society. The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (1991). Wirkliche Fehler gibt es auch: auf den Einbänden und dem Titelblatt steht Caius (ein guter Name in Schweden!) *pro* Gaius.

Auch griechische Texte sind in derselben Reihe erschienen: Voriges Jahr waren vor der *Κύρου παιδεία* schon drei Bände (*Ἐγχειρίδιον* von Epiktetos, *Ἐρωτικά* der *Anthologia Palatina* V bzw. *Πολιτικά* von Aristoteles) veröffentlicht worden, und drei weitere (Euripides' *Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Αὐλίδι*, Aristoteles' *Ἠθικά Νικομάχεια* bzw. Xenophons *Περὶ ἰπικῆς*) als in Vorbereitung angemeldet.

Die Einleitung bespricht auf acht Seiten das Leben und die Werke von Xenophon, besonders aber die Quellen, den historischen Hintergrund, die Datierung, den Titel und die Nachwirkung der *Κύρου παιδεία* auf die spätere Literatur. Vor dem Text findet man noch ein kurzes, beinahe aktuelles (erstaunlich skandinavisches) Literaturverzeichnis, in dem aber u.a. Nickels Ausgabe und Übersetzung in der Sammlung Tusculum (1992) und der Artikel von Tatum "The Education of Cyrus" im *Greek Fiction. The Greek Novel in Context* (hrsg. von Morgan und Stoneman, 1994) vermißt werden. Den Text hat Nyberg ganz einfach aus der Collection Budé (Bizos und Delebecque, 1971–8) ohne den Apparat übernommen, was zu einem verwirrenden Leerraum auf der linken Seite führt. Die im ganzen 65 Anmerkungen erklären das Notwendigste, d.h. zweimal mehr als in Loeb Classical Library (Miller, 1914), aber nicht so reichlich wie bei Budé. Die freie Übersetzung (ab und zu ist Imperfekt mit Perfekt übertragen, vgl. 1.1.2 und 1.1.3; die kausalen Beziehungen in 1.2.10 sind nicht ganz in Ordnung) ist in reizendem Stil abgefaßt und Nyberg hat den in kleinere Einheiten mit kurzen Inhaltsangaben abgegliederten Text erfreulich überschaubar gemacht. Ein Verzeichnis der Eigennamen wäre wünschenswert gewesen.

Leider bemerkt man hier und da Spuren von Eile: Auf der Rückseite hat man *Kyrou paideia* mit *Anabasis* verwechselt, im Literaturverzeichnis stehen Due 1989 *pro* 1990, Miller 1960–1 *pro* 1914, Schmalzriet *pro* Schmalriedt und andere Schreibfehler.

Trotz dieser gelegentlichen Unzulänglichkeiten werden wir in der näheren Zukunft mit Begeisterung sehen, mit welchen Titeln diese vielversprechende Reihe fortsetzen werden.

Erkki Sironen

Thesaurus-Geschichten. Beiträge zu einer Historia Thesauri linguae Latinae von Theodor Bögel (1876–1973), hrsg. von *Dietfried Krömer* und *Manfred Flieger*, mit einem Anhang: Personenverzeichnis 1893–1995; B.G. Teubner Stuttgart und Leipzig 1996. ISBN 3–8154–7101–X. XII, 232 S., 4 Tafeln, 5 Abb. DEM 56.

”Wer von den Mitgliedern des gegenwärtigen oder zukünftigen Büros den Wunsch hat, einmal nachzusehen, was es für Menschen waren, an deren Fleiß sich der seine anschließt, wird vielleicht einmal diese Aufzeichnungen zur Hand nehmen und darin herumblättern (...)” So schließt Bögel 1958 das Vorwort zu seinen Erinnerungen an die Arbeit des und beim Thesaurus in seinen Anfängen. Der vorliegende Band stellt diese Erinnerungen nicht nur den direkten Thesaurusmitarbeitern zur Verfügung, sondern dem ganzen weiten Kreis seiner Benutzer und allen Interessierten. Und tatsächlich bieten Bögels Erinnerungen zum einen einen lebhaften Einblick in die Entstehungsgeschichte des Thesaurus in ihrem Idealismus und zugleich in ihrer Alltäglichkeit: Die kleinen Begebenheiten, die Bögel schildert, unterstreichen gerade, daß hier von vielen emsig für viele zukünftige Generationen gearbeitet wurde, aber auch der eigene Nutzen für Studenten, die in der ersten Phase als Hilfsarbeiter die wichtige Grundlage für alle weitere Arbeit, die berühmten Zettelkästen, legten, so wie für jüngere Kollegen, die als Assistenten sich noch einen befristeten Forschungszeitraum erlaubten. Zugleich stellen die Erinnerungen aber auch ein gewissermaßen vom Thesaurus als solchen unabhängiges Zeitdokument dar, welches das studentisch-wissenschaftliche Leben, die Auffassungen von Arbeit und Zeit, die menschlichen Beziehungen in den ersten Jahrzehnten dieses Jahrhunderts in Deutschland zeichnet.

Bögels Text gliedert sich nach einem Vorwort in drei Teile, die seinen Mitwirkungsphasen am Thesaurus entsprechen, nämlich als Student in Göttingen bei den sogenannten Vorarbeiten, dann als Assistent 1901–1903 in München und schließlich noch einmal 1909–12, von seiner Schule in Kreuzberg freigestellt, in München. Sein Text ist mit einem umfangreichen kritischen Apparat ausgestattet, in dem gelegentliche Gedächtnislücken – Bögel mußte 1945 sein gesamtes Material im Osten zurücklassen – gefüllt, für einen weiteren Leserkreis unbekannte Personen oder Begriffe erklärt, oder einfach auf den heutigen Gebrauch des zur Debatte stehenden Themas im Thesaurusbüro hingewiesen wird. In den Beilagen werden zudem Oskar Heys Konzept zu den Anfängen des Thesaurus abgedruckt, sowie das Schriftenverzeichnis des Theodor Bögel. Auf ein Nachwort der Herausgeber folgt schließlich das von Georg Eder bearbeitete Personenverzeichnis aller Mitglieder und Mitarbeiter am Thesaurus seit seinen Anfängen 1893 bis 1995. Ein abschließendes Namensregister erfasst sowohl die in Bögels Text als die im Personenverzeichnis Erwähnten.

Der Edition vorangestellt wird schließlich eine Einführung von Horst Fuhrmann, der das Werk Bögels in seinen Kontext stellt und auch eine kurze Biographie Bögels gibt, die den Leser in die Lage versetzt, die Erinnerungen abgerundet genießen zu können. Völlig

zurecht bemerkt Fuhrmann (IX): "Andeutungen können die Lektüre nicht ersetzen; man lese Bögel."

Uta-Maria Liertz

DAVID S. POTTER: *Literary Texts and the Roman Historian*. Routledge, London – New York 1999. ISBN 0-415-08896-8. 218 p. GBP 12.99 (P/b).

David Potter warns his readers (p. 60) that only a tiny fraction (perhaps about two and a half percent) of texts written in the classical Greek and Roman world has survived into the modern age. For his purposes, that is just as well. The idea of writing a synoptic account of the significance of literary texts for the Roman historian if everything had been preserved is utterly daunting. Even as it is, Potter has taken on a challenging subject, but it is a challenge to which he issues an effective response.

This book belongs to the series 'Approaching the Ancient World', which is devoted to providing an introduction to methodological problems encountered in studying ancient history. As its title implies, this volume considers how to use literary sources to write Roman history, but it exploits the potential ambiguity of 'Roman Historian' by examining the writing of history by Roman historians both ancient and modern. Potter tackles many issues of fundamental importance for writers of the history of the Roman world. To select just a few, he assesses the significance of *Quellenforschung* tradition: he suggests how ancient texts were published and distributed; and he considers how a historian in Rome could have proceeded to research and write his history. He constantly emphasises the fundamental differences between Roman and modern historical approaches, not least the Roman assumption that good history could only be written by men of good character, and the privileged position of evidence derived from a personal informant above that from documents. Equally significant is the lack of professionalism among Roman writers of history, in the sense that they could not be described as professional historical scholars – the title 'historian' only describes one facet of their lives.

Much of the book's contents come as a surprise. It does not analyse the canonical Roman in any detail. Modern historiographical debates occupy an important part in Potter's vision of the significance of Roman historical discourse. For example, he discusses in some detail the significance of Marxism and the Annales school, and the impact of the thinking of Leopold von Ranke and Hayden White upon historiographical practice in the United States. Such diversity of subject matter is subordinated to the main theme, however. Thus, he explores Marxism and the Annales school within a framework that discusses the importance of selecting appropriate paradigms in attempting to understand the Roman world. By juxtaposing Roman and modern historiographical traditions, he illustrates how 'the study of historical representation, in whatever form it takes, is integral to the study of the values of the society in which it was, or is, produced' (p. 151), a theme which is designed to draw non-classicists towards the Roman world.

Potter states that his intended readership includes historians from other disciplines alongside Roman historians. The book is also designed to appeal particularly to the American market, with its focus on modern historical practice in the United States (especially pp. 121–130). Discussion of the problems of writing history from fragments leads to a cogent analysis of Jacoby's principles of arranging his material in *Die Fragmente der griechischen*

Historiker. However, historians from other disciplines are in for a shock, if, inspired by Potter's exposition, they seek out a copy of the multi-volumed work: surely Potter should have warned not only of the structural problems, but also of the linguistic challenges of working from Jacoby!

Unfortunately, the reader has to grapple with a significant number of typographical errors. Some of these obscure the author's meaning and could confuse the reader coming to the subject for the first time. For example, on p. 71 'AD' is either a mistake for 'BC', or is misleading for the uninitiated who do not know that Livy's history never did reach the first century AD. Sometimes inaccuracies have crept into the text: Potter's translated version of Tacitus *Ann.* 1.1 *quorum causas procul habeo* as 'I have distance from their affairs' (p. 16) is idiosyncratic to say the least. See the review by A.J. Woodman online at [HTTP://WWW.DUR.AC.UK/CLASSICS/HISTOS/1998/WOODMAN.HTML](http://www.dur.ac.uk/classics/histos/1998/woodman.html) for a more detailed discussion of the lack of polish displayed in this book. Four illustrations depict a reading stand, the library at Ephesus, and two papyri. The caption to fig. 4, pointing out the 'diple oblismene' is not going to help many non-specialists. Two short bibliographies, 'Issues in modern historiography' and 'Ancient history and historiography' helpfully present a selection of works drawn from the much fuller references contained in the notes.

Nevertheless, it is a stimulating read, although one that is more suitable for historians with a fair degree of familiarity with Roman historiography rather than for absolute beginners. Nevertheless, every effort is made to help the non-specialist, not least the appendix listing key facts about classical authors mentioned in the text. Potter takes an optimistic view of how much history can be extracted from literary texts. He could have included more of a sense of the shortcomings of the perspective on offer, adding however brief an acknowledgement of the sorts of questions which literary texts do not answer in the same way as other sources, especially archaeology. He does take some pains, however, to broaden the traditional picture by stressing the existence of alternative historical traditions such as the Martyr Acts and prophetic texts alongside the more commonly discussed histories written by the urban-based male elite. To some extent, this seems like special pleading in the face of the 'discourse of the dominant', but it is a useful reminder of the less well-known material that does exist. Despite the fact that we possess so little of what was originally written, Potter demonstrates the richness and vitality of Roman historiography.

Alison E. Cooley

SARAH ILES JOHNSTON: *Restless Dead. Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*, University of California Press, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1999. ISBN 0-520-21707-1. xxi, 329 p. USD 40.00.

The beliefs in ghosts and the interaction between the living and the dead receive here their first comprehensive study. Sarah Iles Johnston combines well-known ancient literary sources and recently published texts (e.g. the Derveni Papyrus) with methods of cultural anthropology fruitfully. The main argument is easy to follow thanks to the summaries in between the chapters and sub-chapters unfortunately not indicated in the list of contents.

Johnston starts her fascinating study with a short history of the evolution of the beliefs in the dead. In Homeric poems the dead were a collective in a state of eternal boredom, only mythic figures had special afterlives. In Late Archaic and Classical periods the dead needed more than proper funeral rites, when the dying and the Underworld became more complicated with *post mortem* rewards or punishments. In the literature there is clearly a new idea of the active dead who could disturb the living either by their own volition or because they were compelled by the living. Johnston shows that interaction with the dead and the experts specializing in it, *goetes*, were not anathema to mainstream Greek culture and religion. Proper rituals for the dead were also a civic concern, as ghosts could endanger the community.

The restless dead had three main categories: the unburied (*ataphoi*), the untimely or prematurely dead (*aoroi*), and those who had died violently (*biaiothanatoi*). Special attention is given to ghosts like Gello and other ghosts of the prematurely dead chasing young maidens. Johnston interestingly links the way a society marginalizes that which is undesirable by associating it with the demonic world with its normative function and its meaning to the integrity of the emerging *polis*.

The last part of the book deals with divinities and death. The restless dead led to the emergence of new sort of goddess and new rituals. Johnston gives an exciting interpretation of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, where the Goddess Athena is seen acting like a *goes*. Sarah Iles Johnston has written an enjoyable book with thorough scholarship, gives excellent footnotes and a bibliography. Evidently ghosts are essential to Ancient Greek culture!

Julia Burman

MARY BEARD – JOHN NORTH – SIMON PRICE: *Religions of Rome*. Vol. I: *A History*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge 1998. 454 p. ISBN 0–521–31682–0. GBP 15.95 (P/b). – Vol. II: *A Sourcebook*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge 1998. 416 p. ISBN 0–521–45646–0. GBP 15.95 (P/b).

Religions of Rome I–II is a product of the collaboration between three outstanding scholars of ancient religions, Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price. The writers promise to offer a radical new survey on the religions of Rome, written in a dialogue with ancient writers. Since this dialogue is crucial to their work, the documents discussed in the *History* are provided in English in Volume II, the *Source Book*.

Religions of Rome is an up-dated synthesis of more than a thousand years of Roman religious life, particularly in the city of Rome. Because religion was central in Roman life and in the fabric of power, politics and warfare, as the writers rightly stress throughout their work, it is studied in its full cultural context. In their massive synthesis Beard, North and Price summarize the recent scholarship on the religions of Rome. *Religions of Rome* of course cannot treat every subject very thoroughly but it is an important mine of information, and the *Source Book* is a fantastic thesaurus of ancient religions. There are vast bibliographies in both books even though they are dominated by Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

Beard, North and Price do not provide any definition of 'religion' in their work because modern categories for thinking about religion are coloured by Christian ideas and therefore would not be applicable for understanding the religion in ancient Rome. Previous historians of Roman religion have often been looking for elements that they have postulated as essential to all religions and the Roman religion seems to lack, e.g. personal contact with the divine. Instead, the writers have accepted that the religious experiences in Rome were different from modern ones and so they have come up with some kind of compromise between their own preconceptions, readings of cross-cultural theory and the Romans' own representations of religious life.

The first chapter, *Early Rome* surveys how the Romans explained their own religion to themselves and interpreted the origins of their rituals and festivals. Their myths and stories are not adequate in modern standards of historical 'accuracy' but they offered the Romans a way of understanding, justifying and re-interpreting their own religious system. The writers criticize views that have labelled the changes in Roman religion as a deterioration. According to these views Roman religion was polluted by foreign influences from outside and the urban population of Rome was alienated from a true and pure religious tradition. However, as the writers demonstrate, recent scholarship, particularly in archaeology, has shown the untenability of the idea of a genuine and uncontaminated Roman religion. Instead, Roman religion was a multicultural amalgam of different traditions. This is why the writers have not even tried to reconstruct a real Roman religion which is a wise solution since there is no such thing as Real Pure Native Genuine Original in human history.

One of the most important issues discussed in *Religions of Rome* is the relationship between religion and the changing politics of Rome during the Republic and particularly the question of religious neglect during the late Republic. For modern historians the Republican religion in Rome has often been in decline and manipulated for 'purely political' ends. The writers want to problematize this classic case of neglect since neglect is always a matter of interpretation. The narrative of the Republican religion in decline originates from ancient writers themselves and from the Augustan propaganda. The imperial propaganda that represented Augustus' restructuring of the Republican religious system as restoration and revival of old traditions and rituals has deceived even modern scholars. *Religions of Rome* offers plenty of material (e.g. archaeological evidence) to show that the religious environment of the late Republic was not in a state of complete neglect. Furthermore, the writers criticize the modern idea of separating religion and politics because in Roman public life religion and politics were closely tied together. Thus, rivalry for power and control in Rome was always associated with rivalry for religious expertise and privileged access to the gods.

In chapter five Beard, North and Price discuss the construction and transgression of religious boundaries. As they remark, Roman paganism was not completely tolerant (toleration being a modern concept) but it rather defined the limits of the acceptable. As a matter of fact, *Religions of Rome* as a whole is a narrative of how the Roman élite defined proper and improper religious activity, *religio* and *superstitio*, and how these definitions changed over centuries. Christian cults transgressed the Roman definition of *religio* because Christians did not perform sacrifice to the gods and thus did not participate in the Roman sacrificial system: it was sacrifice, not any particular god or emperor, that was at stake.

The main emphasis of *Religions of Rome* is on traditional Roman religion but other religions in the Roman Empire are also surveyed. It is refreshing that various religions (cults of Magna Mater, Isis, Mithras, Judaism, Christianity etc.) are approached, not cult by cult or in chronological order, but thematically, it is for example discussed how visible they were in Roman urban life, how they were treated in literature, how they appealed to people and what they offered to their adherents. It is also praiseworthy that Christian cults are not paid any particular attention to, but are treated here as one among other religions.

The last chapter in the *Religions of Rome* discusses the most important aspects of the Constantinian revolution and the triumph of Christianity quite briefly. The eternal questions concerning Constantine's conversion to Christianity and his relationship with the Christian church are left open. Constantine's conversion changed the religious situation in Rome: the concepts of *religio* and *superstitio*, the acceptable and the unacceptable, were redefined, though – the writers claim – Constantine and his successors may have deliberately kept the term *superstitio* ambiguous in the legislation. Nevertheless, from now on 'being Roman' was understood as 'being Christian'. The Constantinian revolution affected the Christian religion and Christian self-consciousness as well. In the fourth and fifth centuries Christians had to define what was to count as Christian, that is: for example were the traditional rituals and festivals of Rome pagan or could a Christian attend them and were Roman literature and Greek philosophy to be regarded as pagan or could a Christian enjoy them? The writers have decided to use the term 'pagan' in spite of its derogatory connotations. I regard this as a good solution since there is no neutral term; every word will always be loaded with various connotations. They also point out that it is possible to speak of 'paganism' as a system rather than as an amalgam of different cults virtually only from the fourth century on, in opposition to Christianity and under the influence of Christianity. In the last pages of *Religions of Rome*, Beard, North and Price assert that the traditional cults of Rome were far from being mere fossilized survivals in the fourth century and continued into the fifth century. As the Lupercalia case at the end of the fifth century shows, 'pagan' festivals continued to be celebrated and the boundary between paganism and Christianity was not very clear for the inhabitants of Christianized Rome.

Maijastina Kahlos

LILIANA MERCANDO – GIANFRANCO PACI: *Stele romane in Piemonte*, con una Appendice di *Giovanni Colonna*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Monumenti Antichi. Serie Miscelanea, vol. V (LVII della Serie generale). Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1998. ISSN 0391-8084. 344 p., CL tavole. ITL 600.000.

In questo volume monumentale vengono raccolte tutte le 229 stele di età romana ritrovate nell'odierno Piemonte (che comprende parte di due regioni augustee, la *Liguria* e la *Transpadana*). Tale suddivisione geografica è dovuta al fatto che l'opera di tutela della Soprintendenza Archeologica si svolge nell'area che corrisponde al territorio della regione attuale (cfr. p. 18, fig. 1). Come già rilevato da altri, l'arte monumentale – e quella scultorea in generale – risulta relativamente povera in Piemonte, se si escudono i rilievi sulle stele e sulle are funerarie, cioè, appunto, il materiale del presente catalogo.

L'esame delle stele pedemontane apre un ampio spettro di vedute sull'arte funeraria locale: la traduzione dei modelli esistenti in linguaggio popolare nonché l'adattamento dei canoni alle esigenze locali, i rapporti con la tradizione culturale celto-ligure (del resto poco noti in Piemonte), la tematica (attività del defunto, mestieri e professioni, animali e caccia, miti, leggende, banchetti, ecc.), lo sviluppo della ritrattistica, la nascita e la diffusione delle tipologie, la distribuzione degli insediamenti e gli addensamenti delle testimonianze nelle aree urbane o comunque nelle immediate vicinanze, la rete di viabilità connessa alla distribuzione agraria, il rilevamento di alcune aree importanti (il Verellese, il Novarese, il Cuneese). La maggior parte dei ritrovamenti si addensa nel I sec. d.C. con molti casi databili al II sec. d.C., mentre più rare risultano stele più tarde. Sembrerebbero mancare i documenti riferibili con certezza ad età repubblicana.

Le stele pedemontane non presentano, dal punto di vista del contenuto, grosse differenze fra di loro; sono pressappoco omogenee nelle due regioni succitate. La struttura dei testi è in genere semplice e laconica; pochi sono i casi che presentano un diverso tenore (tentativi metrici: nn. 158, 140, 172; per alcune espressioni notevoli, cfr. Paci p. 36). L'impressione è che la maggior parte delle persone menzionate sulle stele sia di livello sociale ed economico relativamente modesto. Da notare la presenza di piccoli artigiani, sèviri e militari, per lo più emersi dagli strati bassi o medio-bassi della popolazione. Pare, infatti, ovvio che gli esponenti delle classi più elevate preferissero monumenti più prestigiosi e più grandiosi, che, per diversi motivi, sono raramente arrivati fino a noi (cfr. il n. 160 da Susa ed il n. 161 da Savigliano). Può darsi inoltre che ci sia ancora un'altra categoria isolabile tra le persone di nascita libera: quella dei piccoli proprietari terrieri (cfr. p. 32 sg.). Come fa osservare il Paci (p. 33), si pone il quesito della loro possibile connessione con la colonizzazione del territorio soprattutto nel Piemonte meridionale. In connessione con questa tematica va rilevata anche quella dell'onomastica, di particolare interesse non solo per il Piemonte, ma per tutta l'Italia settentrionale: con l'assimilazione della civiltà romana da parte delle popolazioni indigene si possono documentare tutta una serie di trasformazioni delle usanze onomastiche con formule "anomale" e nomi locali combinati con quelli romani.

Il Catalogo è preceduto da due capitoli (di L. Mercado) dedicati alla Tipologia funeraria (1) ed alle Riproduzioni grafiche dal sec. XVI a fine Ottocento (2). Seguono i nove capitoli del Catalogo, divisi secondo la tematica (le schede sono, per la parte archeologica, di L. Mercado e, per quella epigrafica, di G. Paci). Tale divisione è ben accetta, dato che non si tratta di una edizione propriamente epigrafica. Le schede epigrafiche sono, inoltre, facilmente consultabili grazie agli indici ben forniti. Il volume si conclude con due appendici, la seconda (di L. Mercado) sulla "sistemazione" odierna delle epigrafi, la prima (di G. Colonna) sull'iscrizione della stele di Mombasiglio recante un singolare testo etrusco (come pare), il quale ha suscitato, fin dalla prima pubblicazione nel 1933, molta perplessità tra gli studiosi nonché dubbi sulla sua autenticità. Ecco la lettura interpretativa del Colonna (p. 301): *ħusi[:]<e>ve/te[s:] zalle*. Sulla base di questo documento si può ipotizzare che un gruppo di etruschi della Val d'Arno, dopo aver percorso l'itinerario marittimo via Genova fino allo scalo di Savona, si sia insediato presso Mombasiglio (non prima della fine del IV sec. a.C.).

I commenti degli autori sono di solito nitidi e ragionevoli, anche se alcune cose potrebbero essere state interpretate diversamente. Le omissioni bibliografiche risultano

poche (si noti, a proposito, che il n. 60 [= CIL V 7719 = Inscr. It. IX,1 85; da Beinette, CN; r. 1: *fil(ia)*, non *fil(iae)*] fu ricordato anche da M.G. Arrigoni Bertini nel suo libro *Parmenses* [1986], p. 56 n. 24, perché il nome del defunto si legge *P. Baebio L.f. Cam. Parmae*). Gli indici analitici (sempre di Paci, in collaborazione con G. Benigni e L.M. Michetti) sono chiari e facili da consultare. Il volume è corredato da 150 tavole con fotografie di ottima qualità. Tutto sommato, un eccellente lavoro che si raccomanda a tutti coloro che si occupano sia dell'epigrafia latina che della storia dell'arte antica. Purtroppo, però, il prezzo del volume è talmente alto da renderlo difficilmente acquistabile da studiosi privati.

Mika Kajava

LAWRENCE KEPPIE: *Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Hunterian Museum University of Glasgow*. Britannia Monograph Series No. 13. Published by The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London 1998. ISBN 0-907764-22-3. 156 p., 100 drawings with XXIV pls. GBP 36 (P/b).

Nelle sale dell'Hunterian Museum presso l'Università di Glasgow è conservata una vasta raccolta di antichità romane, provenienti nella maggior parte dei casi da ritrovamenti effettuati lungo il vallo di Antonino e nel sud-ovest della Scozia. Il presente lavoro è un catalogo delle "Roman inscribed and sculptured stones" facenti parte di questa raccolta. Non si tratta, tuttavia, del primo catalogo in assoluto. Già nel 1768, infatti, fu pubblicato un volume, contenente calcografie che riproducevano tutte le iscrizioni e le sculture, comunemente noto come *Monumenta Romani Imperii*. In seguito all'aumento degli esemplari della collezione ne fu approntata una seconda edizione nel 1792. Nel 1897, inoltre, fu curata da James Macdonald l'edizione dei Tituli Hunteriani; si tratta di un catalogo, più vicino ai canoni moderni, che consiste di un testo scritto supportato da tavole fotografiche. Sebbene, però, nel corso di questo secolo le iscrizioni dell'Hunterian Museum siano state inserite nel I volume delle RIB (R.G. Collingwood – R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol. I, Oxford 1965; revised edition with addenda, by R.S.O. Tomlin, Oxford 1995) e le sculture nel CSIR (*Corpus of Sculpture of the Roman World [Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani]* vol. I, Great Britain, fasc. 4, Scotland, L.J.F. Keppie – B.J. Arnold, London 1984), tuttavia dal 1897 ad oggi non vi è stato uno studio che abbia preso in esame nel suo insieme la collezione nel frattempo ampliata. Il diretto coinvolgimento dell'A. con le iscrizioni e le sculture romane dell'Hunterian Museum risale al 1969, quando, in qualità di "temporary Researcher Assistant" presso il museo, fu incaricato di occuparsi di un'iscrizione appena ritrovata nei pressi di Hutcheson Hill, a nord di Glasgow; il suo interesse per questi monumenti è poi continuato nel corso degli anni, portando alla produzione di numerosi contributi. Questo volume, dunque, nasce dal desiderio dell'A. di porre l'attenzione sui contenuti di questa interessante collezione, sulla sua genesi e sviluppo.

Il primo capitolo del libro (pp. 3–46) è interamente incentrato sulla descrizione della storia della collezione. Grazie al sapiente utilizzo di un numero cospicuo di fonti d'archivio, molte delle quali inedite, l'A. riesce a ricostruirne minuziosamente le fasi fin dalla sua nascita risalente all'ultimo decennio del XVII sec. I verbali della Faculty of Arts dell'Università di Glasgow ed altri documenti conservati negli archivi della stessa università, ad esempio, hanno permesso di ricavare non solo le occasioni della donazione di molti dei

monumenti ed i nomi di molti dei donatori, ma anche svariate notizie sui costi e modalità del loro trasporto e conservazione; l'intero epistolario di Robert Wodrow, bibliotecario dell'Università di Glasgow dal 1697 al 1703, ed in special modo la sua corrispondenza con Robert Sibbald, autore di alcuni trattati di antichità romane, e con Edward Lhwyd, hanno reso possibile seguire fin nei dettagli le vicende legate ai monumenti ritrovati nel corso di quegli anni. Inoltre numerose lettere di Alexander Gordon, autore del volume *Itinerarium Septentrionale* del 1726, e di John Horsley, autore nel 1732 di *Britannia Romana*, sono testimoni dei ritrovamenti dei primi decenni del XVIII sec., così come i verbali del Forth & Clyde Canal Committee lo sono di alcuni di quelli effettuati nella seconda metà dello stesso secolo. Ancora gli archivi dell'Università di Glasgow riportano le date di pubblicazione delle due edizioni dei *Monumenta Romani Imperii*, finora non conosciute con esattezza; e questi sono solo alcuni esempi. Con un lavoro approfondito, dunque, l'A. non solo descrive passo per passo l'evoluzione di questa collezione, ma fornisce anche un esauriente spaccato di storia degli studi delle antichità romane in Scozia negli ultimi tre secoli.

Nel secondo capitolo (pp. 47–70) l'A., dopo aver brevemente riassunto il contesto storico in cui si devono inserire i monumenti, si sofferma ad analizzare più diffusamente i contenuti della collezione. I monumenti, a seconda della tipologia, vengono suddivisi in otto differenti categorie; l'A. descrive le caratteristiche distintive di ognuna di queste categorie e ne discute le tematiche inerenti in maniera ampia ed esauriente. Nella seconda parte di questo capitolo viene svolta l'analisi dello stile e dell'iconografia dei rilievi e delle sculture. Fra i numerosi esempi riportati, mi sembra interessante quello di due lastre funerarie prive di iscrizione, provenienti da Shirva, località del Dunbartonshire, e venute alla luce nel 1731 (pp. 116–118, nrr. 52–53). Entrambe facevano probabilmente parte di un unico monumento. Si è dibattuto a lungo sull'identificazione del sesso dei personaggi raffigurati; l'ipotesi più probabile è che si tratti dello stesso individuo: una donna forse moglie di un alto ufficiale. La prima lastra mostra la donna adagiata su un giaciglio, con un cane ai suoi piedi; si tratta della rappresentazione di una scena del banchetto funebre, che si teneva in onore del defunto. Quest'iconografia era comune nell'arte romana e popolare soprattutto fra i soldati e nelle regioni di frontiera. La seconda lastra, invece, presenta un'iconografia meno diffusa e mostra la defunta distesa su un *carpentum*, utilizzato a Roma da donne di rango elevato.

Il terzo ed ultimo capitolo (pp. 71–130) è dedicato al catalogo vero e proprio. L'intera collezione delle "Roman stones" al momento conta ottanta esemplari, quarantasei dei quali recano un testo iscritto. I monumenti sono ordinati secondo le categorie descritte nel secondo capitolo ed all'interno di ogni categoria sono elencati secondo un criterio geografico, procedendo da nord verso sud. Poiché nella maggior parte dei casi i monumenti risalgono al periodo antonino dell'occupazione romana della Scozia, 142–165 d.C., la datazione viene indicata solo quando sia possibile definirla con maggiore esattezza o quando non sia compresa in questo arco di tempo. L'analisi dei singoli esemplari si compone di più voci. In virtù delle minuziose indagini delle fonti d'archivio svolte dall'A., particolare attenzione si presta alla documentazione contemporanea al ritrovamento dei monumenti, della quale vengono riportati ampi stralci. Inoltre in quasi tutti i casi – solo su sei v'è incertezza – vengono riportate dettagliatamente data e modalità del loro ingresso nella collezione. Il commento ai monumenti è chiaro ed esauriente e per ognuno vengono fornite una riproduzione grafica ed una bibliografia particolareggiata. Questa collezione comprende,

come già accennato, quarantasei epigrafi; si tratta di iscrizioni già edite – la maggior parte è contenuta nel primo volume delle RIB; per la lettura dei testi l'A. generalmente non si discosta dalle versioni comunemente accettate; ogni testo è accompagnato da una traduzione. Molte sono le iscrizioni che andrebbero menzionate; fra queste v'è sicuramente un gruppo di are ritrovate ad Auchendavy nel maggio del 1771, quattro delle quali (pp. 102–105, nrr. 33–36), e quasi sicuramente anche la quinta (p. 105, nr. 37), furono dedicate dal centurione M. Cocceio Firmo. Vi troviamo venerate insieme alle divinità classiche del Pantheon, come Diana ed Apollo, arrivate in Scozia dal mondo mediterraneo e sacre alle truppe, anche figure come Mars Camulus, unione di un dio classico ed uno celtico, ed Epona divinità di origine locale. Il catalogo è arricchito, inoltre, da ventiquattro tavole con le fotografie dei monumenti. Si tratta di fotografie di ottima qualità, che sono di aiuto al lettore. Il volume, infine, contiene indici, concordanze ed una ricchissima bibliografia.

Concludendo, questo lavoro può essere considerato ben più di un semplice catalogo. Accanto, infatti, ad un'edizione dei monumenti attenta e di facile fruizione, il presente volume contribuisce a far luce sulla storia della collezione e sulle circostanze legate al ritrovamento ed alla donazione dei monumenti.

Fabio Caruso

Zwischen Krise und Alltag. Antike Religionen im Mittelmeerraum = Conflit et normalité. Religions anciennes dans l'espace méditerranéen. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 1, hrsg. v. *Christophe Batsch, Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser, Ruth Stepper.* Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1999. ISBN 3–515–07513–5. 287 S., mit Fotos und Abbildungen. DEM 96.

Mit dem vorliegenden Band wird eine neue Reihe initiiert, die bewußt überdisziplinär, alle mit den Altertumswissenschaften in Verbindung stehenden Zweige einbeziehend, und international, was sich durch Offenheit und Vielsprachigkeit ausdrückt, ist. Dieser erste Band trägt auch, diesem Vorsatz getreu, die Beiträge junger Wissenschaftler zu einem deutsch-französischen Kolloquium in diesen beiden Sprachen zusammen. Auch zeitlich und geographisch sowie inhaltlich – disziplinär entspricht er dem im Vorwort explizierten Anspruch.

Die 16 Aufsätze, denen am Ende ein ausführliches Sach- und Stellenregister folgen, sind in vier Sektionen unterteilt. Fünf der Arbeiten sind in französisch, die anderen in deutsch wiedergegeben. Alle werden jeweils mit einem Resümee in der anderen Sprache abgeschlossen. Die Sektionen folgen einer doppelten Logik, zum einen ist ein grober chronologisch-geographischer Aufbau zu erkennen vom jüdisch hellenistischen Bereich über Rom als Zentrum bis zu Konstantin und dem Christentum. Andererseits folgen auf spezifisch althistorische Überlegungen mehr linguistisch orientierte, sodann vor allem archäologisch und epigraphisch begründete gefolgt von literarischen, wobei absolute Grenzen festlegen zu wollen natürlich absurd wäre.

Inhaltlich stellt sich dies folgendermaßen dar: In der ersten Sektion "Religion und Kulte im Mittelmeerraum" behandelt zunächst Jörg Rüpke Großstadtreligion basierend auf antiken Religionstheorien. Bleibt vielleicht deshalb der loyalitätsstiftende und –fördernde Charakter antiker Religionen ausgeschlossen? Nach einem weiteren methodische Fragen bzgl. der Stellung von Festen in antiken Religionen behandelnden Text (Chr. Auffarth) stellt

Chr. Batsch Überlegungen zu einem jüdischen Kriegesorakel an, und A. Zografou macht einen interessanten Vorschlag zur Neuinterpretation der sog. dreifachen Hekate. Eher traditionell schließt diese Sektion mit M. Sebaïs Darstellungen des religiösen Lebens von Thugga in der hohen Kaiserzeit.

Die zweite Abteilung "Religiöse Sprache und Terminologie" vereint so unterschiedliche Texte wie S. Crippas kommunikationsethnographische Ausführungen zu Lauten und Worten in rituellen Handlungen basierend auf Sibyllischen Orakeln und magischen griechischen Papyri und Chr. Nasses – etwas langschweifige – Überlegungen zum Begriff *hostia consultatoria*. Fundierte neue archäologische Aspekte beleuchtet A.V. Siebert in ihrem Aufsatz über römische Opfer- und Kultgeräte, in dem sie ikonographisch überliefertes Material mit literarischen Erwähnungen kontrastiert und eine Typologisierung vornimmt.

"Priester und Kultpersonal" stehen im dritten Teil im Vordergrund, und zwar zunächst in einer vorwiegend archäologischen Studie zum Wohnraum des niederen Kultpersonals, was in der Interpretation des Fortuna-Augusta-Tempelkomplexes in Pompeji von U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser veranschaulicht wird. Diese Thematik ist hier besonders interessant nicht nur, weil sie einen Aspekt des Lebens der meist im Schatten stehenden Bevölkerungsgruppen beleuchtet, sondern auch weil in der letzten Sektion des Bandes, die unter dem Thema "Religion und Politik" steht, ein Aufsatz von Chr. Kunst mit sehr ähnlichem Titel – der erste Teil lautet hier statt "Wohnen bei" "Wohnen mit den Göttern" – die umgekehrte Thematik behandelt: Die Einbeziehung des Göttlichen in den kaiserlichen Wohnraum, und zwar ganz konkret von Tempeln, macht nun gewissermaßen die jeweiligen Götter zu "Personal" des Kaisers. Hätte nicht vielleicht eine andere Anordnung der Beiträge diesen Kontrast besser zur Geltung gebracht? So folgt nun in der dritten Sektion auf den Wohnraum des Kultpersonals eine Neubestimmung eines bisher als Auszug aus den sog. Priesterbüchern verstandenen Varropassus als Priesterdekret von J. Scheid so wie der Versuch einer Geschichte des Oberpontifikates von Caesar bis Nerva durch R. Stepper mit interessanten, wenn auch z.T. vielleicht etwas weitgehenden Interpretationen – so etwa wenn in dem Amt der eigentliche Kern für die Definition von Caesars Stellung im Staat gesehen wird.

Das Thema "Religion und Politik" wird von V. Sauer mit der Skizzierung ihres Dissertationsvorhabens über das Religiöse als Argument in der Politik der späten Republik eingeleitet und von A. Glock durch eine sehr präzise Darlegung der Vertumnusbeschreibung von Properz (4,2) fortgesetzt unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der aitiologischen und poetologischen Aspekte. Nach dem schon erwähnten Aufsatz über die Einbeziehung des Göttlichen in den kaiserlichen Wohnraum beschäftigt sich U. Riemer umfassend mit der seit langem diskutierten Frage nach den Motiven der Hinrichtung des Flavius Clemens durch Domitian. Sie zeigt dabei überzeugend, wie es zur ungerechtfertigten Stilisierung des Flavius Clemens zum christlichen Märtyrer gekommen ist und welche, wie sich deutlich zeigt, machtpolitischen Motive Domitians Handeln wohl zugrunde lagen. Auch die Idee einer domitianischen Christenverfolgung kann so nicht mehr aufrechterhalten werden. Der letzte Beitrag, von P. Barceló stellt ebenfalls ein heiß diskutiertes Thema, nämlich die Motive für Constantins Hinwendung zum Christentum, mit neuen einleuchtenden Überlegungen vor allem zum machtpolitischen Kontext und die sich darauf begründenden Schachzügen Constantins erneut zur Debatte, wobei Constantin jedenfalls weder als eiskalter Kalkulator noch als romantischer Mystiker verzerrt wird.

Insgesamt gehen von der Sammlung sicher neue Impulse aus. Es bleibt zu hoffen, daß die Reihe auch in der Zukunft mit der gleichen Flexibilität zu arbeiten vermag und nicht als "noch eine Zeitschrift mehr" Sparmaßnahmen im Bibliothekenbereich zum Opfer fällt.

Uta-Maria Liertz

PAUL CARTLEDGE – PAUL MILLETT – SITTA VON REDEN (Eds): *Kosmos. Essays in Order and Community in Classical Athens*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge 1998. ISBN 0–521–57081–6. xv, 268 p. GBP 40 (H/b).

Kosmos is based on a seminar series held in the Faculty of Classics in Cambridge in 1994. The majority of the essays are closely linked together by their sources and themes thus resulting in a fairly consistent book. The contributors and the contents of the book are briefly outlined below.

Paul Cartledge has written the Introduction entitled "Defining a *kosmos*". The theme with its problems is defined as the study of sociability and interpersonal transactions within a *polis*. The focus is mostly on the individual rather than the public or formal levels even though some aspect of the latter has naturally to be included. The introduction includes a useful summary of the contents as well.

Robin Osborne writes about "Inter-personal relations on Athenian pots: putting others in their place". He analyses the figurative scenes of some Athenian pots. These are the Hirschfeld krater, c. 740 BCE., a Black Figure amphora, the name vase of the Nessos Painter, c. 620 BCE., Dionysos sailing and combat over a fallen warrior on an eye-cup by Exekias, c. 540 BCE., a Red Figure amphora, the name vase of the Berlin Painter, c. 490 BCE., an Attic Red Figure bell krater, the name vase of the Pan Painter, c. 460 BCE. and two Phoenician silver gilt bowls, one from the Bernardini tomb, the other from Idalion, Cyprus, 8/7th cent. BCE. The analysis of the scenes concentrates on power relations between persons, and individual and group behaviour. It shows that inter-personal and power relationships changed in a way which can not be seen in any literary sources. Malcolm Schofield's title is "Political friendship and the ideology of reciprocity". His focus is on the *Eudemian Ethics* and its relation to the *Nicomachean Ethics*. The rather abstract philosophically oriented discourse works on friends and friendship in these treatments. There seem to be a linguistic problem. Though, the Greeks use the word *philia* with its derivatives to express a variety of different kinds of relationships, this does not mean that all the semantic complexity involved has to be expressed with one English word: friendship. Here we come to the area of linguistics, and I think that a pragmatic and semantic viewpoint is obligatory, when such terms are discussed philosophically or socially. Lin Foxhall's subject is close to S's: "The politics of affection: emotional attachments in Athenian society". She analyses relationships between female and male friends, and in the household, *oikos*. Again, there are some problems with the terminology. It is a different thing to have friends on one hand, and members of family on the other. The Greek word *philia* with its derivatives can mean affection and love, and these feelings may connect, e.g., a parent to her/his child, but is the child a friend of her/his parents? F. does discuss this

difference, but still calls all the emerging complexity concerned with relations friendships (pp. 55, 63, 65).

Ilias Arnaoutoglou writes about cult associations: "Between *koinon* and *idion*: legal and social dimensions of religious associations in Athens". He argues convincingly that modern legal terminology and thinking have to be abandoned, when these associations are studied. Linguistically – again – the word cult is difficult, and, on the other hand, I am not certain whether every association had a cult. If men gathered to drink for fun, did they constitute a cult (cf. Ath. 276a–c; other aspects, cf. also Theophr. *Char.* 9.3; 10.3; 12.11; 22.4)? If a trust or *eranos*-loan is organized through a private association, the religious element may have been nominal. Or, if religion was everywhere, it was not religion in the sense modern people think. Nick Fisher's title is "Gymnasia and the democratic values of leisure". He shows that leisure activities were not restricted to rich. The poor could participate at least in some degree to athletic and gymnastic training and thus improve their social status. In an interesting paper Simon Goldhill studies the problem of usefulness: "The seductions of the gaze: Socrates and his girlfriends". G. has found a very revealing passage of Xenophon (*Mem.* 3.11), where Socrates wonders about a beautiful *hetaira* and asks the question: ought we to be more grateful to Theodote for displaying her beauty to us, or she to us for viewing her? Socrates begins a discussion where almost all important questions of a reciprocal engagement in fifth/fourth century Athens are treated.

The Athenian political perception of the *idiotes* is the subject of Lene Rubinstein. R. begins from an Athenian amphictyonist called Idiotes Theogenous Acharneus. She asks, why this rare name was given to this person, and proceeds to study the socio-political context of this term. P.J. Rhodes and Stephen Todd both contribute with a discussion concerning enmity: "Enmity in fourth-century Athens" and "The rhetoric of enmity in the Attic orators", respectively. R. argues that fourth-century Athens was not a society which had achieved the rule of law in the modern sense, and T. answers by interpreting some of the cases discussed by R. which all are forensic speeches: Dem. XXI, Lys. I, Lys. IV, Dem. XLVII, and Dem. XLV.

Sitta von Reden writes about "The well-ordered *polis*: topographies of civic space". She focuses on the analysis of the differences between local and *asty* by interpreting Sophocles' Oedipus at Colonus. She finds several examples where local topographical values and local identity are contrasted with the city of Athens. Jim Roy's response to von Reden is called "The threat from the Piraeus". R. starts from the famous remark of Aristotle that there was a *stasis* between Athens and Piraeus, and that Piraeus was more democratic than Athens (*Pol.* 1303B7–12). After a thorough discussion he comes to the conclusion that it is not possible to find indisputable reasons for this comment of Aristotle. In the last paper Paul Millett describes the life in the Athenian agora: "Encounters in the agora". It is a summary of different activities and buildings in the agora, the mixture of the private and the public, which would have been considerably enhanced if maps and diagrams had been included.

The general bibliography shows that the emphasis is on Anglo-American studies, although the most important French and German contributions are included. An index locorum and a general index are included in the book.

Martti Leiwo

ULRICH HUTTNER: *Die politische Rolle der Heraklesgestalt im griechischen Herrschertum*. Historia Einzelschriften 112. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1997. ISBN 3-515-07039-7. ix, 385 S. DEM 144.

Das anregende Buch von Ulrich Huttner behandelt die Funktion von Religion und Mythos in der griechischen und der hellenistischen Kultur, sowie den Gebrauch, den die Herrscher davon machten. Als Schlüsselworte werden dabei "Legitimierung" und "Verklärung" angegeben; Mythos und Religion boten dem Herrscher einen legitimierenden Rahmen, und konnten ihn "dem allgemein-menschlichen Bereich entheben und dem göttlichen nähern".

Das Thema wird anhand der Rolle verfolgt, die Herakles gespielt hat, was als eine sehr gelungene Wahl angesehen werden kann. Dieser Held war seit jeher bekannt – er kommt schon bei Homer vor –, blieb während der ganzen Antike beliebt und ist noch in der gegenwärtigen Kultur von Interesse. Trotzdem gibt es in der Forschung keine eigentlichen Vorgänger zum gewählten Thema in der hier gebotenen Breite.

Nach einem reifen einleitenden methodischen Teil folgen die zwei Hauptteile der Arbeit, die Darstellung und der analytische Teil. Im "darstellenden Teil" werden zwölf verschiedene Herrscher bzw. Dynastien behandelt: die Peisistratiden, Sparta, Philipp II, Alexander, die Ptolemäer, Lysimachos, Pyrrhos, die Antigoniden, die Attaliden von Pergamon, Mithradates VI. Eupator, Antiochos von Kommagene, und Juba II. Die Behandlung des Verf. umfaßt demnach den Zeitraum von der archaischen Periode bis zu König Juba II. von Mauretanien (geb. etwa 50 v.Chr.). Der "Analytische Teil" behandelt zusammenfassend Herakles als Ahnen von Herrschern, als deren Schutzgott, sowie die Angleichung der Herrscher an Herakles.

Als das früheste Beispiel eines Gebrauchs des Heraklesmythos, den man in der bisherigen Forschung findet, gilt die Tyrannis von Peisistratos und seinen Söhnen in Athen. Da es sich hier um eine kontroverse Frage handelt, wird im folgenden darauf kurz eingegangen. Man hat es in Athen im VI. Jh. mit einem sehr unsicheren Fall zu tun, denn die Quellen sind nur archäologischer Art. Dabei geht es i.e. um Vasenmalerei, aber auch um Bauornamentik, die angeblich gerade in die Jahre der peisistratidischen Tyrannis gehören. Die Ansicht, daß Peisistratos sich der Einführung von Herakles auf den Olymp durch Athena bediente, um seine eigene Herrschaft auf der Akropolis zu legitimieren, wurde in den 70er und 80er Jahren mehrmals von John Boardman verfochten (allerdings mit einer gewissen Vorsicht, die von seinen Nachfolgern meistens nicht beachtet worden ist). Huttner kommt nach einer gründlich und methodisch überzeugenden Untersuchung zum Ergebnis, daß man lediglich feststellen kann, daß Herakles zur Zeit der Peisistratiden in athenischen Vasenmalereien ein beliebteres Thema war als andernorts im griechischen Kulturkreis. Ob Herakles für die Tyrannen eine besondere Bedeutung hatte, was diese gewesen wäre, und wie die Heraklesgestalt vom Volk erfaßt wurde, läßt sich aber nicht sagen. (Nicht überzeugt ist aber H. Brandt, "Herakles und Peisistratos, oder: Mythos und Geschichte. Anmerkungen zur Interpretation vorklassischer Vasenbilder", *Chiron* 27 [1997] 315–34, der die Druckfahnen von Huttners Werk noch einsehen konnte).

Der Verfasser hat ferner Recht in seiner Behauptung, daß man diese "vollkommen unsichere Hypothese [betreffend Peisistratos und Herakles] nicht zum Ausgangspunkt, zur Grundlage oder zum Hintergrund weiterer Untersuchungen" der archaischen Mittelmeerwelt machen darf. In der Tat gibt es nämlich noch einen (angeblichen) Fall des politischen

Gebrauchs der Heraklesgestalt, nämlich im archaischen Rom, der aber nur kurz S. 42 Anm. 111 gestreift wird, und wohl aus der Arbeit als nicht-griechisch ausgeklammert wurde (in welchem Ausmaß war aber Rom und Latium zu jener Zeit gräzisiert?). Immerhin ist es für das vorhandene Thema von Interesse, daß mehrere Forscher auch für Rom in der zweiten Hälfte des VI. Jh v. Chr. einen legitimierenden Gebrauch der Heraklesgestalt von Seiten des Tarquinius Superbus angenommen haben. Für diese Annahme gibt es jedoch äußerst schwache Gründe, wie schon vom Rez., "Herakles and the Tyrants. An Archaic Frieze from Velletri", *Deliciae fictiles (Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae 50, 1993)* 267–275 gezeigt wurde. Man trifft aber oft auf die frühere Meinung, z.B. neulich F. Zevi, "Demarato e i re 'corinzi' di Roma", in *L'incidenza dell'antichità. Studi in memoria di E. Lepore I*, Napoli 1996, 291–314, bes. 312 (aber auch mit einem etwas anderen Deutungsvorschlag); M. Torelli, "I fregi figurati delle *regiae* latine ed etrusche. Immaginario del potere arcaico", in idem, *Il rango, il rito e l'immagine. Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana*, Milano 1997, 87–121, bes. 104; D. Briquel, "Les figures féminines dans la tradition sur les rois étrusques de Rome", *CRAI* 1998, 397–414, bes. 408f.

Insgesamt liefert die hier dargebotene Behandlung der Rolle der Heraklesgestalt einen schönen Beitrag zum Studium der antiken Herrscherlegitimation.

Christer Bruun

ANNA MARIA ANDERMAHR: *Totus in praediis. Senatorischer Grundbesitz in Italien in der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit*. Dr. Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 1998. ISBN 3-7749-2846-0. VIII, 583 S., 21 Tab., 4 Ktn. DEM 190.

Dieses sehr bemerkenswerte Buch ist eine leicht überarbeitete Fassung einer im Wintersemester 1996/97 angenommenen, von Werner Eck betreuten Kölner Dissertation. Sowohl die anspruchsvolle Themenstellung als auch die Ausführung der Arbeit scheinen mir deutlich über dem Niveau zu liegen, das man von einer "normalen" Dissertation erwarten würde (was allerdings gerade im von Falle Kölner Dissertationen nicht ganz einzigartig ist), und wegen der großen Verdienste und der Nützlichkeit einerseits der methodischen Überlegungen und andererseits des Katalogs muß dieses Buch zu den wichtigsten Neuerscheinungen auf dem Gebiet der römischen Geschichte gezählt werden.

Die räumlichen und zeitlichen Eingrenzungen der Arbeit gehen aus dem Titel hervor. Behandelt wird also der senatorische Grundbesitz zwischen Augustus und etwa der Mitte des 3. Jh. in Italien, d.h. in den 14 augusteischen Regionen, wobei mit Recht Rom selbst – ein ganz anderes, und im übrigen im *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae* angesprochenes (vgl. S. 2), obwohl natürlich damit nicht erledigtes Thema – ausgelassen wird. Neben den gewöhnlichen einleitenden und abschließenden Bemerkungen enthält das Buch drei Hauptteile, und zwar die folgenden: A. Methodische Vorüberlegungen (S. 4–42); B. Ergebnisse (S. 43–125); und schließlich den Katalog, in dem das sich auf Grundbesitz beziehende Quellenmaterial einzelner Senatoren bzw. senatorischer Familien ausführlich vorgelegt wird (S. 126–496). Es folgen eine "Auswahlbibliographie", wo verständlicherweise nur ein Teil der zitierten Literatur verzeichnet wird, Indices, und zum Schluß Karten.

In den methodischen Vorüberlegungen werden die in Frage kommenden Quellengattungen (literarische Quellen, *fistulae*, municipale Ämter von Senatoren, Grabmäler von Senatoren usw. bis zu *fundus*-Namen in mittelalterlichen Quellen und zu archäologischen

Zeugnissen) einzeln besprochen. Die Diskussion, in der in lobenswerter Weise bei einschlägigen Inschriften auch die monumentalen Aspekte berücksichtigt werden (vgl. S. 2f.), ist von außergewöhnlich großem Interesse. Im Kapitel über die literarischen Quellen (S. 4–7) vertritt die Verf. die Meinung, daß bei Senatoren davon auszugehen ist, daß sie normalerweise in ihren Heimatstädten begütert waren (welche Beobachtung dann im Katalog bei den Senatoren, für welche eine bestimmte Stadt als Heimat bezeugt ist, konsequent durchgeführt wird), was vielleicht nicht ganz unproblematisch ist, aber doch wohl in den meisten Fällen stimmen dürfte. Auch (in literarischen Quellen bezeugte) "Reisen eines Senators in eine bestimmte Region Italiens" oder ein "längerer Besuch in einer Stadt" könnten u.U. auf Grundbesitz hinweisen (S. 7). Die Verf. gibt zu, daß diese Annahme nicht unproblematisch ist, doch in der Hinsicht hat sie recht, daß man bei unserer Quellenlage doch prinzipiell alle Quellentypen heranziehen muß. Allerdings sind Reisen u.ä. von Senatoren so vielfältig bezeugt, daß sich eventuelle Belege leicht vermehren lassen (man könnte z.B. vorschlagen, daß auch der bei Tac. hist. 3, 57, 1 genannte *Apinius Tiro praetura functus ac tum forte Minturnis agens* in Minturnae begütert war).

Es folgt die ausführliche klar gegliederte Behandlung weiterer Quellen bzw. Quellentypen: *Fistulae*, die Senatoren nennen; Grabmäler von Senatoren und Ehrungen durch Familienangehörige; Ehrungen durch Andere, wobei zwischen mehreren Gruppen unterschieden wird (Angehörige der *familia*, militärische Untergebene, *amici* und Klienten usw.); Übernahme einer *cura civitatis*; Bauinschriften mit Senatoren als Dedikanten; Stiftungen für Gottheiten, usw. Auch Fälle wie "Homonymien" und "Häufung senatorischer Gentilizia an einem Ort" werden besprochen. Die Aussagekraft, und zwar nicht nur in Hinblick auf Besitz und auf damit verknüpfte Fragen, der gesamten Gruppe der Quellen, in denen Senatoren genannt werden, ist m. W. noch niemals mit dieser Gründlichkeit studiert worden; schon beim ersten Kapitel handelt es sich also um eine bemerkenswerte Leistung. Dazu muß betont werden, daß dieses erste Kapitel – sowie das Buch im Ganzen – nebenbei ein etwas anderes Forschungsgebiet auf eine ganze neue Grundlage stellt, nämlich Studien, die sich mit der Heimat einzelner senatorischer Familien beschäftigen (z. B. die Beiträge in dem Band *Epigrafia e Ordine senatorio II* von 1982). M. E. müßte das Meiste, was man auf diesem Gebiet bisher geschrieben hat, neu überdacht werden, und zwar unter Heranziehung der kritischen Reflexionen der Verf., die im übrigen zum Problemkreis "Herkunft oder nur Besitz" noch im Kapitel B zurückkommt (S. 123ff.). Früher genügte oft eine beiläufige Erwähnung eines Senators an einem bestimmten Ort dazu, daß man begann, sich Gedanken über die eventuelle Herkunft des Senators aus diesem Ort zu machen; ein so undifferenziertes Verfahren scheint nun nicht mehr akzeptabel.

Kapitel B (Ergebnisse) ist hauptsächlich der Auswertung des im Katalog vorgelegten Materials gewidmet. Die regionale Verteilung des senatorischen Besitzes steht hier im Mittelpunkt. Es stellt sich heraus, daß sich aus den Quellen bedeutende Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Regionen herauslesen lassen, ein Resultat, das sicher nicht nur den auch in diesem Fall recht mageren Quellen, sondern ungefähr auch der antiken Realität entspricht. In der 8. Region (*Aemilia*) etwa ist senatorischer Besitz nur in 6 mehr oder weniger sicheren und in 2 unsicheren Fällen zu ermitteln, welche Zahlen mit den der 10. Region (*Venetia et Histria*) – nicht weniger als 68 + 15 – zu vergleichen sind (obwohl natürlich auch diese Zahlen nicht sehr beeindruckend sind). Aus der *Aemilia* kamen wenige Senatoren und diese Region interessierte also auch kaum senatorische Investoren aus

anderen Gegenden (einige mögliche Gründe werden auf S. 76 erwähnt); in schroffem Gegensatz dazu – oder vielleicht vielmehr damit zu verknüpfen – ist die große Anzahl tapferer Männer aus Städten wie Bononia, Parma und Placentia, die man in den städtischen Truppen und in den Legionen findet. Die *Aemilia* hat sich also auf Reichsebene hauptsächlich als Produzent militärischer Tüchtigkeit ausgezeichnet. – Das Kapitel wird durch die Abschnitte "Besitz an mehreren Orten Italiens", "Besitzerwechsel", "Senatoren aus den Provinzen" und "Herkunft oder nur Besitz" – von diesem Abschnitt war schon oben die Rede – abgeschlossen, worauf dann noch Gedanken über die praktische Seite des Gutbesitzes folgen (Größe der Güter, Produkte usw.); für wirklich neue Erkenntnisse auf diesem Gebiet reicht allerdings das Quellenmaterial kaum aus. Ebenfalls muß im übrigen die Natur des Grundbesitzes – also ob sich um Villen, Manufakturen, Ackerland usw. handelt – normalerweise im Dunkeln bleiben; man kann vermuten, daß senatorischer Besitz etwa in Ostia einen anderen Zweck hatte als Besitz irgendwo in Lukanien, aber genaue Information zu dieser Frage ist wohl zumeist nicht erhältlich.

Es folgt dann der Katalog der Zeugnisse, insgesamt 370 Seiten, in alphabetischer Reihenfolge nach den Besitzern. Es handelt sich um eine von bewundernswerter Belesenheit zeugende monumentale Sammlung der einschlägigen Belege, die für alle zukünftigen Untersuchungen auf diesem Gebiet ohne Zweifel jahrzehntelang das Fundament bildet. Es folgen die Bibliographie und sehr detaillierte Indizes (Quellen, Personen, Orte, "Sachen" – mit einigen interessanten Details).

Es wäre sicher unmöglich, ein Buch von diesen Dimensionen und von dieser Bedeutung zu schreiben, ohne nicht hier und da auch so etwas zu schreiben, womit nicht alle einverstanden sind. Es soll mir erlaubt sein, hier auf einige solche Stellen hinzuweisen. So scheint es mir zum Beispiel, daß die Verf. in einigen Fällen etwas zu kritisch ist; ich jedenfalls finde es weiterhin sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die *Suetrii* aus Histonium kamen (S. 363f.), *Valerius Festus* aus Arretium (S. 463). (Andererseits war es sicher richtig z.B. das zu betonen, daß die *Bruttii* zwar sicher aus Lukanien, aber nicht unbedingt aus Volceii kamen: S. 116f.) Einige kleine Bemerkungen: S. 122: Streng genommen bezieht sich die Inschrift aus Athen AE 1947, 89 nicht auf den Senator, sondern auf den ritterlichen Vater. Da der Mann sicher kein Athener war, muß man den Ausdruck *patris* nicht auf den Geehrten, sondern auf die Dedikanten – Areopag, Demos usw. – beziehen. – S. 298 Anm. 7: die Inschriften und die Namengebung der *Iulii Aspri* wurden von K. Dietz, Chiron 1997, 483ff. neu behandelt. – S. 312 Anm. 5: Eine weitere Stadt mit einer Inschrift eines senatorischen *Iuventius* ist Sentinum mit AE 1978, 292, einer Ehreninschrift für *P. Iuventius Celsus*, der im übrigen vielleicht in Sentinum begütert war (vgl. auch AE 1978, 293). – S. 348: *Porphyrio* (nicht *-os*). – S. 377: in Rom sind auch [*hor*]ti *Peducaiani* bezeugt (CIL VI 33745); man fragt sich nur, ob man *Peducaeus* mit *Peducaeus* identifizieren kann; z.B. *Anneius* scheint mir ein anderer Name zu sein als *Annaeus*. – S. 401 Anm. 4: Bei der Beurteilung der Namengebung der *Prastinae* muß berücksichtigt werden, daß der Konsul *Messallinus* jedenfalls auch das Cognomen *Pacatus* hatte (CIL XV 960). – S. 404: Daß in der Inschrift CIL IX 688 *Publio* überliert sein soll, beruht nur auf einem Versehen Mommsens; auf dem Stein steht *Publilio* (M. Kajava, Arctos 32 [1998] 303). – S. 407: Die Inschrift CIL IX 5765 taucht in vielen Diskussionen über die *Clodii Pupieni* auf, allerdings zu Unrecht: es handelt sich um eine republikanische Inschrift, heute in Macerata, eines *Ti.* (sic) *Clodius pup(illi) l. Ballaeus* (s. meine Die röm. Vornamen [1987] 64 mit Literatur). –

S. 432 Anm. 9: Die *Sextii* (mit kurzem *e*) sind mit den *Sestii* (mit langem *e*) nicht in Zusammenhang zu bringen. – S. 462: In der Inschrift ist nicht *a]uguri*, sondern *c.] v., cur.* zu lesen (vgl. die Addenda in EE IX, s. 593); außerdem ist *Claud* ohne Zweifel die Tribus, nicht der Gentilname (vgl. die anderen Inschriften der *Valerii* dieser Familie AE 1996,171 und bes. D. 1190). Wichtiger ist jedoch die Frage, ob man *ob ... amorem in cives* so deuten soll, daß der Mann in Lavinium tatsächlich ansässig war. M. E. ist dies nicht so (*in cives suos* wäre eine andere Sache, obwohl man auch hier *suos* gelegentlich auf das Subjekt, nicht auf den Geehrten beziehen könnte). An sich ist ja *civis* ganz neutral, 'Bürger (einer Stadt)', und der Mann wird von den [*sa*]cerdotes und dem *populus* für seinen *amor* gegenüber den Bürgern – aber m. E. keineswegs notwendigerweise seinen Mitbürgern – gepriesen.

Olli Salomies

RICHARD DUNCAN-JONES: *Money and Government in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge 1994. First paperback edition 1998. ISBN 0-521-64829-7. 300 p. GBP 19.95.

A reader not previously familiar with numismatics or economics (like myself) would be probably somewhat reluctant to read a book based on specific knowledge of material usually not very tempting to a "traditional" classical scholar. Reluctance, however, turns into relief and interest thanks to the instructions given by the author himself in the book's preface. If his advice is followed, this difficult and complicated topic becomes challenging and accessible to anyone interested in the financial structure of the Roman empire.

The great advantage of this book is its clear division into rather short chapters which are informatively titled and summarised, so that the reader can choose between more general and a very specific approach to Roman economics and the monetary government of the empire.

The first part of the book gives an overview of the Roman economical system, or rather the non-systematic nature of the methods to raise funds and control expenditure in the period from Augustus to AD 235. Despite difficulties in interpreting ancient sources (the figures concerning money surviving in historiography are shown to be mainly stereotypical and proverbial) D. offers us estimates of e.g. the imperial budget, army costs and price development. He compares wine prices, rates of donkey-hiring and wages for harvesting and digging (the information coming exclusively from the East) and makes interesting conclusions, for example that there probably was low inflation in the whole empire, but since a most of payments were made in kind and only the wealthiest section of Roman society was monetised, exact calculations are impossible.

As usual, taxation is discussed in a chapter of its own. Duncan-Jones' aim is to calculate how much revenue was gained in form of taxes from Egypt. The source material consists naturally of papyri, mainly tax and land lists. Duncan-Jones' calculations are well supported by the facts, but considering the far-from-perfect understanding of taxation in Egypt in general (e.g. new forms of taxes are found constantly), his conclusions should be taken mainly as guidelines. This is especially the case for poll taxes and other "personal" taxes.

The latter half of the book is dedicated to more specific discussion of money as a physical object, of coin hoards, minting and the circulation of coins, as well as to the analysis of coinage in a wider historical context. This part demands a lot from the reader (many figures and tables being offered to make the rather technical discussion more clear, but unfortunately for a non-professional they are sometimes more confusing than clarifying), but on the other hand reading selectively, i.e. the conclusions of each chapter, one gets a very good picture of the problems concerning money and money supply.

What makes this monograph especially attractive, is the great number of answers to practical and down-to-earth questions, for instance of who had money, where it came from and how it was used. This book should, of course, be read by every scholar who wants to familiarise herself/himself with the economical questions in imperial Rome as illuminated by numismatic evidence. But it is also most useful and even enjoyable to anyone who has ever had to consider money in the ancient world.

Tiina Puroola

RAIMUND FRIEDL: *Der Konkubinat im kaiserzeitlichen Rom. Von Augustus bis Septimius Severus*. Historia Einzelschriften 98. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1996. ISBN 3-515-06871-6. 417 S. DEM 140.

A new monograph on Roman concubinage is, perhaps surprisingly, not superfluous. As Friedl rightly concludes in his critical overview of earlier scholarship (13–21), many of the existing works (including the classic treatments by Meyer and Plassard) are totally obsolete while others are restrictive either in their choice of source material or in their subject matter.

F. has undoubtedly managed to produce the most comprehensive study so far on Roman concubinage in the early imperial period. His thorough familiarity with secondary literature (up to 1993) on e.g. law, epigraphy, onomastics, and social history is amply attested in the notes. In fact, it might have done little harm to save space by omitting some of the less important references. F's analysis of the primary material is sound and useful. He includes inscriptions not only from Rome (earlier studies on quasi-marital unions have concentrated on CIL VI) but also from Italy and the western provinces. This is a clear advantage, as in the imperial period the inhabitants of Rome by no means form a representative sample of "Roman society". North Africa, the Balkans, and the whole of the Greek East are excluded, though. I can understand the reasons but it means that there is still need for further investigation.

I am somewhat less satisfied with two other limitations. Firstly, F. excludes (111–2) all unions where at least one member is a slave (in legal terms *contubernia*). As F. himself shows (94–101, 218–20), the word *concubina* was not clearly defined in Roman everyday language, and in addition, many unions which could later be defined as *concubinatus* may have begun as *contubernia*. Thus, the exclusion is based entirely on formal juridic criteria, corresponding neither to the conceptual (from the Roman lay point of view) nor to social reality. This is potentially dangerous in a study which attempts to explain why people chose to live in concubinage.

Secondly, F. pays little attention to evidence after the early third century. Although I can appreciate his fear that the scope of the book might have expanded beyond control,

the limit again seems rather technical and not justified by his theme. The sources in late antiquity discuss the circumstances of concubinage much more often than those of the principate. It may at least partly be due to the keen interest of the church fathers in sexual matters but, as the bishops so often complained, the sexual behaviour of contemporary men as such had hardly changed from pagan times. Consequently, this evidence might help us to clarify the motives for quasi-marital relationships.

F's main findings often confirm the impressions gained from earlier studies. Concubinage is not very often directly attested in inscriptions, less in Italy than in Rome, and still less in the western provinces. F. tentatively connects these differences with the degree of Romanization and the number of slaves in different regions. However, as F. frequently notes, peculiarities of the epigraphic habit remain a crucial unknown factor. Concubinage between two freeborn people is almost nonexistent in the epigraphic material, and that between *patronus* and *liberta* much less frequent than one would expect. In general, the relations between well-to-do men and lowborn women, so familiar from legal and literary sources, are not mentioned in the inscriptions. This may be explained by the relatively small number of upper-class people in the total population (see p.184) or, as the habit was evidently not confined to the aristocracy, perhaps even better by a reluctance to advertise such temporary arrangements in epitaphs. I am, in any case, convinced that the seeming absence of premarital concubines in the principate is a delusion caused by the indifference of our sources. However, as they were often slaves, they would (unfortunately) have fallen outside F's study anyway.

Inscriptionally attested quasi-marital relationships are concentrated in the freed population (this suggests but perhaps does not automatically guarantee that the partners were socially equal, cf. 199). F. argues that concubinage was almost never a conscious choice of the couple but rather a necessity imposed on them by *patroni* who for financial reasons did not wish their freedpeople to have legitimate offspring. However attractive this hypothesis may seem, I am personally not convinced that it could be the universal explanation for concubinage in the lower levels of Roman society.

A few minor points: The arrogation of illegitimate children may for most people not have been quite as easy as F. claims (131), given the very difficult procedure. The assertion that the inscriptions studied date from the first or early second century (212, cf. 105) would need somewhat more explanation. I am also not sure that the lack of *praenomen* suffices to date an inscription to the third century (404). It might have been helpful to include in *Anhang* VII.5 also cases of concubinage between *patronus/a* and *liberta/us*, which now have to be sought elsewhere. The titles of *Anhang* VII.5.2.3–4 (378) are obviously wrong (should be *patrona – libertus*). The author of *Demography and Roman Society* is not Rankin but Parkin (319 and *passim*). Indices are missing.

In sum, this is a valuable collection and judicious assessment of the evidence. It will not be the last word, mainly because the uncertainties of the Roman commemorative practice will always allow alternative interpretations: Only a small portion of quasi-marital unions were ever recorded in epitaphs. But F's book is at any rate a good step forward.

Antti Arjava

JERZY LINDERSKI (ed.): *'Imperium Sine Fine': T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic*. Historia Einzelschriften 105. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1996. ISBN 3-515-06948-8. 233 S. DEM 76.

T.R.S. Broughton was born in the province of Ontario, Canada in 1900. He graduated in 1921 from Victoria College of the University of Toronto. After some two years of teaching in Toronto (MA in 1922), during which he also took graduate courses at the University of Chicago (followed by a brief stint running the family farm), Broughton entered the graduate program at Johns Hopkins University. He was to remain south of the border and in 1933 initiated the process of becoming a U.S. citizen. Broughton's distinguished professional and scholarly career eventually led to him becoming Paddison Professor of Classics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1965 (until 1970), a fact which does much towards explaining the present volume, which is edited by a professor of that same university and opens with "Fasti Broughtoniani. The Professional Activities and Published Works of Thomas Robert Shannon Broughton" (whence the information above) by another Professor (G.W. Houston), who fills out the picture with his biographical sketch "Broughton Remembered".

The bulk of the book is taken up by seven contributions by renowned experts on various aspects of Republican history.

In "T.R.S. Broughton and Friedrich Münzer" Ronald Ridley carries out a very important comparison between Münzer's entries on Roman magistrates in the *RE*, and Broughton's treatment in the *MRR*. There is naturally no denying Broughton's enormous merits, but yet it is clear that Münzer's treatment is preferable in several cases, and because the *MRR* does not always follow a coherent approach, Münzer should still be consulted.

T.P. Wiseman writes elegantly as usual on "The Minucii and their Monument" (the *sacellum Minucii*, near the Porta Minucia); the Minucii of the early Republic "are less a historical than a historiographical phenomenon". The monument to an early Minucius was likely erected to a prominent citizen who was not a magistrate; perhaps to a merchant who had alleviated a famine.

R.E.A. Palmer, "The Deconstruction of Mommsen on Festus 462/464 L." deals with a difficult fragment mentioning a sacrificial ceremony, in which also a Metellus and a Claudius appear. The event is dated to 223 B.C., and Palmer argues that one Q. Claudius who by tradition carried out sacrifices to Saturn with his head bared was made *flamen Dialis* by the *pont. max.* L. Caecilius Metellus. Claudius refused to cover his head, a gesture required by his new function, and brought the case in front of the people, where his pleading seems to have been successful.

C.F. Konrad's "Notes on Roman Also-Rans" is an Addendum to Broughton's *Candidates Defeated in Roman Elections: Some Ancient Roman "Also-Rans"* (1991) with entries on 32 defeated candidates for public offices and priesthoods, many of whom were originally collected by F.X. Ryan, as the author generously acknowledges. More extensive discussions of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (*cos.* 54) and of M. Favonius and the aedileship of Metellus Scipio are also included.

In "Q. Scipio Imperator" the editor Jerzy Linderski with his usual acumen and passion discusses the fate of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio (*cos.* 52 B.C.) based on a gem inscription presented in 1991: *Q. Scipio Imp.* The treatment includes a discussion of

Scipio's nomenclature, testamentary adoption (he was, of course, a Cornelius by birth), his military commands, and his coinage of 47–46 B.C. in Africa as Caesar's adversary, containing many symbols that have puzzled and confused previous scholars.

E. Badian comes to grip with a complicated aspect of Republican history in "*Tribuni plebis* and *res publica*". Much has been written on the subject, yet it has not been satisfactorily explained; the author quotes Mommsen (*RStR* II³, 292 n. 4) "eine prinzipiell genügende Erklärung ist nicht gefunden". In Badian's words, "owing to the essential irrationality of the tribunate, the highly rational scholar [*scil.* Mommsen] is here at his worst" (p. 193). Badian's contribution now constitutes required reading for anyone interested in the working of the tribuneship.

Finally, E.S. Gruen in "The Roman Oligarchy: Image and Perception" moves away from prosopography to use iconographical material and the evidence for aristocratic public display during the Republic as an explanation for the relative cohesion, for a considerable span of time, of the Roman oligarchy.

Christer Bruun

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Russia, 1–3. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts – Moscow. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma. Fasc. 1., ed. *Natalya Sidorova*, 1996. ISBN 88–7062–938–4. 64 p., 66 plates. ITL 250.000. Fasc. 2, ed. *Olga Tugusheva*, 1997. ISBN 88–7062–990–2. 48 p., 41 plates. ITL 250.000. Fasc. 3, ed. *Olga Tugusheva*, 1997. ISBN 88–7062–991–0. 36 p., 44 plates. ITL 250.000. – *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. France*, 36. Musée Dobrée, Nantes, fascicule unique. Par *Dominique Frère*. Union Académique Internationale. Diffusion de Boccard, Paris 1997. 94 p., 52 planches. FF 450. – *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Italia*, 70. Museo nazionale di Taranto – collezione Rotondo, fasc. 4. A cura di *Felice Gino Lo Porto*. Union Académique Internationale. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1998. ISBN 88–7062–030–8. 29 p., 48 tavole. ITL 250.000.

The first of the three CVA volumes of the Pushkin Museum collections covers the Attic black figure vases and fascicules 2 and 3 of the South Italian red figure pottery. The volume on black figure vases presents the most typical shapes of Attic pottery, amphorae, oinochoai, lekythoi and cups, but the biggest group are the lekythoi with mythological scenes, pattern decoration and black glaze. The collection of South Italian ware is impressively large, though concentrating on medium size vases with few mythological scenes, of which a calyx-crater of Lycurgus Painter depicting Iphigeneia in Tauris should be mentioned. One volume has been dedicated to Apulian pottery alone and all the other major South Italian fabrics are represented in the third.

The analysis of the vases is compact, concentrating only on the technical features and description of the imagery, whereas iconographic interpretation has not received very much attention. The description of the shapes has mostly been omitted which could, actually, be rational as the terminology used in shape studies is not always uniform and precise. However, section drawings of each vase type would have been very useful. The description of clay could have been rendered more informative by the use of the Munsell colour chart.

Indexes according to artists, subjects and provenience increase the value of the volumes for research. The lay-out of all the volumes is elegant, despite some discrepancies

between the numbering of the vases in the text and on the plates. The book format, recently adopted for the new CVA publications is easily accessible and convenient. The outward appearance is also enhanced by the good quality of the photographs, which are clear and sufficiently big to allow a detailed study even of the more modest vases.

The single volume of the Musée Dobrée presents a large variety of Greek and Italian pottery, from Corinthian to Attic white ground and from impasto to black glaze, in a convenient book format. The core of the collection was mostly formed by the donations of private collectors in the early 19th century. The collection has been enriched by the vases deposited from other museums, and now consists of some 250 pieces, most of which have been previously unpublished.

The lay-out of the fascicule is clear and readable, though some of the minor vases should have been presented with larger photographs. Also the paintings of the white-ground lekythoi are difficult to see in the photographs, perhaps drawings of the picture fields would have been more informative. However, most vases are illustrated from multiple well chosen angles showing also the crucial details of secondary decoration. Especially commendable are the section drawings, which are given of most vases, and include also details of the decoration. Another valuable aid for the researcher are the Munsell colour codes given for the tones of clay.

The fourth volume of the Museo nazionale di Taranto presents vases from the collection of Amm. Dott. Pietro Rotondo, acquired in the museum in the 1980s. The collection, some hundred vases altogether, consists of Corinthian, Attic, Apulian and Lucanian vases, found in the cemeteries in and around Taranto. Except for some of the most prestigious vases the collection has remained unpublished until now. The representative collection includes some fine examples, for instance, a red figure Panathenaic amphora by the Talos Painter, depicting the apotheosis of Heracles, or, among the smaller vases, an Apulian oinochoe representing a Phlyax caricature of Hermes or two delicate Gnathia squat lekythoi by the Rose Painter.

The information on dimensions of the vases lack some details, including multiple diameters and Munsell soil colour codes. As for the shapes of the vases either literary descriptions or preferably section drawings would have been more informative than the photographs used. The photographs, however, are of extremely good quality showing vases from different angles and allowing the study of the finest details of the paintings.

Ria Berg
Tiina Tuukkanen

Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage II: Italien mit einem Nachtrag Rom und Ostia, Dalmatien, Museen der Welt. Bearbeitet von J. Dresken-Weiland, Vorarbeiten von G. Bovini und H. Brandenburg. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1998. ISBN 3-8053-1989-4. XIX, 146 S., 120 Tafeln. DEM 220.

Im Jahr 1967 erschien der erste Band des Repertoriums der christlich-antiken Sarkophage, der Rom und Ostia gewidmet war. Nach einer Pause von 30 Jahren legt das

Deutsche Archäologische Institut nun den zweiten Band vor, der zuerst einen langen Abschnitt von Nachträgen zu stadtrömischen Werken enthält, dann Sarkophage aus Italien und Dalmatien. Der im Buchtitel genannte Abschnitt 'Museen der Welt' legt einige zerstreute Stücke verschiedener Provenienz vor (mir ist die Anlage dieses Abschnittes etwas dunkel geblieben). Weitere Bände über die Sarkophage in Gallien, Nordafrika, Spanien und Osten sind geplant.

Wie der erste Band des Repertoriums, wird auch dieser ein unentbehrliches Quellenwerk werden. Die Verfasserin hat ein ungeheures, oft an entlegenen Stellen befindliches oder publiziertes Material vollständig und kritisch zusammengestellt und dadurch der römischen Altertumskunde einen großen Dienst erwiesen. Es wäre nicht fair, etwaige Lücken in der Materialerfassung aufzuzeigen, es sei mir jedoch gestattet, auf einige beschriftete Sarkophage hinzuweisen, die im Repertorium fehlen: ICUR 22753, 25337, 25423, 26571. – In den nützlichen einleitenden Bemerkungen bespricht die Verf. Probleme des Stils, der Datierung und der Werkstatt. Dabei weist sie eine große Zahl von Sarkophagen, die auch weit von Rom gefunden wurden oder aufbewahrt werden, stadtrömischen Werkstätten zu. Ich muß gestehen, ich habe mich nicht völlig überzeugen lassen von den Ordnungskriterien der Verf. Ohne ein Sachkenner auf dem Gebiet zu sein, möchte ich jedoch die bange Frage stellen, ob wirklich all die von der Verf. als stadtrömisch klassifizierten Sarkophage das wirklich sind, sofern ihre stadtrömische Provenienz dokumentarisch nicht feststeht. Nehmen wir ein Beispiel. 20, der berühmte Sarkophag der Adelfia, die in den Katakomben von San Giovanni in Syrakus gefunden wurde, wird von der Verf. als stadtrömisch zugeordnet. Ist das zwingend? Die bestattete Adelfia war jedenfalls eine Syrakusanerin. Konnte es in Sizilien nicht eine Werkstatt im 2. Viertel des 4. Jh. nicht geben, die diesen Sarkophag herzustellen in der Lage gewesen wäre? Entsprechende Fragen entstehen etwa bei 32 und 149: im ersteren Fall handelt es sich um eine Bestattung in Sardinien, im zweiten war der Verstorbene in Picenum beheimatet. Andererseits ordnet die Verf. 241 lokalen italischen Sarkophagen zu, obwohl er im Stadtgebiet von Rom, nahe der Porta Metronia gefunden wurde (dagegen wird 214, auf dem Gelände einer suburbanen Villa gefunden, als stadtrömisch eingeordnet). Man sieht, es handelt sich um sehr komplexe Fragen, und man muß auch berücksichtigen, daß andererseits der Handel mit Sarkophagen in der Mittelmeerwelt eine allbekannte Tatsache ist. (Vgl. meine Überlegungen zur Provenienz einer anderen Denkmälergattung, nämlich der Urnen, in Tyche 4, 1989, 155–158.)

Ein paar Bemerkungen zu dem hervorragend bearbeiteten Katalogteil. 20 es fehlt ein Hinweis auf CIL X 7123. – 28 erwähnenswert ist die Schreibung *succeptus* statt *susc-*. – 101 hier kann man mit guten Gründen stadtrömische Provenienz annehmen, denn eine griechische Grabinschrift eines Kleinasiaten wäre an Ort und Stelle recht überraschend; Z. 1–2 lese λιθένπορος, also Steinmetz. – 105 nicht *c(larissima) m(emoria) q(uiescit)*, sondern *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) p(uella)*. – 106 *v(iro) c(larissimo)*. – 180 ist zu lesen [---]aria Cyriace *c(larissima) f(emina) mater filiae* (kein Kreuz vor MATER, es handelt sich um einen Trennpunkt); zur Bibl. CIL VI 31967. X 1689. Diehl ILCV 156. – 183 wenn Wischmeyer, wie es scheint, richtig gelesen hat, gewinnen wir einen neuen Senator, dessen Cognomen man freilich nicht mit W. zu *Hermias* ergänzen darf.

Heikki Solin

MARIANNE BERGMANN: *Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit.* Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1998. ISBN 3-8053-1916-9. XV, 337 S., 5 Textabb., 5 Fototafeln. DEM 184.

Spezifische Fragen zu Herrscherbild, Herrschersymbolik und ihrem Hintergrund sind in den letzten Jahren immer häufiger ins Blickfeld der Forschung geraten, und gerade auch im Zusammenhang mit den Versuchen, die römische Kaiserverehrung und den Kaiserkult besser zu erfassen und zu verstehen. Das vorliegende Werk leistet dazu einen wichtigen Beitrag, in dem es die immer wieder zur Interpretation von Herrscherambitionen herangezogene und oft widersprüchlich gedeutete Strahlenkrone einmal grundsätzlich und in ihrem Gesamtzusammenhang untersucht.

Die Arbeit ist chronologisch aufgebaut, wobei aber einzelne Perioden bzw. Herrscher unterschiedlich gewichtet werden. So nimmt die Behandlung Neros ein Drittel des zur Verfügung stehenden Raumes, also ca. 100 S., ein, was z.T. selbstverständlich mit der Vielzahl an archäologischen Zeugnissen zusammenhängt. Hinzu kommt aber wohl auch, daß gerade Nero oder vielmehr die Wiederentdeckung eines verloren geglaubten Gipsabdruckes von einem kleinen Altar eines Sklaven der Domus Aurea, dem sog. Eumolpusaltar, in einem römischen Museum Anlaß für die Auseinandersetzung mit der Thematik überhaupt gewesen war und daher notgedrungen viel Aufmerksamkeit für sich beansprucht hatte. Dennoch ist diese Gewichtung sicher gerechtfertigt.

Der Hellenismus ist immer wieder zur Erklärung der römischen Herrscherideologie und -"theologie" herangezogen worden. Als "Erfindung" der theomorphen Herrscherdarstellung steht daher hier die Behandlung der Verwendung und Symbolik von Strahlenkrone und -aureole in hellenistischer Zeit am Anfang, und zwar zunächst in Form und Vorkommen, sodann vom Menschen aus gesehen unter der Fragestellung "Identifizierung mit der Gottheit oder Metapher?" und schließlich vom göttlichen Standpunkt aus als Glückskranz oder Götternimbus. Zuletzt werden Einzelfragen, wie der Gebrauch der Strahlensymbolik bei den Ptolemäern, Seleukiden, Alexander oder diverse Statuentypen mit Aureole behandelt.

Der folgende Teil ist wesentlich schematisch-chronologischer. Nachdem die römische Republik auf wenigen Seiten abgehandelt wird, wobei mancher wohl erstaunt sein wird, daß selbst für Caesar lediglich an einer dazu noch recht umstrittenen Stelle bei Florus möglicherweise eine Strahlenkrone als Ehrung für ihn erwähnt ist, geht die Abhandlung nun gewissermaßen Kaiser für Kaiser anhand der diversen Kategorien archäologischer Zeugnisse durch, beginnend bei Divus Augustus bis hin zu Konstantin. Wie schon erwähnt, bildet Nero dabei das Zentrum der Untersuchung. Die flavische Periode stellt auch hier einen Umbruch dar – vor allem deutlich wird dies beim Konflikt der Strahlenkrone sowohl für den lebenden Herrscher als auch bei den Divi, der von den Flaviern schließlich zugunsten des lebenden Kaisers entschieden wird. Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt stellt Commodus dar, dessen enges Verhältnis zu Sol invictus in der Epigraphik wie Archäologie schon lange auffiel und überall im Reich zu finden ist. Im 3. und frühen 4. Jh. stützt sich die Untersuchung hauptsächlich auf Münzen. Einen Sonderfall stellt schließlich gewissermaßen Konstantin dar und v.a. seine Selbstdarstellung als Sonnengott in Konstantinopel, die zwar der römischen Tradition entspricht, aber doch nach 324 n. Chr. nicht mehr den Erwartungen der neuen Ära.

Dankenswerter Weise hat Bergmann ihren detaillierten Ausführungen ein Kapitel "Problemskizze und Ergebnisse" vorangestellt, die dem Leser von vorne herein eine umfassende Einführung geben. Am Ende der Untersuchungen stehen ausführliche Konkordanzen zu Münzen, Papyri und Inschriften, sowie Indices der antiken Autoren, Museen und Sammlungen und ein Sachindex. Die Fototafeln sind qualitativvoll und lassen auch Details erkennen. Insgesamt bietet das Werk ein handliches Hilfsmittel für die weitere Beschäftigung mit Herrscherideologie und ihrer Sprache.

Uta-Maria Liertz

BEATE BOLLMANN: *Römische Vereinshäuser. Untersuchungen zu den Scholae der römischen Berufs-, Kult- und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1998. ISBN 3-8053-2505-3. V, 488 S., 94 Abb., 16 Taf. DEM 98.

The study of Roman *collegia* has usually used legal texts and inscriptions as its sources. Studies based on both types of material have indeed been published also recently. Bollmann's book, based on her dissertation in Heidelberg, contributes to these studies a source so far neglected, archeological remains. Only G. Hermansen has previously used this material when studying *collegia* at Ostia.

The book consists of two parts: a study of the buildings, their architecture and decoration, and catalogues of all the buildings which can be identified as belonging to a *collegium* or which are mentioned in inscriptions. After the introductory chapters treating the history and function of Roman *collegia* Bollmann first defines what a *schola* is and how it is used: a *schola* is a building used by a *collegium* regardless of its type. For cult purposes a special construction was needed. In the main chapter Bollmann treats the different types of *scholae* using as a basis Hermansen's four-part grouping: a building with porticoed courtyard and its variations, a temple, which forms the largest group, and a building with a hall. Then the treatment of the decoration is divided into the statuary and the non-statuary decoration. The chapter about the topographical and chronological distribution of the *scholae* is divided into three periods: republican, first and second century, and third and fourth century. In the closing chapters Bollmann discusses the place of the *scholae* and the role of the *collegia* in the towns. The three catalogues consist of certainly and probably identified buildings, of buildings which can be connected to a *collegium* and of inscriptions where unidentified buildings belonging to a *collegium* are mentioned. In all the catalogues, the buildings are grouped according to towns, first Rome, second Ostia and then the towns of the rest of Italy. Most of the buildings are found in Rome or Ostia where the main part of the inscriptions concerning *collegia* also come from. Bollmann's book, especially the catalogues, will be most useful for further study of Roman *collegia*.

Risto Valjus

RAFFAELLA BONIFACIO: *Ritratti romani da Pompei*. Archeologia Perusina 14. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1997. ISBN 88-7689-132-3. 146 p., 46 tav. ITL 430.000.

Il lavoro di R. Bonifacio sui ritratti romani da Pompei costituisce un utile strumento di lavoro sia per i "pompeianisti" che per i "ritrattisti" in quanto intende "fornire un *corpus*

quanto più completo possibile di tutti i ritratti romani trovati a Pompei”, per citare la definizione sintetizzata all’inizio delle conclusioni (p. 129). Vista l’alluvione di studi degli ultimi decenni, che si riflette sia nel campo della ritrattistica che nella fortemente cresciuta attività di studi pompeiani, era ora per un’aggiornata ripubblicazione del materiale, che per la prima volta è stato colto e studiato da A. De Franciscis, *Il ritratto romano a Pompei* (MemAccArchNapoli, 1951), quindi già quasi un mezzo secolo fa. L’autrice ha potuto aggiungere materiale e prendere atto degli studi più recenti, ciò che ha permesso d’altra parte di escludere alcuni pezzi non più considerati ritratti. Il lavoro del De Franciscis è dunque citato più volte, ma ciononostante, e in parte proprio per questo, il lettore che non è familiare con il detto contributo, non facilmente trovabile ovunque, può avere qualche difficoltà nel trarre le conclusioni frugando tra le numerose osservazioni e confronti in merito dispersi nella discussione dei singoli pezzi. Le conclusioni sommate nell’ultimo capitolo (pp. 129–131) potrebbero essere più esplicite a questo punto e distinguere il contributo dell’autrice rispetto al lavoro precedente su cui si basa. Di una sottolineatura del genere avrebbero tratto profitto almeno, ma forse non soltanto, i lettori non sufficientemente specializzati nel campo della ritrattistica; il presente recensore non ha p.es. trovato il numero delle statue qui aggiunte dopo il lavoro del De Franciscis. L’altro punto che si desidererebbe trovare più specificamente sommato nelle conclusioni riguarda le cifre esatte sui vari aspetti della distribuzione del materiale costituito da 52 ritratti, sebbene questi si trovino all’inizio dei rispettivi capitoli del catalogo (v. sotto). Un’aggiunta pratica sarebbe stata una tabella (o lista) sinottica in merito, e preferibilmente munita con una mappa dei luoghi di ritrovamento (p.es. in un’appendice); ora rimane compito del lettore compilare i dati desiderati. Un’appendice del genere evidenzerebbe il merito dell’autrice di aver fatto una revisione critica delle provenienze, giustamente notato da W. Johannowsky nella sua presentazione (p. 7).

Dopo un capitolo introduttivo (intitolato “Introduzione”, pp. 9–14), che è utile in quanto offre una breve storia degli studi sulla ritrattistica dell’arte romana, segue il I capitolo (pp. 15–20) che discute “Le fonti documentarie” ed elenca (in ordine cronologico) un totale di 27 ritratti descritti in tali fonti, per la maggior parte nella *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia* di Fiorelli, ma non identificabili. Il successivo catalogo dei ritratti conosciuti con la discussione del materiale, è diviso secondo la loro funzione sociale definita alla base del contesto dei ritratti in tre gruppi: nel II capitolo (pp. 21–56) sono discusse la dozzina di statue considerate “Ritratti onorari”, nel III capitolo (pp. 57–80) i 18 “Ritratti funerari” (nr. 13–30), nel IV capitolo (pp. 81–111) i 14 “Ritratti rinvenuti in abitazioni private” (nr. 31–44). In un’“Appendice” separata (pp. 113–127) sono inclusi i rimanenti otto “Ritratti senza documentazione di contesto” (nr. 45–52). Questi capitoli (II–IV) cominciano con una sintesi sui rispettivi gruppi distinti e le problematiche che li riguardano. Rimane compito di studi successivi di approfondire la discussione sui problemi specifici, ai quali ci si può soltanto riferire in una raccolta di materiale come questo corpus (p.es. l’argomento discusso della rappresentazione del genio, o la questione delle probabili *imagines maiorum* della Casa del Menandro menzionati alle pp. 81–82). La discussione nelle schede dei singoli ritratti si concentra sulle datazioni e identificazioni sommando i risultati rilevanti degli studi precedenti, comprensibilmente concentrandosi su quelli più recenti, tra i quali spiccano i numerosi contributi di P. Zanker che l’autrice in grande parte segue. Sebbene si tratti di un’opera ben compatta, il numero di altre statue o rilievi e di altre opere riferiti in

causa come paralleli, è comunque tale da farne desiderare un'indice. Le tavole con fotografie in bianco e nero sono di abbastanza buona qualità, la loro limitazione a ritratti pompeiani li fa un insieme molto illustrativo della galleria rimastaci. A spese di questo "pompeianismo" si potrebbe, d'altra parte, giustificare anche l'inclusione di fotografie dei paralleli d'altrove, sebbene essi siano reperibili nelle pubblicazioni precedenti.

I vari corpora sul materiale unico dell'area del Vesuvio sono utilissimi nonostante il fatto che un loro importante compito e risultato è cercar di definire le limitazioni e le conseguenti varie difficoltà nel tentativo di capire quanto si è perduto a causa dei terremoti prima dell'eruzione del 79 d.C., e d'altra parte a causa dei saccheggi e spoliazioni dopo la famosa eruzione, fin dall'antichità. Oltre alle necropoli i ritratti si concentrano soprattutto nella zona del foro nonostante le perdite subite dalla decorazione, dovute secondo l'autrice (p. 131) non soltanto al terremoto, ma al fatto che "la zona del foro è stata saccheggiata a più riprese a partire dall'antichità." La discussione su queste perdite (p. 21–24) potrebbe essere approfondita almeno con riferimenti alla recente discussione sulla questione di uno o più terremoti dopo quello famoso del 62 d.C. La probabilità di scosse un po' prima dell'eruzione del 79 d.C. rende il problema del perdurare delle conseguenze del terremoto (62 d.C.) ancora più spinoso di prima. Dei dettagli ci si limita qui a notare che rimane poco chiaro il riferimento (alla p. 24) ai quindici ritratti onorari rispetto al numero della dozzina elencata, dei quali si conosce il nome soltanto per tre (Eumachia, M. Holconius Rufus e C. Norbanus Sorex). La serie di iscrizioni inerenti ad altre statue onorarie (degli Holconii) in altri luoghi della città menzionata (sempre sulla p. 24) rimane senza riferimenti specifici. Per i *praenomina* delle donne menzionate alla p. 27 ci si riferisce nella nota 33 al contributo di J. (pro I.) Kajanto, al quale si può ora aggiungere l'opera più recente di M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina* (AIRF, vol. XIV), 1994.

I vari desiderata che sempre rimangono non dovrebbero trascurare il fatto che il libro costituisce una solida base per lavori futuri volti a specificare ed approfondire la discussione sulla ritrattistica pompeiana dal punto di vista delle più rilevanti dispute, come soprattutto la questione dell'interpretazione della loro funzione sociale, prendendo maggiormente atto delle iscrizioni, ciò che sarà facilitato con la speriamo non lontana pubblicazione dell'opera sulle iscrizioni pubbliche di Pompei da parte di Alison Cooley.

Antero Tammisto

LAURENT CHRANOVSKI – DENIS ZHURAVLEV: *Lamps from Chersonesos in the State Historical Museum – Moscow*. Studia Archaeologica 94. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1998. ISBN 88–8265–010–3. 296 p., 112 ill. ITL 250.000.

After Oscar Waldhauer's famous book 'Kaiserliche Ermitage, die antike Tonlampen' from 1914, the book of Chranovski and Zhuravlev is the first publication on ancient lamps in Russia in a non-Russian version. Naturally, the edition is a most welcome addition to the few lamp catalogues published, presenting an important group of finds from the Black Sea coast.

Here we have a catalogue of 112 lamps from Chersonesos, preserved in the State Historical Museum in Moscow. The book was written by the curator of the Archaeological Department in the Museum, Denis Zhuravlev, and Laurent Chrzanovski, member of the

Swiss Institute in Rome. This book is planned as the first volume of publications on antique collections of the same museum.

The catalogue is arranged in five parts which are preceded by an introductory chapter including a short history of Chersonesos. The five parts of the book include Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Mediaeval lamps and reproductions. The catalogue could however have been arranged in four parts instead of five, as the lustron in part IV, which consists of only one lamp, has been dated from the 9th to 11th century and could thus as well be included with the Byzantine lamps. A general discussion on the discus motifs in a separate chapter would have been better than to include long analyses in the catalogue, cf. no. 66 (p. 114–121) and no. 67 (p. 123–125).

In part II, the discussion on Roman round lamps, Loeschke type VIII, (p. 79–130) does not unfortunately take into consideration the important study by Jacqueline Bonnet on the workshops, 'Lampes céramiques signées, Définition critique d'ateliers du Haut Empire', Paris 1988. In part II, ch 4, the authors note that "a discus-motif which appears on Italian and provincial volute-lamps is used in the Northern Pontic area on Loeschke type VIII lamps" (p. 82), but these discus-motifs were similarly applied to the Broneer type XXVII lamps in Greece.

Furthermore, it could be emphasized that catalogue nos. 67, 68 and 70 belong to Broneer's type XXVII. Number 67 has good comparisons in Athens with a worn trefoil-and-reel rim and herringbone panels. Therefore it could be dated from the end of the 3rd to the early 4th century AD. Even though the authors see no. 68 as a local product, it seems that both no. 67 and no. 68 have punch-marked handles characteristic of Athenian lamp production in the late 3rd and the early 4th century AD. Number 68 has, as no. 67, worn herringbone panels on the shoulder.

The lamp catalogue is followed by a bibliography, an iconographical index, an index for inscriptions, and a useful dictionary for the lamp parts in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Russian, followed by illustrations. The lamps are illustrated with good quality black-and-white photos and drawings representing the lamp top, the section and, when visible, the base mark.

Arja Karivieri

ANNAMARIA LARESE – DANIELE SGREVA: *Le lucerne fittili del Museo Archeologico di Verona I–II. Collezioni e musei archeologici del Veneto 40–41*. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1996. ISBN 88–7689–150–1. 546 p., 687 ill. ITL 800.000.

This publication on terracotta lamps in the Archaeological Museum at Verona is divided into two parts, where volume I includes the introduction, the bibliography and the catalogue of 22 lamp groups, and volume II covers the catalogue of the lamp groups XXIII–XXXI, an iconographical catalogue, a discussion of the workshop signatures and other inscriptions and symbols on the lamps, tables for collections, proveniences and a concordance, and finally, indices for decorative motifs, workshop signatures, other stamps, and a general index. The catalogue is dedicated to the memory of Daniele Sgreva, who died in 1995 before the book was published. The final part of the catalogue was finished by Annamaria Larese alone, which explains the differences in the chapter discussing the workshop marks.

The lamp collection of the Archaeological Museum at Verona dates back to 1857, when the museum was opened in the Palazzo Pompei alla Vittoria. The 687 items derive mostly from private collections and the provenience of many of the lamps is therefore unknown. These lamps present various types, productions, and time periods. Numerous lamps were acquired as souvenirs by private collectors or bought in the auctions. Only a minor group, 138 lamps, derives from local excavations; for example, 27 lamps from the excavations of a necropolis in Raldon south of Verona.

The 687 lamps in the catalogue are arranged according to chronological criteria, following well-known typologies. Instead of using Munsell Soil Color Charts, the authors had chosen to use DIN Farbenkarten 6164 (Deutsches Institut für Normung) to describe the colours of the fabrics and the glazes of lamps.

A presentation of every group includes a list of corresponding typological types and a short discussion of each type before the catalogue entries and illustrations of both lamp tops and profiles or lamp bases. This arrangement is very convenient for the reader. The tables for different collections provide the following information for each lamp in the collection: the catalogue number, the inventory number in the museum, the typological group, decoration on the lamp, the possible workshop signature or a stamp and the provenience of the lamp.

This catalogue is a well-written and a most welcome addition to the growing list of museum catalogues of lamps. It is especially appreciated for the good quality of illustrations and for being an important addition for the publications on Italian lamps of the Early and Mid-Roman period.

Arja Karivieri

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