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INDEX

OLLI SALOMIES	<i>Iiro Kajanto in memoriam</i>	9
NEIL ADKIN	<i>The Ninth Book of Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria and Jerome</i>	13
GÉZA ALFÖLDY	<i>Drei Bauinschriften aus Gabii</i>	27
E. BADIAN	<i>Two Numismatic Phantoms. The False Priest and the Spurious Son</i>	45
LILIANE BODSON	<i>Ancient Greek Views on the Exotic Animal</i>	61
CHRISTER BRUUN	<i>Missing Houses: Some Neglected Domus and other Abodes in Rome</i>	87
MIKA KAJAVA	<i>Visceratio</i>	109
WALTHER LUDWIG	<i>Martin Crusius und das Studium des Griechischen in Nordeuropa</i>	133
SILVIO PANCIERA	<i>Ancora nomi nuovi o rari da iscrizioni latine di Roma</i>	149
MARK POBJOY	<i>The decree of the pagus Herculaneus and the Romanisation of 'Oscan' Capua</i>	175
OLLI SALOMIES	<i>Three Notes on Roman Nomina</i>	197
W. J. SCHNEIDER	<i>Philologisch-kunstgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu drei Stücken der Anthologia Latina</i>	225
HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta epigraphica CLXXIII–CLXXVI</i>	235
RISTO VALJUS	<i>An Oriental Baker at Ostia</i>	259
TOIVO VILJAMAA	<i>Participium coniunctum – Syntactic Definitions of the Participle in Ancient Grammars</i>	265
	<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	277
	<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	319
	<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	321
	<i>Index scriptorum</i>	325

MANIBUS

PENTTI AALTO

PHILOLOGIAE INDOEUROPAEAE
IN UNIVERSITATE HELSINGIENSI PROFESSORIS EMERITI

22.7.1917 – 30.11.1998



IIRO KAJANTO
7.6.1925 – 30.12.1997
IN MEMORIAM

Iiro Kajanto, linguae Latinae litterarumque Romanarum in universitate Helsingiensi professor emeritus, mortem obiit domi suae in oppido Espoo prope Helsingiam III Kal. Ian. a. 1997. Fuit annorum tantum LXXII, ita ut iure dici possit eum mature decessisse, praesertim cum usque ad diem supremum fuerit multis variisque laboribus occupatus; homo enim minime otiosus tum demum, cum emeritus ex Universitate Helsingiensi dimissus est, totus vacare potuit litteris Latinis indagandis investigandis perscrutandis. Tamen antequam ad haec ultima venio pauca mihi sunt repetenda de vita et moribus hominis cum optimi tum perhumani.

Natus erat Iiro Kajanto (de praenomine observandum est in lingua Fennica duabus litteris *i* indicari *i* vocalem pronuntiarum productam) in oppido Rauma Fenniae in occidentem spectantis Id. Iun. a. 1925. Educatus est in gymnasio Kokemäkiensi prope oppidum supra scriptum, ex quo gymnasio maturitatem consecutus dimissus est a. 1945. Litterarum deinde studiis operam dedit in universitate Turkuensi, in qua factus est magister philosophiae a. 1951, licentiatus philosophiae a. 1953, doctor denique philosophiae a. 1957. Cum per aliquot annos Helsingiae in schola quadam linguam Latinam docuisset, docendi veniam in universitate Helsingiensi adsecutus est a. 1961. Eodem fere tempore, id est a. 1962, adlectus est inter sodales Societatis Investigationum Fennicae. At non multo post, anno scilicet 1967, factus est professor litterarum Romanarum (ut tum dicebatur) in universitate Helsingiensi ordinarius. Hoc munere functus est per annos XXIV usque ad a. 1991, quo dimissionem emeruit.

Iam videamus de iis studiis, quibus Kajanto praecipuam operam dedit et de operibus quae conscripsit. Adulescens etiamtum laboris multum tribuit deis fatoque apud scriptores quosdam investigandis; dissertationi enim eius academicae, qua gradum doctoris philosophiae adsecutus est, publici iuris

factae a. 1957, nomen est *God and Fate in Livy*; similem fere librum non ita multo post a. 1961 scripsit de Ovidio. Opuscula aut huius aut similis argumenti scripsit etiam postea. At eodem fere tempore omni studio coepit in res epigraphicas incumbere studiaque pertinentia ad hominum nomina. Iuvenis enim Romae in instituto Finlandiae Romano recens condito operam dederat titulis Christianis indagandis una cum aliis quibusdam philologiae studiosis, qui duce Henrico Zilliacus, praefecto tum Instituto eidem, Romae degebant eo consilio, ut titulos quosdam Christianos musei Vaticani ederent. Ex eo tempore multum ei cordi erant studia epigraphica et onomastica, de quibus argumentis multa scripsit et adulescens et etiam paulo grandior natu. Imprimis hoc loco nominandus est liber eius editus a. 1965 qui inscribitur *The Latin Cognomina*, qui liber sine dubio inter eos numerandus est, qui studiosis rerum Romanarum fere omnibus sunt noti. Neque tamen (ut alia multa omittam) tacendi sunt libri eodem fere tempore editi is qui inscribitur *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (a. 1963) et is qui est de supernominibus Latinis (a. 1967).

Non multo post Kajanto se ad studia recentioris Latinitatis convertit. Mandatum est enim ei anno circiter 1970, ut titulos repertos Romae in effossionibus factis in Largo Argentina edendos curaret. Inter titulos Latinos inventos loco supra dicto erant multi aetatis non Romanae, sed posterioris, medii scilicet aevi et etiam litterarum renascentium, quos omnes Kajanto inter inscriptiones Romanas edidit a. 1981 in libro cui nomen est *L'area sacra di Largo Argentina*. Titulis aetatis posterioris magnopere delectatus Kajanto se iam contulit ad eosdem paulo accuratius investigandos, quam occupationem mox secuti sunt praeter opuscula minora nonnulla etiam duo libri, *Classical and Christian. Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (a. 1980) et *Papal Epigraphy in Renaissance Rome* (a. 1982). At hoc modo cum incidisset in Latinitatem recentiorem, mox a titulis ad scriptores eiusdem aevi transgressus extremo aetatis tempore vires omnes in haec studia contulit. Inter scriptores prae ceteros coluit Poggium illum Bracciolinum Italum Henricumque Gabrielem Porthanum nostratem (1739–1804), professorem Turkuensem, qui princeps studiorum ad res humanas pertinentium in Fennia iure potest appellari. Eosdem scriptores non opusculis tantum moduli minoris est persecutus, sed etiam libris editis a. 1984 et 1987, *Porthan and Classical Scholarship* et *Poggio Bracciolini and Classicism. A Study in Early Italian Humanism*. Extremis iam aetatis annis praecipue occupatus erat in Latinitate et studiis humanisticis quae dicuntur saecu-

lorum XV, XVI, XVII Fenniae et etiam Sueciae (Fennia enim tum pars erat regni Suecici) investigandis. Quibus praesertim argumentis operam tum dederit optime apparet ex ipso indice librorum ab eodem scriptorum; sunt enim Humanism in a Christian Society I. The Attitude to Classical Mythology and Religion in Finland 1640–1713 (a. 1640 condita est universitas Turkuensis sive Suecice Aboensis) a. 1989; Humanism in a Christian Society II. Classical Moral Philosophy and Oratory in Finland 1640–1713 a. 1990; Christina Heroina. Mythological and Historical Exemplification in the Latin Panegyrics on Christina Queen of Sweden a. 1993; The Tragic Mission of Bishop Paul Juusten (fuit autem saec. XVI episcopus Aboensis, qui scripsit etiam Chronicon episcoporum Aboensium) to Tsar Ivan the Terrible. The Itinerary of the Delegation to Moscow a. 1995. Paulo ante mortem perfecit Fennice librum, in quo linguarum et Graecae et Latinae, item humanitatis classicae in Fennia inde a Medio aevo usque ad saec. XVIII historiam exposuit; quem librum typis descriptum videre iam non potuit. His omnibus libris addendae sunt versiones ab eodem ex lingua Latina in Fennicam factae: Fennice enim a. 1969 vertit Taciti Annales, a. 1982 Porthani eius, quem supra memoravi, Opera Selecta.

Restat, ut breviter mihi dicendus sit non professor, sed homo. Fuit Iiro Kajanto homo gravis sine severitate, homo sanctus non sine facilitate, semperque eum collegae tam Fenni quam externi (inter quos habuit amicos plurimos) non verebantur tantum verum etiam amabant. In instituto nostro Classico Helsingiensi fuit professor et per multos annos etiam praeses ea comitate eaque humanitate, ut collegis discipulisque saepius visus sit bonus pater familias potius quam magister. Discipulos suos pro alumni quodammodo habere videbatur, fuitque ei is mos, ut semper, cum incideret in discipulum quendam, rogaret, quidnam egisset, quidnam ageret, quidnam denique acturus esset, neque de studiis tantum rogabat sed etiam de vita privata. Valde (ut exemplum unum afferam) semper delectatus est, cum cognovit discipulos et praesertim discipulas suas matrimonium iniisse liberisque auctas esse, id quod supremum esse bonum affirmare solebat. Sed praesertim ei curae erant discipuli ii, qui in studiis plurimum proficiebant, eosque, quos studiosos esse vidit optimae spei, omnibus modis promovere semper conatus est.

Hominem amissimus rarae tam doctrinae (nam numerus librorum quos conscripsit mihi quidem paene mirabilis videtur esse) quam humanitatis.

Olli Salomies

THE NINTH BOOK OF QUINTILIAN'S *INSTITUTIO ORATORIA* AND JEROME¹

NEIL ADKIN

Whereas Hagendahl's meticulous investigation of Jerome's echoes of classical literature registers a substantial debt to both the eighth and tenth books of the *Institutio oratoria*, the same scholar is unable to point to a single borrowing from book IX of Quintilian's treatise.² Such a complete absence of imitation is all the more surprising, since the ninth book is by far the longest of the whole work; most of it deals with the crucial issue of figures of thought and speech, while the remainder is devoted to the equally important subject of *compositio*, by which Quintilian means the arrangement of the words. It may be supposed that this particular book will have been subjected to a very careful study by someone as preoccupied as Jerome with rhetorical refinement.³ Jerome can moreover be demonstrated to have borrowed freely from whatever text came to his attention.⁴ One might therefore expect that the ninth book of Quintilian's *Institutio* should have left some traces on Jerome's *oeuvre* after all; it is the aim of the present article to suggest that such is indeed the case.

Almost a century before the appearance of Hagendahl's study Luebeck had in fact posited an echo of book IX in Jerome's commentary on

¹ Works are cited according to *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum*, 2nd ed., 1990.

² H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics*, 1958, 412.

³ Evidence can be adduced to show that Jerome regularly enhances the stylistic level of the material he appropriates from writers of even the most impeccable literary standards; cf. (e. g.) the present writer, *C&M* 46 (1995) 237–254.

⁴ Cf. the present writer, *Philologus* 136 (1992) 234–255.

Jeremiah;⁵ however it was ignored by Hagendahl. In the passage at issue Jerome glosses Jeremiah 4,12b (*'et nunc ego – sed loquar iudicia mea cum eis'*) as follows: ἀποσιώπησις *iuxta illud Vergilianum: 'quos ego – sed motos praestat componere fluctus'*.⁶ In this statement Luebeck identifies a debt to Quintilian's discussion of the figure of *aposiopesis*; for the sake of arguments to be adduced later the text may here be cited in full: ἀποσιώπησις *quam idem Cicero reticentiam, Celsus obticentiam, nonnulli interruptionem appellant, et ipsa ostendit adfectus, vel irae, ut 'quos ego – sed motos praestat componere fluctus', vel sollicitudinis et quasi religionis: 'an huius ille legis, quam Clodius a se inventam gloriatur, mentionem facere ausus esset vivo Milone, non dicam consule? de nostrum omnium – non audeo totum dicere' ... vel alio transeundi gratia: 'Cominius autem – tametsi ignoscite mihi, iudices' (inst. 9,2,54). In a footnote (ib. 218, n. 2) Luebeck also referred to Donatus' commentary on Terence: *'egone illam quae illum': familiaris ἔλλειψις irascentibus ... nam amat ἀποσιωπήσεις nimia indignatio, ut Vergilius 'quos ego...'* (Ter. Eun. 65,1f.). Lammert then cited the same pair of texts in his own treatment of Jerome's gloss on Jeremiah.⁷ He also added a further passage from the Donatian commentary on the Eunuch: *'quae narravit': nimius affectus in utramque partem defectus orationis amat. ergo ἔλλειψις est: deest enim 'gaudia'* (1050,1f.). In addition reference was made to the note of Servius Danielis on Aeneid 1,135: *'quos ego': subauditur 'ulciscar'. ergo ἀποσιώπησις est.**

Here Donatus would seem on a priori grounds to be a more likely source than Quintilian, since in his capacity as Jerome's *grammaticus* the former had instilled into him a keen interest in precisely such grammatical technicalities. Jerome's dependence on Donatus in these matters had already been noted by Goelzer,⁸ who cited Jerome's treatment of pleonasm (in Dan. 11,17a ll. 1120–5) and *antiphrasis* (epist. 78,35,2). It may be noted that both

⁵ A. Luebeck, *Hieronimus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*, 1872, 217f.

⁶ In Ier. 1,77; the text of Vergil in question is Aen. 1,135.

⁷ F. Lammert, *De Hieronymo Donati discipulo*, 1912, 32.

⁸ H. Goelzer, *Étude lexicographique et grammaticale de la latinité de saint Jérôme*, 1884, 34f. Cf. also the more recent discussion in L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical*, 1981, 37–46.

figures had also been discussed by Quintilian;⁹ however in neither case do Quintilian's examples tally with Jerome's. In the passage from Jerome's commentary on Jeremiah there are in addition a number of specific considerations which would appear to tell against an echo of the *Institutio oratoria*. In the first place Quintilian adduces several instances of *aposiopesis*, among which Aeneid 1,135 merely exemplifies the particular usage associated with anger in contradistinction to other applications of the same figure; in Jerome on the other hand the Vergilian text stands alone as an illustration of *aposiopesis* in general. Secondly Jerome's 'judicial' context (cf. *iudicia* in lemma and gloss) might have been better served by Quintilian's similarly 'judicial' examples from Cicero.¹⁰ Finally Quintilian employs a Latin equivalent for the term *aposiopesis*,¹¹ whereas Jerome does not. The conclusion may accordingly be drawn that Hagendahl was in fact right to dismiss Luebeck's identification of a debt to book IX of the *Institutio* in Jerome's exposition of Jeremiah.

If then Jerome's source is to be found in Donatus rather than Quintilian, Luebeck would also appear to have been mistaken in drawing attention in his footnote to the former's commentary on Terence's *Eunuch*. The scholia designated as Servius Danielis would seem more or less to preserve portions of Donatus' commentary on Vergil.¹² The annotation given by this material to the line of the Aeneid cited in Jerome's gloss on Jeremiah to exemplify *aposiopesis* runs as follows: '*quos ego*': *subauditur 'ulciscar'*. *ergo ἀποσιώπησις est*. It is clear from Jerome's remark at *Adversus Rufinum* 1,16 that he was familiar with the commentary on Vergil

⁹ He deals with *antiphrasis* at inst. 1,6,34 and with pleonasm at inst. 8,3,53–55 and 9,3,46f.

¹⁰ The texts at issue come from the *Pro Milone* and the *Pro Cornelio* respectively. The second would have been especially apposite: *Cominius autem – tametsi ignoscite mihi, iudices*. If these Ciceronian passages are less well-known than the one from Vergil, they could for that very reason have provided Jerome with a highly welcome opportunity to advertise his erudition.

¹¹ Cf. inst. 9,2,57 as well as 9,2,54; the later passage refers to the figure simply as *reticentia*.

¹² Cf. P. K. Marshall in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, 1983, 386.

by his teacher Donatus.¹³ Because this passage places Donatus' Vergil commentary after the one devoted to Terence, Holtz has inferred that the latter had left Jerome with 'un souvenir plus durable';¹⁴ such an assumption would seem however to be unwarranted.¹⁵ Since Jerome's borrowings from Vergil are far more extensive than those from Terence,¹⁶ it is reasonable to suppose that his debt to his teacher's commentary on Vergil is proportionately greater than to that on Terence. Servius Danielis would accordingly seem a more likely source for Jerome's gloss on Jeremiah 4,12b. Here a piece of corroborative evidence may be adduced which has hitherto been overlooked by investigators of this issue. The scholium in Servius Danielis to Aeneid 1,135 continues: *ergo ἀποσιώπησις est, hoc est, ut ad alium sensum transeat*. An epexegetic observation to this effect would appear to be absent from other treatments of *aposiopesis*. It is therefore noteworthy that Jerome's comment on Jeremiah 4,12b, which would not seem to be indebted to any other exegete, also continues with immediate mention of precisely such a transition *ad alium sensum: dicturus itaque prospera retinet se et tristibus iungit tristia*.

If Hagendahl turns out to have been correct in discounting a Quintilianic echo in the commentary on Jeremiah, he was nonetheless wrong to suppose that the ninth book of the *Institutio oratoria* had exercised no influence whatsoever on Jerome's literary output. A dry and highly technical section of this book addresses the question of rhythm (4,45–57). Here Quintilian has occasion to paraphrase a text of Cicero's *Orator* (234). The

¹³ The text reads in full: *puto quod puer legeris Aspri in Vergilium ac Sallustium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos eius, et in Terentii comoedias praeceptoris mei Donati, aequae in Vergilium, et aliorum in alios, Plautum videlicet, Lucretium, Flaccum, Persium atque Lucanum*.

¹⁴ Holtz 26.

¹⁵ The sole reason for putting the Vergil commentary last would appear to be the circumstance that Vergil had also opened Jerome's enumeration (*Aspri in Vergilium ac Sallustium...*); hence by a species of appropriate 'ring-composition' the incomparable Vergil is made to occupy the key positions at both the beginning and end of the list of commentaries by named individuals. Moreover Jerome's specific mention of Terence's *comoediae* would seem to be merely due to the similar specificity of the immediately preceding references to the *orationes* and *dialogi* of Cicero.

¹⁶ Cf. Hagendahl 413–415.

Ciceronian original reads: *cuius* (sc. Demosthenes) *non tam vibrarent fulmina illa, nisi numeris contorta ferrentur*, which Quintilian adapts as follows: *'neque enim Demosthenis fulmina tantopere vibratura' dicit, 'nisi numeris contorta ferrentur'* (4,55). When Jerome wishes to express the inadequacy of human language to describe the thrill occasioned by Demetrius' decision to take the veil, he observes: *contortae Demosthenis vibrataeque sententiae tardius languidiusque ferrentur* (epist. 130,6,1). In these words Luebeck and Hagendahl merely detect an echo of Orator 234.¹⁷ It has however been argued recently by the present writer that instead Jerome is indebted to the Quintilianic formulation, which bears a somewhat closer resemblance to his own;¹⁸ moreover quotation in another work invests a text with a prominence which imprints it on the mind.

It would appear possible to identify a further borrowing from book IX. The preface to Jerome's translation of Job from the Hebrew discusses the metrical complexity which this work evinces in its original language. Here the following statement occurs: *interdum quoque rithmus ipse dulcis et tinnulus fertur numeris lege solutis* (praef. Vulg. Iob p. 71,13f.). Luebeck assumed that this wording had been taken straight from the fourth book of Horace's Odes,¹⁹ which speaks of Pindar in the same terms: *numerisque fertur lege solutis* (carm. 4,2,11f.). In a footnote Luebeck also mentioned that these lines were cited by Quintilian.²⁰ Again Hagendahl ignored the echo.²¹ This passage from book IV of Horace's Odes is however identified as Jerome's unique source by the Vatican edition of the preface to Job.²² The same identification is also found in the latest revision of the Stuttgart edition.²³

In this connection it may be observed that only one other debt to the fourth book of Horace's Odes has ever been detected in Jerome's *oeuvre*. His *Libellus de virginitate servanda* contains the following admonition:

¹⁷ Luebeck 133; Hagendahl, VChr 28 (1974) 221.

¹⁸ VChr 51 (1997) 27.

¹⁹ Luebeck 161.

²⁰ Ib. n. 2; the passage in question is inst. 9,4,54.

²¹ Hagendahl (1958) 408.

²² Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem, IX: Libri Hester et Iob, 1951, 71.

²³ R. Weber and R. Gryson, Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem, 4th ed., 1994, 731.

vestis nec satis munda nec sordida et nulla diversitate notabilis, ne ad te obvia praetereuntium turba consistat et digito demonstreris (epist. 22,27,3). Here scholars have seen an allusion to Ode 4,3,22f.: *quod monstror digito praetereuntium Romanae fidicen lyrae*.²⁴ It may however be questioned whether a specific debt to Odes IV is in fact involved here. In the first place being 'pointed out with the finger' is an extremely common locution.²⁵ Secondly Jerome's *digito* is in any case quite separate from *praetereuntium*, which instead occurs in the other half of his formulation (*ne ad te obvia praetereuntium turba consistat*).²⁶

²⁴ So Luebeck 161; Hagendahl (1958) 110; and most recently J. Blundell in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* X,2 col. 1013,42f. (s. v. *praetereo*) and M. Marin in R. Uglione (ed.), *Atti del convegno nazionale di studi su Orazio*, 1992, 265.

²⁵ Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* V,1 coll. 504,38ff.; 505,10ff. (s. v. *demonstro*); ib. col. 1124,45ff., esp. 53ff. (s. v. *digitus*); ib. VIII coll. 1441,64ff.; 1442,5ff. (s. v. *monstro*); A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, 1890, 116 (s. v. *digitus*, 8); R. Häussler, *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer*, 1968, 102; 156. Erasmus' annotation to this text of the *Libellus* had instead posited a debt to Persius 1,28 (*at pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier 'hic est'*); cf. *Omnium operum divi Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis tomus primus ... una cum argumentis et scholiis Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 1516, fo. 61 B. It may be noted that the scholium to this text of Persius cites Odes 4,3,21f. (*Schol. Pers. 1,28*); if the possibility of a Horatian reminiscence were in fact to be entertained in this passage of Jerome's *Libellus*, such a scholium might well have been the source. At school Jerome had read Persius with a commentary (cf. n. 13 above); he quotes him extensively (cf. Hagendahl [1958] 410f.).

²⁶ Here Lucan 3,81f. would seem to be pertinent (*nec constitit usquam / obvia turba*): these words exactly match Jerome's own (*ne ... obvia ... turba consistat*). It is true that the collocation of *turba* and *obvius* is attested elsewhere; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* IX,2 col. 319,68f. (citing *Mart. 4,53,6; 14,169,2; Suet. Claud. 10,2*). Jerome however shows no acquaintance with these other texts. On the other hand the juxtaposition of the three elements *turba*, *obvius* and *consistere* would seem to occur nowhere else at all; Lucan and Jerome concur in prefixing a paronymous negative to this triad, in which the adjective in each case precedes its noun. During his school-days Jerome had studied Lucan with the aid of a commentary (cf. n. 13 above); hence the present parallel, which has hitherto eluded scholars, may in fact be an authentic echo. The Lucanic phrasing would accordingly supply corroboration for the text of this letter of Jerome that is given by I. Hilberg, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae I*, 2nd ed., 1996, 183. Here this editor adopts the lection *obvia* in preference to *obviam*, which is found in half his MSS; earlier editions had instead favoured the latter reading.

If then Jerome's supposed debt to book IV of Horace's Odes in his *Libellus de virginitate* would seem in fact to be chimerical, the same can be shown to obtain for the putative echo in the preface to his translation of Job from the Hebrew; since this is the only other borrowing from Odes IV to have been alleged in Jerome's work, the inference may be drawn that this final book has left no direct trace whatever on his writings.²⁷ The lines of Odes 4,2 to which scholars posit a debt in the preface to Job had already been quoted by Quintilian at the end of the sentence immediately preceding the one which contains his citation of Orator 234;²⁸ the case was advanced above that Jerome's own allusion to this Ciceronian formulation in fact draws on the *Institutio oratoria*. It would therefore be no surprise if the same Quintilianic passage should likewise prove to be the source of his reference to Odes 4,2,11f.: two arguments can be adduced in corroboration of such a premise. Firstly the context in both Jerome and Quintilian is a discussion of metre: the pertinent sentence of the preface to Job continues with the words *quod metrici magis quam simplex lector intellegunt*.²⁹ Secondly the Horatian phrase cited by Quintilian (*numerisque fertur lege solutis*) is prefaced in Jerome by mention of 'rhythm': *rithmus ipse dulcis et tinnulus fertur numeris lege solutis*. This term *rithmus* is found in only two other passages of Jerome's vast *oeuvre*; both belong to letter 28, which is a highly technical disquisition on the *diapsalma*.³⁰ It would seem moreover that each

²⁷ In Jerome's day the fourth book of Horace's Odes would generally seem to have received less attention than the other three. The late antique commentaries on Horace are unanimous in stressing the disconnection of Odes IV from what precedes: the first three books constitute a homogeneous ensemble, to which the fourth was then arbitrarily appended 'under duress' (cf. Porph. Hor. cant. 4,1; Schol. [= Ps. Acron], Hor. carm. 4,1). Moreover these commentaries allot substantially less space to Odes IV. By contrast Jerome's indebtedness to the first three books of the Odes is not inconsiderable; cf. Hagendahl (1958) 408.

²⁸ The quotation of Horace occurs at inst. 9,4,54; that of the Orator at 9,4,55.

²⁹ P. 71,15. The *Institutio* is concerned with metre throughout this final portion of book IX.

³⁰ This epistle was written a whole decade before the preface to Job; cf. H. J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel*, 4th ed., 1995, 514 and 520.

of these occurrences is in fact due to Origen.³¹ If then Jerome's employment of *rithmus* in the preface to Job is really a *hapax*, it becomes highly significant that Quintilian had opened the sentence containing his quotation of Odes 4,2 with exactly the same word.³² In associating the term with these Horatian lines Quintilian had retained the Greek form *rhythmoē*; such distinctive orthography will have stamped the word on Jerome's mind. A similarly incisive impact is generated by quotation of another writer's text; this point was made above in connection with Jerome's borrowing of the adjacent formulation from the Orator. The conclusion may accordingly be drawn that Quintilian's citation of Odes 4,2,11f. has likewise been the source of Jerome's allusion to these lines in his preface to Job.

It would seem that one further echo of the ninth book of the *Institutio oratoria* can be detected in Jerome's works; this time however quotation of another author is not involved. Shortly after the translation of Job from the Hebrew a wealthy Spaniard named Lucinus had despatched a number of scribes on the long journey to Jerome's monastery in Bethlehem for the sole purpose of transcribing all his writings published to date. The elaborate letter which Jerome sent to accompany these copies reflects the writer's anxiety to impress his new correspondent, who was evidently learned as well as rich. One instance may be cited. When Jerome apprises Lucinus that renunciation of wealth is insufficient, he employs language of ostentatious erudition: *fecit hoc Thebanus Crates, fecit Antisthenes* (epist. 71,3,3). Jerome had made use of exactly the same formulation shortly beforehand in a letter to Pammachius, who is known for certain to have been of both noble

³¹ The first passage runs: *quidam diapsalma conmutationem metri esse dixerunt, alii pausam spiritus, nonnulli alterius sensus exordium, sunt qui rhythmī distinctionem et, quia psalmi tunc temporis iuncta voce ad organum canebantur, cuiusdam musicae varietatis* (epist. 28,2,1). The second reads: *utrum autem cuiusdam musicae cantilenae aut rhythmī inmutationem, qui interpretati sunt 'diapsalma', senserint aliudve quid intellexerint, tuo iudicio derelinquo* (28,6,4). The latter text is a literal translation from Origen (cf. 28,5: *quid Origenes de diapsalmate senserit, verbum interpretabor ad verbum*). The similarity of its wording (*cuiusdam musicae cantilenae aut rhythmī inmutationem*) to that of the initial passage (*rhythmī distinctionem et ... cuiusdam musicae varietatis*) would appear to indicate that the phraseology of this first text is likewise indebted to Origen.

³² The term *rhythmus* is in fact used frequently throughout this particular segment of the ninth book (4,45–57). In one of the cases in question it is employed with direct reference to the text of the Orator which Jerome himself appropriates.

background and first-class education.³³ In view of such striving for effect it might have been expected that the letter to Lucinus would show evidence of Jerome's penchant for appropriating impressive phraseology from elsewhere.³⁴ However it has hitherto proved impossible to identify a single borrowing from any classical author in this epistle.

The aridly technical section of book IX of the *Institutio oratoria* to which Jerome is indebted for his citations of both the Orator and Odes IV is enlivened by one very striking formulation. Shortly before Quintilian begins his discussion of rhythm he notes with regard to the clash of consonants how the Elder Cato had substituted the forms *dicae* and *faciae* for *dicam* and *faciam* respectively. In this connection he then observes: *quae in veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent, et dum librariorum insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur* (inst. 9,4,39). The letter to Lucinus avers that Jerome has exhorted his correspondent's scribes to the utmost care in the performance of their task. He continues: *unde, si paragrammata reppereris vel minus aliqua descripta sunt, quae sensum legentis impediunt, non mihi debes inputare, sed tuis et inperitiae notariorum librariorumque incuriae, qui scribunt non, quod inveniunt, sed, quod intellegunt, et, dum alienos errores emendare nituntur, ostendunt suos* (epist. 71,5,2). This concluding antithesis has evidently been inspired by the Quintilianic *dum librariorum insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur*. In both passages criticism of another's error entails disclosure of the critic's own. Each also evinces precisely the same structure: while the first clause opens with a *dum*, the second is characterized by a form of *suus*. The context too is identical: the shortcomings of copyists are at issue in both. Here it may be noted how Jerome's *librariorum ... incuriae* exactly matches the *librariorum ... inscientiam* of the *Institutio*, while his *inperitiae* corresponds to the Quintilianic *imperiti*.³⁵ The antithesis itself was bound to attract Jerome's notice: its impressiveness is enhanced by a very striking chiasmus (...*inscientiam, suam...*), which receives additional prominence from the homoeoteleuton.

Barely a year before his letter to Lucinus Jerome had employed a simpler form of the same idea in his commentary on the ten visions of

³³ The passage in question is epist. 66,8,3. For Pammachius' lineal and scholarly distinction cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies*, 1975, 19.

³⁴ Cf. nn. 3 and 4 above.

³⁵ The *inveniunt* of the letter to Lucinus also reproduces Quintilian's *reperta*.

Isaiah: *ne quis scriptoris vitium putet et errorem dum emendare vult faciat, una urbs et per M et per B litteram scribitur, e quibus Dimon 'silentium' interpretatur, Dibon 'fluens'*.³⁶ Because Jerome had dictated this commentary, its style was unpretentious.³⁷ When however Jerome wished to impress shortly afterwards in his epistle to Lucinus, he availed himself of Quintilian's more elaborate formulation with its striking antithesis between censure of others' faults and divulgence of one's own. By a characteristic piece of self-imitation Jerome then reverts to the simple phrasing of the Isaiah commentary in the following decade, when he is once again extemporizing in his Tractates on the Psalms.³⁸ In the passage at issue here Jerome argues that Matthew 13,35 originally contained the name 'Asaph', which owing to its unfamiliarity was assumed to be erroneous; a scribe then rectified the 'mistake' by substituting 'Isaiah': *et quid fecit? ut dum errorem emendaret, fecit errorem* (tract. in psalm. I p. 67 ll. 90f.). Here the wording is even more prosaic: *errorem* is simply repeated.³⁹

³⁶ In Is. 5,15,9. While the epistle to Lucinus belongs to 398, the commentary on Isaiah 13–23 was written in 397; cf. F. Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme: Sa vie et son oeuvre* I,2, 1922, 45f.

³⁷ Cf. in Is. lib. 5 praef. ll. 47–51.

³⁸ For these tractates as 'improvisations orales' cf. G. Morin, *Études, textes, découvertes*, 1913, 249. This view has recently been restated by P. Jay in Y.-M. Duval (ed.), *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*, 1988, 367–380. In his discussion of these tractates Kelly 136 speaks of 'their unadorned colloquialism, their crudities of style'. They were delivered between 401 and 410; cf. Morin 234.

³⁹ By way of appendix it may be observed that this idea finds one further echo in Jerome's *oeuvre*; however the text in question this time has subjected it to substantial modification. Jerome's 106th letter belongs to the same decade as his Tractates on the Psalms; for a date of 404–410 cf. B. Altaner, *VChr* 4 (1950) 246–248. This letter, which Kelly 285 qualifies as 'aridly fatiguing', elucidates the disparities to be found in Jerome's Gallican Psalter *vis-à-vis* the Septuagint. In connection with Psalm 85,14 (*et non proposuerunt te in conspectu suo*) Jerome observes: *et dicitis, quod in vestro codice 'te' non habeat. addite 'te' et emendato errore librarii vestrum quoque errorem emendabit* (epist. 106,56,1). Here the antithesis would seem to be largely redundant; it is significantly eliminated by one of Hilberg's codices, which reads simply *addite 'te' et emendabit errorem librarii vestri*. The otiose polarity is due merely to Jerome's inability to refrain from redeploing phraseology which has once caught his fancy.

Jerome's formulation in the self-conscious letter to Lucinus marks a stylistic improvement over that of the *Institutio oratoria*: such enhancement of his source is typical.⁴⁰ In the first place Jerome has taken over the alliterative collocation *errores emendare* from his own commentary on Isaiah. To *errores* the compendious epithet *alienos* has then been prefixed by a further self-imitation.⁴¹ Initial *alienos* is balanced by final *suos*: the result is a species of antithetic *reditio*,⁴² which is further accentuated by homoeoteleuton.⁴³ These contrasting direct objects in turn enclose the verbs, which are juxtaposed in the middle of Jerome's statement to form a graceful chiasmus; each is a trisyllabic molossus (*nituntur, ostendunt*).⁴⁴ The clausulae generated by these verbs are also notably elegant. While a cretic spondee concludes the first half, the second ends with a spondee cretic;⁴⁵ they accordingly evince a pattern that is identical, but in reverse. Finally it may be observed how the letter to Lucinus has expanded the simple *librariorum ... inscientiam* of the Quintilianic antithesis into an impressive *inperitiae*

40 Cf. n. 3 above.

41 Jerome had similarly combined *alienus* and *error* at in Matth. 14,1. This work had been produced only a few months before the letter to Lucinus; cf. Cavallera 159f. Jerome had employed this locution only once before at epist. 34,3,2, which had been written some fourteen years earlier. The juxtaposition is not common; no example is cited by Thes. Ling. Lat. V,2 col. 819,48ff. (s. v. *error*; 'epitheta').

42 On the figure of *reditio* cf. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 3rd ed., 1990, 317f.

43 Not only does Jerome achieve a far more striking antithesis than that of the *Institutio*; his homoeoteleuton is also more elegant than Quintilian's immediately contiguous *inscientiam, suam*, which because of the shortness of the second term comes close to violating the precept enunciated in the very same passage of the *Institutio* (9,4,41: *videndum etiam ne syllaba verbi prioris ultima et prima sequentis idem sonet*). The Quintilianic juxtaposition unquestionably infringes the rule laid down by Julius Victor (rhet. p. 86,3–5): *inter nomina aut pronomina in eosdem casus cadentia nomen diversi casus interveniat*.

44 On the other hand Quintilian employs verbs of two and four syllables respectively (*volunt ... confitentur*). Jerome's pair also shares an element of *adnominatio*: the sound *unt* is common to both.

45 Cf. M. C. Herron, *A Study of the Clausulae in the Writings of St. Jerome*, 1937, 12–16 and 36–40.

notariorum librariorumque incuriae,⁴⁶ which Jerome positions in advance of his own antithetical formulation. Again the arrangement is elaborately chiasitic; each half also contains exactly ten syllables. Inceptive *in-* lends a touch of *adnominatio* to the outer pair, while both are marked by a homoeoteleuton which is however neatly tempered in the case of the genitive plurals by the addition of *-que*; when taken with the adjacent *incuriae* the enclitic particle gives this word syllabic parity with the corresponding term *inperitiae*.

If then Jerome has outdone his source in stylistic finesse, the phrasing of the letter to Lucinus entails a slight but characteristic illogicality that is absent from the *Institutio*.⁴⁷ Jerome has intensified and concretized Quintilian's language: instead of merely 'wishing to censure the scribes' inexpertise' these pantologists now 'strive to correct their blunders'.⁴⁸ While therefore Quintilian's temperate phraseology had avoided the implication that an actual mistake was involved, the over-emphasis of the letter to Lucinus entails an explicit affirmation of precisely such error: *alienos errores emendare nituntur*. However Jerome himself has just made clear in the immediately antecedent words that there is in fact no 'error' to 'correct': *scribunt non, quod inveniunt, sed, quod intellegunt*.⁴⁹ Axelson has drawn attention to the kind of inconcinnity which results from inept exaggeration of a source's wording;⁵⁰ Jerome has made himself guilty of the same fault here.

A final point may be made. Jerome deprecates the habit of ending every paragraph with a clever and *ad captandum* apophthegm: *ne a me*

⁴⁶ Here *inperitiae* has been suggested by Quintilian's immediately preceding *imperiti*.

⁴⁷ For such inconcinnities in Jerome's work cf. the present writer (1992) 236–238.

⁴⁸ It may be noted that the abstract terminology corresponding to the Quintilianic *inscientia* has already been deployed by Jerome in the foregoing *inperitiae notariorum librariorumque incuriae*.

⁴⁹ The inconsistency is reflected in the translations, which attempt to patch it up; cf. (e. g.) L. Schade, *Des hl. Kirchenvaters Eusebius Hieronymus ausgewählte Briefe*, II. Briefband, 1937, repr. 1968, 380: 'während sie sich bemühen, die vermeintlichen Fehler anderer zu verbessern'. Such a flaw is absent from the analogous passages of the commentary on Isaiah and of the *Tractates on the Psalms* which were discussed above; both indicate clearly that there a 'mistake' is indeed being corrected.

⁵⁰ B. Axelson, *Das Prioritätsproblem Tertullian – Minucius Felix*, 1941, 70.

quaeras ... per fines capitum singulorum acuta quaedam breviterque conclusa, quae plausus et clamores excitent audientum (epist. 52,4,1). He is nonetheless highly partial to this practice himself: the formulation currently at issue constitutes a palmary example, since it provides a very striking and succinct conclusion to the section dealing with copyists' inadequacies.⁵¹ In the light of this observation it is accordingly necessary to modify the division into paragraphs adopted by Hilberg's edition, which erroneously postpones a new one until the mention of Jerome's translations of the Old and New Testaments some four lines later;⁵² hence the topic of scribal error is arbitrarily attached to the intervenient discussion of other translations by Jerome, which consist this time of his alleged renderings of Josephus, Papias and Polycarp together with his actual versions of Origen and Didymus (ll. 2–6). The new paragraph should however begin immediately after the arresting aphorism that rounds off his treatment of mistakes made by scribes (ll. 1f.);⁵³ all Jerome's activities as a translator are now neatly combined as a single unit, which forms the third paragraph of the chapter. The second consists of Jerome's strictures regarding copyists, while the first deals with the transcription of his works by Lucinus' scribes. In this way the chapter acquires a coherence and symmetry which it has hitherto lacked.

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⁵¹ For a further instance cf. the present writer, WS 104 (1991) 157f. There too the phraseology in question had been appropriated from elsewhere; again Jerome had enhanced it.

⁵² P. 6, l. 6 of Hilberg's text.

⁵³ The first word of the following sentence, which initiates the subject of Jerome's translations, is significantly *porro* (l. 2). This term is regularly employed for the purpose of 'introducing a new consideration' (so Oxf. Lat. Dict. 1406; s. v. 6).

DREI BAUINSCHRIFTEN AUS GABII

Iiro Kajanto zum Gedächtnis

GÉZA ALFÖLDY

1.

Unter den epigraphischen Denkmälern, die bei den Ausgrabungen der *Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma* während der Jahre 1956 und 1969 in der antiken Stadt Gabii (bei Castiglione in Latium) unweit von Rom zutage kamen, befinden sich die Bruchstücke einer beidseitig beschrifteten Tafel, die mehr Interesse verdienen, als ihnen bisher zuteil geworden ist¹. Es handelt sich um drei Fragmente aus lunensischer Marmor, die sich unmittelbar zusammenfügen lassen (Abb. 1 und 3). Von der Inschrift, die u. a. die Reste der Nomenklatur und der Rangtitulatur Hadrians enthält und sich als der frühere der beiden Texte erweist (siehe unten), sind die linke obere Ecke und ein Teil der linken unteren Hälfte erhalten; von der Inschrift auf der Rückseite sind dementsprechend die rechte obere Ecke und ein Teil der rechten unteren Hälfte vorhanden. Beide Seiten der Tafel waren geglättet. Die frühere Inschrift war von einem einfachen, durch eine eingetiefte Linie gebildeten Rahmen umgeben, von dem oben, links und unten jeweils ein Teil erhalten ist; die spätere Inschrift auf der Rückseite war nicht eingerahmt. Gefunden wurden die Fragmente im *Temenos* des Tempels in der Stadtmitte, der von den meisten Forschern als ein Heiligtum der Göttin Iuno interpretiert wird, nach F. Coarelli jedoch auch ein Tempel der mit Venus identifizierten Fortuna gewesen sein könnte².

¹ Für die beiden Rekonstruktionszeichnungen, die hier als Abb. 5 und 6 veröffentlicht werden, danke ich Frau Brigitte Ruck, die sie nach meinen Vorlagen angefertigt hat. Für Ratschläge und Hilfe bin ich Werner Eck, Heike Niquet und Christian Witschel verbunden.

² F. Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma (Guide archeologiche Laterza)*, Roma – Bari 1981, 171

Beide Inschriften wurden zunächst von dem vielseitigen und verdienten E. Rodríguez Almeida bearbeitet; die von ihm stammenden Rekonstruktionszeichnungen wurden in der von M. Almagro-Gorbea herausgegebenen, großen Publikation der Grabungsergebnisse im erwähnten Tempelbezirk von C. Basas Faure zusammen mit einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der Fragmente wiederholt bzw. modifiziert.³ Die beiden Texte, die in den Rekonstruktionszeichnungen (Abb. 2 und 4) dargeboten werden, erscheinen in der *Année Épigraphique* in folgender Transkription⁴:

Text *a*: *Imp[erator Caesar] / P(ublius) Ael[lius Divi Traiani f(ilius) / T]ra[ianus Augustus, pont(ifex) / m]aximus, tr(ibunicia) [pot(estate) --, co(n)s(ul) --, p(ater) p(atriciae) / ru]inis vetu[state prostratum / restituit]*. Die Wiedergabe ist insofern ungenau, als am Anfang der 2. Zeile ein Rest des T erhalten ist und in der 4. Zeile auch das abgekürzte Wort *tr(ibunicia)* in eckigen Klammern stehen müßte.

Text *b*: *[---]isi / [---]unt*. Die Herausgeber der *Année Épigraphique*, die auf jeden Ergänzungsversuch verzichteten, hielten es nicht einmal für nötig, die Interpretation, die von Rodríguez Almeida vorgeschlagen und von Basas Faure revidiert wurde, überhaupt zu erwähnen. Nach Rodríguez Almeida seien diese Textreste in der Form *[---]isl / [---]unt* zu lesen, nach Basas Faure in der Form *[Mun(icipio) Gabiens]isi (!) / [deder]unt* zu ergänzen.

Rodríguez Almeida und Basas Faure waren, gefolgt von E. Thomas und Chr. Witschel, der Ansicht, daß die Tafel in einem Gitter eingefaßt war;

f.; vgl. dens., in: M. Almagro-Gorbea (Ed.), *El santuario de Juno en Gabii. Excavaciones 1956–1969* (Bibliotheca Italica 17), Roma 1982, 130.

³ E. Rodríguez Almeida, *Cuadernos de Trabajos de la Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma* 12, 1969, 39 ff. Nr. 7 mit Taf. VI Fig. 1–2 (Fotos) und VII Fig. 1–2 (Zeichnungen); C. Basas Faure, in: *Santuario* (Anm. 2) 226 f. Nr. 16 mit Fig. 1–2 auf S. 227 (Rekonstruktionszeichnungen) sowie mit Taf. XXXI 10–11 (Fotos). Basas Faure übt an der auf Rodríguez Almeida zurückgehenden Lesung der Buchstaben TRA am Anfang der 3. Zeile der längeren Inschrift zu Unrecht Kritik.

⁴ AE 1982, 142 *a* und *b*. Die Ergänzungen für den Schlußteil des Textes werden auch von E. Thomas – Chr. Witschel, *PBSR* 60, 1992, 169 Anm. 220, als die vermeintlich richtigen zitiert.



Abb. 1. Hadrianische Bauinschrift aus Gabii, erhaltene Fragmente.

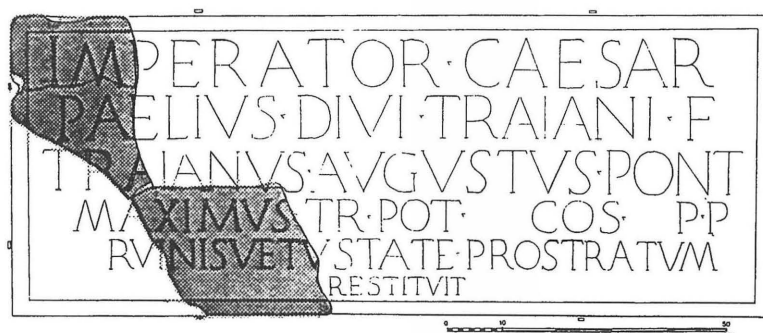


Abb. 2. Hadrianische Bauinschrift, Rekonstruktion durch E. Rodríguez Almeida.

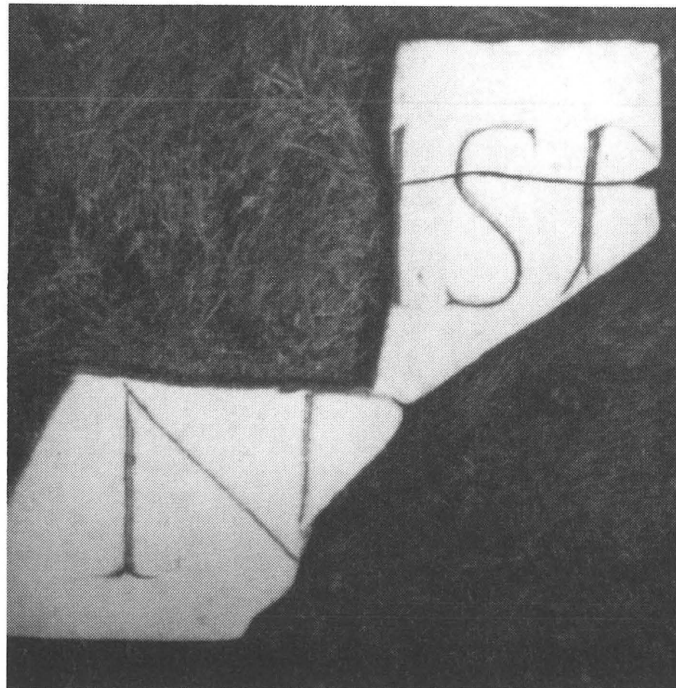


Abb. 3. Spätantike Bauinschrift aus Gabii, erhaltene Fragmente.

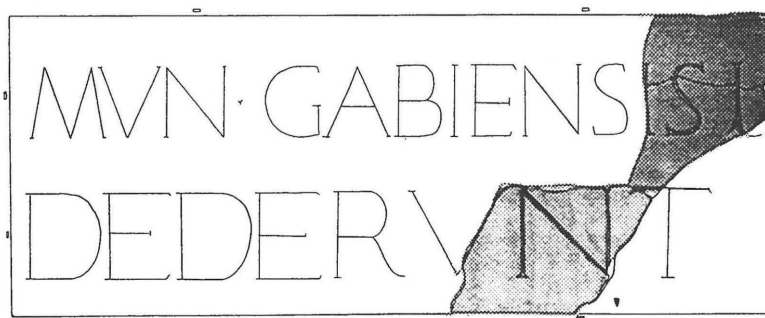


Abb. 4. Spätantike Bauinschrift, Rekonstruktion durch C. Basas Faure.

nach diesen Forschern waren die Texte auf beiden Seiten der Tafel gleichzeitig zu lesen und gehörten inhaltlich zusammen⁵. Davon kann jedoch keine Rede sein. Denn zum einen läßt sich die erste der beiden Inschriften, die eine Baumaßnahme Hadrians dokumentiert und, wie von allen genannten Forschern sicher richtig angenommen, mit dem Prädikat *restituit* im Singular endete, inhaltlich nicht mit dem Text auf der Rückseite verbinden: Am Ende dieser zweiten Inschrift stand auf jeden Fall ein Verb im Plural, unbeschadet der Frage, wie wir dieses Verb, von dem nur der Rest [---]unt erhalten ist, ergänzen wollen. Zum anderen ist die Paläographie der beiden Inschriften verschieden. Die Buchstaben der Inschrift auf der Rückseite weisen, wie das von Basas Faure veröffentlichte Foto zeigt, viel deutlicher ausgeprägte *cornua* als die Buchstaben des anderen Textes auf. Bemerkenswert ist im zweiten Text vor allem das I am Ende der 1. Zeile: Die senkrechte Haste läuft unten in zwei Endungen aus. Diese Schriftform gehört schwerlich in die Zeit Hadrians; sie muß erheblich späteren Datums sein. Rodríguez Almeida selbst hat zu dem erwähnten Typus des I scharfsinnig bemerkt, daß ein ähnliches Schriftzeichen – allerdings ein L – in einer Grabinschrift der senatorischen *Acilii* aus der Catacomba di Santa Priscilla in Rom zu finden ist⁶. Diese Inschrift gehört freilich frühestens in das späte 3., am ehesten in das 4. Jahrhundert. Ungefähr diese Datierung ist auch für den Text auf der Rückseite der hier behandelten Tafel anzunehmen.

Wie Rodríguez Almeida erkannte, bezieht sich die Inschrift auf der Vorderseite der Tafel auf die Wiederherstellung eines öffentlichen Bauwerkes durch Kaiser Hadrian. Der Text wurde aber von ihm in der angeführten Weise sicher nicht richtig wiederhergestellt. Hadrians Nomenklatur wäre so vollkommen ungewöhnlich; darüber hinaus ist die für die letzte Zeile vorgeschlagene Rekonstruktion ohne ein Objekt, auf das sich das ergänzte Adjektiv *prostratum* beziehen müßte, unvollständig, und das im Dativ oder Ablativ eingesetzte Wort [ru]inis sperrt sich der grammatikal-

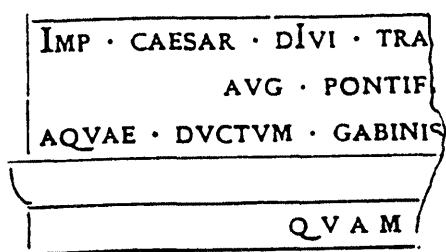
⁵ Siehe bes. E. Thomas – Chr. Witschel, a.a.O. (Anm. 4) 169 f.: "Hadrian had the record of the rebuilding of some unknown part of the sanctuary of Juno here fitted into a balustrade of Luna marble so that its reconstruction message could be read on the one side and its municipal dedication on the other."

⁶ CIL VI 31679 = ICVR, N. S. IX 24834; siehe hierzu demnächst ausführlich im neuen Supplement zu CIL VI, Tituli magistratum populi Romani (erscheint 1999) unter den Addenda et corrigenda.

ischen Einordnung. Vielmehr müssen wir davon ausgehen, daß die Namen des Kaisers in einer Inschrift, die dieser selbst dedizierte, in jeder Hinsicht völlig korrekt angeführt wurden: Die wesentlichen Teile des Textes, auf jeden Fall aber die Nomenklatur des Herrschers, müssen direkt oder indirekt dem Text des kaiserlichen Reskripts entnommen worden sein, mit dem Hadrian die Wiederherstellung eines öffentlichen Bauwerkes in Gabii angeordnet hatte. Selbstverständlich müßte auch der Textteil, in dem die Wiederherstellung des fraglichen Bauwerkes beschrieben wurde, grammatikalisch hieb- und stichfest sein und möglichst einem bekannten Formular entsprechen.

2.

Bevor versucht wird, den ursprünglichen Wortlaut dieser Inschrift wiederherzustellen, ist es zweckmäßig, auf eine andere Bauurkunde aus Gabii einzugehen, die auffällige Ähnlichkeiten mit dem hier behandelten epigraphischen Dokument aufweist. Diese Inschrift war offenbar auf einem Architrav eingemeißelt und berichtete davon, daß Hadrian in Gabii eine Wasserleitung hatte bauen oder vielmehr erneuern lassen. Die heute nicht mehr vorhandene Inschrift wurde von E. Q. Visconti kurz nach ihrer Auffindung im Jahre 1792 folgendermaßen beschrieben⁷:



Die ersten drei Zeilen dieser Inschrift dürften mit den am ehesten plausibel erscheinenden Ergänzungen ungefähr so gelautet haben:

*Imp(erator) Caesar Divi Tra[iani Parthici filius Divi Nervae nepos
Traianus Hadrianus]
Aug(ustus) pontif[ex maximus tribunicia potestate --- co(n)s(ul) III]
aquae ductum Gabinis [vestustate conlapsum ad novam faciem (?)
restituit].*

⁷ CIL XIV 2797, offenbar Fragment eines Architravs; vgl. W. Eck, *Kölner Jahrb. f. Vor- u. Frühgeschichte* 28, 1995, 632.

Für die 1. Zeile wurde hier die von H. Dessau im CIL vorgeschlagene Rekonstruktion übernommen. In der 2. Zeile ergänzte Dessau die Rangtitulatur Hadrians so: *pontif[ex maximus trib. pot. --- imp. --- cos. --- p. p.]*. Hier wird für diese Zeile ein kürzerer Text vorgeschlagen, der den Anforderungen der Symmetrie ungefähr entspricht und eine frühere Datierung nach sich zieht, als diese sich aus Dessaus Rekonstruktion des Textes ergeben würde.

Die Inschrift gehört allerdings schwerlich in die ersten Regierungsjahre Hadrians. Die Ergänzung der Iterationsziffer *III* nach der Konsulatsangabe, durch die sich das Jahr 119 als Terminus a quo für die hier behandelte Inschrift ergeben würde, beruht auf der Hypothese, daß die Aquäduktinschrift nicht schon im Jahre 118, sehr bald nach dem im Vorjahr erfolgten Regierungsantritt Hadrians, sondern erst später angefertigt wurde. Die verschiedenen Bauarbeiten, die Hadrian in Gabii durchführen ließ, darunter die Wiederherstellung der Curia der Stadt, betrafen Bauten, die möglicherweise während eines Erdbebens zu Beginn seiner Regierungszeit beschädigt oder zerstört worden waren⁸. Die Arbeiten wurden jedenfalls nach Ausweis der zahlreichen exakt datierten Bauziegel, die während der Ausgrabungen im Tempelbezirk zutage gekommen sind, erst zwischen 123 und 130 durchgeführt bzw. beendet⁹. Für eine Bautätigkeit Hadrians, die sich über einen längeren Zeitraum erstreckte, sprechen u. a. auch zwei diesem Herrscher gewidmeten Huldigungsinschriften aus Gabii, von denen die erste wahrscheinlich, die zweite mit Sicherheit zum Dank für Hadrians der Stadt er-

⁸ E. Rodríguez Almeida, a.a.O. (Anm. 3) 53, ging von einem Erdbeben im Jahre 117 aus; ihm folgen J. Arxé Gálvez, in: Santuario (Anm. 2) 196 und M. Almagro-Gorbea, ebd. 619. Dieser Erdbeben läßt sich allerdings nicht exakt nachweisen. In der antiken Literatur wird nur sehr allgemein von Erdbeben unter Hadrian berichtet, siehe HA, H 21,5: *Fuerunt eius temporibus fames, pestilentia, terrae motus, quae omnia, quantum potuit, procuravit multisque civitatibus vastis per ista subvenit*. Vgl. hierzu E. Guidoboni, in: dies. (Ed.), *I terremoti prima del Mille in Italia e nell'area mediterranea*, Bologna 1989, 604; E. Guidoboni – A. Comastri – G. Traina, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*, Roma 1994, 232 f., wo die Angabe über den oder die genannten Erdbeben auf Italien bezogen wird. Zu Hadrians Bauprogramm in Gabii vgl. noch F. Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma* (Anm. 2) 169. Die *curia Aelia Augusta* des Municipiums (CIL XIV 2795 = ILS 272) wurde offenbar nach Hadrian, ihrem Wiederhersteller, benannt.

⁹ J. Arxé Gálvez, in: Santuario (Anm. 2) 197 ff.

wiesenen Wohltaten gesetzt wurde. Beide wurden nicht zu Beginn seiner Regierungszeit, sondern erst später dediziert: die erste am Ende des Jahres 123 oder im Jahre 124¹⁰, die zweite frühestens im Jahre 128¹¹.

Ungefähr in den gleichen Zeitraum dürfte auch die Aquäduktinschrift gehören. Dessau, der in der 2. Zeile nicht nur den Rangtitel *p(ater) p(atriae)*, sondern auch den Titel *imp(erator)* – womit nur Hadrians zweite und zugleich letzte imperatorische Akklamation gemeint sein kann – einfügte, setzte damit freilich voraus, daß die Inschrift aus den letzten Jahren Hadrians stammt: Hadrian erhielt den an erster Stelle erwähnten Titel im Jahre 128, die zweite imperatorische Akklamation erst am Ende des Jahres 134 oder im Jahre 135¹². In der hier vertretenen Rekonstruktion wurden diese Titulaturelemente in der Annahme weggelassen, daß die Inschrift ähnlich wie die erwähnten direkten oder indirekten Zeugnisse für eine großangelegte Bautätigkeit in Gabii aus den zwanziger Jahren des 2. Jahrhunderts, am ehesten etwa aus dem Zeitraum zwischen 123 und 128, stammt. Die beiden Buchstaben *p(ater) p(atriae)* könnte man allerdings

¹⁰ CIL XIV 2798, offenbar in das Postament einer Statue Hadrians eingemeißelt. Die Inschrift stammt aus der Zeit zwischen dem 10. Dezember 123 und dem 9. Dezember 124 (*trib. pot. VII cos. III*). In der offenbar schlecht überlieferten letzten Zeile dieser Inschrift, die die Nomenklatur Hadrians im Dativ enthielt, können wir nicht mit Dessau (im CIL) [*imp. II*] *p. p. sua pec. fecit* ergänzen, da dies schon angesichts der erst später erfolgten Annahme der beiden Rangtitel durch Hadrian (siehe Anm. 11 und 12) unmöglich ist; wiederhergestellt werden muß offenbar der Text [*ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*] *r(es) p(ublica) sua pec(unia) fecit*, d. h. das Monument wurde zu Ehren Hadrians selbstverständlich nicht von diesem selbst, sondern aufgrund eines Beschlusses der Dekurionen von der Stadtgemeinde von Gabii gesetzt und aus der Gemeindekasse finanziert. Vgl. hierzu die in Anm. 11 zitierte Inschrift. Vgl. noch die fragmentarisch erhaltene, wohl in ein Statuenpostament eingemeißelte Inschrift CIL XIV 2796; dieses zu Ehren Hadrians gesetzte Monument läßt sich innerhalb seiner Regierungszeit nicht genauer datieren.

¹¹ CIL XIV 2799 = ILS 321. Diese Inschrift auf dem gemeinsamen Postament für zwei Statuen enthält folgenden Text: *Hadriano Augusto co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriae), Sabinae Augustae, locupletatoribus municipii, ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) publice*. Den Terminus post quem bildet die Annahme des Titels *pater patriae* durch Hadrian im Jahre 128, den Terminus ad quem der Tod der Kaiserin im Jahre 136 oder 137; vgl. dazu D. Kienast, Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie², Darmstadt 1996, 129 und 133.

¹² D. Kienast, Kaisertabelle² (Anm. 11) 129 f.

durchaus noch in den Text einfügen, wodurch sich eine etwas spätere Datierung ergeben würde; demgegenüber wäre die Einsetzung der zweiten imperatorischen Akklamation in die Rekonstruktion schwerlich vertretbar.

Die Ergänzung der 3. Zeile in der Form [*vestustate conlapsum ad novam faciem (?) restituit*] ist zugegebenerweise alles andere als gesichert. Sie entspricht aber einem gängigen Formular¹³ und setzt für den verlorenen Teil der Zeile die gleiche Zahl von Buchstaben voraus, wie sie sich aus der Ergänzung für die 1. Zeile ergibt.

Problematisch bleibt vor allem der Text der 4. Zeile auf dem Unterteil dieses Monumentes mit dem Eingangswort *quam* [---]. Mit diesem Wort begann ein weiterer Textteil. Genannt wurden möglicherweise der Beauftragte oder die Beauftragten Hadrians, die die von ihm angeordneten Baumaßnahmen ausführten. Denkbar ist nur ein kurzer Satz, beispielsweise in der Form *quam [operam r(es) p(ublica) perfecit]*.

3.

In Kenntnis dieses Textes erscheint auch die im Tempelbezirk von Gabii gefundene Inschrift in einem neuen Licht. Wir sollten freilich versuchen, diese Inschrift an den Stellen, wo dies möglich ist, ohne Berücksichtigung der Aquäduktinschrift wiederherzustellen und deren Wortlaut nur zur Prüfung der Richtigkeit der Ergänzungen heranzuziehen.

Was die Herrschertitulatur in der Inschrift aus dem Tempelbezirk betrifft, liegt die Annahme nahe, daß am Anfang der 2. Zeile nicht die Namen *P. Aę[lius]* zu ergänzen sind, wie die früheren Herausgeber dies vorgeschlagen haben. Seinen ursprünglichen Vornamen und Familiennamen führte Hadrian als Herrscher nie. Außerdem gibt es auf dem erhaltenen Fragment nach dem P keine Interpunktion, deren Gebrauch in dieser Inschrift durch den in der 5. Zeile erhaltenen Worttrenner eindeutig nachgewiesen ist; und der dritte Buchstabe, von dem nur eine senkrechte Haste erhalten blieb, muß keineswegs zu einem E gehört haben. Der einzige Namensteil Hadrians, zu dem die genannten Buchstaben passen, ist die

¹³ Zum Formular römischer Bauinschriften vgl. E. Thomas – Chr. Witschel, a.a.O. (Anm. 4) 135 ff., dazu die kritischen Anmerkungen von G. G. Fagan, PBSR 64, 1996, 81 ff.

Filiationsangabe in der Form *[Divi Traiani] / Par[thici filius]*. Diese Ergänzungen sind zwingend, und so hindert uns nichts daran, hier Hadrians gesamte Nomenklatur in der üblichen Form wiederherzustellen; zu fragen ist höchstens, ob alle Namensteile und Worte voll ausgeschrieben oder aber abgekürzt angegeben wurden. Die Nomenklatur des Kaisers und das am Ende der 3. Zeile unbedingt zu ergänzende Wort *pontifex* ergeben freilich nur dann eine symmetrische Ordination, wenn wir davon ausgehen, daß bis auf den Titel *Aug(ustus)* alle Bestandteile der Nomenklatur voll ausgeschrieben waren. Aus all dem folgt, daß die Inschrift länger war, als dies von den früheren Herausgebern angenommen wurde.

In der 4. Zeile müssen zunächst die obligatorischen Rangtitel Hadrians unter Angabe seiner tribunizischen Vollmacht und seiner Konsulate ergänzt werden. Die Einsetzung der Ziffer *III* nach dem Konsulat und der Verzicht auf die Ergänzung der Rangtitel *imp(erator) II und p(ater) p(atriae)* beruhen auf denselben Überlegungen zur Chronologie, die im Falle der oben behandelten Aquäduktinschrift geltend gemacht werden kann; zumindest die beiden Buchstaben *p. p.* für die Angabe des zuletzt erwähnte Titels könnte man aber in diese Inschrift ebenso wie in die Aquäduktinschrift durchaus noch einsetzen. Die Nomenklatur und die Rangtitulatur Hadrians waren jedenfalls in beiden Inschriften offensichtlich annähernd in derselben Weise angegeben.

Wenn wir in den zweiten Text die Angabe der *tribunicia potestas* in der abgekürzten Form *trib. pot.* einfügten, so hätten wir am Ende der 4. Zeile auch für die erforderliche Bezeichnung des Bauwerkes, auf das sich die Inschrift bezieht, hinreichend Platz. Das aus der Inschrift der Wasserleitung erhaltene Objekt *aquae ductum* würde die vorauszusetzende Lücke genau ausfüllen, wobei freilich die Frage, ob nicht auch andere Bauten in Frage kämen, noch diskutiert werden muß.

Angesichts der Länge der bisher erörterten Zeilen der im Tempelbezirk gefundenen Inschrift muß das Formular, mit dem am Ende des Textes die Wiederherstellung dieses Bauwerkes beschrieben wurde, länger gewesen sein, als dies die früheren Editoren vermuteten. Im Hinblick auf das zum Teil erhaltene Wort *vetu[stae]* müssen die Kernworte des Formulars, nach dem Vorbild vieler ähnlicher Texte, am ehesten so gelautet haben: *vetu[stae conlapsum (oder corruptum) --- / restituit]*¹⁴. Obwohl das Wort *ruinae* in

¹⁴ Vgl. hierzu Anm. 13.

diesem Kontext durchaus sinnvoll sein könnte, läßt sich mit dem Dativ oder Ablativ *[ru]inis* im konkreten grammatikalischen Zusammenhang nichts anfangen. Für eine in Gabii gefundene Inschrift bietet sich freilich vor vornherein eine andere Ergänzung an: *[Gab]inis*. Dies schlug schon W. Eck vor, der gezeigt hat, daß die Gemeinden, für die ein Herrscher ein öffentliches Bauwerk gestiftet oder wiederhergestellt hatte, in den Inschriften solcher Monumente, vor allem in den Inschriften von Aquädukten, häufig genannt wurden – und zwar als Empfänger der kaiserlichen Wohltat normalerweise im Dativ, wie dies offenbar auch im vorliegenden Fall geschah¹⁵. Für die Ergänzung *[Gab]inis* spricht sehr deutlich, daß dasselbe Wort in der im Abschnitt 2 behandelten Aquäduktinschrift von Visconti vollständig gelesen werden konnte.

In dem zweiten Text wäre noch eine Lücke innerhalb des Formulars am Ende der 5. Zeile auszufüllen. Unter der von den Herausgebern wohl richtig formulierten Voraussetzung, daß das Prädikat *restituit* eine stark zentrierte, mit kleineren Buchstaben geschriebene 6. Zeile bildete, fehlen am Ende der 5. Zeile etwa 12 bis 14 Buchstaben. Die Rekonstruktion des Schlußteiles des Formulars in der Form *[ad novam faciem / restituit]* würde den räumlichen Voraussetzungen ebenso wie auch einem gängigen Formular entsprechen, wobei hier freilich ebensowenig Sicherheit besteht wie bei der Ergänzung des gleichlautenden Formulars in der oben besprochenen Aquäduktinschrift.

Für die im Tempelbezirk von Gabii gefundene Inschrift gelangen wir somit zu folgendem Rekonstruktionsvorschlag (siehe auch Abb. 5):

*Imp[erator Caesar Divi Traiani]
Par[thici filius Divi Nervae nepos]
Tra[ian]u[s Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontifex]
[m]aximus [trib(unicia) pot(estate) --- co(n)s(ul) III aquae ductum (?)]
5 [Gab]inis vetu[stae conlapsum ad novam faciem (?)]
[restituit].*

Nach dieser Rekonstruktion muß die Tafel, deren Höhe ungefähr 110 cm betrug, nicht nur, wie nach den früheren Herausgebern, etwa 280 cm,

¹⁵ W. Eck, a.a.O. (Anm. 7) 633 mit Anm. 11.

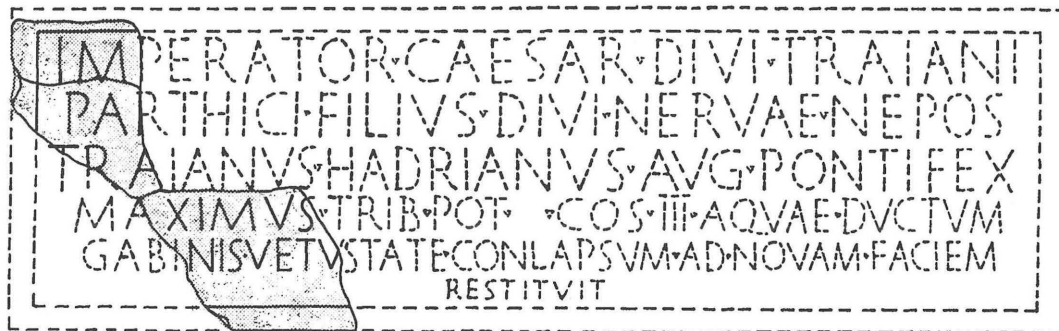


Abb. 5. Hadrianische Bauinschrift, Rekonstruktionsvorschlag.

sondern ungefähr 370 cm lang gewesen sein. Bei diesen Dimensionen darf man wohl davon ausgehen, daß sie nicht aus einem Stück geschnitten, sondern aus mehreren Teilen zusammengesetzt war.

In der hier vorausgesetzten Form war der Text mit demjenigen der zuvor behandelten Inschrift der Wasserleitung von Gabii weitgehend identisch. Nur der Zusatz, der dort die 4. Zeile bildete, war hier offenbar nicht enthalten. Sonst scheinen Unterschiede nur insofern vorhanden gewesen zu sein, als in der hier erörterten Inschrift das Wort *Imperator* anders als in dem zuvor behandelten Text voll ausgeschrieben war, die Angabe der tribunizischen Vollmacht dagegen umgekehrt dort in einer abgekürzten, hier in der voll ausgeschriebenen Form angegeben worden sein dürfte. Diese Abweichungen lagen freilich nur an der unterschiedlichen Ordination der beiden Texte, in denen man die Trennung einzelner Worte durch eine neue Zeile offenbar jeweils vermeiden wollte. Wie stark die beiden Inschriften aufeinander abgestimmt waren, ist auch an einem paläographischen Detail zu erkennen: Das I von *Imp(erator)* oder *Imperator* war in beiden Texten mit einer I longa geschrieben.

Treffen die bisherigen Ausführungen zu, dann wären beide Inschriften auf die Wiederherstellung des Aquäduktes von Gabii durch Hadrian zu beziehen. An verschiedenen Stellen ein und derselben Wasserleitung mehrere gleichlautende Inschriften anzubringen war durchaus üblich¹⁶, ganz

¹⁶ Siehe etwa die beiden gleichlautenden Inschriften des Aquäduktes von Verona: CIL V 3402 = ILS 5757 sowie Not. Sc. 1893, 11 f. Nr. 25, 1893, 11; vgl. hierzu G. Alföldy, Chiron 9, 1979, 534 f. Zu ähnlichen Fällen – mindestens acht Exemplare der Bauinschrift für die Wasserleitung von Caesarea in Iudaea, mindestens fünf Exemplare der Bauinschrift für den Aquädukt von Burdigala in Aquitanien – siehe W. Eck, a.a.O. (Anm. 7) 633.

abgesehen von den Fällen, in denen ein gleichlautender Text auf beiden Schauseiten des zentralen Teiles einer Wasserleitung zu lesen war¹⁷. Im vorliegenden Fall scheint es jedoch eine Schwierigkeit zu geben: Die Fragmente der Inschrifttafel, in der nach dem Vorbild der Aquäduktinschrift das Objekt [*aquae ductum*] ergänzt wurde, kamen nicht in der Nähe des Aquäduktes, sondern innerhalb des Tempelbezirkes nördlich davon zum Vorschein¹⁸. Dementsprechend meinten Thomas und Witschel, daß sich diese Inschrift auf die Wiederherstellung eines Teiles des Heiligtums, am ehesten auf den Wiederaufbau der um den Tempel errichteten Portikushallen und Tabernen, bezog¹⁹.

Diese Möglichkeit kann nicht mit vollständiger Sicherheit ausgeschlossen werden. Die Argumentation der beiden genannten Forscher ist jedoch an dem entscheidenden Punkt entkräftet. Sie gingen davon aus, daß die Reste der Tafel, auf der die Bauinschrift Hadrians eingemeißelt war, im Tempelbezirk zutage gekommen waren und daß die Inschrift dementsprechend Bauarbeiten in diesem Areal dokumentierte. Wir haben jedoch gesehen, daß die Inschrift auf der Rückseite der Tafel, die Thomas und Witschel im Anschluß an die früheren Herausgeber für die Fortsetzung des Textes auf der Vorderseite hielten, nicht in die Regierungszeit Hadrians, sondern in die späte Kaiserzeit gehört und mit dem früheren Text nichts zu tun hat. Somit können wir aus der Fundstelle der Fragmente, wenn überhaupt, höchstens auf den architektonischen Kontext Schlüsse ziehen, in den die Tafel anlässlich ihrer Zweitverwendung eingebunden wurde: Ursprünglich kann sie zwar an der gleichen Stelle wie später aufgestellt gewesen sein, es ist jedoch ebenso denkbar, daß sie für die Zweitverwendung anderswoher verschleppt wurde. Da der Text der früheren Inschrift auf dieser Tafel demjenigen der Aquäduktinschrift so auffallend ähnlich ist, scheint es, trotz einer gewissen Unsicherheit, die nicht ganz auszuräumen ist, die Vermutung plausibler, daß wir es auch in diesem Fall mit einer Bauurkunde zu tun

¹⁷ Siehe etwa G. Alföldy, Die Bauinschriften des Aquäduktes von Segovia und des Amphitheaters von Tarraco (Madriider Forschungen 19), Berlin – New York 1997, 3 ff.

¹⁸ Bei der Aquäduktinschrift CIL XIV 2797 ist die Fundstelle leider nicht überliefert, es unterliegt jedoch keinem Zweifel, daß die Inschrift irgendwo an der Wasserleitung angebracht war.

¹⁹ E. Thomas – Chr. Witschel, a.a.O. (Anm. 4) 169 f. mit Anm. 221 auf S. 170; siehe das Zitat oben in Anm. 5.

haben, die der Wasserleitung und nicht dem Tempelbezirk (oder einem anderen, uns unbekanntem Bauwerk) zuzuweisen ist. Freilich werden wir noch sehen, daß selbst die spätere Inschrift nicht im Tempelbezirk angebracht war (siehe unten, Abschnitt 4).

Die vorgetragene Ansicht läßt sich noch durch ein weiteres Argument stützen. W. Eck machte die Beobachtung, daß Städte in den von den Herrschern dedizierten Inschriften für öffentliche Bauwerke als Empfänger der kaiserlichen Wohltaten am ehesten dann namentlich genannt wurden, wenn es sich um Wasserleitungen handele²⁰. Der Grund hierfür liegt darin, daß solche Inschriften an den Aquädukten häufig außerhalb des urbanen Kerns angebracht waren: Während es bei den Bauwerken in den Stadtzentren auch ohne die Nennung der Gemeinde keinen Zweifel darüber geben konnte, zu welcher Stadt ein dort befindliches Gebäude gehörte, kam es bei der Kennzeichnung der Aquädukte außerhalb des Stadtkernes in einem besonderen Maße darauf an, ihre Zugehörigkeit zu der betreffenden Gemeinde ausdrücklich zu betonen²¹.

Sollte der oben gezogene Schluß richtig sein, dann wurden die Wiederherstellungsarbeiten am Aquädukt von Gabii, die Hadrian angeordnet hatte, durch mehrere Inschriften und somit offenbar an verschiedenen Stellen verherrlicht. Der weiter oben als Aquäduktinschrift bezeichnete Text war auf einem Architrav eingemeißelt; dieser kann sich beispielsweise über einem Tor befunden haben, das sich unter der Wasserleitung öffnete, wie z. B. im Falle der heutigen Porta Maggiore unter der Aqua Claudia in Rom²². Die Marmortafel mit der fast gleichlautenden Inschrift war wohl an irgendeiner anderen repräsentativen Stelle in dasselbe Bauwerk befestigt.

4.

Erörtert werden muß noch die spätere Inschrift auf der Rückseite der hier behandelten Tafel. Die Idee von Basas Faure (siehe Abb. 4), wonach wir hier einen Text voraussetzen müssen, in dem von einer Schenkung an

²⁰ W. Eck, a.a.O. (Anm. 7) 632 f.

²¹ Ebd. 633.

²² Siehe die dazu gehörenden Bauinschriften unter CIL VI 1256–1258 = ILS 218 (vgl. dazu jetzt CIL VI p. 4365).

die Stadtgemeinde von Gabii die Rede war und der mit einem Prädikat im Plural endete²³, dürfte die richtige sein. Die von ihm vorgeschlagene Wiederherstellung dieses Textes in der Form *[Mun. Gabiens]isi (!) / [ded-er]unt* ist jedoch abzulehnen. Vielmehr muß der Text so rekonstruiert werden (siehe auch Abb. 6):



Abb. 6. Spätantike Bauinschrift, Rekonstruktionsvorschlag.

[municipio Gabie]nsi
[restituer]unt.

Den Ausgangspunkt für diese Rekonstruktion bildet die Länge der Tafel, die oben auf ungefähr 370 cm berechnet werden konnte (siehe Abschnitt 3). Die obere Zeile wäre durch die angeführten Worte, deren Wiederherstellung dem Kerngedanken von Basas Faure folgt, jedoch keine starke Abkürzung des Wortes *municipium* und erst recht keine fehlerhafte Schreibweise des Namens der Stadt voraussetzt, entsprechend ausgefüllt. In die untere Zeile paßt aus Platzgründen anscheinend kaum eine andere Ergänzung als die des Prädikats *[restituer]unt*.

Es ist natürlich auf den ersten Blick klar, daß die Inschrift in der angeführten Weise unvollständig ist: Es fehlen die Namen derjenigen, die die Wiederherstellung eines öffentlichen Bauwerkes angeordnet haben. Daß oben mehrere Zeilen verlorengegangen sind, ist auch auf einem anderen Weg einwandfrei zu erschließen. Die Buchstaben der oberen Zeile sind 15, die der unteren Zeile dagegen 18 cm hoch. Diese Sachlage ist schwerlich anders als so zu erklären, daß zu dem Text oben ursprünglich noch weitere

²³ Siehe oben, Anm. 3.

Zeilen gehörten, deren Buchstaben mindestens ebenfalls 18 cm hoch waren. Es ist nämlich kaum denkbar, daß in einer Inschrift der römischen Kaiserzeit die letzte Zeile, in der ein voll ausgeschriebenes Prädikat und nicht eine auf die Anfangsbuchstaben reduzierte Formel wie z. B. *f(aciundum) c(uravit)* oder etwa der Name des Dedikanten stand, mit größeren Buchstaben geschrieben worden wäre als die vorausgehenden Textteile. Wir müssen annehmen, daß diese Inschrift viel größer war als die hadrianische Inschrift auf der anderen Seite derselben Tafel. Dies geht schon daraus hervor, daß die Buchstaben der späteren Inschrift ungefähr doppelt so groß waren wie die der früheren, in der die Höhe der Buchstaben in den teilweise erhaltenen fünf Zeilen nur 11–7 cm beträgt.

Der Text der späteren Bauurkunde war offenbar auf mehrere Tafeln verteilt, die zusammengefügt wurden. Wir dürfen damit rechnen, daß zu diesem epigraphischen Monument zumindest noch ein Tafelteil oder vielmehr sogar zwei Tafelteile ähnlicher Größe wie der hier rekonstruierte Teil gehörten. Denn wir müssen im verlorenen Oberteil der Inschrift wohl die Namen von mindestens zwei Dedikanten ergänzen, um den Schlußteil *[municipio Gabie]n̄si / [restituere]unt* verständlich zu machen, und vermutlich wurde in dieser Inschrift auch das Bauwerk benannt, das von den uns unbekanntem Dedikanten wiederhergestellt wurde. Man könnte also mit einer Inschrifttafel rechnen, deren ursprüngliche Maße sich vielleicht auf 330 x 370 cm beliefen.

Die Dimensionen dieser Inschrift und die wohl kaum von der Hand zu weisende Feststellung, daß der Text ähnlich wie die beiden weiter oben behandelten Inschriften Hadrians von einer Baustiftung an die Gemeinde von Gabii berichtete, legen es nahe, auch in diesem Fall an die Dokumentation kaiserlicher Baumaßnahmen zu denken. Diese müssen freilich von zwei oder mehreren gleichzeitig regierenden Herrschern angeordnet worden sein. Frühestens kämen Mark Aurel und Lucius Verus bzw. Commodus, als nächste Herrscher Septimius Severus und Caracalla (evtl. auch noch Geta als dritter Augustus) in Betracht. In diesem Fall müssen wir freilich an spätere Herrscher denken. Dafür spricht zunächst, daß die Paläographie der Inschrift eine Datierung in das späte 3. oder in das 4. Jahrhundert nahelegt. Ein weiteres Argument für dieselbe Datierung ergibt sich wohl zwingend aus der Tatsache der Zweitverwendung des Steines. Denn es ist schwerlich denkbar, daß eine Marmortafel mit einer Bauinschrift Hadrians bereits unter den Antoninen oder den Severern, die Hadrian als

ihren göttlichen Vorfahren verehrten, aus ihrem architektonischen Kontext herausgerissen und als Spolie wiederverwendet worden wäre: Vor der Mitte oder eher noch vor dem Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts könnten wir uns ein solches Verfahren kaum vorstellen²⁴.

Allerdings ließe sich eine Datierung der hier behandelten Inschrift, die über die Regierungszeit Hadrians oder allenfalls über die Antoninen- und Severerzeit hinausgeht, mit unseren Kenntnissen über die Geschichte des Tempelbezirkes von Gabii auf den ersten Blick überhaupt nicht vereinbaren. Die dort durchgeführten Ausgrabungen haben den Beweis dafür erbracht, daß in diesem heiligen Bezirk nach Hadrian überhaupt keine neuen baulichen Maßnahmen mehr vorgenommen wurden, auf die sich eine monumentale Bauinschrift beziehen ließe; außerdem steht fest, daß dieser wichtigste Kultbezirk des Municipiums, damit aber wohl auch bedeutende Teile der Stadt selbst seit etwa 265 weitgehend verlassen waren²⁵. In der späten Kaiserzeit beschränkte sich das Leben in Gabii auf die unmittelbare Umgebung der Via Praenestina einschließlich der Umgebung des Forums, d. h. auf die Zone südlich des erwähnten Tempelbezirkes und des früheren Wohnviertels der Stadt²⁶.

Dieser Befund zwingt uns zu dem Schluß, daß die spätere Inschrift auf der hier behandelten Marmortafel nicht zu einem Bauwerk des heiligen Bezirkes von Gabii gehörte, in dem die Fragmente der Tafel aufgefunden wurden. Der Widerspruch zwischen dem Baubefund in diesem Kultbezirk bzw. der Geschichte dieses Areals einerseits und der Datierung der monumentalen Bauinschrift in die spätere Kaiserzeit andererseits ist schwerlich anders als durch die Annahme aufzulösen, daß die Tafel nicht nur in ihrer ersten Verwendung unter Hadrian, sondern auch in ihrer Zweitverwendung im späten 3. oder im 4. Jahrhundert nicht im Tempelbezirk von Gabii angebracht war. Vielmehr dürften ihre dort aufgefundenen Teile erst

²⁴ Zur Wiederverwendung früherer inschriftlicher Denkmäler in der römischen Kaiserzeit, die – von Einzelfällen abgesehen – erst seit der Mitte, insbesondere aber seit dem Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts massenhaft einsetzte, siehe demnächst H. Niquet, *Monumenta virtutum titulique. Denkmäler, ihre Inschriften und senatorische Selbstdarstellung im spätantiken Rom* (HABES, im Druck, erscheint 1999).

²⁵ M. Almagro-Gorbea, in: *Santuario* (Anm. 2) 620 und 624.

²⁶ Ders., ebd. 624 mit weiterer Literatur. Planskizze der Stadt: F. Coarelli, *Dintorni di Roma* (Anm. 2) 167.

in späterer Zeit, wohl während der sporadischen Besiedlung des Stadtgebietes einschließlich des ehemaligen Tempelbezirkes im Mittelalter²⁷, als Baumaterial von einem anderen Ort dorthin gelangt sein.

Die ursprüngliche Stelle, an der sich die Inschrift in ihrer Zweitverwendung befand, lag wohl an der Via Praenestina oder in deren Nähe, wo sie die Wiederherstellung eines öffentlichen Bauwerkes, am ehesten wohl des Aquäduktes, durch spätrömische Herrscher wie etwa Diokletian und Maximian oder Valentinian I. und Valens verherrlicht haben dürfte. Mit dieser Hypothese stünde im Einklang, daß die Tafel auch in ihrer Erstverwendung unter Hadrian in diesem Stadtteil und nicht im Tempelbezirk angebracht worden zu sein scheint. Und hierfür könnte auch die Tatsache sprechen, daß die ausdrückliche Nennung der Stadtgemeinde von Gabii als Empfänger der Wohltat, durch die ein öffentliches Bauwerk wiederhergestellt wurde, vor allem gerade im Falle eines Aquädukts zu erwarten wäre²⁸. Somit liegt es nahe, daß weder die frühere noch die spätere Inschrift auf der Marmortafel, deren Fragmente im Tempelbezirk von Gabii zutage kamen, mit diesem Bauwerk etwas zu tun hatten, sondern sich ebenso wie die weiter oben behandelte, zuerst von Visconti beschriebene Aquäduktinschrift (siehe Abschnitt 2) auf die unter Hadrian wiederhergestellte und in der späten Kaiserzeit offenbar nochmals renovierte Wasserleitung der Stadt beziehen.

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²⁷ Vgl. M. Almagro-Gorbea, in: Santuario (Anm. 2) 624.

²⁸ Siehe oben mit Anm. 20–21.

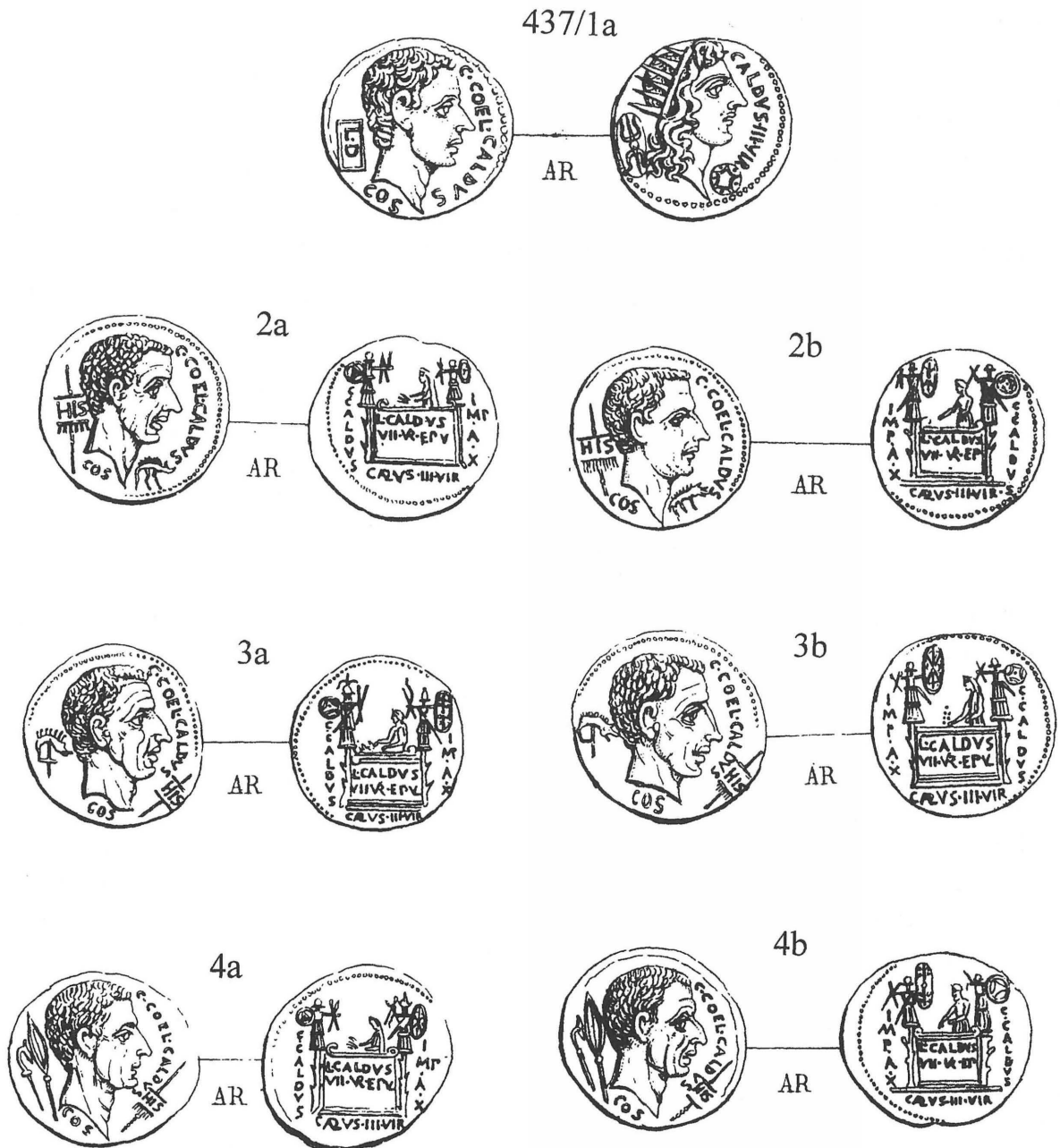
TWO NUMISMATIC PHANTOMS The false priest and the spurious son

E. BADIAN

It is well known that in the later Roman Republic many of the men coining money on behalf of the *res publica* used the opportunity to celebrate their ancestors for the sake of their own advancement. The deeds of those ancestors are naturally at times somewhat embroidered, if not downright myth. But nothing (it appears) could be claimed that would be at once recognised as fiction. Thus, to take an obvious example, no one doubted that M. (Caepio) Brutus was descended from two tyrant-killers, L. Iunius Brutus and C. Servilius Ahala. When he put their portraits on the two faces of one of his coins (Crawford, *RRC* 433/2), it amounted, as Crawford notes, to a programmatic statement directed against Cn. Pompeius Magnus, who in 54/3 BC was suspected by many of aiming at a *regnum*. Brutus was at the beginning of his career and wanted those who mattered to know where he stood.

In 51 (the date is now generally accepted) a young man who called himself Calvus IIIuir and who was hoping to be elected quaestor for the following year (as indeed he was, being assigned to Cicero in Cilicia), issued a series of coins (*RRC* 437/1–4) celebrating his rather undistinguished family, the Coelii Calvi. There was not much to be said about this new family, and as Crawford rightly put it, "The central theme of the issue is constituted, by the achievements of C. Coelius Calvus, Cos. 94" (p. 459). This much is clear, if only from the fact that his head, accompanied by various reminders of distinction, appears on the obverse of all the coins. The precise interpretation of the coins, however, has been discussed for centuries – ever since they, or at least most of them, first became known to humanists. Recently we have seen a new treatment, in Michael Harlan's book *Roman Republican Moneyers and Their Coins 63 BC – 49 BC* (1995 – significantly, published by the coin dealers Seaby). Chapter 26 of the book (pp. 160–166)

is devoted to these coins, and since both the author's defects – he knows hardly any of the vast literature on the history and the numismatics of this period and has no philological training – and his virtues (his acute observation and originality of approach, perhaps all the better for his lack of the traditional reading) are particularly apparent in this chapter, a new discussion of the coins seems indicated. This will also provide an opportunity to correct a universal, but I hope not ineradicable, error in one part of their interpretation.



First, a brief description of the coins. (I shall not note details of purely numismatic interest, but without historical relevance.¹) The consul of 94 is on the obverse, as we saw: a highly realistic portrait, facing right and identified as C. COEL. CALDVS and COS. 437/1 differs from all the rest, in that it marks the beginning of his political distinction: behind his head is a tablet inscribed L.D (= *Liberio Damno*), commemorating his passing a *lex tabellaria* in his tribunate (107). It was the last in the series, completing the process of substituting the *tabella* (written ballot) for the *suffragium* (voting by voice) by extending it to the last area in which it was still excluded, trials for *perduellio*. He did this, we are told, in order to convict an unsuccessful commander (and thus further his career): he is said (Cic. *Leg.* 3.33 ff.) to have regretted for the rest of his life that he had "harmed the *res publica*".² He was a *nouus homo*, as Cicero repeatedly tells us (e.g. *De or.* 1.117), one of the few who (like Cicero) lacked senatorial ancestors, yet got to the top of the political career, in a period when elections were dominated by *nobiles*.³ That, like others of his kind, he later came round to the side of the Optimates is quite likely. It is interesting that his grandson, at the beginning of his own

¹ The coins are described by Crawford, and a profuse selection of illustrations, with brief descriptions, can be seen in A. Banti, *Corpus Nummorum Romanorum* III (1981) pp. 368 ff. The drawings printed with this article illustrate the main types except for 1b (see n. 4).

² *Leges tabellariae* are often misconceived as laws establishing "secret ballot"; and so indeed they became, and are sometimes referred to in Latin authors, after Marius' tribunician law mandated voting bridges just wide enough for one person to pass over. That they were not inherently, and originally, meant to introduce secrecy in voting is clearly shown by Cic. *Leg.* 3.33, 38 f. The point was presumably to establish an accurate and honest count of the votes.

³ That he cannot be the *clarissimus ac fortissimus adulescens* who failed in an election for the quaestorship (Cic. *Planc.* 52) should hardly need to be repeated – but had better be, since the error is enshrined in all texts of the speech that I have seen and in *RE*. I long ago pointed out that *clarissimus* decisively excludes this *nouus homo* and suggested the reading Catulus for Caelius (an article of 1959, reprinted in *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (1964): the argument on p. 152). This was accepted by D.R. Shackleton Bailey and further elaborated (*HSCP* 83 (1979) 277 f.) and now appears in his *Onomasticon to Cicero's Speeches*² (1992) p. 63. We obviously cannot tell which Q. Catulus (the *cos.* 102 or his son, the *cos.* 79) is intended, but I think the son is more likely; he could have been quaestor *c.* 95 (the father *c.* 120) and was more likely to be remembered by Cicero's audience in 54. It should be added that Cicero's statement does not entirely exclude the possibility that the man was elected in a later year – just as the elder Catulus was finally elected consul after three failures.

career, chose to commemorate this law (which, with the fading out of *perduellio* trials, in fact had little practical importance). A *lex tabellaria* was obviously still a way to many voters' hearts. The reverse of the coin shows the head of a radiate Sol facing right, between two shields, an oval one decorated with a thunderbolt and a round one. On some dies the letter S appears, thought to identify Sol.⁴ To the right, the moneyer identifies himself as CALDVS.III.VIR.

On the other coins the consul's head is no longer accompanied by the tablet, but by two standards (2–3), or one and other symbols of war (4) and presumably victory. The standard inscribed HIS (which must mean Hispania) appears on all of them; the other, on 2–3, is in the shape of a boar. The boar is usually taken as a Celtiberian symbol, in particular referring to Clunia, which later put it on some of its coins. If so, it would be of some interest, as it would be the first reference to fighting there. (It later appears in the Sertorian War.⁵) Crawford pointed out that the boar is a Gallic symbol: he suggests that it balances HIS(pania) by referring to Calvus' victory over the Salluvii in Gaul (on which see further below). We cannot really decide, for a Celtic symbol might well be a Celtiberian one as well. In any case, while the reverses of 2–4 clearly celebrate that victory, the obverses of the coins (the spear on 4 can hardly be of local significance,

⁴ That the letter S should be used (or needed) to identify Sol seems an unpalatable idea, but may well be correct. Haverkamp (on whom, see n. 9 below) thought it a mint mark, but it has often been pointed out that no other mint marks appear on any of the other coins. Thus, e.g., B. Borghesi, *Oeuvres Complètes* I (1862) pp. 319 ff. (an article first published in 1822). The editor of the volume, Cavedoni, in a note cites the parallel of A with the head of Apollo on some denarii of C. Considius Paetus (*RRC* 465/2). It does, however, seem so absurd that one cannot help wondering whether it got on to the dies through an engraver's mistake, possibly from a note on his instructions calling for a head of Sol or Apollo respectively. It is never on the majority of dies. (It is not illustrated here.)

⁵ For Clunia see the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (1976) p. 228. For coins showing the boar see Burnett, Amandry and Ripolles, *Roman Provincial Coinage* I (1992) nos. 453, 455, 458 (Tiberius), illustrated in Part II of the volume. The boar or boar's head is exclusively found as a countermark on coins of Clunia (pp. 139, 809). (I thank Dr. William E. Metcalf for the reference.) Haverkamp thought it a symbol of Spain: he describes several coins of the Empire on which it appears (pp. 102 f.). Harlan's notion (p. 162) that it "might actually be the standard of the Roman legion in Spain" is not attractive. The oddest interpretation was contributed by Perizonius (quoted by Haverkamp): he thought it commemorated the consul's killing a wild boar. For Clunia in the Sertorian War, see C.F. Konrad, *Plutarch's Sertorius* (1994) pp. 93, 176 ff.

although attempts have been made to assign it one) refer to a success in Spain and quite likely to one in Gaul as well. For Spain we have no direct attestation: he may have served there after his praetorship (100 or 99: *MRR* II 1 and 3 n. 2) or, as some have thought, after his consulship. If the latter (and we shall see that it cannot be excluded), we know nothing about his praetorship or subsequent command. Fortunately, the victory over the Salluvii was recorded by Livy and was of sufficient interest to his epitomator to rate an entry in *Per.* 73 (90 BC).⁶

The crowded, but beautifully designed, reverses of 2–4 all have the same central design: a table, inscribed L. CALDVS / VII.VIR. EPVL (or EP), on which a man, *capite uelato* (it seems), is setting out a meal: obviously the *epulo* performing his sacred duty. (Some early numismatists took it to be Jupiter actually enjoying the feast; but the person is clearly standing up, not reclining.) On either side of this table there are again symbols of military victory: on one side a trophy with two spears and a round shield, on the other a trophy with an oval shield, decorated with a thunderbolt, and a *carnyx*. Each is sometimes on the left and sometimes on the right of the table. Beyond the trophy, in each case, there is on one side the name C. CALDVS, on the other the letters IMP.A.X, both set out

⁶ Harlan's philological ignorance has here created confusion, which must be cleared up, embarrassing though the task is. Noting that "the name of the victor [in *Per.* 73] is usually read Caecilius", he adds: "Badian cited a variant reading of Caelius, another form of Coelius [*sic*], as perhaps the correct reading and assigned the victory to Caldus". Had he actually looked at what I wrote (an article of 1958, reprinted in *Studies* (cit. n. 3), at pp. 90 ff.), or at least at *MRR* II and III – let alone the standard edition of the *Periochae* by O. Rossbach – he would have seen that Caecilius is a fiction of the *deteriores*, taken over by older editions. According to Rossbach, who for the first time examined and sorted the manuscripts, the only three (at this point) that have real authority divide between Caelius (N and the apograph π) and Coelius (P). For reasons I fully set out, the latter deserves preference, and this is accepted in *MRR* III. Rossbach honestly printed C. Cae<ci>lius. Unfortunately, as I have had other occasions to point out, he was not as familiar with Republican prosopography as with manuscripts: he identified his Cae<ci>lius as C. Caecilius Metellus Pius – a non-entity. In the Loeb edition, presumably Harlan's main authority, Caecilius does stand in the text and a footnote states that the name "may have been" Caelius, with a reference to *MRR* II (where Caecilius is rightly ignored). That editor, it appears, was also unaware of Rossbach's edition. In P. Jal's edition of the *Periochae* in the Budé series, the editor prints Caelius, but (careless as too often: see the review by Briscoe, *Gnomon* 57 (1985), with more than a page of examples), fails to note the reading Coelius in P. Since that edition may be widely used, especially in France, this serious omission had to be noted. For a tribute to Rossbach, see Briscoe p. 419.

vertically. As Crawford observed, the legend including the imperial title is always on the side of the trophy with the *carnyx*: he concludes that the imperial acclamation was won (and was known to have been won) in Gaul and not in Spain. Below the table, in what might be called a pseudo-exergue (indeed, Babelon and Banti described it as an exergue, but it is not quite that on any of the coins I have seen depicted), the moneyer again describes himself as CALDVS.III.VIR.

It was seen even by the earliest commentators (though not by all of them) that the moneyer is C. Calvus, Cicero's quaestor in 50. How the septemvir fits into the family is not made clear on the coin: it must have been assumed to be known to all who mattered. We, however, could not have been sure, but for the fortunate survival of Cicero's letter addressed to his quaestor (*Fam.* 2.19), where his name appears as C. Coelius L.f. C.n. Hence the septemvir is his father – a fact, as we noted, that did not need to be made explicit. Ursinus, perhaps the first scholar who tried to sort these coins (or those of them known to him),⁷ already saw this, as well as the fact that the moneyer must be the consul's grandson: the difference in age (in fact about sixty years) makes this clear. Not all were as perspicacious. Pighius, admittedly in a work that appeared after his death,⁸ thought that the moneyer and the septemvir were brothers and had together issued these coins: he made them both grandsons of the consul. Fortunately, this seems to have been ignored. He also, in a confused argument, rejected the Spanish victory as fictitious, since not recorded in the *Fasti* or mentioned by Cicero. (However, we do not know how much of this he would have retained, had he lived to see the volume through the press.) For this he was severely and properly taken to task by Haverkamp, in an important discussion of the coins;⁹ Haverkamp assigned the victory to a Spanish proconsulate after the

⁷ *Familiae Romanae quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus*. I used the edition Rome 1577, where it is bound in with Augustinus' (then Bishop of Lérida) *De Romanorum gentibus et familiis* – unfortunately silent on the Coelii. These coins on pp. 66–67. As is to be expected, the discussion contains numerous errors, not worth discussing, but is nevertheless important for what it does contribute.

⁸ *Annales Romanorum qui commentarii vicem supplent in omnes veteres Historiae Romanae Scriptores* (Antwerp 1615). The third volume, here used, is marked as posthumous and edited by Andreas Schott. The editor gives no indication of precisely what work he did on the text. Discussion of the coins of the Coelii is on pp. 136 and 202.

⁹ *Thesaurus Morellianus* [a collection, in one folio volume, of all the Republican coins known, anonymous and by families], *sive Familiarum Romanarum Numismata Omnia ...*

consulship. He thought that it was there that C. Calvus won his imperatorial acclamation (as we have seen, this may be unlikely, to judge from the design of the coins); he also regarded the boar as a Spanish symbol, which he had noted on some Spanish coins (unfortunately not shown),¹⁰ and he thought that Sol (on the reverse of one coin) was a Spanish reference, since he owned some Spanish coins showing Sol (one of them radiate). Naturally, Haverkamp, whose general scholarship has been severely denounced,¹¹ could not know about the Salluvian victory, hence could not make the Gallic connection which we have now recovered.

Haverkamp took it for granted that the C. Calvus named on the reverse and credited with the distinctions there listed was identical with the consul shown on the obverse. But this had already been denied (though without any discussion) by Ursinus. He thought that the C. Calvus of the reverse was a son of the consul and brother of the septemvir, though he at once noted the fact that he knew of no other references to such a man. Ursinus' interpretation was strongly revived by Joseph Eckhel. Volume 5 of his great work *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* (1795) deals with the coins of the Roman Republic. When he came to these coins (p. 176), he denied that the C. Calvus of the reverse could be identical with the homonym on the obverse, and for the first time he supported this opinion with an important argument: he knew of no Republican coin where the same man is named on both faces of the same coin. The argument was accepted by B. Borghesi, who throughout delights in a running polemic against any notion advanced by Haverkamp.¹² Borghesi's *auctoritas* seems to have made this view

juxta ordinem Fulvii Ursini et Caroli Patini disposita ... Nunc primum edidit & Commentario perpetuo illustravit Sigebertus Havercampus. Amsterdam 1734. Ch. Patin, *Familiae Romanae in Antiquis Numismatibus*. Paris 1663, is described as another Ursinus on the reverse accompanying his frontispiece portrait. This is true in the sense that he copies Ursinus, often *verbatim* and including the errors, to which he adds (on these coins) an error in Latinity. He is here noted only because of the reference in Haverkamp's title. Morell's *Thesaurus*, which forms the first volume of this edition (with Haverkamp's Commentary the second), is still worth looking at.

¹⁰ See n. 5. The Commentary is useful, i.a., because it quotes long passages from some of Haverkamp's predecessors *in extenso*. His own contributions are never absurd and often of value. In this work, at any rate, he does not deserve the contempt evinced (e.g.) in the reference cited n. 11.

¹¹ See the atrabilious description (referring, it seems, mainly to his work on texts) by J.E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* II (1908) p. 447.

¹² *Op. cit.* (n. 4) p. 323.

canonical. Grueber, citing Borghesi in the context (though not on the precise point), followed it in *CRRBM* I 474 f., without further argument.¹³ It still turned up half a century later, in *MRR* II (following Grueber), in the Index, though it had been overlooked in the text, where C. Calvus is not assigned a praetorship. For this Broughton was taken to task by Syme, in his review of the work in *CP* 50 (1955) 134; and Broughton duly took note and inserted the praetor in his *Supplement* (later remodelled for his vol. III). That is not yet the end of the story. Erich Gruen, in *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (1974), a work stuffed with useful prosopographical information, followed Syme almost *verbatim* on this (p. 164 n. 2): "The praetorship is certain from his description as *imperator* on coins." Oddly enough, it was in the same year that Crawford, pushing all this to one side, assumed the identity of the two C. Calvi named, thereby restoring this view to respectability. Unfortunately he offered no relevant discussion.¹⁴

Technically, Eckhel's argument is unassailable. There are still no relevant coins known on which his principle is violated. (He did not, of course, mean to apply it to the names of actual moneyers.) Borghesi's editor, Cavedoni, at once entered a caution: he pointed to coins of Pinarius Scarpus, which do indeed name M. Antonius (not, we ought to add, with his full name) on both faces. (Now *RRC* 546/2–3; we might add a slightly earlier coin of Antonius', *RRC* 542/2.) However, it has to be admitted that what

¹³ Sydenham, Crawford's less competent predecessor (*The Coins of the Roman Republic*, 1952, pp. 117 f.), in a brief note on these coins, assumes the identity of the two C. Calvi and refers to Grueber, who of course assumed the opposite.

¹⁴ It is characteristic of Harlan that he is totally unaware of this debate, with its history now stretching over more than four centuries, and has read Grueber (the only author he cites) with insufficient care. Pompously introducing the subject ("Not so fast. Another eye had a different interpretation" [*sic*]), he credits Grueber with "feeling" that the reverse commemorates two sons of the consul, and he goes on to produce a supererogatory stemma to illustrate this simple relationship (pp. 162–163). In the end he rejects this theory. Grueber, whatever he "felt", was merely following Borghesi, whom (as I noted) he cites quite close to the discussion of this point. Harlan is right to correct a slip by Crawford: on p. 324, on an earlier coin of a Coelius Calvus, he accidentally calls the consul the father of the later moneyer. Presumably Crawford knew that this was impossible and had never been proposed, but he fails to give the correct relationship among the men named on p. 459. Various other interpretations ascribed by Harlan to Grueber in fact merely follow earlier commentators. (Thus, Harlan states that "Grueber assumes" that the L. Calvus shown on the reverses was the moneyer's father – a correct interpretation that, as we saw, goes at least all the way back to Ursinus in 1577!) There is no evidence that Grueber had much time to think about these coins.

was practised in the late 30s, just before the war of Actium, cannot serve as a valid parallel for 51.

We shall deal with the legend on Calvus' coins in due course. For the moment, it must be pointed out that, on what appears now to be the standard interpretation of IMP. A. X, Imperator, Augur, Decemvir s.f., it cannot possibly apply to an unknown son of the *cos.* 94, indeed not even to the consul himself. Not having studied the whole of the discussion, I cannot at present say when this version of the decemvirate entered the tradition. Ursinus does not specify its nature. Haverkamp, on the other hand, already takes it for granted. Yet Pighius had advanced a different and more plausible version: *decemvir agris dandis*. This was revived (as *agris dividundis*) by Eckhel, who regarded it (and the augurate) as *ex epigraphe certum*. Borghesi again did not specify, but Mommsen (*Gesch. des röm. Münzwesens* (1860) pp. 636–7) cautiously stated "vermuthlich *sacris faciundis*". Mommsen should have known better, and somewhat later well might have. Syme, who must have known better, unfortunately did not comment on the alleged priesthoods in his note on *MRR*. Both Grueber and Sydenham accept the priesthoods. Crawford was cautious about them: "apparently" a claim that the man was augur and *Xvir sacris faciundis* (p. 459). Needless to say, Harlan has no hesitation: both are accepted without any uneasiness (p. 165). Yet this is totally unacceptable, as indeed should have been clear to specialists in Republican history; and it can now be checked in G.J. Szemler, *The Priests of the Roman Republic* (1972). Szemler cautiously describes the identification of the office from coins as uncertain (p. 191), yet on his list of decemvirs C. Calvus appears (p. 164) as "Xvir before 62/54". I do not know what the dates can be based on, but Szemler must have known, what is clear from his lists, that Sulla increased the number of these priests to fifteen: it would therefore have to be before 81/80. However, what Szemler explicitly shows (pp. 190–191) is that no one, with the exception of men who seized control of the *res publica* (probably Sulla and certainly Caesar), is known to have held two of the highest priesthoods at any time after the Second Punic War. Not only a supposed son of the consul of 94, but the consul himself, a *novus homo*, ought never to have been credited with these two priesthoods. A decemvirate *a.d.(a.)* is indeed less absurd: there was an opportunity under a law of M. Livius Drusus in 91 (see *Inscr. It.* XIII 3, p. 74), and although the consul was probably not available, a son of his, now perhaps twenty-four, just might have been considered. But there is, of course, another

obvious possibility, not so far mentioned: the decemvirate *stlit. iud.* (see *ILS* 6 for a highly respectable man on whose *cursus* it appears). It is puzzling that, despite these obvious alternatives, one of them known to two eminent scholars at least (and regarded as "certain" by one of them), the absurd idea of a second priesthood seems to hold the field.

We must return to the question of the identification of the two C. Caldi when we have discussed the legend in detail. The debate is obviously still going on, and the elimination of the dual priesthood at least raises it to a rational level. But another item has to be eliminated: an imaginary Eastern campaign, deduced from the trophies. Crawford, without expressing either any doubt or any positive reason, describes the round shields as "Macedonian", and believes that both they and the depiction of Sol indicate an unknown "military success in the East". Oddly enough, Borghesi (pp. 321 f.) had decreed that *only* the round shields could be Spanish: he refers to the coins of Publicius (Malleolus: *RRC* 335/1–2) and Carisius (presumably 464/6) for parallels, but does not say why he thinks that those coins should refer to Spain. For the oval shields he refers to the coins of Antonius IMP. TER, which, following Eckhel, he assigns to victories over tribes in the Caucasus. However, the shape of the shields on those coins (*RRC* 536/1–4) does not even come close to resembling those on our coins. (For Sol, one might cite the radiate Sol of Antonius, 533/2; but it gives no indication of referring to the East: the obverse shows him as a Roman priest!)

We must here turn to Harlan, for some ideas on both the shields and the god. He gives evidence, both literary and archaeological, for round shields in Spain (p. 164) and he also cites a coin of Albinus Bruti f(ilius) (450/1) as combining an oval and a round shield, which, following Crawford (most recently), he regards as commemorating Caesar's Gallic victories.¹⁵ In fact, more can be added: the actual round shield depicted on 450/1, as shown in Crawford's illustration, is precisely similar to the shield in his illustrations of the round shields in 437; and the larger number of

¹⁵ For the coins of Albinus Bruti f. see Banti (cit. n. 1) VII pp. 265 ff. The oval shield is in a saltire of *carnyces*, between their heads turned inwards. Reference to Caesar (and Brutus himself) in Gaul is highly plausible. The round shield stands between the stems of the *carnyces*, visibly not so closely associated with them. (If wanted, it could hardly have been put anywhere else on the coin.) We should not exclude the possibility that it refers to Caesar's victory in Spain (not, officially, a civil war), at most a few months before these coins were minted.

illustrations in Banti (VII pp. 265 ff. and III pp. 168 ff.) confirm the similarity or identity. There is no need whatsoever to describe these shields as "Macedonian".

As for the Sun on the reverse of 437/1, Pighius already suggested a connection with the *cognomen*: "*Caldi a calore caeli et Solis appellari voluere*" (p. 136); and he thought that the round shield, with its *convexitas* and *caelatura*, suggested the sky. This was frequently repeated in later discussions, at least as one possibility. Harlan takes this interpretation one step further. He suggests that Sol is not merely "a punning allusion to the moneyer's name" but "a full portrait bust of his divine ancestor, the god Sol, from whom we are to assume that the Coelii Caldi claim descent and hence came their *cognomen* Caldus (hot)" (p. 165). The suggestion is worth serious consideration, for such representations were by then not unknown. (Cf., e.g., *RRC* 320/1, 346/1, 425/1.) On the other hand, punning allusions had also been used before (e.g. 317/2, 337/1). I find it difficult to imagine that the Coelii Caldi, well known to be a junior branch of an aristocratic *gens* whose senior branch were the Antipatri, with a *cognomen* probably derived from a Macedonian War¹⁶ – that this family would expect to be taken seriously if it claimed descent and a *cognomen* from the Sun. The punning allusion still seems far more likely, especially since the name could also be interpreted *in deterius* (Cic. *Inv.* 2.28), a handicap the family had no doubt encountered and had to overcome. (The Cicero passage is already cited by Haverkamp.) However, I agree with Harlan (and, for that matter, Haverkamp) that it is as far-fetched to seek an Eastern allusion in the Sun as in the round shield. As Pighius put it, the Caldi would like to think (and would like others to think) that they were named after the Sun.

We must now, finally, turn to the legend on the reverses of 2–4. The interpretation we have been discussing has, throughout the history of the treatment of these coins, been taken over by each scholar from his predecessors. As far as I am aware, the only difference has been over the nature of the posited decemvirate; and here, the least plausible interpretation has prevailed.

It is surely a basic principle, in interpreting ancient texts, to start with trying to see what the text would have meant to contemporaries. It is only

¹⁶ See G.V. Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's Brutus* (1973) p. 57, with an adventurous stemma.

after this that the task of commenting and explaining can begin. The legend corresponding to the name of C. CALDVVS reads (we remember) IMP.A.X. IMP looks straightforward and needs no immediate discussion. But when we turn to A and X, it is surely quite extraordinary that these *litterae singulares* (at most, the monogram **AV** can take the place of plain A) have, without any discussion, been interpreted, ever since Ursinus, as Augur and Decemvir. I am not aware of any inscription or coin legend of the Republic that would provide a parallel. We do not find decemvirs denoted by X any more than we find triumvirs denoted by III. Nor is A for Augur a recognised abbreviation: as far as I know, the word, when not written out in full, is abbreviated AVG. No Roman of the late Republic (indeed, I would suggest, no Roman of any period, though this generalisation is not important to the case) would have read A as Augur and X as decemvir. Neither abbreviation is listed, for example, in Dessau's *Compendia Scripturae* in *ILS* III 2; indeed, X is not listed as an abbreviation at all, and I am not aware that it in fact can be one.

How would a contemporary Roman have read A.X? That is the question, as we saw. And the answer seems obvious, once the question is asked without prejudice. A is a standard abbreviation of forms of *annus*, and X, of course, is a simple numeral. A.X can only be read as A(nnis/os) (decem). Borghesi, at a time when only coins reading A were generally known, discovered "support" for the interpretation as "Augur" (the only time, to my knowledge, that anyone has even bothered to argue for it!) by citing a coin with an AV monogram (obviously **AV**, although he does not illustrate it) in his possession. Cavedoni knew of two more examples. There are now far more, and a good selection can be inspected in Banti, pp. 172 ff. That AV is not an abbreviation for Augur has already been noted. How, then, is the **AV** to be interpreted? What has to be pointed out is that it need not stand for AV: it can equally well stand for AN. This is (or ought to be) well known to numismatists. An instructive example is *RRC* 221, a coin inscribed **AV RVF**, with a ligature in each part of the name. This had long and (I think) universally been read as Aurelius Rufus, a combination unknown in the upper class of the Republic, so that the moneyer could not be identified. Crawford, following a suggestion of mine, decided to read Annius Rufus – and at once plausibly identified him as the later *cos.* 128, a *nobilis* who gained fame as a builder of roads. There is no objection to taking **AV**, followed by X, as again standing for A(nnis/os). The abbrevia-

tion is duly listed by Dessau (AN = anno, annos, annis). I think it is safe to claim that any contemporary Roman would have read the message of these coins as referring to a C. Calvus who was *imperator* for ten years.

Before we go any further, we should note that this solves the problem of identity: if the claim is to be at all plausible, it can only refer to the consul, not to his putative and undocumented son. Since the consul was born in 140 (possibly 139), his son is unlikely to have been born before 115. He would be of praetorian age in the middle seventies, a time when it is safe to state that no one could have been *imperator* for ten years (i.e. until the mid-sixties) and escape all literary notice. No one could even have commanded an army for that length of time without attracting a great deal of notice: witness L. Lucullus. The identity of the C. Calvus of the reverse with that of the obverse cannot be in doubt, despite the technical impediment discovered by Eckhel. Historical possibilities must take precedence. By 51 BC, many numismatic conventions had been abandoned. And here C. Calvus *needed* to be identified as the man to whom the legend on the other side of the reverse referred, since it would otherwise inevitably have referred to L. Calvus, the VIIvir, the only man named apart from the moneyer. This necessity required the abandonment of precedent, if the consul's claim to distinction was to be set out and understood.

What are the facts behind the claim made by his grandson? It is obvious that he cannot have been *imperator* for ten years. As Crawford has made likely, he only got the acclamation in 90, and he had certainly disappeared from the scene by 80: no prominent commander, certainly not one in Gaul, could have escaped notice during the *bellum Sullanum*. Moreover, we know that C. Flaccus was in Gaul by 85, when young L. Flaccus fled to him after the assassination of the elder L. Flaccus by Fimbria (Cic. *Flacc. ap. Schol. Bob. p. 96St., Quinct. 28.*).

As I pointed out,¹⁷ C. Flaccus' *provincia* was Spain – certainly Citerior, quite likely the whole of Spain: in 85, as Cicero's careful avoidance of the term makes clear, he was in charge in Gaul, but not its proconsul. I suggested that he had been asked to take charge of the important province in an emergency, when the Roman government could not find many reliable men of senior standing to send to provincial commands. We can now try to specify the nature of the emergency: since we do not hear of any

¹⁷ *Studies* (cit. n. 3) pp. 92 f.

commander in Gaul between 90 and 85, we may suggest that C. Coelius Calvus had stayed there all this time, and had died in 86 or 85.

When did he arrive? This brings up the question of his Spanish command. As we have seen, it is usually (and quite plausibly) assigned to his praetorship and/or the year after. But we do not in fact know of any commander in Citerior after T. Didius, who triumphed in June 93. Was C. Coelius asked to look after Citerior when Didius left, presumably early in 93? It is not impossible that, as I pointed out,¹⁸ Citerior and Gallia Transalpina could be connected, as they certainly were in the last years of Flaccus' command. If so, even if his *provincia* was Gallia, he may have fought and won a battle in Celtiberia. We cannot tell with any degree of confidence. Nor can we be sure when he went to Gaul, except that he must have been there by 93, *ex consulatu*, the very year when Citerior, before C. Flaccus' arrival some time in 92 (presumably – though some time in 93 is not impossible) needed temporary attention. But it now seems to me likely that he went there in 94, certainly before the end of his consulate.

That depends on the date of L. Crassus', his predecessor's, tenure. The sources are contradictory, and I have myself been confused about this in the past. It needs reconsideration. What we know is that L. Crassus, after a minor victory in Cisalpina, went home and tried to obtain a triumph, and that his colleague Q. Mucius Scaevola prevented it. Valerius Maximus (3.7.6), in an improving anecdote, says that he went to Gaul *ex consulatu*. Cicero (*Inv.* 2.111) says it was during his consulate; and this is confirmed by Asconius p. 15C, who reports that his triumph was prevented by the *intercessio* of his colleague Scaevola. One might not attach too much importance to the *De Inventione*, but Asconius must have got his version from a different source (perhaps a lost later work of Cicero's). B.A. Marshall in his commentary on the passage,¹⁹ has pointed out the significance of the word *intercessit*: it must refer to a time when the two consuls were still in office. L. Crassus therefore returned from his province in the course of 95, their joint consulship, and there is no reason to think that he went back. It is perhaps best to regard Valerius' statement as his own explanation, in the light of what he considered common practice at this time. If we prefer Cicero and Asconius, then Gallia had no known commander in

¹⁸ Ibid., see also *Mél. A. Piganiol* (1966) pp. 906 ff.

¹⁹ *Historical Commentary on Asconius* (1985) pp. 109 f.

94, and it becomes quite likely that C. Coelius was sent to assume his command during his consulship, just as L. Crassus must have been in 95.

When we next come across him there, fighting the Salluvii (see above), it is 90. What had detained him for so many years, we simply cannot tell. He ought normally to have been able to return by 92. One guess (it cannot be more) is that the man assigned to Gallia in 92 could not take it up, whether through illness or death or through a more urgent posting elsewhere. If C. Coelius had to stay until 91, for whatever reason, he would be caught up in the desperate shortage of commanders caused by the prospect of the Social War which I disengaged and documented in my article (cit. n. 17). As I there pointed out, we have the example of C. Sentius, praetor in the year of C. Coelius' consulship, who went to Macedonia *ex praetura* and stayed until he was chased out by Sulla in 87. Again, we do not know why he was forced to stay in 92–1, but the example must be taken to heart. In any case, we may regard it as certain that C. Coelius was there continuously through 90. In 87, when C. Flaccus was still busy in Spain,²⁰ there are good reasons for thinking that C. Coelius was still in Gaul.²¹ But by 85, as we saw above, C. Flaccus was looking after Gaul and able to receive his nephew there. C. Coelius presumably died in 86 or 85: as I once put it, we hope it was a natural death.

If C. Coelius went to Gaul in 93 and died in 86 (the minimum period we have to assume), he was there for eight years, or very nearly. That is as far as I got when I wrote my article in 1958, at that time still in ignorance of these coins and their possible relevance. But as we saw, it is quite possible that he in fact went to Gaul during his consulship in 94, and his death cannot be documented until 85. If so, he could be said to have been there for ten years, even if they were not a full ten years.

Let us return to the coins. As we saw, the *prima facie* meaning of the legend IMP. A.X is that the man commemorated was *imperator* for ten years. It is only by special pleading (or, to be precise, by no pleading at all!) that this meaning can be evaded and the traditional expansion into an augurate and a decemvirate substituted. It is time we returned to the plain meaning of the Latin, as every Roman would read it. Of course, the

²⁰ As shown by his attention to the dispute recorded in the *tabula Contrebiensis* (see *MRR* III p. 21).

²¹ Made probable by the story of the *legatus* P. Coelius (see *SGRH*, cit n. 3, pp. 92 f.).

implication of IMP is that the man received an imperatorial acclamation and, in conjunction with A.X, the impression is given that he held it for ten years – which we saw was not the fact in the case of C. Coelius, who only received it in 90. But we must remember that there was no special virtue or distinction attached to holding the imperatorial title, in that sense, for ten years – without triumphing. It could happen, in special political circumstances, as perhaps in the case of C. Flaccus (although we cannot be sure when he received his acclamation): he triumphed only under Sulla, when he at last returned to Rome. We must also remember that, despite its specialisation in the meaning we have noted, the word *imperator* never lost its original sense of one commanding an army, especially a Roman army as a holder of *imperium*. Instances of this are probably at least as numerous as the use of the specialised meaning. I refer to a small random selection in a note.²²

We can now see that, in this primary sense, C. Coelius, the moneyer's grandfather, could very probably – although our evidence is defective, as usual in this period – be justly claimed to have been *imperator* (i.e., to have commanded an army, holding *imperium*) for ten years, during the unusual time when commands had to be prolonged owing to the shortage of commanders created by the Social and the Civil Wars. And in fact, of course, C. Coelius probably *was* acclaimed *imperator*, although only several years into his tenure: even in this sense, his grandson was not telling an outright lie. But we must in any case restore to him the unusual (though not quite unparalleled) distinction explicitly claimed for him by his grandson, who did not have many family honours to record, and made the most of what material he found.²³

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²² The showpiece is Cic. *De or.* 1.210, with a long definition of an *imperator* (it starts with his being *administrator belli gerendi*); cf. *Div.* 1.102, where the *imperator* has the duty of ritually purifying (*lustrare*) his army; and numerous casual references in the speeches (e.g., *prov. cons.* 5,9) that can be found in the *Lexicon*. For Caesar, see, e.g., *BC* 3.51.4: *aliae ... sunt legati partes atque imperatoris*.

²³ I dedicate this study to the distinguished memory of Professor Iiro Kajanto. I wish he had lived to read it and enjoy it.

ANCIENT GREEK VIEWS ON THE EXOTIC ANIMAL

LILIANE BODSON

1. Introduction

Stemming from the ancient Greek *exoticos* through Latin *exoticus*, the adjective 'exotic' had entered the English language by the end of the 16th century,¹ a few decades after the French equivalent 'exotique' was used by Rabelais (*Pantagruel*, 1552). Its meaning, although it evolved over time, can generally be defined as follows:

1. introduced from abroad, not indigenous.
2. of or pertaining to, or characteristic of a foreigner, or what is foreign.

'Exotic' applies to a wide range of beings or things originating in foreign countries and considered in relation to their new environment. They are then connoted as 'strange' or 'outlandish' in some cases, or 'having the attraction of the strange or foreign, glamorous' in others. While the term directs etymologically towards a geographical criterion ('outside, abroad'), it often includes a simultaneous reference to cultural standards and is therefore connected to the concept of 'otherness'. 'Exotic' and its derivatives 'exoticism' and 'exotism' (or their equivalents in other languages) are appropriate to express the viewpoints of native people in any part of the world about whatever or whoever comes from a distant land. Yet their modern definition has been largely shaped according to the European and Western vision of the non-Western, in particular tropical regions, peoples and cultures, since the late 15th and early 16th century, 'once the Age of

¹ Oxford English Dictionary (ed. 1989), 551–552.

exploration was under way, leading eventually to colonization and empire building',² with its far-reaching consequences.

Animals from distant lands (to say nothing of plants) played an important role in the process, as was shown by the enduring tradition of tributes and diplomatic gifts of exotic animals.³ Their ability to fascinate both the elite and the general public has proved to be a lasting and worldwide phenomenon. Although foreign animals were never as numerous in ancient Greece as they were later in Rome, the curiosity and interest they created there from the earliest period are evidenced in all three sources: archaeozoological findings, iconography, and written material. Ancient Greece was indeed the first European country known to have harboured African or Asian species such as monkey,⁴ cheetah (*Acinonyx iubatus*),⁵ domestic cat (*Felis silvestris* f. *catus*),⁶ camel (*Camelus ferus*),⁷ tiger (*Panthera tigris*),⁸ elephant (*Elephas maximus*),⁹ cock (*Gallus gallus*),¹⁰

² M. Robinson, Foreword, in R.J. Hoage and W.A. Deiss, ed., *New Worlds, New Animals. From Menagerie to Zoological Park...*, VIII.

³ L. Bodson, ed., *Les animaux exotiques dans les relations internationales: espèces, fonctions, significations*. Journée d'étude, Université de Liège, 22 mars 1997 (issued: 1998).

⁴ L. Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Painting of Thera*, 29, 39. Earliest literary Greek occurrence: Archilochus fr. 185,3. 187,2 West. Semonides fr. 7,71 West; etc. W.C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, 23–28.

⁵ On vase paintings (ca. 550 and 470). References listed by A. Ashmead, *Expedition 20* (1978) 38–47 and G. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke*, 105–119.

⁶ Earliest Greek (archaeological) occurrence: relief of a cat facing a dog (ca. 510). Athens, National Museum of Archaeology, Inv. no. 3476. Compare with painted kylix, ca. 470 (Zurich, Private collection) in Koch-Harnack 114, fig. 49 (= Cat. no. 271). L. Bodson, *Ethnozootechnie* 40 (1987) 13–38.

⁷ Xen. Hell. 3,4,24.

⁸ See below, § 4 (n. 78); § 5 (n. 117–118).

⁹ Plut. Pyrrh. 26,9. Paus. 1,12,3. The elephants said by Iustinus 17,2,14 to have been lent by Ptolemy Ceraunus to Pyrrhus would have been of African origin (*Loxodonta africana*). See H.H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World*, 100–119.

¹⁰ Aristoph. *Birds* 483–485. J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, 88–89 (from the archaic period). Recent findings of cock remains in Bronze Age sites (Crete and

guineafowl (*Numida meleagris ptilorhyncha*),¹¹ pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*),¹² peacock (*Pavo cristatus*),¹³ etc. on its soil. Some of these, namely the domestic cat, cock, guineafowl, pheasant and peacock, were acclimatized there and many others, which did not appear during antiquity, entered the European tradition through ancient Greek records: antelope and gazelle (*Tragelaphus* gen., *Gazella* gen.),¹⁴ hippopotamus (*Hippopotamus amphibius*),¹⁵ hyaena (*Crocuta crocuta*),¹⁶ African and Indian rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*; *Rhinoceros unicornis*),¹⁷ dromedary (*Camelus dromedarius*),¹⁸ panther (*Panthera pardus*),¹⁹ giraffe (*Giraffa camelopardalis*),²⁰ etc. Moreover, the word *exoticos*, from which the English 'exotic' or the French 'exotique' came by way of the Latin *exoticus*, was coined by the Greeks.

This paper will first survey the uses and meanings of the Greek term *exoticos* and then focus on reports and other statements concerning foreign animals in an attempt to provide some insight into the ancient Greek way of conceiving exoticism with respect to species from distant lands.

mainland Greece) are discussed by D.S. Reese, in *Kommos I, Part 1. The Kommos Region, Ecology, and Minoan Industries*, 194–204.

11 Soph. fr. 830a Radt.

12 Aristoph. *Clouds* 109. Pollard 93–94.

13 See below, § 6 (Pyrilampes).

14 Morgan 53, 59 (antelopes). Hdt. 4,192 (antelopes and gazelles). G. Camps, *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. II. Historia Antiqua* 1 (1988) 209–221.

15 Hdt. 2,71.

16 Hdt. 4,192.

17 *Diceros bicornis*: F. Jacoby, *FGrHist.* 627 F 2,32. Cf. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, 98. *Rhinoceros unicornis*: Aristot. *H.A.* 1,499b19. *P.A.* 3,663a19,23.

18 Aristot. *H.A.* 1,499a14–17.

19 Oppianus *Cyn.* 3,63–77. Preliminary remark on *pardalis* (since Hom. *Il.* 17,20. etc.) and *panther* (since Hdt. 4,192. etc.) in Bodson 1998, 143. On lion, see hereafter, n. 42.

20 F. Jacoby, *FGrHist.* 627 F 2,32. Cf. Rice 97–98.

2. Greek *exoticos*, Latin *exoticus*

The adjective *exoticos* was formed by the addition of the suffix *-ticos* ('in connection with, relating to') to the adverb *exo* 'outside'.²¹ It means 'foreign, alien'. It retained the same meaning when borrowed into Latin²² and was therefore inherited by modern languages such as English and French. The 40 or so extant occurrences of *exoticos* retrieved from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (UCI, CD-ROM #D) are found in literature (including Church Fathers and early Byzantine historians) and in documentary texts either on stones or on papyri, all dated from the Roman Empire. Indeed, as far as is known now, the occurrences of *exoticos* do not go back farther than the second century A.D., while, puzzling as this may be, the derived (Latin) *exoticus* is evidenced as early as the second century B.C., in Plautus' plays.²³

Exoticos was applied to living organisms and inanimate objects in a fairly wide range of contexts. As regards living organisms, it described mainly people: deemed foreign or strangers to the family circle, friends, colleagues, etc. (in administrative laws and regulations²⁴ and in private usage, namely epitaphs in Asia minor),²⁵ and also plant: *Anchusa tinctoria*,

21 P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, 1933, 394–396 (N.B. *exoticos* is not listed by Chantraine).

22 M. Fruyt, *Problèmes méthodologiques de dérivation à propos des suffixes latins en ...cus*, 89, 113, 245.

23 Plautus *Mostellaria* 42 (parfumes). *Epidicus* 232 (women's garment). *Menaechmi* 236 (Sicily against mainland Greece). Compare Apuleius *Met.* 1,1,5 (Latin as second language of a Greek-native speaker). Etc.

24 E.g. I.G. II², no. 1368, l. 55 = Fr. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, no. 51, l. 55 (Athens, before 178 A.D.). I.G.R.R. IV, n° 353 c, l. 12 (Pergamon, between 117 and 138). Iustinianus Nov. 22,20,2. Constantinus (VII) Porphyrogenetus *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae* 2,52.

25 E.g. I.K. 17, n° 3322, l. 4 (Ephesos); n° 3448, ll. 9–10 (Maşat, Chondria); 23, n° 219, l. 6 (Smyrna. 2nd cent. A.D.); 28, n° 393, l. 5 (Iasos, Caria. Roman Empire). T.A.M. II, n° 601 a, l. 7. b, ll. 12 and 21–22 (Tlos, Lycia. 140–141 A.D.); III, n° 425, l. 2 (Termessos, Pisidia); V, n° 1311, l. 5 (Hyrcanis, Lydia). M.A.M.A. III, n° 743, ll. 3–4 (Cilicia. Roman Empire).

'oxtongue-like plant' used as dye in a formula.²⁶ When applied to inanimate objects, it characterized locations: grounds, fields, and estates,²⁷ towns,²⁸ courthouses;²⁹ occasions: banquets,³⁰ wars;³¹ learned matters,³² especially in literature.³³

In some contexts related to human beings, *exoticos* was used as the opposite of *suggenes* 'of the same kin, descent, akin to',³⁴ while in others, it was coordinated with *xenos*.³⁵ Both *exoticos* and *xenos* shared a similar general meaning ('foreigner, foreign') but were not interchangeable. The latter (initially) stressed the idea: 'Greek-speaking foreign(-er)', the former: 'non-Greek-speaking foreign(-er)'. It is worth remembering that the earliest and usual word for this concept had been *barbaros*: 'non-Greek-speaking', literally: 'speaking *bar bar bar*' after the Greek onomatopoeia for the inarticulate sounds made by birds.³⁶ It appeared in Homer's *Iliad* (*barbarophonos* 'speaking a foreign tongue')³⁷ and prevailed over such terms as *alloglossos*, *allophonos*, *alloglossos*, etc. Two different aspects of the notion 'foreigner, foreign' were thus underscored depending on the adjective: sociological in *barbaros* versus locative and geographical in *exoticos*.

²⁶ P. Holm. 17, l. 32 (4th cent. A.D.).

²⁷ E.g. P. Oxy. I, 136, ll. 9, 16, 19, 26, 44 (A.D. 583); VI, 999 (A.D. 616/7); XVI, 2019, col. 1, l. 4 (6th cent. A.D.); 2038, col. 2, ll. 20, 21 (6th–7th cent. A.D.); XVIII, 2196, l. 5 (?A.D. 586); 2204, l. 6 (6th cent. A.D.); XIX, 2243 (*a*), verso of col. I–II, l. 88 (A.D. 590); LVIII, 3952, ll. 19, 29 (before August 29, 610). P. Iand. IV, 63, l. 3 (early 7th cent. A.D.).

²⁸ Iohannes Malalas Chronographia 18 Niebuhr (p. 449, l. 11).

²⁹ E.g. Basilius Regulae fusius tractatae 9,2 (P.G. XXXI, col. 944 A).

³⁰ *Lectio facilior* in some manuscripts of Epictetus' Encheiridion (by Arrian) 33,6.

³¹ E.g. Iohannes Chrysostomus In S. Eustathium Antiochenum 3 (P.G. XLIX–L, col. 602). Iohannes Lydus De Ostentis 12 (48A).

³² Iamblichus Vita Pythagorica 21.

³³ Iohannes Lydus De Magistratibus 40.

³⁴ See above, n. 25 (I.K. 28 n° 393, l. 5. M.A.M.A. III, n° 743, l. 3–4).

³⁵ [Athanasius] Epistula II ad Castorem 3 (P.G. XXVIII, col. 884 A).

³⁶ Chantraine, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, 1968, 164–165.

³⁷ Hom. Il. 2,867.

When used to refer to a plant or to inanimate objects, *exoticos* defined them as coming or being from abroad, namely a different environment. At this point, there is no evidence that the adjective was applied (anymore than *exoticus* in Latin) to any animal name. If it had been, its meaning would have been in all likelihood (the restriction of the *e silentio* argument notwithstanding) just the same as in terms of plants, towns, or wars, that is, locative and geographical with very little, if any, of what is now understood by the words 'exotic, exoticism'.

3. Reports on Asian and African faunas

Information on African and Asian animals reached Greece as early as the Bronze Age. Carved objects imported from Egypt and Asia to the Aegean islands (Crete, Thera, etc.) and to mainland Greece as well, or created according to Egyptian and Asian models, and wall paintings (also after Egyptian and Asian models) depicted foreign animals: baboons (carved on seals made of hippopotamus ivory),³⁸ antelopes,³⁹ monkeys,⁴⁰ felines,⁴¹ etc. The lion, however, should not be considered as 'foreign' to mainland Greece, after the enticing conclusions put forward by Angela von den Driesch and Knut Usener on the basis of archaeological, environmental and biological data.⁴² It is also worth recalling that the Greek settlement of Asia minor and North Africa acquainted the long-term residents somewhat with indigenous faunas and created a scale of the various ways the local animal species were perceived to be 'exotic'.

Besides iconography, archaeozoological remains also support the notion that the ancient Greeks were interested in animals from remote countries. Shells from the Red Sea, ostrich eggs, hippopotamus teeth, and antelope antlers were excavated from the 7th-century level of the Samian

³⁸ M. Vandervondelen, *Studia varia Bruxellensia* 3 (1994) 175–183.

³⁹ See above, n. 14.

⁴⁰ See above, n. 4.

⁴¹ See above, n. 5, 19.

⁴² A. von den Driesch, *Chloe. Beihefte zu Daphnis* 20 (1994) 5–20. K. Usener, *Symbolae Osloenses* 69 (1994) 5–33.

sanctuary of the goddess Hera.⁴³ These findings do not imply that the animals were ever brought to the island alive, but they do confirm that there was some degree of curiosity about and knowledge of the corresponding species, even if the Greek awareness of such species as the hippopotamus or ostrich may not be ascertained. (Compare the so-called unicorn's horn and the medieval or later views about the animal species it was supposed to come from, with the animal, namely narwhal: *Monodon monoceros*, it actually came from).

As regards textual evidence, non-European animals were occasionally mentioned by many Greek poets and prose writers. To start with the so-called 'Bible of the Greeks', Homer referred to the jackal,⁴⁴ Asian wild ass,⁴⁵ big cats,⁴⁶ etc. The satirical writer Archilochus alluded to monkeys,⁴⁷ among other animals. However, extensive, if not systematic reviews of foreign fauna were presented by authors who travelled or sojourned abroad, such as Hecataios of Miletus,⁴⁸ Herodotus,⁴⁹ Xenophon,⁵⁰ Ctesias,⁵¹ Megasthenes,⁵² Nearchos,⁵³ etc., whatever their purpose, or those who relied on these predecessors for their sources: Diodorus of Sicily,⁵⁴

43 J. Boessneck – A. von den Driesch, MDAI (A) 96 (1981) 245–248. 98 (1983) 21–24.

44 Hom. Il. 11,474–481.

45 Hom. Il. 2,852.

46 Hom. Il. 3,17; 10,29; 13,103.

47 See above, n. 4.

48 Kl.-E. Müller, Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie I, 94–101. Kl. Karttunen, India in Early Greek Literature, 1989, 69–73 and *passim*.

49 Müller I, 101–131. Karttunen, 1989, 73–79 and *passim*.

50 Even though more occasionally than the other authors listed here. See e.g. his Anabasis. On Xenophon's India: Karttunen, 1989, 87–88.

51 Müller I, 145–146 and n. 313; 189 and n. 119. Karttunen, 1989, 80–85 and *passim*.

52 Müller I, 245–252. Karttunen, 1989, 96–99 and *passim*.

53 Müller I, 236–240. Karttunen, 1989, 90–91 and *passim*; India and the Hellenistic World, 1997, 41–44 and *passim*.

54 Müller II, 25. Karttunen, 1997, 326 and *passim*.

Strabo,⁵⁵ Arrian,⁵⁶ etc. Not all these works have survived, but the remaining fragments of lost works attest to the attention paid to animals by both the authors themselves and the readers who cited their accounts. Whether complete or not, the evidence contained in them raises too many questions to be thoroughly surveyed here. Selected examples will hopefully throw enough light on the matter.

Eleven chapters of Herodotus' *Aiguptiakos logos* were devoted to animals considered sacred in Egyptian religious belief.⁵⁷ He reviewed them not for the sake of zoology, but of ethnography, probably working on the basis of both written and oral sources and his own observations which, for all the 19th and 20th century *Quellenforschung*, are still open to investigation. In addition to cats, ibises, hippopotamus and other snakes, he talked of crocodiles⁵⁸ at some length. As he mentioned in II.69, the latter were known at least to the Ionians who had extended their name for 'lizard': *crocodeilos* to it. Nonetheless, it is most likely that the crocodile was not familiar to all his intended readership. It could have inspired him in time to make some comparisons⁵⁹ or other remarks infused with his didactic vividness. He made comments, criticisms,⁶⁰ and judgments of his own,⁶¹ in Book II as elsewhere in his work. Nothing of the like is found in his chapters on crocodiles nor even the Greek word for 'surprise or wonder' (*thauma* and derivatives) which also conveyed the feeling of unfamiliarity and strangeness inspired by an odd object or spectacle. As is well known,⁶²

55 Müller II, 107–123. Karttunen, 1997, 326 and *passim*.

56 Müller II, 154–157. Karttunen, 1997, 21, 327 and *passim*.

57 Hdt. 2,66–76.

58 Hdt. 2,68–70.

59 As in e.g. 2,35–36 (comparison of Egyptian and foreign customs).

60 Hdt. 2,15–18 (if we agree with the opinion, ... if we follow this account, we can show that ... and I myself judge ... our judgment concerning the matter is this... My opinion, that ... is attested by...). 24 (having condemned the opinions proposed, I must now set forth what I myself think...).

61 Hdt. 2,4 (to my mind); 12 (I believe ... I am fully persuaded); 109 (to my thinking...).

62 H. Barth, *Klio* 50 (1968) 93–95 (still essential). A.B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Introduction*, 141–147.

Herodotus' 'taste for *thômata*'⁶³ is a pervasive characteristic of the *Histories*. The extensive account on Egypt was justified at once because 'nowhere are there so many marvellous things (*pleista thômasia*).⁶⁴ Herodotus saw them in all kinds of topics and occasions: natural phenomena (e.g. climate of Egypt,⁶⁵ the causes of the River Nile's recurrent flooding,⁶⁶ etc.), man-made works,⁶⁷ He marvelled incidentally at the tail size and shape of Arabian sheep breeds in his Book III.⁶⁸ He would have been fully justified in stating his point of view even briefly about such an unusual animal species as the crocodile. Actually, he refrained from any personal comments not by chance or accident as might perhaps be thought at first reading, but purposely as one is entitled to conclude from his avoiding the word *thauma* on this particular occasion.

His chapters on crocodile (II.68–70) were articulated in three sections, each complementing one aspect: 1) zoological (68: anatomy, breeding behaviour, environment: on land and in the water, cooperation between crocodile and sandpiper); 2) anthropological (69: its sacred status to the dwellers around Thebes and Elephantine); and 3) practical (70: techniques of crocodile hunting in the areas where it was not sacred). In this final section, he alluded to 'many and various ways of crocodile hunting' and decided to 'write only that one way' which he thought 'most worthy of *mention*' (not of *wonder*, as he said in other cases).

He treated animals from other foreign countries, for instance *Libya*,⁶⁹ in the same way: listing them, pointing out features he considered worth noticing, and refraining from personal comment. Whatever their zoological value, his structured accounts on foreign animals were written with the self-restraint to be expected from a naturalist.

63 Lloyd 141.

64 Hdt. 2,35.

65 Hdt. 2,13–14.

66 Hdt. 2,21 ('marvellous' as opposed to 'scientific').

67 E.g. Hdt. 2,148; 175.

68 Hdt. 3,113. Karttunen, 1989, 167–168.

69 Hdt. 4,191–192.

Later authors (from Xenophon⁷⁰ to Arrian, etc.), when dealing with overseas countries and faunas, did not depart from Herodotus' practice. To take one further example, the earliest extant Greek description of a giraffe comes from Agatharchides' lost *On the Erythraean Sea*.⁷¹ It reads as follows in Photios' quotation:

'In the country of the Trogodytes there is also found the animal Greeks call camelopard, an animal that, like its name, has in a certain sense a composite nature. For it has the spotted coat of a leopard and is the size of a camel and very fast, and its neck is so long that it obtains its food from the tops of trees.'

Neutral in tone and elementary as it was, it stated the main points: name, distinctive physical characteristics (size, colour, swiftness) based on a comparison with better known species, effects on feeding habits, in a way which is remarkably congruous with the modern requirements of this type of short notice. Compare with the entry from a contemporary all-public dictionary⁷² geared to a readership likely to be more acquainted with the giraffe than Agatharchides' own readers:

'an extremely tall African animal with a very long neck and legs and pale brown fur with dark spots, which eats the leaves from the branches of trees.'

Other instances taken from Herodotus, Agatharchides or any other Greek historian-geographer-ethnographer before or after would simply provide further evidence that the ancient Greeks, when reporting on foreign countries and recording their animals, considered them in terms of their native environment only and did not assess them in terms of exoticism, except for the word '*thauma*'. As has been seen, it did not mean 'foreigner, foreign', but 'wonder, marvel, curiosity' and therefore referred to the un-

⁷⁰ E.g. Anab. 1,5.2–3. On Diodorus Siculus: Z. Kádár, Acta Class. Univ. Scientiarum Debrecensis 13 (1977) 41–44. On Strabo: Kádár, *ibidem*, 24 (1988) 51–56. See above, n. 48–56.

⁷¹ Ch. Müller, FHGr. 159 (= fr. 72).

⁷² Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1987, 437.

familiar or strange. The fact is that this kind of reaction could be experienced in considering even 'the meaner animals' (Peck) or 'for examining the less valued animals' (Balme), since, in Aristotle's own terms (PA 1, 645a18) for defining the field of biological research, 'in all natural things there is somewhat of the marvellous (*thaumaston*)'.⁷³ Yet, as for the animal world, the marvellous and wonderful was probably never further highlighted than in alien species, not only as regards ancient Greek antiquity but also later periods.⁷⁴

Before looking at the animals imported to mainland Greece, a brief mention should be made of the special occasions when foreign animals were offered to kings as tribute.

4. Foreign Animals as Royal Gifts

Although this did not usually happen on Greek soil, it did occur in contexts which call for analysis in terms of Greek history. Indeed, one involves Alexander the Great, the other Ptolemy II Philadelphus. As pointed out above, animals played an important role in politics and diplomatic exchanges in ancient as in modern times. The earliest records go back to the mid-third millennium in Egypt. Other examples come from Mesopotamia and Assyria,⁷⁵ Persia,⁷⁶ India,⁷⁷ to mention only a few countries where such presents were common.

⁷³ A.L. Peck, *Aristotle Parts of Animals* (Loeb Class. Library), 99. D.M. Balme, *Aristotle De Partibus Animalium I and De generatione Animalium I* (with Passages from II.1–3). With a Report on Recent Works and an Additional Bibliography by A. Gotthelf, 18, l. 18.

⁷⁴ See Cl. Kappler, *Monstres, démons et merveilles*, 52–53. M. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World. Exotic European Travel Writing 400–1600*, 104–106. J. Céard, *La nature et les prodiges. L'insolite au XVI^e siècle*, 2nd ed., 3–59. P. Findlen, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, 17–47. A. Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne et la tulipe. Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVII^e siècle*, 9–13.

⁷⁵ Br. Lion, *La circulation des animaux au Proche-Orient antique*, in D. Charpin and F. Joannès, ed., *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes de la XXXVIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Paris, 8–10 juillet 1991), 357–365.

The Greeks, who rightly or wrongly did not admire their native fauna as they did the African and Asian species and who, by no means, could compete with oriental splendours, did not present foreign rulers with European animals. The only record of a foreign animal seemingly involved in public relations between Greece and Asia concerns the tiger sent by Seleucos I to the Athenians. The evidence is so thin, as will be seen later, that it is of limited use to modern historians.⁷⁸ Conversely, two Hellenistic monarchs, Alexander the Great and Ptolemy II Philadelphus, were both remembered for the foreign animals they were given.

4.1. Alexander the Great

Alexander, while on his way to India, was presented by local kings and chiefs with specimens of indigenous breeds of domestic animals and samples of wild species, all selected for their inherent traits or those acquired by training. When such presents came from vanquished peoples, it is not always clear whether they were mandatory or freely conceded gifts. Ancient historians, however, recorded them all as gifts,⁷⁹ even if only for the sake of Alexander's legendary charisma. He was given dromadaries and Indian elephants in Persia.⁸⁰ He received many Indian hounds, a breed which is still regarded as the ancestor of the modern mastiff: two from the king of Albania,⁸¹ one from Poros⁸² and a pack of one hundred fifty from

⁷⁶ H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Gifts in the Persian Empire, in P. Briant – Cl. Herrenschmidt, ed., *Le tribut dans l'Empire perse. Actes de la Table ronde de Paris, 12–13 Décembre 1986*, 129–146. Cf. (Greek viewpoint) M.C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C. A Study in Cultural Receptivity*, 1997, 109–133. L. Mitchell, *Greek Bearing Gifts in the Fifth Century B.C. The Public Use of Private Relationships in the Greek World 435–323 BC*, 111–133.

⁷⁷ Aelianus *On Animals* 4,41; also 8,1 (at the end); 15,14; etc. Compare with Cassius Dio, 54,9,8. F. Jacoby, *FGrHist.* 90 F 100. J.R. Morgan, *CQ* 38 (1988) 267–269.

⁷⁸ See below, n. 117–118.

⁷⁹ On the definition and status of 'gift', 'tribute', 'tax', etc., see e.g. W. Helck, *Abgaben und Steuern*, in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, col. 3–12. W. Boochs, *Tribut*, *ibidem* VI, col. 762–764.

⁸⁰ Curtius 5,2,10. On elephants: Karttunen, 1997, 187–201.

⁸¹ Plinius Maior 8,149 (summarized by Solinus 15,7).

Sopeithes while in India.⁸³ They had been known to the Greeks in the early 5th century, since Xerxes had packs of Indian hounds in his army.⁸⁴ Their physical strength and bold fighting manner made them highly appreciated by Greek big game hunters.⁸⁵ They were indeed able to dominate lions and elephants, as was soon demonstrated to Alexander,⁸⁶ himself a devotee of hunting. As a highly skilled horseman, he was offered Indian thoroughbred horses.⁸⁷ He received elephants, sheep and cattle as well.⁸⁸ It is worth noticing that, for a time, he had thought of sending heads of remarkable cattle species back to Macedonia to be acclimatized and used there in agriculture.⁸⁹ Furthermore, two Indian tribes (Mallians and Oxydracae) gave him lions and tigers 'all of great size and all tame',⁹⁰ both properties adding to their natural and symbolic value. Whatever the species, the animals received by Alexander from his Persian and Indian counterparts were highly appreciated, given his curiosity about foreign fauna.⁹¹ Second and perhaps more important, the symbolic value of lion, tiger, mastiff, etc., as regards the attributes (power, strength, courage, endurance, etc.,⁹²) theoretically expected from the ideal monarch made them suitable gifts to

82 Pollux 5,43–44.

83 Diod. Sic., 17,92. Strabo, 15,1,31 (700 C.). Karttunen, 1989, 163–167; 1997, 174–175.

84 Hdt. 7,187; see also 3,32.

85 F. Jacoby, FGrHist. 688 F 45,10. Xen. Cyn. 10,1. Aelianus On Animals 4,19; 8,1. Plinius Maior 8,150.

86 Curtius 9,1,31–33. Plinius Maior 8,149–150. Plut. Soll. Anim. 15 (Mor. 970 F).

87 Curtius 9,8,1–2. Karttunen, 1997, 178–179.

88 Arrianus Anab. 5,3,5. On cattle, sheep, etc.: Karttunen, 1997, 181–184.

89 Arrianus Anab. 4,25,4. Karttunen, 1997, 181.

90 Curtius 9,8,1–2 (see above, n. 87). Compare with Aelianus On Animals 15,14: (my italics) *trained* tigers and *tame* panthers offered by the Indians to their king. Karttunen, 1997, 170–173.

91 L. Bodson, Ancient History 22 (1991) 127–138.

92 See e.g. Hom. Il. 5,136–139; 11,113–119; 20,164–173. cf. Aristot. H.A. 1,488b16–17.

Alexander who was the supreme embodiment of these qualities in the view of his contemporaries.

4.2. Ptolemy II Philadelphus

Ptolemy II Philadelphus, second ruler of Hellenized Alexandria (282–246), was also much famed for the interest (perhaps influenced by Alexander) he took in animals. This was extensively evidenced in his elephant hunting,⁹³ the private collection of animals he housed in the royal garden and outbuildings,⁹⁴ and the parades (e.g. the great procession of *Ptolemaeia* which took place between 280 and 270)⁹⁵ publicly exhibiting hundreds of domestic and wild animals gathered from all over the known world.⁹⁶ Some of these species were sent to him by foreign chiefs, for instance the Ammonite Tubias, as tribute from abroad.⁹⁷ Others were supplied by free-lance hunters enticed by Ptolemy's princely rewards to those who helped him enlarge his collection with unusual creatures. One of, if not the most, extraordinary was the giant (*ca.* 13 metres long) python (*Python sebae*) trapped in the upper Nile valley and taken to Alexandria where it was soon exhibited to the public and to distinguished foreign visitors.⁹⁸ All were amazed not only by its size and the conditions of its capture,⁹⁹ but also by its progressive tameness (achieved by depriving it of

⁹³ Diod. Sic. 3,36,3. Strabo 16,4,5 (769–770 C.); 17,1,5 (789 C.); etc. Scullard 126–133. J. Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (VI^e siècle avant J.-C. – IV^e siècle après J.-C.), 252–279. Burstein 42.

⁹⁴ H.M. Hubbell, *CJ* 31 (1935–1936) 68–76.

⁹⁵ Rice 4–5. V. Foertmeyer, *Historia* 37 (1988) 90–104; in 275/74. J. Köhler, *Pompai. Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Festkultur*, 36; in 279/78.

⁹⁶ F. Jacoby, *FGrHist.* 627 F 2,32.

⁹⁷ PCZ 59075 (13 mai 257 B.C., according to Cl. Orrieux, *Les papyrus de Zénon*, 43. see also his *Zénon de Caunos, parémidémos, et le destin grec*, 99. 158–162). Rice 86.

⁹⁸ Diod. Sic. 3,36,3–37,8 (possibly after Agatharchides: Ch. Müller, *FHistGr.* 162–165 [= fr. 78]). Woelk 185–188. Burstein 126–132.

⁹⁹ Diod. Sic., 3,37,7.

food).¹⁰⁰ Both made it 'a true wonder' (*thauma*)¹⁰¹ which fulfilled the king's own desire for distinctive animals. It became a landmark in the history of his collection and added to his reputation both at home and abroad.

5. Asian and African animals imported to Greece

As long as foreign animals were described or characterized in their original context, their indigenous status was self-evident. Once they were compared to the fauna of another country and, especially, when they were taken there, the way they had been perceived was modified. The vocabulary shows signs of that change.

Indeed, the Greeks named foreign animals after their native countries, either real as with the pheasant: *Phasianos* 'bird of the River Phasos' (as it is still reminded in the modern languages deriving their name for it from the 'Greco-latin' term),¹⁰² or supposed: *Persikos* 'bird from Persia' or *Medikos* 'bird from Media' used of farmyard cock¹⁰³ and of peacock¹⁰⁴ as long as their actual origin was unidentified. Peacocks were termed *Indikoi* 'birds from India'¹⁰⁵ (if not earlier) when Alexander saw them upon reaching the Indus valley. Indeed, 'he was, wrote Aelian,¹⁰⁶ struck at the sight of (my italics) *these birds in India* (and in his admiration for their beauty threatened the severest penalties for any man who slew one).' On the same occasion,

¹⁰⁰ G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*, 36. Ch.R.S. Pitman, *A Guide to the Snakes of Uganda*, 58.

¹⁰¹ Diodorus Siculus 3,37,7.

¹⁰² See above, n. 12.

¹⁰³ Aristoph. *Birds* 483–485; cf. 277, 707. D'A.W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 38–39.

¹⁰⁴ *Scholia recentiora Aristoph Ois. 707* (ed. Fr. Dübner, *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem*, 225–226).

¹⁰⁵ Aelianus *On Animals* 5,32; 13,18; 16,2. Cf. Curtius 9,1,13. Karttunen, 1997, 207–209.

¹⁰⁶ Aelianus *On Animals* 5,21.

the Greeks also discovered another Indian bird: the parrot.¹⁰⁷ At first a rarity, it had become so common around the eastern Mediterranean by the end of the 1st century and early second century A.D. that Arrian¹⁰⁸ felt free to skip over the first, now lost, description of the species by Nearchos (4th century) who had defined it 'as a wonder' (*thauma*), when observing it in its natural habitat.¹⁰⁹

At the same time, foreign animals could be given more specific names. The cock was given a Greek name: *alektruon*, literally 'turning aside, warding off, defending'¹¹⁰ after the fighting temper observed in the male.¹¹¹ Conversely, the parrot and the peacock were given names adapted from the languages spoken in their native countries: (the parrot) *psittacos*,¹¹² (the peacock) *tahos*,¹¹³ a spelling much discussed by ancient Greek grammarians and lexicographers.¹¹⁴ (The Greek name for guineafowl, *meleagrides*, is based upon a mythological etymology and requires further investigation.)¹¹⁵

Additional information on the status accorded foreign animals introduced into Greece is assumed from the causes and circumstances of the various species' first arrival and from the role they were to play there for whatever period of time. However, most of this information is of little significance due to the shortage of relevant evidence. The war elephants which entered Macedonia and Epirus in the first decades of the 3rd century B.C. were hardly mentioned by ancient historians and were not commented

¹⁰⁷ Aristot. H.A. 7 (8),597b28. Aelianus On Animals 16,2. Thompson 336. Karttunen, 1997, 202–205.

¹⁰⁸ Arrianus Indica 15,8.

¹⁰⁹ Thompson 335–338. Pollard 137–138. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Art and Life*, 247–249. J.M. Bigwood, *CQ* 43 (1993) 321–327.

¹¹⁰ Chantraine, 1968, 58.

¹¹¹ J.P. Kruijt, *Behaviour Suppl.* 12 (1964) 37–39.

¹¹² Chantraine, 1968 [1980], 1292.

¹¹³ First occurrence: Aristoph. *Ach.* 63.

¹¹⁴ Tryphon Alexandrinus, fr. 5 Velsen. Seleucus, fr. 1 Funaioli. Etc. Chantraine, 1968 [1977], 1098.

¹¹⁵ Thompson 197–200. Pollard 94–95.

upon in terms of their exoticism.¹¹⁶ Seleucus' tiger sent to the Athenians *ca.* 306–4, probably as a diplomatic gift,¹¹⁷ faded from view except for two brief and out-of-context fragments from comic plays.¹¹⁸ Cheetahs taken either from Africa through Egypt¹¹⁹ or from Asia¹²⁰ were painted on Greek vases between *ca.* the mid-6th century and the early 5th century.¹²¹ Domestic cats imported from Egypt (or the Middle-East)¹²² were represented on monuments and vase paintings as early as *ca.* 510.¹²³ Both species were shown with ephebes. Ann Ashmead, in her study of *Greek Cats*, believed these animals to be the youth's pets, thereby playing the same role as roosters, hares, etc.¹²⁴ Koch-Harnack, who studied them in the context of the Greek pederastic relationship, gave them a symbolic meaning.¹²⁵ She related the cheetah's abilities as a hunter with the specific value of hunting in the Greek educational system. Due to the absence of any written evidence concerning the arrival of these felines, the reasons for and occasions of their choice, etc., there is no way to confirm this otherwise plausible explanation. Pheasants were bred and reared by Leogoras, the father of the orator Andocides, in mid-5th century Athens, and soon became

116 Scullard 98–100.

117 Explained differently by modern historians: e.g. W.S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens. An Historical Essay*, 69. A. Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich I*, 220. S. Sherwin-White and A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, 93.

118 Philemon (born *ca.* 365–360. 1st victory in 327) fr. 49 Kassel-Austin. Alexis (*ca.* 372–270) fr. 207, 3 K.–A.

119 *Acinonyx jubatus* (cf. P. Jackson *et al.*, *Les félins*, 39–44).

120 *Acinonyx jubatus venaticus* (cf. Jackson 127–128).

121 See above, n. 5.

122 J. Clutton-Brock, *Cats Ancient and Modern*, 6–13. Jackson 251–255.

123 See above, n. 6.

124 Ashmead 38–47.

125 Koch-Harnack 107–119.

a source of profit and fame to him.¹²⁶ But nothing is mentioned about the coming of pheasants to Greece. The cock's introduction into Greece has been traditionally placed in the 7th century B.C. on the basis of archeological evidence and related by modern scholarship to the Asian influence on Greek religion, in particular on Pythagoreanism.¹²⁷ The matter needs to be reexamined, however, especially in view of recent archaeozoological findings in both Crete and mainland Greece supposedly coming from the Bronze Age.¹²⁸ The peacock, although some questions still require further investigation, is the only species better documented as regards its reception by the Greeks.

6. The case of Pyrilampes' peacocks

There has been much discussion recently concerning the peacock's arrival on the island of Samos where it became sacred to the goddess Hera,¹²⁹ or its alleged role as Persian diplomatic gift to Athenian embassies in the second half of the 5th century.¹³⁰ No definite conclusion has yet been reached. Since this does not relate to the particular point here under examination, it will not be the object of further discussion.

The history of the peacock in mainland Greece is linked to Pyrilampes,¹³¹ an Athenian aristocrat of the highest rank,¹³² Plato's maternal great-

¹²⁶ Aristoph. *Clouds* 109. Cf. J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, 30–31 (n° 828, VI B). Compare with F. Jacoby, *FGrHist.* 234 F 2 (pheasant breeding in Ptomelaic Alexandria).

¹²⁷ Cl. Nauerth, Hahn, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 13, col. 365.

¹²⁸ See above, n. 10.

¹²⁹ F. Jacoby, *FGrHist.* 541 F 2. E.g. Karttunen, 1989, 27. M.C. Miller, *Archaeological News* 15 (1990) 2.

¹³⁰ E.g. E. Badian, *JHS* 107 (1987) 14. E.L. Bowie, *JHS* 108 (1988) 185. P. Cartledge, *Fowl Play: A Curious Lawsuit in Classical Athens* (*Antiphon XVI*, fr. 57–9 Thalheim), in P. Cartledge *et al.*, ed., *Nomos, Essays in Athenian Law, Politics and Society*, 47. Miller, 1990, 2; 1997, 110, 129, 189–192, 216.

¹³¹ Cartledge 53.

¹³² Davies 329–331 (n° 8792, VIII).

uncle and father-in-law,¹³³ Pericles' close friend,¹³⁴ and ambassador to the Great King and other Asian rulers.¹³⁵ What may be said about his peacocks comes mainly from two short fragments,¹³⁶ all that remains of Antiphon's acclaimed speech *Against Erasistratos about Peacocks*¹³⁷ (written between 419/8 and 411/10)¹³⁸. They were cited by Athenaeus¹³⁹ and referred to by Aelian,¹⁴⁰ who both added some further comments. These pieces of evidence may be summarized as follows:

The birds, probably only one breeding pair, were brought by Pyrilampes from Persia to Athens in the second half of the 5th century. As his fellow citizen Leogoras had turned to pheasant fancying, he initiated peacock breeding in mainland Greece and succeeded well enough to make special use of his birds, provided that there is some truth to the scoffs of anonymous comic poets alluded to by Plutarch. Indeed, Pyrilampes was suspected of using his birds to suborn Athenian ladies for Pericles.¹⁴¹ Demos, Pyrilampes' son, inherited the rearing facilities and was the first to achieve peacock acclimatization in Greece.¹⁴² The species was still uncommon at the end of the 5th century and all the more admired since its natural beauty, intensified by the attractiveness of its oriental origin, excited a great deal of public interest. Greeks, both men and women, came from all over the country to pay a visit to Demos' peacock aviary on the days it was open to the public for a fee. Many people were eager to buy eggs and to start breeding peacocks on their own, even though this was an expensive endeavor.

133 Plat. Parm. 126 A–C, etc.

134 Plut. Life of Pericles 13,15. A. Podlecki, *Pericles and his Circle*, 110.

135 Plat. Charm. 158 A. J. Hofstetter, *Die Griechen in Persien. Prosopographie der Griechen im persischen Reich vor Alexander*, 159–160 (n° 278).

136 Antiphon fr. 58 (57)–59 (58) Blass – Thalheim (p. 118–119).

137 [Plut.] *Lives of the Ten Orators* (Mor. 833 D).

138 K.J. Dover, *CQ* 44 (1950) 54–55: between 419/18 and 411/10. Cartledge 59–60: in 415.

139 Ath. 9,397 C–D.

140 Aelianus *On Animals* 5,21.

141 Miller, 1990, 2.

142 Ath. 9,397 C.

our. This was not due to the peacock breeding itself, but to the permanent security guards who had to be housed in the breeding area to protect the birds from being stolen. By the end of the 5th century or so, a pair of peacocks was still valued at 1000 drachmas (the average daily wage of a worker was 1 drachma).

Over the course of the 4th century, peacocks were definitively acclimatized so as to be 'as usual as quails' (provided that there is no comic exaggeration in Antiphanes' remark).¹⁴³ Their cost had decreased proportionally, but not their renown. Despite the moralizing concerning the bird's so-called pride and vanity,¹⁴⁴ it continued to be the object of admiration. As long as peacocks were rare and costly, they were regarded as meaningful signs of wealth and prestige. When more common, they were not deprived of their glory, but were considered as the most praiseworthy of all foreign species up to the end of Greek antiquity.¹⁴⁵ They were also the only animals, to the best of my knowledge, to have been characterized somewhat in terms of exoticism. Indeed, Aelian wrote in his main chapter on peacocks:¹⁴⁶

Λέγεται δὲ ἐκ βαρβάρων ἐς Ἑλληνας κομισθῆναι.

(in Schofield's translation):

It (= the peacock) is said to have been brought to Greece from foreign lands.

As is well known, nations used to be given ethnic names by the ancient Greek authors: *hoi Athenaioi* instead of *hai Athenai*, *hoi Aiguptioi*

¹⁴³ Antiphanes (*ca.* 408 – *ca.* 334) fr. 203, 1–2 K.–A. Quail breeding as an ordinary practice in Classical Athens: Plat. Euthyd. 290 D. Aristoph. fr. 253 K.–A. Etc. See Thompson 216–217.

¹⁴⁴ Ovid Met. 13,802; Ars am. 1,627. Martial 14,67,2. Etc.

¹⁴⁵ Aelianus On Animals 5,21. Dion. Perieg. Ixeut. 1,28. Manuel Philis De animalium proprietate 187–214. The implicit criticism in Eupolis fr. 41 K.–A. might have been inspired by the peacock's call.

¹⁴⁶ Aelianus On Animals 5,21.

instead of *hè Aiguptos*, etc.¹⁴⁷ In my opinion, although the geographical equivalent must often be preferred in modern translations, it should be dismissed here. Schofield's translation does not do full justice to the sentence which simultaneously opposed and related not two different areas, but their inhabitants, namely: 'Greeks' and 'non-Greek-speaking foreigners'. The name *barbaros* did not restrict the meaning to the geographical criterion of location, as *exoticos* would have done. Explicitly referring to peoples themselves rather than any other aspect (land and location) underlined both the peacocks' foreign origin and the cultural process underlying their coming to and reception in Greece.

An ancient Greek judgement formally expressed on foreign animals as regards their origin has not been identified at this point. However, the existing evidence does provide some information concerning the criteria on which it might implicitly have been based. They are basically of two types: zoological and anthropological.

7. Zoological criteria

7.1. Geographical location

The first zoological criterion is connected with geography and location. Coming from a remote country gave the foreign animals the distinctive appeal of regions still little known and mysterious. The Greek proverb: 'Africa always brings something new' was cited twice by Aristotle himself precisely in his biological treatises¹⁴⁸ and by later writers¹⁴⁹ to emphasize the amazing diversity of African fauna. And India, which was

¹⁴⁷ E.g. Isocrates 11,28.

¹⁴⁸ Aristot. H.A. 7 (8),606b18–20; G.A. 2,746b8–11. Cf. Plinius Maior 8,42.

¹⁴⁹ Anaxilas fr. 27 K.–A. Compare Zenobius, 2,51 Leutsch – Schneidewin. Diogenianus, 1,68 *idem*. Apostolius 10,75 Leutsch. A.V. van Stekelenburg, Akroterion 33 (1988) 114–120.

initially confused with Africa,¹⁵⁰ was no less fascinating and valued for its own animal species.¹⁵¹

7.2. Physical properties

Physical properties: size (pythons,¹⁵² tigers), shape and colour (peacocks, cocks, pheasants), strength (Indian hounds,¹⁵³ tigers, pythons¹⁵⁴) made foreign species remarkable in themselves and even more striking when compared with Euro-Mediterranean species. The peacock's beauty surpassed that of all other foreign animals.¹⁵⁵ Yet cocks and pheasants were also explicitly praised for their aesthetic qualities, as is clear from Solon's supposed reply to the Lydian king Croesus 'sitting on his throne in magnificent array' and asking if he had ever seen anything more beautiful: 'Yes, Solon would have said, cocks and pheasants and peacocks; for they shine in nature's colours, which are ten thousand times more beautiful.'¹⁵⁶ The anecdote's authenticity has been rightly questioned by modern historians on the basis of chronology.¹⁵⁷ Yet, whether true or not, Solon's statement still evidences the delight taken by the Greeks in observing these bird species. Aesthetic qualities, although they varied from one species to another and were perceived differently depending on people's sensibilities, overall inspired the admiration for foreign animals.

¹⁵⁰ Karttunen, 1989, 134–138.

¹⁵¹ J. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought. Geography, Exploration, and Fiction*, 82, 89.

¹⁵² See above, § 4.2.

¹⁵³ Aristot. H.A. 7 (8),607a3–8.

¹⁵⁴ See above, § 4.2.

¹⁵⁵ Antiphon fr. 58 (57) Bl. – Th. Strattis fr. 28 K.–A. Antiphanes fr. 173, 5 K.–A. Aelianus *On Animals* 5,21.

¹⁵⁶ Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*: Solon 1,51.

¹⁵⁷ K. Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon*, 184–187.

7.3. Animal behaviour

Innate behaviour traits or those acquired after taming were also of utmost importance. Such birds as cocks¹⁵⁸ and parrots¹⁵⁹ provided pleasure through their singing and 'talking'. The peacock's spreading its long feathers¹⁶⁰ was a spectacle the ancient Greeks never stopped marvelling at (regardless of their moralists' anthropocentric prejudices). Indian dogs were praised for their courage and unflagging determination. Tameness in lions, tigers¹⁶¹ or python¹⁶² was all the more impressive as their nature could incite them to harm man.

8. Anthropological criteria

8.1. Individual and collective psychology

The rare beauty of some foreign species and the unexpected behaviour of others filled the ancient Greeks with wonder (*thauma*)¹⁶³ in all senses of the word. The more these species (lions, tigers, pythons) were naturally frightening, the more, once they were tamed and trained, they were the objects of wonder.¹⁶⁴ This feeling of strangeness combined with admiration was too widely expressed to be accidental. It probably represents the most explicit and significant clue as regards the ancient Greek view of exoticism.

8.2. Sociological and cultural features

Exotic animals had a strong sociological impact. Indeed, they were first linked to the mighty and affluent: upper-class Athenians (Pyrilampes

¹⁵⁸ See above, n. 103.

¹⁵⁹ See above, n. 107.

¹⁶⁰ See above, n. 136, 145.

¹⁶¹ See above, § 4.1 (n. 90).

¹⁶² See above, § 4.2 (n. 98–100).

¹⁶³ See above, § 3.

¹⁶⁴ See above, e.g. § 4.2 (n. 101).

and Demos; Leogoras),¹⁶⁵ and kings such as Alexander,¹⁶⁶ Ptolemy II,¹⁶⁷ and Seleucus.¹⁶⁸ Royal or private owners did not enjoy these species only as a sign of their rank and, in the case of the Athenian aviaries, a possible source of earnings, but wanted them to be exhibited both as a display of their power and for educational purposes.¹⁶⁹ This is quite clear in Diodorus' account of Ptolemy's presentation of his python.

Some modern scholars, who took Pliny the Elder's chapters on Alexander's sponsorship of biological science at face value or who relied upon Ptolemy II's wide-ranging interest in science, suggested that research programmes had been conducted on the 'exotic' animals either by Aristotle and his disciples in Athens or by some Alexandrian scientists.¹⁷⁰ For all his attention to natural resources, Alexander's political and financial involvement in collecting specimens remains highly problematic.¹⁷¹ On the other hand, there is no evidence thus far of any large-scale investigation supported by the Ptolemies as regards the animal kingdom. Nonetheless, holding foreign animals, sometimes for years, necessarily increased zoological knowledge and, as for acclimatized species, technical expertise in rearing methods.¹⁷² This empirical knowledge and expertise fostered modern zoology and encouraged its worldwide exploration of the animal world resumed by the end of the 15th century on a wide scale. Three features which have significantly stimulated Western interest in keeping foreign animals down to the 20th century are thus noticeable in Greek antiquity: 1)

165 See above, § 6.

166 See above, § 4.1.

167 See above, § 4.2.

168 See above, *ad n.* 78, 117–118.

169 See above, § 4.2. § 6. Compare with aims and purposes of modern zoological gardens discussed in the papers collected by Hoage and Deiss (above, n. 2). Also G. Mitman, *Osiris* 11 (1996) 117–121.

170 Hubbell 69–70 (not without some final reservations). C. Schneider, *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus*, 535.

171 J.S. Romm, *AJPh* 110 (1989) 566–575. J.M. Bigwood, *AJPh* 114 (1993) 537–555.

172 See M.A. Osborne, *The Role of Exotic Animals in the Scientific and Political Culture of Nineteenth Century France*, in Bodson 1998, 21–29.

the owner's prestige, 2) gratification of public curiosity, 3) zoology and acclimatization.

9. Conclusion

The ancient Greeks did not feel the need to describe the animals imported from distant lands to their own country with a specialized word. The word *exoticos* did not apply to animals as far as may be judged from extant evidence. Earlier and more common adjectives for 'foreign, alien, etc.' were not used either, with one exception. The meaningful occurrence of *barbaros* specifying the foreign origin of peacocks in terms not of country, but of people, i.e. those who had these birds originally, confirms the notion that the Greeks were not unaware of some key aspects of the multi-faceted issue of the foreign, that is surprising and wonderful (*thaumasios*), animal. Indeed, numerous, albeit scattered, pieces of evidence show that both geographical and cultural data were involved in defining its particular status on the basis of zoological and anthropological criteria which eventually have proved to be universal.

At the 'Age of exploration', when a new term became necessary to fully express the proper condition of 'what was introduced from abroad' including animal species, *exoticos* entered modern languages in anglicized, gallicized, etc., forms: 'exotic', 'exotique'. Since that time, they have clarified attitudes and motivations which, although not evidenced by *exoticos* itself, determined the ancient Greek way of thinking about and dealing with 'the animals from remote lands'.

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MISSING HOUSES: SOME NEGLECTED *DOMUS* AND OTHER ABODES IN ROME

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The study of the Roman *domus* is now a fashionable topic. The subject has caught the attention of historians and archaeologists for obvious reasons. So much can be learned about Roman society, culture and customs by focusing on the living conditions and the organization of household space in the Roman world at different times and places.¹

The Roman *domus* can be studied from many angles and perspectives. To mention the two most important sites, in Pompeii scholars are dealing with uniquely well-preserved houses in a country town, while in Ostia the archaeological remains (spanning a different period) are rich too, although

* It is my pleasure to thank Dr. Jean-Pierre Guilhembet (Univ. d'Orléans) for useful hints on the content and Prof. Robert Morstein-Marx (Univ. of California at Santa Barbara) for comments on style and language.

¹ This is not the time nor the place for providing a bibliography of recent research in this regard. A few hints must suffice, see J.-P. Guilhembet, "Sur un jeu de mots de Sextus Pompée: *domus* et propagande politique lors d'un épisode des guerres civiles", MEFRA 104 (1992) 787–816; K. Dunbabin, "Triclinium and Stibadium", W. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor 1991, 121–148; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton 1994; J.-P. Guilhembet, "La densité des *domus* et des *insulae* dans les XIV régions de Rome, selon les *Régionnaires*: représentations cartographiques", MEFRA 108 (1996) 7–26; F. Pesando, *Domus. Edilizia privata e società pompeiana fra III e I secolo a.C.*, Roma 1997; R. Laurence & A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* (JRA Suppl. 22), Portsmouth RI 1997; M. George, *The Roman Domestic Architecture of Northern Italy* (BAR Int. Series 670), Oxford 1997. Naturally, interesting expositions on living and housing in ancient Rome have been long in existence, see, e.g., L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*¹⁰, Leipzig 1922, I, 2–7, 240–242; II, 330–339.

the *domus* of Rome's harbour are not so decorative and fewer everyday objects have been found in situ.

In the capital the situation is different. The literary and epigraphical sources are richer than for any other city in the Roman world, while the archaeological remains registered in the recent volume II of the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (*LTUR*) are few.² There is a fair chance that we know more about what went on in the aristocratic houses in Rome than about where they were situated and what they looked like.

Nevertheless, there is scope for scholarly progress in all directions. The archaeological material, especially that which has not been included in the *LTUR*, ought to be analyzed and interpreted. There is also more information on housing in the literary sources than recent research has been aware of.

The objective of the present paper is modest and limited: to survey the information we have in literary and epigraphical sources on *domus* and *insulae* in Rome, or to be more specific, *domus* and *insulae* that can be attributed to a particular owner known by name. Whether such a philological inventory can be of any use remains to be seen, but the format adopted is modelled on standard and recent topographical works of reference.

1. A philological-archaeological inventory of *domus* in Rome

In the second volume of the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* there are 545 entries under the heading *domus*.³ The number of entries by far overshadows anything that previous topographical dictionaries have to

² *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (= *LTUR*) II, ed. E.M. Steinby, Rome 1995, on which see my review in *JRA* 10 (1997) 389–398, where, without details, I briefly touch upon the arguments of this study. It must be added that the *LTUR* only included archaeological material when the owner of the remains of a *domus* is known or can be surmised. This means that much anonymous evidence was left out.

³ See *LTUR* II, 22–217; where one can also find references to some 27 other houses included elsewhere in the *LTUR* volumes. Thus, for "domus: Verginia A.f." one is referred to "Pudicitia Plebeia", in a future volume.

offer.⁴ There are so many entries that the material lends itself to statistical analysis:

Number of entries in <i>LTUR</i> II	Archaic 10	Republican 96	Imperial: <i>fistulae</i> 207	Imperial: other 103	Late Antique 129
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This table is drawn up according to chronological criteria, with a further division according to the source material for the imperial period. This division shows that over 40 % of all the entries are based on lead pipe (*fistula*) stamps dating to the Empire; here we find a large part of the new entries. The rest of the material is relatively evenly divided between the Late Republic, the Empire, and Late Antiquity (including a dozen *domus* identified on the basis of *fistulae*). Undoubtedly the *LTUR* constitutes major progress in the recording of information on Roman *domus*, but in drawing up the entries the contributors became involved in serious problems of historical method that have not always been solved in an optimal way. Then there is material that ought to be added. The following pages are dedicated to a discussion of the Republican material, while problems concerning *domus* from the imperial period whose identification depend on *fistulae*-stamps have been discussed elsewhere.⁵ Something will be said about Roman *insulae* as well, and here one can now make use of the dozen or so entries in *LTUR* III (Roma 1996), a list that needs completion.

⁴ The first modern and still easily accessible inventory of Roman *domus*, by G. Calza, *DizEpi* II.3 (1910) 2044–2067, esp. 2047–59, registered some 180 *domus*. S. Platner – Th. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1929, 154–198, and L. Richardson jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 1992, 111–141, both list some 235 *domus*.

⁵ See Bruun 396–398 for a discussion of the methodological problems involved in the interpretation of the *fistula* stamps and their sometimes doubtful value for the identification of Roman *domus*.

2. Houses in Cicero's *Pro Caelio* and a question of principle

Our discussion will set out from the author's first acquaintance with the *domus* section in the *Lexicon* – the entries on Marcus Cicero and M. Caelius Rufus – prompted by teaching an undergraduate class on the *Pro Caelio*.

Many a Latin student will have read Cicero's entertaining speech in defense of young M. Caelius Rufus, delivered in 56 B.C. Cicero's successful defense apparently managed to obfuscate the real issues by alleging that Clodia, widow of Q. Metellus and sister of Publius Clodius (the demagogue/popular leader), was behind the charges against Caelius, maliciously seeking revenge for having been jilted by Caelius. But why did Caelius seek such questionable company in the first place? It was all an unfortunate coincidence, Cicero tells us. In order to take a more active part in civic activities, Caelius had to leave his paternal house, moving closer to the centre of things, and also, very commendably, closer to such bulwarks of the *res publica* as Crassus and Cicero himself. Caelius ended up on the Palatine. But alas, there he was also very close to Clodia. She turned out to be practically his neighbour. And so the liaison, naturally only of brief endurance, could not be prevented. Boys will be boys.

Cum domus patris a foro longe abesset, quo facilius et nostras domus obire et ipse a suis coli posset, conduxit in Palatio non magno domum.
(Cic. Cael. 18)⁶

The prosecution had objected to Caelius' morals on more grounds than one. It had also been alleged that he was guilty of living above his station, that his lodgings represented a case of conspicuous consumption. Not true, countered his friend and mentor, with characteristic irony.

⁶ "For the elder Caelius lives too far from the Forum, and in order to be able to visit our homes more easily, and receive visits from his own friends, his son leased a house on the Palatine, at a moderate rent", translation by M. Grant, Cicero, Selected Political Speeches (Penguin Classics), 175. Cf. the commentary by R.G. Austin, M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro M. Caelio Oratio³, Oxford 1960, 67–68.

Sumptus unius generis obiectus est, habitationis; triginta milibus dixistis habitare. Nunc demum intellego P. Clodi insulam esse venalem, cuius hic in aediculis habitat decem, ut opinor, milibus. (Cic. Cael. 17)⁷

These few lines of Latin prose contain a welter of references to housing in Late-Republican Rome. We hear about five people living or owning houses in Rome: Caelius *pater*, M. Caelius Rufus, Cicero, M. Licinius Crassus (who should be the other person referred to in the expression *nostras domus*, as being the second prominent defender and "character-witness" of Caelius at the trial),⁸ and P. Clodius Pulcher. We also have four different terms denoting houses and housing: *domus*, *habitatio*, *insula*, and *aediculae*.

The reader keen on a better grasp of the neighbourhood where these people lived, will find information on four people in the *Lexicon* (my paraphrase of the Italian entries):

p. 73: "Domus: M. Caelius Rufus" (the only reference is to Cic. Cael. 17–18). Caelius moved to an *insula* owned by Clodius on the Palatine. The apartment of Caelius was likely located in connection with Clodius' own abode ("dimora"), rather than in any *insula* owned by Clodius on the Palatine.

p. 85–86: "Domus: P. Clodius Pulcher" (with numerous literary references, Cic. Cael. 17–18 among them⁹). This *domus* was located on the Palatine, next to Cicero's, which lay at a lower level. The house, very large not least because neighbouring houses had been joined to it – perhaps the house of one of his sisters, the house of Q.

⁷ "He is only blamed for expenditure of a single kind – the rent of a house, which you claim is thirty thousand sesterces a year. But I can see what you are driving at. For Publius Clodius' block of houses, in which Caelius rents an apartment for, I believe, ten thousand, is up for sale. And so, consequently, what you have done is to give a fictitious figure, as a favour to Clodius and in order to help his deal", this rendering, making Cicero's irony explicit, by Grant 175; cf. Austin 66.

⁸ The possibility is suggested by Austin 68; accepted by Richardson 122, but not by several other scholars, including LTUR II, 128–129.

⁹ Cic. Phil. 2,48 can be added.

Seius Postumus, Cicero's house – is called an *insula*. Here the apartment leased to Caelius Rufus must have been located.

p. 128–129: "Domus: M. Licinius Crassus" (with references to Cic. Cael. 4.9; Pers. 2.36; Plut. Crass. 1.1, and Varro Men. 36). The location of the house is unknown. Richardson places it on the Palatine, but for no good reason.

p. 202–204: "Domus: M. Tullius Cicero (1)" (this, the longest entry on any private *domus*, is based on copious references in Cicero's writings, but not including Cael. 18). It was situated on the Palatine, but there is a vivid debate on where exactly it was located, three different suggestions having been advanced. [The question is important, since placing Cicero's house will help locate many adjacent buildings as well. CB] Many have suggested the northern slopes of the Palatine, between the so-called Clivus Victoriae and the *Nova via*; some in the Northwestern corner above the *vicus Tuscus* (considered impossible); lately Carandini suggested a site along the *Sacra via*, with the *domus Publica* laying to the East.

Thus far the *Lexicon*, but the passages from the *Pro Caelio* quoted above provide information also on a fifth person:

"Domus: (M.?) Caelius *pater*. Prominent equestrian (Cic. Cael. 3–4), his origins apparently in the Praetuttian region (Cael. 5),¹⁰ his *domus*, during the late 60s B.C. also inhabited by his son M. Caelius Rufus, located longe a Foro (Cael. 18)."

3. A list of houses – for what purpose?

At this point we need to consider whether Caelius *pater* warrants an entry in the *LTUR* at all. The entry lacks precise topographical information and mentions an otherwise completely unknown figure. What justification could there be for including it in a topographical dictionary? The answer is: All the justification in the world, because the entry is no different from a large part of the entries under the heading *domus*.

¹⁰ For the argument see Austin 146–147.

If one wanted to prune the *domus*-section in the *Lexicon*, there might be better grounds for questioning the entry on M. Caelius Rufus. He never owned his residence on the Palatine, we know that he rented it from Clodius. An inclusion of the building, or rather the apartment, under Clodius is sufficient, either among the entries on *domus*, or those on *insula*.

At such a provocative suggestion – after all, M. Caelius Rufus was included by both Platner-Ashby and Richardson – the argument for inclusion comes naturally: Caelius is a well-known character in Roman history, we know that he did live somewhere since his apartment is talked about, we “know” (Cicero tells us) the rent he paid for it and the rent he did not pay for it, and we even know some of his neighbours by name. What more can one ask for admission into a topographical dictionary?

What kind of entries to include depends on what the objectives of the section for *domus* are. What information will warrant an inclusion of a subject? Will there be a place only for “famous” people for whom we have other evidence as well? Are we concerned with urban property, to be precise with the ownership of townhouses, *domus*? Or are we concerned with economic matters, e.g. rents and prices of land and construction relating to housing? Or do we take a more sociological interest, namely in the composition of neighbourhoods – who lived next to whom, never mind the type of building, or its owner? Another aspect has to do with Roman “Privatleben”: what Romans did and had in their houses. Can and should a topographical dictionary cater to all of these aspects (and there might well be others)?

On these questions of principle there will probably be as many opinions as there are topographers and other interested readers consulting a dictionary such as the *LTUR*. But it should be pointed out, again, that the nature of the evidence for Rome is such that very often we hear more about what happens in and around houses than we hear about topographical coordinates. This is true also for the existent entries in the *LTUR*.

Since it is to be expected that some readers will find it difficult to agree with every aspect of the handling of the entry *domus* in the *LTUR*, it would have been helpful to have an outline of how the editorial committee approached this complicated matter. But the brief “Nota introduttiva” limits its treatment of the entry *domus* to explaining the alphabetical arrangement

(*LTUR* II, p. 5).¹¹ The rest of this paper is composed on the assumption that information on any of the aspects just listed is worth collecting.

4. Some urban property for Caelius Rufus – after all

To return to Caelius Rufus: Cicero uses four terms for his lodgings in the same passage (*Cael.* 17): *domus*, *habitatio*, *insula*, and *aediculae*. Does this example not show that it is futile to try to distinguish between different types of residences in Rome, that the compiler must be happy for every scrap of information on residing and housing he/she can find?

On the other hand it might be possible to clear up certain things. Evidently Cicero's use of the word *domus* is not to be taken literally here.¹² *Insula*, *habitatio*, and *aediculae* can easily be reconciled; Caelius rented one apartment, perhaps the best apartment, in a building belonging to Clodius.¹³

Where was Clodius' *insula* located? According to the *LTUR*, connected with Clodius' *domus*, and thus really part of it – if true, an interesting piece of evidence on urbanistic patterns in Late-Republican Rome. Clodius had amassed a large conglomeration of real property, which would have

¹¹ Neither has the matter been dealt with in depth by other dictionaries. Calza 2046–47 briefly discussed semantic questions, pointing out that *aedes* and *domus* often are synonyms. At the outset of the entries in Platner-Ashby, one reads "Domus (names of owners given in the nominative)" (p. 154). Nevertheless, M. Caelius Rufus' Palatine abode appears on p. 174, although he only rented his apartment. Richardson in the New Topographical Dictionary is more ambitious as far as definitions go, for he provides a brief survey of the terms *domus*, *insula*, *atrium*, *horti*, and *villa* (p. 111–112). Still, Caelius Rufus' rental apartment is included here too.

¹² As one gathers from the Oxford Latin Dictionary (OLD), s.v., *domus* can also mean "home" in general.

¹³ On the meaning of these terms, all used in the context of rental apartments, see B. Frier, *Landlords and Tenants in Imperial Rome*, Princeton N.J. 1980, e.g. 46. The OLD, 61, s.v. *aedicula*, erroneously assigns the meaning "a small house" to Cic. *Cael.* 17. For the complex term *insula*, see now E. Lo Cascio, "Le procedure di *recensus* dalla Tarda Repubblica al Tardo Antico e il calcolo della popolazione di Roma", *La Rome impériale démographie et logistique* (Coll. EFR 230), Rome 1997, 3–76, esp. 58–63; F. Coarelli, "La consistenza della città nel periodo imperiale: *pomerium*, *vici*, *insulae*", *ibid.*, 89–109, esp. 104–107.

given him plenty of square *pedes* to let out. But there is a chronological problem here. The evidence for swallowing up neighbouring properties cited by the *LTUR* refers to 58 B.C. and later.¹⁴ Caelius' move to the Palatine took place earlier. Since he came to live in the neighbourhood of Cicero's *domus*, the move took place before Cicero's exile and the ensuing destruction of Cicero's Palatine house. Indeed, Cicero connects the move with a certain step in Caelius' public career, and we know that Caelius came back from North Africa in 60 B.C. and then prosecuted C. Antonius Hybrida, who had been Cicero's colleague in the consulship in 63 B.C.¹⁵ Thus, if perchance the site of Clodius' *domus* can be identified, we need not look for rental space once occupied by Caelius Rufus there. Clodius' *insula* was presumably somewhere in the neighbourhood, but we have no way of knowing where.

It goes against the common definition of a Roman *domus* to include Caelius' rented apartment on the Palatine under that particular heading. There is, however, another reason for including Caelius Rufus in the *LTUR*. R.G. Austin, who is the main authority cited in the entry on Caelius, also writes: "Caelius moved later; in 50 B.C. he had a house near the *porta Flumentana* (*ad Att.* vii.3.9)".¹⁶ This was not taken account of in the *LTUR*.

Caelius had acquired urban property by 50 B.C., and in Cicero's correspondence we hear about it twice. The sentence *Sed quid est quod ei* [scil. Caelio Rufo] *vici Luccei sint addicti* (*Att.* 7,3,6) by all appearance should refer to a block of apartments¹⁷ situated in two streets both curiously enough called *vicus Lucceius*.¹⁸ A second reference to property owned by Caelius appears in a larger context in the same letter to Atticus: *Hortensi*

¹⁴ *LTUR* II, 85.

¹⁵ For Caelius' early career, see Austin v–vi. It is of course true that Caelius still lived in his rented apartment during the trial in 56 B.C.

¹⁶ Austin 67.

¹⁷ See, e.g., W. Eck, "Domus: L. Lucceius" in *LTUR* II, 133: "Mietshäuser".

¹⁸ On the character of the property bought by Caelius Rufus see also R.E.A. Palmer, "The *Vici Luccei* in the *Forum Boarium* and some *Luccei* in Rome", *BCAR* 85 (1976–77) [1980] 135–161, in part. 136–137, 152. Palmer prefers to interpret "*Vici Luccei*" as a toponym rather than as indicating a previous owner called Lucceius. He further suggests that the *Vicus Lucceius* was divided in two by the *Porta Flumentana*, from which originated the talk of two streets by the same name, perhaps one "citerior" and one "ulterior".

*legata cognovi, nunc aveo scire quid ꝑhominisꝑ sit et quarum rerum auctio-
nem instituat; nescio enim cur, cum portam Flumentanam Caelius occupa-
rit, ego Puteolos non meos faciam* (Att. 7,3,9).

Is the second passage, which contains the location "near the Porta Flumentana", a reference to the property that Caelius Rufus acquired in the *Vici Luccei*? This seems to be the common assumption¹⁹ (although not everyone agrees).²⁰ We know that there was a residential district of some kind *extra Portam Flumentanam* during the Late Republic (Varro rust. 3,2,6; Liv. 35,9,2–3; 35,21,5), and one cannot really doubt that the property acquired by Caelius at least in part was residential.²¹ There is thus a case for writing down:

"Insula: M. Caelius Rufus: in the *Vici Luccei, ad portam Flumenta-
nam* (Cic. Att. 7,3,6. 9)."

5. Some new *domus* in Rome

This extensive discussion of merely a few lines in one of Cicero's speeches (which does not even touch upon such vexing questions as the location of Cicero's Palatine house, or Crassus' residence) illustrates the problems facing anyone working on the literary sources for Roman houses and house-owning. It is no surprise that the ancient Latin and Greek sources contain frequent references that might have been included under the entry

¹⁹ See D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus III*, Cambridge 1968, 296; Palmer 137; F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario dalle origini alla fine della repubblica*, Roma 1988, 151.

²⁰ See Eck loc. cit., who does not quote Cic. Att. 7,3,9 for the urban properties of L. Lucceius. The whole matter is absent from Platner – Ashby. Frier 1980, 24, seems to regard the property "ad portam Flumentanam" as another urban investment of Caelius'. If the property near the Porta Flumentana is indeed not the property of the *Vici Luccei*, then perhaps Caelius owned what should amount to a residence there. The expression *occuparit* and the context, i.e. the comparison of that property with a seaside residence at Puteoli that Cicero fancies, could well indicate that Cicero is talking about a residence, a private townhouse, or at least an upper-class apartment.

²¹ Cf. Palmer 136–137, 152. Coarelli 1988, 151–153 seems to imply that the area was taken up by *horrea*, but there is, as we have just seen, undeniable evidence that the Porta Flumentana area (also) was residential during the Late Republic.

domus. The following list contains some thirty new entries that might have appeared in the *Lexicon*, besides Caelius *pater* discussed above. It does not pretend to be based on an exhaustive search of all the Greek and Latin literature,²² but rather on observations made during teaching duties and while writing the review of *LTUR* II mentioned above and researching other topics.

Some preliminary remarks on the relevance of these new *domus* are warranted. It is readily acknowledged that the following list is based on a "maximalist" approach, not concerned with space or editing, only with the information found in the literary sources. The important thing is however that the information we receive from these new entries does not differ in quality from what is presented in the *Lexicon*.

For many of the following entries we lack an explicit mention of *domus* in the ancient sources. But that criterion was never imperative in the existing entries either. Compare, among the literary references in *LTUR* II, the *aedes P. Africani* (p. 88), the *aedes* of M. Iulius Vestinus Atticus (p. 124), or the *regia* of Numa (called so at least by Ovid and Servius; p. 144). It seems the right decision to include under *domus* all the references that indicate an aristocratic mansion. Terminology might change and aristocratic mansions undoubtedly changed in appearance.²³

Some of the new entries might refer to legendary persons. It is true that Talassius probably is no more than a feeble attempt at etymologizing, but the historicity of his contemporary Titus Tatius (p. 185) cannot be ascertained either. Already Ashby noted that Cassius Argillus is an invented, etymologizing name derived from the Argiletum (*LTUR* II, p. 77; no such insight by Tortorici). Another new and early entry is, e.g., Ser. Sulpicius, the husband of one of the two Fabiae whose quarrel ultimately led to the Licinio-Sextian laws in Livy. Is he historical? Perhaps neither more nor less than the tribune M. Pomponius, tribune of the people in 362 B.C. (*LTUR* II, p. 161). And on the *domus* of the usurper Censorinus, included on p. 78

²² Alas, who can claim to possess the "Gelehrsamkeit" of days bygone. A sentence in the necrologue of Harald Fuchs (1900–1985) in *Gnomon* 60 (1988) 80 deserves to be quoted: "Fuchs durchmusterte in einer ungeheuren Kraftanspannung die gesamte Literatur von Homer bis in die Spätantike..."

²³ There is even an entry under *domus* for the *aediculae* of M'. Manilius, *cos.* 149 B.C. (*LTUR* II, 135).

(mentioned in *Hist. Aug. trig. tyr.* 33,6), the *LTUR* II comments elsewhere that the source is "sicher fiktiv" (p. 100).

Many additions below have in common that the *domus* appears only in connection with an event of some sort, without topographical coordinates. For instance, the *aedes* of Aemilius Papus is mentioned only because it harboured silver treasures, while Fulvius Nobilior's house is referred to because he planned on exposing war booty at his doorpost: *in postibus suis*. Yet should not the latter case rank one notch higher than the only evidence cited for the *aedes* of M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. V in 208 B.C.): *nihil in aedibus posuit* (*LTUR* II, p. 82)?

What is the value of suggesting new entries that lack a real topographical context? Again, the reader will realize that not so rarely entries in the *LTUR* are unable to pinpoint the location of their subject; this is true not just for *domus*. What a reader expects from a dictionary is above all a consistent treatment of the material, and completeness. If an entry is not there, it should mean that there is nothing to find. If an entry is included, one should be given full references, or directions to where sources are listed. (There are some entries for which the literary references could be completed; they will be listed in an Appendix.)²⁴

Q. Aemilius Papus, *cos.* 282, 278 (RE I Aemilius 112) – Val. Max. 4,4,3; location unknown. *In C. vero Fabricii et Q. Aemilii Papi principum saeculi sui domibus argentum fuisse confitear oportet.*

M. Buculeius (RE III.1, 987) and **L. Fufius** (RE VII Fufius 5) – Cic. de orat. 1,179; location unknown: ... *familiaris noster M. Buculeius, ... cum aedes L. Fufio venderet.* The otherwise unknown Buculeius sold a house to Fufius without paying attention to the clauses of the contract. This is a passage famous in juristic literature, because it is relevant to the *servitus luminum*.²⁵

Caeparius (RE III.1, 1279) – Sall. Catil. 46,4, location unknown. One of the participants in Catiline's plot, *Caeparius, paulo ante domo egressus, ... ex urbe*

²⁴ It must be stressed once more that the following list is no more than a brief addition to the list of houses in the *LTUR*, without any pretence at being complete. Very much fuller treatments of the matter will appear in J.-P. Guilhembet's forthcoming work on *domus* in Rome.

²⁵ B. Biondi, *La categoria romana delle "servitutes"*, Milano 1938, 103–104; J.M. Rainer, *Bau- und nachbarrechtliche Bestimmungen im klassischen römischen Recht* (Grazer rechts- und staatswissenschaftliche Studien 44), Graz 1987, 69–70.

profugerat. In 46.3 he appears as Caeparius Tarracinensis, perhaps an indication of origin rather than a cognomen. Nevertheless, he had a *domus* in Rome.

Calpurnius Bestia (RE III Calpurnius 25) – Cic. Cael. 26; location unknown. A friend of Cicero's and of Caelius Rufus': *fuisse meo necessario Bestiae Caelium familiarem, cenasse apud eum, ventitasse domum*.

(C. Cornelius) Cethegus (RE IV Cornelius 89) – Cic. Catil. 3,8; Plut. Cic. 18–19; location unknown. The leader of the Catilinarians in Rome, his house was used as an arsenal: *misi qui ex aedibus Cethegi si quid telorum esset afferret, ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiatorum extulit* (Cic.).

Claudius – Oros. hist. 5,17,9; exact location unknown, presumably near the Forum Romanum. During the final moments of the revolt of Saturninus and Glaucia in 100 B.C., *C. Glaucia extractus e domo Claudii trucidatus est*.

T. Coponius (RE IV Coponius 9) – Cic. Cael. 24; location unknown. *Habitabat apud Titum, ut audistis, Dio, erat ei cognitus Alexandriae*. The Alexandrian ambassador Dio, who also lived with L. Luceius, and later was killed, lived with one of the two brothers Coponius (whether in a *domus* or a flat cannot be determined).

P. (Cornelius) Lentulus (Sura), *cos.* 71 (RE IV Cornelius 240) – Cic. Phil. 2,18; location unknown. *Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in memoriam nostram te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum?* M. Antonius had been brought up in the house of the Catilinarian Lentulus, his stepfather.

Demetrius, a landscape painter from Alexandria – Val. Max. 5,1,1f; DS 31,18,2; location unknown. *Rex [Aegypti] Ptolemaeus ... cum paucis admodum servis squalore obsitus Romam venerat ad se in hospitium Alexandrini pictoris contulerat*. (Val. Max.) The name is given by Diodorus, the king in exile is Ptolemaios VI, the date 164/163 B.C.

(K.) Fabius (Vibulanus), *cos.* 484, 481, 479 (RE VI Fabius 159) – Liv. 2,48,10; 2,49.,3; location unknown. *Consul (scil. Fabius) e curia egressus comitante Fabiorum agmine ... domum redit (2,48). Consul paludatus egrediens in vestibulo (2,49)*: The leader of the Fabian clan prepares for the expedition to the Cremera.

Paullus Fabius Maximus, *cos.* 11 B.C. (RE VI Fabius 102) – Hor. carm. 4,1,9–11; location unknown. *tempestivus in domum / Paulli purpureis ales oloribus / comissabere Maximi*.

Fulvius Nobilior, *cos.* 189 B.C. (RE VII Fulvius 91) – Liv. 38,43,10; location unknown. *Qui ob has res gestas triumphum a vobis postulaturus sit ... et cetera spolia eius urbis ante currum laturus et fixurus in postibus suis*. The conqueror of Ambracia was planning his triumph (which he eventually celebrated), after which he intended to affix his war trophies at his door.

M. Furius Camillus, *trib. mil.* 401 B.C. (RE VII Furius 44) – Plin. nat. 34,13; Plut Cam. 12; location unknown. *Camillo inter crimina obiecit Spurius Carvilius quaestor, ostia quod aerata haberet in domo* (Plin.). Camillus' house had a door covered with bronze.

Cn. Genucius, *trib. pleb.* 473 B.C. (RE VII Genucius 4) – Liv. 2,54,9; location unknown. *Tandem qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant nuntiant domi mortuum esse inventum.* While in office, the tribune was found dead in his home before an important meeting.

(?) **Iulius Ursus**, *cos.* 84, *cos. II* 98 A.D. (PIR¹ V 630) – Dig. 8,5,8,7; location unknown, presumably in Rome, and neighbour of a certain Quintilla: *vaporibus cum Quintilla cuniculum pergentem in Iuli Ursi instruxisset.*²⁶

Latinius Latiaris – Tac. ann. 4,68; location unknown. *Ac iam ultro Sabinus quaerere Latiarem, ventitare domum, ...* In A.D. 28, the honest Roman knight Titius Sabinus is being set up by Latinius Latiaris, who uses his house for ensnaring Sabinus and hides his accomplices between roof and ceiling.

C. Manlius (RE XIV Manlius 15) – Liv. 7,42,4; location unknown. *Nec in T. Quincti villam, sed in aedes C. Manli nocte impetum factum (esset).* Livy refers an alternative version of the events which in 342 B.C. led to the *leges Genuciaae*.

C. Marius (1) – Plut. Mar. 30,2; location unknown. In 100 B.C., Marius entertained both conservative senators and Saturninus in his house, each party having entered through a different door. This house is not the same that Marius possessed after returning from Asia Minor; then he built a new one (Plut. Mar. 32 – see *LTUR* II, 137).

Ofonius Tigellinus, praetorian praefect under Nero (PIR² O 91) – Plut. Gal. 17,5; location unknown. T. Vinius left the emperor's company and went to visit Tigellinus, bringing with him his widowed daughter.

M. Papirius, former Roman magistrate – Liv. 5,41,2. 9; inside the Archaic wall. *Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus ... medio aedium eburneis sellis sedere. M. Papirius, unus ex eis ...* As the Gauls enter Rome in 390 B.C. (387), they are met by Roman nobles stoically awaiting their fate.

Q. Pompeius, *cos.* 141 B.C. (RE XXI Pompeius 12) – Plut. TG 14. He claimed that he was a neighbour of Ti. Gracchus the tribune.

Posides, a eunuch (RE XXII,1, 829) – Iuv. 14,91; location unknown. *Ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides*, a luxurious residence.

C. Proculeius (RE XXIII Proculeius 2) – Quint. inst. 6,3,79; location unknown. He forbade Cassius Severus to enter his house.

²⁶ One may perhaps infer that the property of Iulius Ursus, likely his house, and that of Quintilla were located in Rome, in order to have attracted the attention of the jurists. See the similar conclusion by W. Eck regarding the house of Claudius Hieronymianus, *LTUR* II, 82 (based on Dig. 33,7,12,40). There are two Quintillae of senatorial rank in M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (I–II s.)*, Louvain 1987, both active under Trajan: Atilia Quintilla (no. 119), and Pedania Quintilla (no. 604).

(C. Scribonius) Curio, *cos.* 76 (RE IIA Scribonius 10) – Cic. Phil. 2,45; location unknown. *Quotiens te pater eius [scil. of the younger Curio] domu sua eiecit? quotiens custodes posuit, ne limen intrares?* M. Antonius' friendship with the younger Curio displeased the father.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, *trib. pleb.* 133 B.C. (RE IIIA Sempronius 54) – Plut. TG 16–17; App. BC 1,15; location unknown. His followers encamped outside the house (Plut. 16); on his last day, his house was visited by a man bringing a bird for taking auspices. When leaving, Tiberius struck his foot against the threshold (Plut. 17).

Ser. Sulpicius, *trib. mil.* 377 B.C. – Liv. 6,34,6; location unknown. *Forte ita incidit ut in Ser. Sulpici tribuni militum domo sorores Fabiae ...* In his house, the two sisters Fabiae started the quarrel which in Livy's narrative led to the Licinio-Sextian laws.

Talassius, a leading citizen – Liv. 1,9,11–12; location unknown. During the Rape of the Sabines, some men were bringing the most beautiful girl to the house of a man called Talassius.

Theodorus, *vates* – Mart. 11,93; location unknown. A fire destroyed the poet Theodorus' house: *Pierios vatis Theodori flamma penates abstulit*. Martial laments that the owner did not perish with his *domus*.

Sex. Titius (RE VIA Titius 23) – Cic. Rab. perd. 24; Val. Max. 8,1 damn. 3; location unknown. His political undoing was *quod Saturnini imaginem domi habuerat* (Val. Max.).

Vitellii – Liv. 2,4,5; location unknown. *Cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinius proficiscerentur cenatum forte apud Vitellios esset*. Young aristocrats, the Vitellii among them, conspire against the young Republic.

P. Volumnius praef. fabrum of M. Antonius the triumvir (RE VIIIA Volumnius 7) – Nep. Att. 10,2; location unknown. During the second triumvirate, Atticus and Gellius Canus sought refuge with him: *latebatque apud P. Volumnium ... habebatque secum Q. Gellium Canum*.

6. On inheritances and sales

As pointed out previously,²⁷ the registration of inheritances and the buying and selling of houses – very common events in ancient Rome²⁸ –

²⁷ Bruun 395.

²⁸ The complicated situation that presents itself to modern scholarship is well illustrated by, e.g., M. Royo, "Le quartier républicain du Palatin, nouvelles hypothèses de localisation", REL 65 (1987) 89–114, esp. 112–114; A. Carandini, Schiavi in Italia. Gli strument

creates problems for the scholar when listing houses. The *Lexicon* has mostly chosen to present all its material in one entry, mostly belonging to the first owner. Successive owners too have a place in the alphabetical list, but the name is accompanied by a mere reference to the main treatment.²⁹ The twists and turns of the Late Republican real estate market are however not easy to follow, and it seems that sometimes the more important person has become obscured, or the sources might after all refer to separate buildings.³⁰ The following additions might be suggested:

domus: M. Aemilius Scaurus pater. M. Aemilius Scaurus *praet.* 56 B.C. began building on the lot he had, presumably, inherited from his father, tearing the previous *domus* down. Aemilius Scaurus *senior* does not have an entry. He might have deserved one; according to E. Papi (p. 26), the recent excavations by Carandini have also brought to light remains of the previous *domus*.

domus: Caecilius Metellus Celer, *cos.* 60 B.C. and husband of Clodia. His grandfather Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, *cos.* 109 has received an entry (p. 72), in which also the suggestion is quoted that his grandson had inherited his *domus* on the Palatine, an hypothesis that however "non è confermata da alcuna fonte". If the hypothesis is discarded, the consul of 60 should have an entry. He lived on the Palatine, and Cicero was with him on his deathbed as he struck the wall which separated his house from that of Q. Lutatius Catulus (Cic. Cael. 59–60). Richardson gave them separate entries.

domus: L. Cornelius Sulla, *cos.* 88 B.C. (the dictator). Surprisingly, he does not have an entry in the *LTUR*, although references to his house are frequent. Instead there is an entry for the *domus* of L. Cornelius Sulla (*cos.* 66 B.C.), his nephew, which "perhaps might be" the one once inhabited by

pensanti dei Romani fra tarda Repubblica e medio impero, Roma – Urbino 1988, 362–363.

²⁹ Exceptionally, there are five entries for the piece of land where Cicero's house stood, see under Crassus, M. Livius Drusus, L. Marcius Censorinus, Sisenna Statilius Taurus, M. Tullius Cicero.

³⁰ Having for some time now studied the entries, the sources, and the different treatments given them by the various authors, I can only admire the editor for having been able to publish the *LTUR* volumes at regular intervals, while at the same time working on the volumes still to come.

the dictator. This is uncertain, and Sulla as the more important and earlier figure ought to have a proper entry.³¹

Q. Hortensius Hortalus, *cos.* 69 B.C. (RE VIII Hortensius 13). There is an entry for Q. Hortensius, *praet.* 45, who "verosimilmente" inherited his father's house. But none of the two references given mention him in connection with a house. Then again, Cic. Att. 11,6,6 (late 48 B.C.) does mention the house of the famous orator, who had died in 50 B.C.: *L. vero Lentulus Hortensi domum sibi et Caesaris hortos et Baias desponderat.*

domus: C. Sergius Orata. Orata, famous for his investment in *balnea pensilia*, sold his house to Marius Gratidianus, then bought it back some time later (Cic. de orat. 1,178; Cic. off. 3,67). Marius has received an entry; Orata's name might at least have been listed, followed by a cross-reference. (On the other hand philological scholarship considers this incident as relating not to a house in Rome at all, but to Orata's property on the Lucrine Lake. This ought to have been taken into account.)³²

Sometimes perhaps too many houses have been joined in one entry. Since some homeowners have multiple entries (e.g. L. Licinius Sura), one might have separated also the two houses of T. Flavius Vespasianus. The living conditions of Cicero's brother Quintus might also have been exposed more clearly. In his entry, four different urban properties are combined: the *domus Paciliana*, a house on the Carinae, the *domus Liciniana (Luciniana) ad lacum Pisonis*, and Q. Cicero's house in 59 B.C.

7. Landlords and tenants

Financial transactions bring us to the rental market. Many Romans lived in rented property, in Rome as well as elsewhere. Upper-class Romans might rent a whole *domus*, or they might be content with a nice flat, a *cenaculum*, as indeed was Caelius Rufus for a start. The *cenaculum* is a flat comprising many rooms, and therefore completely different from the squalid and dark rooms inhabited by the poor that one perhaps – inspired by

³¹ Only one source is given for the house of Sulla the nephew, while five are quoted for Sulla the dictator. Val. Max. 3,1,2 is the correct quote; add Plut. Sull. 35,2.

³² Thus already F. Münzer in RE IIA (1923) 1713–14 no. 33; recently A.R. Dyck, A Commentary on Cicero, *De Officiis*, Ann Arbor 1996, 579.

Fellini's unforgettable *Satyricon* – imagines Roman high-rise buildings to have been full of. High-rise buildings (in common modern language usually referred to as *insulae*, which as noted above is not the only urbanistic meaning *insula* could have) could, to be sure, accommodate different sorts of apartments, with some *cenacula* on the first floor (the "piano nobile"), followed by more modest abodes on the next floors.³³

This situation raises some fundamental questions. How is one to record inhabitants of rented houses or flats in a topographical dictionary? Or owners of *cenacula*, for that matter?³⁴ We are back at the methodological questions mentioned above. Are we interested in neighbourhoods – who lived where? Or in social history – who rented what, and at what price? Or is it just property – who owned that particular building, never mind the type? These questions do not seem to have been posed by earlier compilers, and there is no real sign that the existence of rental property and *cenacula* has made an impact on the entries in the *Lexicon*.

There are no entries for *aediculae*, *cenaculum*, *diaeta*, *habitatio*, or *hospitium* in *LTUR* I–III (to mention the terms used for rental flats in the juristic texts).³⁵ There are however 13 entries for *insulae* with the meaning of "apartment buildings".³⁶ Here neither Clodius nor M. Caelius Rufus appear as owners; some other names too will be suggested in the following list:³⁷

³³ For all these aspects, based on archaeological, juristic, literary, and epigraphical evidence, see Frier 1980, 3–46; in agreement, e.g., Rainer 92–94.

³⁴ Cf. Dig. 33,7,7: *Tabernam cum cenaculo Pardulae manumisso testamento legaverat* ... No woman of consequence with the name Pardula seems to be known.

³⁵ See Frier 1980, 44 and 46 n. 76 for references.

³⁶ With exclusion of the *Insula Tiberina* and the *Insula Lycaonia*, we have the *Insula Bolani*, *Cuminiana*, *Eutychetis*, *Felicles*, *Saeni Va[-] Aureli[ani]*, *Sertoriana*, *M. Tullius Cicero* (in three different locations), *Vitaliana*, *Volusiana*, *[-]alatiana*, in *Caelio* (*LTUR* III, 96–103).

³⁷ Most of these are mentioned in B.W. Frier, "Cicero's Management of His Urban Properties", *CJ* 74 (1978) 1–6; Frier 1980, 23–25 (neither used by the *LTUR*). For the sake of convenience, "insula" stands for "tenement building" in the following list. For the meaning of the "terminus technicus" *insula*, see the bibliography above in n. 13.

insula: M. Caelius Rufus, *praet.* 48 B.C. (RE III Caelius 35). He owned property, presumably including tenement buildings, near the Porta Flumentana, in the *Vici Lucei* (Cic. Att. 7,3,6. 9).

insula: Calpurnius Lanarius (RE III Calpurnius 49): v. Claudius Centumalus.

insula: Claudius Centumalus (RE IV Claudius 107). Cic. off. 3,66 (and Val. Max. 8,2,1) mentions an *insula* (also called *aedes*) situated on the Caelian that disturbed the view of the augurs. These had given an order to remove the protruding parts already before Centumalus sold the house to Calpurnius Lanarius. The date is sometime before 91 B.C.³⁸

insula: Clodius Pulcher, on the Palatine (see above, ch. 4).

insula in Foro Boario. According to Liv. 21,62,3, writing about 218 B.C., the building was at least three stories high: *in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse*.

insula: M. Licinius Crassus, *cos.* 70 (RE XIII Licinius 68). According to Plut. Crass. 2,5, Crassus owned a large number of *insulae* in Rome, but all details are lacking.³⁹

insula: T. Pomponius Atticus, Cicero's friend (RE XXI Pomponius 102). The biographer Nepos writes *Nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam ... villam ... omnisque eius pecuniae reditus constabat in Epiroticis et urbanis possessionibus* (Nep. Att. 14,3). It is difficult to envisage what these profitable urban possessions might be if not tenement buildings.⁴⁰ Their location is unknown.

insula: Terentia, Cicero's spouse. This property is referred to in a letter of Cicero from Dyrrhachium in 58 B.C.: *Quod ad me, mea Terentia, scribis, te vicum vendituram ...* (Cic. fam 14,1,5).

³⁸ There are two entries in LTUR II under *domus* for this building: on p. 75 for Calpurnius Lanarius (Eck) and on p. 82 for Claudius Centumalus (Papi). This controversy too has been treated frequently in juristic literature, see, e.g., F. De Robertis, *La espropriazione per pubblica utilità nel diritto romano*, Roma 1972 (reprint, orig. 1936 Bari), 73–77. There is a thorough commentary on this passage in Dyck 576–578, but without expressing an opinion on the kind of building the controversy concerns.

³⁹ For a discussion, see Frier 1980, 32–34.

⁴⁰ Thus Frier 1978, 1; Frier 1980, 24.

As we have seen, Caelius is among those known to have lived in rental property in Rome. He is not the only tenant with an entry under *domus* in the *LTUR* II. For Aemilius Lepidus Porcina, *cos.* 137 B.C. (p. 26), the sole reference to his habitation states that he was censured because he paid too high a rent for his house (Vell. 2,10,1). E. Papi rightly comments that we are dealing with a "locazione". But here we are dealing with a *domus*, and since the landlord is unknown, we receive an additional reason for including the building as a *domus* under Porcina's name (another possible reason being an interest in rental prices).

The situation is different when dealing with rented apartments, *cenacula*. Archaeological investigations in Ostia show, as does a study of the best-known ancient high-rise building in Rome (that below the stairs leading to S. Maria in Aracoeli),⁴¹ that very often the groundplan of a building, which is frequently all that remains, does not reflect the spatial division of the upper floors. This unfortunately means that there is rarely any chance of identifying an apartment mentioned in our literary sources, even though archaeologists might stumble upon the foundations of the very building.⁴² Should inhabitants of flats still be recorded in a topographical dictionary? Perhaps, again, individual cases must be judged on their own merits. Some tenants have been included in the *LTUR* (under *domus*), others have not. The following list of tenants relies heavily on Frier's *Landlords and Tenants*:⁴³

Aelii Lamiae, a senatorial family (Cic. ad Q. fr. 2,3,7)

Ancarenus Nothus (CIL VI 7193a)

L. Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher (PIR² A 617)⁴⁴

⁴¹ J.E. Packer, "La casa di via Giulio Romano", *BCAR* 81 (1968–1969) [1972] 127–148.

⁴² For this aspect see Frier 1980, 13–15. The same would seem to hold true for the plans of buildings in the Severan *Forma Urbis*.

⁴³ See Frier 1980, 41–45. The sources contain more references to anonymous upper-class tenants.

⁴⁴ Frier's interpretation of Sen. epist. 56,1. 4 to mean that Seneca rented lodgings in Rome near the Meta Sudans – also pointing at the term *migratio* in epist. 56,15 typically used by tenants who abandon their leaseholds – has not been favoured by other scholars due to the mention of that very monument in the passage. The letter is commonly thought

- C. Avianus Evander, a famous sculptor (Cic. fam. 13,2)
 L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, *cos.* 58 B.C. (RE III Calpurnius 90) (Cic. Pis. 61)
 L. Cornelius Sulla the dictator, *cos.* 88 B.C. (RE IV Cornelius 392). Sulla lived on rent in the beginning; he paid 3,000 *sestertii* yearly for his abode, while above him lived a freedman who paid 2,000 (Plut. Sull. 1).
 Gabba, court jester under Augustus (RE VII.1, 418–419) (Quint. inst. 6,3,64)
 D. Iunius Iuvenalis, the satirist⁴⁵
 Novius, a neighbour of Martial (Mart. 1,86)⁴⁶
 Paulus, the Apostle (Act. ap. 28,30)
 Q. Tullius Cicero (and family) (Cic. ad Q. fr. 2,3,7)
 L. Valerius Martialis, the poet (PIR¹ V 77)⁴⁷
 A. Vitellius, *cos. ord.* A.D. 48, the future emperor (PIR¹ V 499) (Suet. Vit. 7,2).

to describe a surrounding at Baiae, while Rome's Meta Sudans is dated to the Flavians, after Seneca's death. But the excavator of the remains of the area of the Meta Sudans, Clementina Panella, now argues that quite possibly there was a Neronian antecedent to the Flavian Meta, and that Seneca once lived as its neighbour, see C. Panella, "La valle del Colosseo nell'antichità", *BollArch* 1–2 (1990), 34–88, esp. 60–62; eadem, "Meta Sudans", *LTUR* III, 1996, 248.

Eck in *LTUR* II, 31 takes Sen. epist. 83,5. 7 to mean that Seneca lived in a *domus* with a bath, not too far from the Circus Maximus.

⁴⁵ That Juvenal lived on rent is clear also from the entry under "domus" in *LTUR* II, 124–125 (R. Rodríguez Almeida).

⁴⁶ The Novius of Mart. 1,86 is not explicitly mentioned in the *LTUR*, but the tacit assumption of E. Rodríguez Almeida (*LTUR* II, 145) is that he is identical to (Novius) Vindex in Mart. 9,43,14 and 9,44,1, since Novius Vindex' house is by Rodríguez Almeida located next to Martial's. That topographical information appears only in Mart. 1,86. The identity is not likely, and in any case, the context in 1,86 makes it very likely that we are dealing with a *cenaculum*, see Frier 1980, 44; P. Howell, *A Commentary on Book One of the Epigrams of Martial*, London 1980, 290–291.

⁴⁷ The sources adduced by Frier 1980, 44 for Martial's living, more numerous than those cited in the *LTUR* entry, make it clear that Martial at least at some point lived in a rented flat. This is not the right place for discussing the evidence in detail, but it ought to be done.

APPENDIX: additional literary sources for entries on *domus* included in *LTUR* II

domus: T. Annius Milo: add. Cic. Mil. 24 and 38 (the former reference is mentioned elsewhere, on p. 89)

domus: M. Antonius triumvir: add. Cic. Phil. 1,2.

domus: Appuleius Saturninus. He died in 100 B.C., not 99. The reference to Orosius should be hist. 5,17,6, not 5,17,8–10.

domus: Baebius Tamphilus. There is no entry for Baebius. One must look under "domus: Tamphiliana" (whither there is no reference), whence we are directed to "domus: T. Pomponius Atticus": add Cic. Att. 13,45,1.

domus: Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus *cos.* 109 B.C.: add Oros. hist. 5,17,3.

domus: P. Clodius Pulcher: add Cic. Phil. 2,48

domus: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus: not "nominata unicamente" in Liv. perioch. 72; add Cic. Mil. 16.

domus: Germanici: add Tac. ann. 4,68.

domus: M. Licinius Crassus *cos.* 70 B.C.: add Plut. Cic. 8 and 15.

domus: M. Livius Drusus *trib. pleb.* 91 B.C.: add Val. Max. 3,1,2; Plut. Cat. Mi. 2,1. 3.

domus: L. Lucceius: add Cic. Cael. 54.

domus: C. Marius (2): not mentioned "solo da Plutarco (Mar. 32)"; add Plut. Sull. 8.

domus: M. Pomponius *trib. pleb.* 362 B.C.: not "nominata unicamente da Valerio Massimo", add Liv. 7,5,3.

domus: M. Porcius Cato Uticensis: add App. BC 2,99; Lucan. 2,238. 327.

domus: L. Tarquinius Priscus: add Liv. 1,39,5.

domus: M. Tullius Cicero: add Cic. Cael. 18.

VISCERATIO

MIKA KAJAVA

Though, according to Livy, the year 328 B.C. was not particularly notable (*annus nulla re belli domive insignis*), the historian nevertheless reported an episode concerning the public *visceratio* given by M. Flavius on the occasion of his mother's funeral. Some people said that by honouring his mother in this way Flavius only paid a price that he owed the people, because they had acquitted him of a charge of adultery. What is more, the *visceratio* was the main reason why Flavius won the tribuneship at the next *comitia*.¹

The concept of *visceratio* is interesting in many ways, not only lexically but also in terms of contents and reality. What did *visceratio* mean to the Romans? The usual explanation is that *visceratio* means the public sharing out of animal flesh, but it is often added that *visceratio* referred in particular to the meat left after sacrifices. That the term would refer almost exclusively to the meat of sacrificial animals was the thesis of Werner Eisenhut in his RE-article from 1961, and the same idea is found in earlier as well as later research, including a number of influential lexica and manuals.² It is true that the meat of sacrificial victims was normally given to

¹ Liv. 8,22,2–4: *et populo visceratio data a M. Flavio in funere matris. Erant qui per speciem honorandae parentis meritam mercedem populo solutam interpretarentur, quod eum die dicta ab aedilibus crimine stupratae matris familiae absolvisset. Data visceratio in praeteriti iudicii gratiam honoris etiam ei causa fuit tribunusque plebei proximis comitiis absens petentibus praefertur*. For the passage and the partly corrupt text, see now S.P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy. Books VI–X. Vol. II: Books VII and VIII*, Oxford 1998, 625 ff. (for the possibility that this Flavius is identical with a M. Flavius who was *tr. pl.* in 323, see p. 627).

² RE IX A 1 (1961), 351 ff. According to the etymological dictionary of Walde – Hofmann (1966⁴), *visceratio* meant "öffentliche Fleischspende" during and after Cicero's time, but the authors also refer to a connection with sacrifice (cf. "bei den Opfern der

those attending the ritual and that the sharing out of it may sometimes also have been called *visceratio* (though there is no clear evidence for this), but it is wrong to take it as a special term of ritual or sacrificial language (in Eisenhut's words, "Spezialausdruck für die Verteilung der *viscera* des Opfertieres").³ As a matter of fact, the Romans used a more specific term for the act of distributing the sacrificial meat, i. e. the verb *profanare*, and also *pollucere*.⁴ As will be argued below, *visceratio* simply suggests public distribution of meat which could take place on many different social occasions.

Rest des Opfertiers außer den *exta*"). Ernout – Meillet (1959⁴) correctly speak of "distribution publique de viande", adding, however, that in classical times *visceratio* referred to the banquet where the meat of sacrificial animals was consumed. OCL (1982) associates *visceratio* exclusively with sacrificial ceremonies: "communal sacrificial feast at which the flesh of the victim was shared among the guests". J. Scheid, OCD (1996³), 1345 gives *cena* and *visceratio* as names for the sacrificial banquet. Many others also believe that there can be no *visceratio* without sacrifice.

³ It also deserves to be noted that *visceratio* does not figure in Arnob. nat. 7,24 f. which provides an accurate selection of Roman sacrificial vocabulary, including specific terms for various parts of the carcass and their treatment during and after the ritual. The list largely goes back to old sacrificial prescriptions and writers such as Varro and Verrius Flaccus, but it also draws on Roman gastronomic language. The Roman vocabulary relating to the chopping of sacrificial meat has been treated by C. Santini, L'Uomo 9 (1985) 63 ff.

⁴ In practice this means that a priest or a leader of the ceremony seized the rest of the victim with his hand and thus made it fit for human consumption, cf. Cato agr. 50,4: *ubi daps profanata comestaque est*; 132: *Iovi caste profanato sua contagione* (cf. esp. P. Thielscher, Des Marcus Cato Belehrung über die Landwirtschaft, Berlin 1963, 263, 316); Varro, ling. 6,54: *itaque ibi olim <in> fano consumebatur omne quod profanatum erat, ut etiam fit quod praetor urbanus quotannis facit, quom Herculi immolat publice iuvenecam*; Novius Atell. 14–15: *quod profanavi modo, si tris mensae sint in aede, ut pariter <eis> dispertiam*. For an epigraphic case, see the famous testament CIL XIII 5708, II 10 = Dessau, ILS 8379 (Germ. Sup.): *Et] Aquila nepos meus et [h(eres) eius] pr[a]este[t] quot anni[s n(ummos)...], ex quibus edulia [quisq(ue) sibi] paret et potui, quod profan[e]tur infra ante ce[l]lam memoriae quae est Litavicrari, et ibi consumant [---] morenturque ibi donec eam summam consumant*. Here, however, the meaning of *profanare* is rather the usual one, i. e. 'to offer'. For *profanare*, see E. Benveniste, in: Homm. G. Dumézil (Coll. Latomus 45), Bruxelles 1960, 46 ff. – *Pollucere* usually means 'to offer in sacrifice', but it could also refer to the sharing out of sacrificial meat: the evidence in K. Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte (HbAW V,4), München 1960, 390.

The idea of a special link between *visceratio* and sacrifice is based on three passages in Servius' commentary on the Aeneid: '*viscera*' *non tantum intestina dicimus, sed quicquid sub corio est, ut "in Albano Latinis visceratio dabatur", id est caro* (Serv. Aen. 1,211); *nam 'viscera' sunt quicquid inter ossa et cutem est: unde etiam visceratio dicitur, ut diximus supra* (6,253); *populique Latini qui intererant Albani montis viscerationi* (7,716). Here the reference is clearly to the sacred banquet of the Latin peoples, which was held annually on the Alban Mountain from times immemorial.⁵ On the last day of the Latin festivities, a number of bulls were sacrificed in a ceremony that was strictly controlled and carefully carried out in every detail. Among the bulls there was a white one, the meat of which was distributed to the delegates of the Latin member-communities. Each city received its share according to its importance and power. After the final collapse of the Latin federation in 338 B.C., the rituals continued to flourish under Rome's supervision, and it is well documented that the arrangements for the sacrifice were still meticulously observed by the Romans during the later Republic. Ancient writers often referred to the Alban meat-distribution, but the term *visceratio* is not found before Servius who wrote in Late Antiquity. If there was ever a current expression for that important religious and social occasion, it was rather, at least from the later Republic, something like *carnem petere* (Varro, Cic.), *c. accipere* (Plin. nat. [cf. schol. Bob. ad Cic.]), or *c. dare* (Liv.), each of them referring to the different roles of the participating bodies (Latin communities v. organizers).⁶ The Greek expression follows the Latin one: *μοῖρον / μέρος λαμβάνειν*.⁷ So it seems that Servius, when explaining the word *viscera* as an equivalent of *caro* (this was

⁵ A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, Ann Arbor 1963, 19 ff.

⁶ Varro, ling. 6,25: *quibus ex Albano monte ex sacris carnem petere fuit ius*; Cic. Planc. 23: *nisi forte te Labicana aut Gabina aut Bovillana vicinitas adiuvabat, quibus e municipiis vix iam qui carnem Latinis petant reperiuntur* (schol. Bob.: *Quod vero mentionem petendae carnis fecit, ..., ut de hostia civitates adiacentes portiunculas carnis acciperent ex Albano monte secundum veterem superstitionem. Verum tam exiguum in illis civitatibus numerum hominum significat, ut desint etiam, qui carnem petitum de sollemni more mittantur*); Plin. nat. 3,69: *carnem in monte Albano soliti accipere populi Albenses*; Liv. 32,1,9: *legati ab Ardea questi in senatu erant sibi in monte Albano Latinis carnem, ut adsolet, datam non esse* (in 199 B.C.); 37,3,4: *Laurentibus pars carnis, quae dari debet, data non fuerat* (190 B.C.).

⁷ D.H. 4,49,2–3 (cf. schol. Bob. Cic. *portiunculas carnis*).

in fact his main point), quite casually took an ancient and well-known example where the meat of slaughtered bulls was ritually distributed to the Latin peoples. In a purely technical sense, he was not wrong in using the term *visceratio*, but in reference to a sacrificial context he may have been the only one to do so. Servius must have known the word from earlier sources, but in these there is no trace of the word being coupled with sacrifice.

The earliest literary attestation of *visceratio* is in a passage of Cicero's *De officiis* (2,55) which introduces two categories of generous people (*largi*); one of them, the prodigals (*prodigi*), are as follows: *qui epulis et viscerationibus et gladiatorum muneribus ludorum venationumque apparatu pecunias profundunt in eas res, quarum memoriam aut brevem aut nullam omnino sint relicturi*.⁸ Such men are, of course, well known from Roman history, not least from Cicero's own time when *largitiones* had become an everyday reality: electoral bribery often included feasts, public banquets, and gladiatorial games, but also doles of food among the people. On the other hand, the system of public doles distributed by individual *nobiles* aspiring to higher offices was at the same time an efficient means of keeping the huge urban population under control. Cicero himself said that the system of *largitiones* was basically wrong, but nonetheless it was sometimes justified and necessary.⁹

One of the manifestations of *largitio* was the distribution of food which could involve organizing either a banquet (normally called *epulum*, *epulae* or *epulatio*, sometimes *cena*, *convivium* or *prandium*) or the direct sharing out of provisions among the people (corn, oil, wine, etc.). There is good evidence for this phenomenon especially from the later Republic,¹⁰

⁸ For the historical and philosophical background, see now A.R. Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Officiis*, Ann Arbor 1996, 439 ff.

⁹ Off. 2,59: *tota igitur ratio talium largitionum genere vitiosa est, temporibus necessaria, et tum ipsum et ad facultates accommodanda et mediocritate moderanda est*. For *largitiones* as a form of electoral bribery, see A. Yakobson, *JRS* 82 (1992) 35 ff., with ample evidence from the late Republic.

¹⁰ See e.g. I. Shatzman, *Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics* (Coll. Latomus 142), Bruxelles 1975, 88, 164; E. Deniaux, in: *L'urbs. Espace urbain et histoire* (Coll.EFR 98), Rome 1987, 300 f.; Yakobson (art.cit. n. 9), 39 n. 35 f. For sumptuous dinners as a mark of liberality during the Principate, see C. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 1993, 186 ff.; 199 ff. – Regular corn distributions to the citizens of

and even if the word *visceratio* is rather rare in the extant sources, it is likely that public doles of meat also played a role in Roman society. The earliest recorded case of *visceratio* is the one introduced at the beginning of this article, though M. Flavius himself and his contemporaries certainly did not use the word *visceratio* as early as 338 B.C., for denominatives in *-atio* are not attested until the late Republic (the type *lignatio*, *runderatio*, etc.).¹¹ Yet the Livian passage is important as it shows that the institution existed as early as the fourth century B.C. And if it is true that the *visceratio* really caused Flavius to win the tribuneship (see above), then this was clearly an early case of *ambitus*. The episode is noteworthy also because otherwise in the literary sources a *visceratio* was regularly given by politicians of the highest rank, and this is also the only time that it was organized in honour of a woman. According to Livy, which is probably true, only a *visceratio* was added to the funeral ceremony arranged by Flavius, because the earliest gladiatorial fight in Rome is not recorded until 264 B.C. (at the funeral of D. Iunius Brutus Pera). So, too, the funeral of Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus (some time after 291 B.C.) was accompanied by a *visceratio* and an *epulum*, nothing else. But even this must have been a heavy economic burden for Rullianus' son who finally received the funds needed for the festivities from the Roman people.¹² Later, however, the recorded *viscerationes* given after a funeral were accompanied by other entertainment as well. So in 183 B.C., on the death of P. Licinius Crassus (cos. 205), gladiatorial combats with 120 fighters and other games were also on the programme. After the three-day *ludi*, a public banquet with *triclinia* was organized in the Roman Forum (*toto foro*), but it was disrupted by a heavy storm and so the feast continued

Rome were, of course, an old institution: G. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1980, 156 ff.

¹¹ Fr. Stolz, *Historische Grammatik der lat. Sprache I*, Leipzig 1894, 547; M. Leumann, *Lateinische Grammatik I: Laut- und Formenlehre* (HbAW II:2,1), München 1977², 366.

¹² *Vir. ill. 32,4: mortuo huic tantum aeris populi liberalitate congestum est, ut inde filius viscerationem et epulum publice daret.* The role of the *populus* in this affair may have been invented on the model of what happened after the death of Fabius Cunctator: F. Münzer, *RE VI* (1909), 1811 (Rullianus), 1829 (Cunctator).

under the shelter of temporary *tabernacula*.¹³ Nine years later, in 174 B.C., at the funeral of the great general T. Flamininus, his son gave a *munus* (with 74 gladiators) *cum visceratione epuloque et ludis scaenicis quadriduum*.¹⁴ Gladiatorial *munera* and *ludi* are also otherwise attested at the funerals of great Republican leaders,¹⁵ but even if there is less evidence for public banquets on those occasions, there is no reason to doubt that the Roman people were often fed on such occasions. It could even happen that a politician added a banquet to a funeral celebration during his canvass for a higher office.¹⁶

There is also one epigraphic document which testifies to the connection of *visceratio* with a funeral. A re-reading of the text inscribed on the sarcophagus of A. Salvius A.f. A.n. Crispinus, who had been four times *IIIvir* at Ferentium at the end of the Republic, shows that the *municipes* were given a *cena* and a *visceratio* after his death (*sumo supremo die*).¹⁷

¹³ Liv. 39,46,2: *P. Licinii funeris causa visceratio data, et gladiatores centum viginti pugnaverunt, et ludi funebres per triduum facti, post ludos epulum. In quo cum toto foro strata triclinia essent, tempestas cum magnis procellis coorta coegit plerosque tabernacula statuere in foro: eadem paulo post, cum undique disserenasset, sublata*; Liv. epit. Oxyrh. 3,59–60: *P. Licini Crassi po[ntificis maximi] / ludis funebribus [epulum datum]*. In his edition of the epitome (1904), E. Kornemann preferred to restore [*factis epulum datum*].

¹⁴ Liv. 41,28,11.

¹⁵ The earliest known case was at the funeral of D. Iunius Brutus Pera in 264 B.C. (Liv. perioch. 16; Val. Max. 2,4,7; though very modest in appearance, this is the earliest gladiatorial fight recorded in Rome). For some instances, cf. e. g. M. Aemilius Lepidus (216 B.C.; Liv. 23,30,15); M. Valerius Laevinus (200 B.C.; Liv. 31,50,4). In 61/60 B.C., Faustus Sulla gave gladiatorial games in honour of his father who had died many years earlier; the feast was accompanied by distribution of oil and the opening of public baths (Dio 37,51,4).

¹⁶ As in the case of Q. Arrius who aspired (unsuccessfully) for the consulship in 59 B.C. (Cic. Vat. 30 f.). If the expense was too modest, the candidate would run the risk of being eliminated. This is what happened to Q. Tubero in 129 B.C. after the funeral of his uncle Scipio Aemilianus (Cic. Mur. 75).

¹⁷ CIL I² 2634 (add. p. 1072) = ILLRP 588 = Degrassi, *Imagines* 237 a–b = CIE 5650. For the date, see A. Degrassi, in: *Scritti vari di antichità III*, Venezia – Trieste 1967, 168 f. (partly modified by A. Emiliozzi, *MEFRA* 95 [1983] 715 ff.). The crucial line 8 could not be understood until some twenty years ago, thanks to an ingenious proposal advanced

Besides providing the latest recorded instance of funeral *visceratio*, this is the only indisputable epigraphic example of this particular institution (for *visceratio* in other contexts, see the epigraphic evidence adduced below). The case of Crispinus is also remarkable because it shows that the practice was not restricted to the aristocratic circles of Rome, but was also known among the municipal notables. However, though the Salvii were an ancient and honorable family in Ferentium, which was later to become senatorial,¹⁸ the inscribed memory of this funeral *visceratio* probably soon faded away, because the sarcophagus was not only put inside a family tomb, but was probably inscribed only in its final location.

It is hardly necessary to argue that the *viscerationes* mentioned above followed a sacrifice. They were rather related to electoral bribery and canvassing, or upper-class self-advertisement, in many cases obviously both. The sarcophagus from Ferentium shows that similar popular feasts could take place on a smaller scale in Italian municipalities. At most one could take the *viscerationes* as examples continuing the ancient tradition of funerary banquets in a more extensive and public form. It is true that Roman funerary rites included a meal, the so-called *silicernium* which was probably eaten on the day of the burial (but the obscure word may also mean the food consumed at the meal). This was not a festival, however, but rather an intimate farewell ceremony at which the deceased was also thought to be present. The purgatory significance of *silicernium* was duly underlined by Roman antiquarians.¹⁹ Another funerary meal, the *novendialis cena* (this is only one of its names), which concluded the nine-day period of mourning, was a more convivial occasion. At any rate, the only animal sacrifice at a Roman funeral was that of a sow and a pig to Ceres before burial, and these sacrifices had the purpose of consecrating the burial ground as well as

by L. Gasperini, *ArchClass* 29 (1977) 114 ff. (= *AE* 1978, 305): ...*cena et viscera municipibus (data sunt)*. The reading seems to me apposite, though I would prefer taking *VISCERA* as an abbreviation for *viscera(tio)*. In this way the phrase becomes more balanced, and in fact the normal expression was *viscerationem dare* (cf. below). It is probable, moreover, that *data sunt*, possibly abbreviated, stood in line 9 (cf. Gasperini 126 n. 37: *Ḑ(ata?) ṢV[NT]?*). For the meaning of *sumo summo die*, see M. Kajava, in: *Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini*, Macerata (forthcoming).

¹⁸ Suet. *Oth.* 1: *maiores Othonis orti sunt oppido Ferentio, familia vetere et honorata, atque ex principibus Etruriae*.

¹⁹ *Fest.* p. 295 (377, 4-5 L): *silicernium...quo fletu familia purgabatur*.

purifying the family.²⁰ Something was surely consumed at the *silicernium*, but whether the menu could include also the meat of the offerings is a matter of controversy.²¹ Even though the extent of the sacrifice could probably vary from case to case, a large-scale *visceratio* where the meat was taken from sacrificial animals is not imaginable at a Roman funeral ceremony. The exiguousness of funeral food was too well known in Rome.²² If an additional *epulum* was organized, most of the food will have been purchased at the market or somewhere else. This concerns banquets held on annual commemorations as well as those given at the Parentalia festival in February.²³ Moreover, sacrifices made during the latter were normally bloodless, and offerings given to underworld deities were not allowed to be consumed at a banquet.

It is well known that in a traditional Roman sacrifice, the *exta* (inner organs) of the animal were offered to a deity, whereas the rest (*viscera*, as Servius would have called them; see above) was shared by those present at the ritual: this is precisely what the verb *profanare* implies (see above).²⁴ In collegial and public sacrifices, however, the sacrificial meat was given to the presiding priests and the members of an association or a collegium and,

²⁰ For the somewhat controversial evidence, see D.P. Harmon, ANRW II: 16.2 (1978), 1602; cf. also A. Mau, RE III (1899), 357 ff. s.v. Bestattung; Latte (op.cit. n. 4), 100 ff.; 392; G. Radke, Die Götter Altitaliens, Münster 1965, 87 ff. (Ceres' role); J.M.C. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World, London 1971, 50 f.

²¹ There is no indisputable evidence to show that this was the case. The question is thoroughly discussed by J. Scheid, AION (archeol) 6 (1984) 129 f.

²² E. Gowers, The Loaded Table. Representations of Food in Roman Literature, Oxford 1993, 214 f. Mock funerals were, of course, quite another thing: besides the famous scene in Petronius' *Cena*, one may remember the Pacuvius who used to get heavily drunk during the funeral banquets which he gave to himself (Sen. ep. 12,8; for his identity with the Tiberian legate of Syria, see now PIR² P 46).

²³ The banquet at the Lemuria festival in May probably did not differ much from that of the Parentalia and the *silicernium*, see Scheid (art.cit. n. 21), 136.

²⁴ The only exceptions were the *holocaustum* offerings where the entire victim was burned, and the sacrifices to underworld deities which people were not allowed to consume. To the latter category belong the *hostiae prodigivae Achivo* (or *Graeco*) *ritu* which are attested in the Acts of the Augustan and Severan Saecular Games (CIL VI 32323, 90 f.; G.B. Pighi, De ludis saecularibus populi Romani Quiritium libri sex, Amsterdam 1965², 162 f. [V^a 49 f.]), cf. Latte (op.cit. n. 4), 392.

probably, depending on the ritual, to various office-holders and even the whole Senate,²⁵ but it could also be sold to market vendors.²⁶ Besides the official priests, state sacrifices as well as other important sacrificial rituals were normally the privilege of senators and others of high status, and so was the meat left after the sacrifice.

In an important article from 1985, J. Scheid is in fact right in saying that in ancient Rome animal sacrifice was normally followed by a banquet or in any case the distribution of meat, and this seems to be the case in Republican times and late Antiquity alike.²⁷ But how about the other way around? Does any banquet mean that something had been sacrificed? Scheid is inclined to think that this is often, probably always, the case, and he adds that sacrifice was so obvious a part of a Roman banquet that in documents concerning them it was not necessary to refer to sacrifices at all.²⁸ It is hardly possible to prove this, and indeed it would be difficult to imagine that almost every piece of meat consumed at Roman banquets derived from animal sacrifice. Things would become even more complicated if the meat was preserved (*perna* 'ham'), for in that case there would be no obvious link with a preceding sacrifice, and there is evidence also that whole carcasses together with all the innards were roasted for dinners which means that the

²⁵ The *epulandi publice ius* accorded to the Senate: Suet. Aug. 35. For the age-old ceremony of *epulum Iovis* on the Capitol where the Senate could partake, see Liv. 38,57,5; Gell. 12,8,2.

²⁶ For the evidence, see J. Scheid, MEFRA 97 (1985) 204 f.; cf. also M. Isenberg, CPh 70 (1975) 271 ff.; J. Frayn, in: Food in Antiquity (eds. J. Wilkins – D. Harvey – M. Dobson), Exeter 1995, 113.

²⁷ 'Sacrifice et banquet à Rome. Quelques problèmes', MEFRA 97 (1985) 193 ff., accepting the view already advanced by G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer (HbAW V 4), München 1902², 419 f. Strictly speaking, however, the epigraphic evidence adduced by Scheid does not always show unmistakably that the sacrificial meat was consumed by the participants, even if a logical consequence from sacrifice to banquet is often likely, cf. e. g. Dessau, ILS 7313 (Rome): *sa[c]rificia facere, vesci, epulari ita lic[e]at*; ILS 3546 (Caposele, Lucania): *sacrum in re praesenti fieret convenientque ii qui in collegio essent ad epulandum*. But in favour of Scheid's view one could adduce other, more positive evidence from inscriptions and literature.

²⁸ Scheid (art.cit. n. 27), 195 f., 201. Cf. also Id., Studi storici 25:4 (1984) 948 f.

inspection of *exta* with the subsequent gift to a god was omitted.²⁹ And to be logical, those who claim that a *visceratio* always followed a sacrifice should also be ready to accept that the grain and oil distributed to people could be the remains of what had been offered to gods.

While it was normal in Greece that sacrificial rites were followed by public distributions of meat to citizens,³⁰ the Roman practice was different because here large-scale banquets and distributions of food more typically accompanied *munera* and other spectacles. Significantly, the public banquet at the *ludi Apollinares*, which were organized from 212 B.C., was not only preceded by sacrifices performed *Graeco ritu* but the consumption took place outdoors which recalls the Delphic model.³¹ Besides some descriptions of soldiers consuming sacrificial meat, there is little to show that the meat of sacrificial victims went to masses of people.³² Not even the evi-

²⁹ Plaut. Pseud. 343: *cum intestinis omnibus* for which see Frayn (art.cit. n. 26), 110 f.

³⁰ One of the most famous examples is T. Claudius Atticus in mid-second century Athens: he often sacrificed one hundred oxen on a single day and thus provided meat for the whole population of Athens (Philostr. VS 2,548). For more and, perhaps, less exaggerated examples, see A.R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*, London 1968, 89 ff. Further reading in M. Detienne – J.-P. Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris 1979, passim (the authors' thesis is that nearly all meat was sacrificial); C. Calame, *AION* (filol.) 4–5 (1982–83 [1987]) 9 ff.; S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, 229 f.; V.J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (Amer. Class. Stud. 34), Atlanta 1994, passim.

³¹ Liv. 25,12,13 (*decemviri sacrum Graeco ritu facerent*). 15 (*vulgo apertis ianuis in propatulis epulati sunt*); cf. F. Bernstein, *Ludi publici. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der öffentlichen Spiele im republikanischen Rom* (Historia Einzelschr. 119), Stuttgart 1998, 177 (for banquets and other elements of Greek derivation in the *ludi publici*, see also p. 253 f.). For a lucid discussion of the meaning of *ritus Graecus*, see now J. Scheid, in: *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert* (1996), Stuttgart – Leipzig 1998, 168 ff.

³² We know from military records that animals were regularly sacrificed during festivals (cf. the Severan *feriale Duranum*: R.O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Cleveland 1971, 422 ff. no. 117), but the consumption of sacrificial meat in military camps is not quite the same thing as distributing it to civilians in Rome and elsewhere. Two of the literary examples concerning public distributions of sacrificial meat cited by Scheid (art.cit. n. 27), 198 f., tell about meat consumed massively by soldiers far from Rome (sacrifice by Titus after his victory in Judea: J. BJ 7,16 f.; Julian sacrificing with

dence on the public banquets following the *decumae* offerings to Hercules at the Ara Maxima in Rome (*Graeco ritu* again) is so clear-cut as it may seem at first sight. For since it was strictly forbidden to take away any parts of the sacrifice, everything had to be consumed at the Ara. Only men were allowed to participate in this banquet, and they had to be seated while eating. Even if the size of the Ara was considerable,³³ the sacred area with the sanctuary cannot have held massive gatherings. Moreover, the menu at this banquet did not consist of meat exclusively, but *omnia esculenta poculenta*,³⁴ and if something was left, it had to be completely burnt, probably before sunset.³⁵ Finally, a writer as early as Varro relegates such banquets to earlier times.³⁶ It is true that devoted (and hungry) people came to eat at the Ara, but it is equally true that the exuberant feasts following the offerings of *decumae* by rich aristocrats and victorious generals such as Sulla and others, were no longer so strictly connected with the old ritual. For if they were, how was it

great enthusiasm in Antioch: Amm. 22,12,6). Both stories are somewhat atypical and the latter actually does not refer to a banquet, but to drunken soldiers plundering meat from public shrines. The third example, Hist. Aug. Aurelian. 12,2, is not a popular banquet, but one given to Roman senators and knights. Regarding CIL XI 3303 = Dessau, ILS 154 (Forum Clodii), the exact relation between the sacrifice and the public *cena* remains unspecified (*item natali Ti. Caesaris perpetue acturi decuriones et populus cenarent – ... – eoque natali ut quotannis vitulus inmolaretur*). As for the rich banquet given by Domitian to senators, knights and the people of Rome at the Septimontium festival (Suet. Domit. 4,12), those of higher rank were given larger food baskets, whereas the *plebs* received their share in *sportellae* (*senatui equitique panariis, plebei sportellis cum obsonio distributis*). Though a sacrifice was traditionally performed at this festival, one cannot be sure that *obsonium* here refers to sacrificial meat, for it could mean anything consumed with bread (meat, fish, cheese, olives, vegetables). Such lunch baskets may have contained mixed food; cf. also Suet. Cal. 18,2: *panaria cum obsonio viritim divisit*.

³³ Serv. Aen. 8,271: *ingens*; cf. F. Coarelli, in: LTUR III 16.

³⁴ Fest. p. 253 (298, 29–30 L).

³⁵ Varro ling. 6,54; Macr. Sat. 2,2,4; Serv. Aen. 8,183; J. Bayet, Les origines de l'Hercule romain, Paris 1926, 435 ff.

³⁶ Varro Men. frg. 413: (*testatur etiam Terentius Varro ...*) *maiores* *solitos decimam Herculi vovere nec decem dies intermittere quin polluerent et populum ἀσύμβολον cum corona laureata dimitterent cubitum*; ling. 6,54: *olim ibi* [i. e. at the Ara] *fano consumebatur omne quod profanatum erat*. Varro's statement seems to be confirmed by the fact that after Augustus, offerings of *decumae* begin to disappear from inscriptions.

acceptable in Sulla's case that a lot of meat that was left over was daily thrown away into the Tiber?³⁷ In these cases at least the old sacrificial context with public distributions was utilized unhesitatingly for *ambitus* and bribery.

How, then, were meat-distributions organized and where did the meat come from? In most cases probably from butchers' shops and the market where, of course, animals for sacrifice could also be purchased.³⁸ But there were other channels, too. In his recent and thought-provoking book, Donald G. Kyle is likely to be right when he argues that at least some of the animal meat from the beast spectacles was eaten by the people of Rome (as happens today with the meat left after bullfights in Spain).³⁹ The distribution of arena meat will have been more common under the Emperors, but considering the ample evidence on *venationes*, which were often coupled with *munera* and funeral games, from their first recorded appearance in 186 B.C.,⁴⁰ the possibility exists that the meat for public doles was sometimes purchased from the arena in earlier times, too.

That *visceratio* should be separated from a sacrificial context is also suggested by epigraphic evidence. At Rudiae, the hometown of Ennius in ancient Calabria, a donor at the time of Hadrian promised a capital sum of HS 80,000 to pay for a public dinner: the interest was to be given *viscerationis nomine* to various groups in the town, including the *populus (viritim)*, on the birthday of his son.⁴¹ Here the meaning of *visceratio* comes close to

³⁷ Plut. Sull. 35,1. Cf. also D.S. 4,21,4 (Lucullus feeding sumptuously the Roman people); Plut. Crass. 2,2 (the immensely rich Crassus bringing a tithe of his whole property to the Ara); *ibid.* 12,3 (10,000 tables).

³⁸ *Macellum*, *taberna* and *officina* disposed of any food and equipment needed for an *epulum* or distribution, as is duly underlined by N. Purcell, in: CAH² IX, Cambridge 1994, 659 ff.

³⁹ D.G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, London – New York 1998, 189 ff.

⁴⁰ Organized by M. Fulvius Nobilior after the war against the Greeks (Liv. 39,22,1–2: *venatio data leonum et pantherarum*), but the possibility that there were preceding cases should not be excluded.

⁴¹ CIL IX 23 = Dessau, ILS 6472: ... *promisit municipib. Rudin. HS LXXX n., ut ex reditu eorum die natalis fili sui omnibus annis viscerationis nomine dividatur decur. sing. HS XX n., Augustalibus HS XII n., Mercurialib. HS X n., item populo viritim HS VIII n.* The share of each participant would have been rather small, considering the high prices

'meal (based on meat)', on the analogy of numerous cases from Italy and elsewhere, which record banquets and dinners given by private persons (who were often in charge of municipal duties) for their relatives, friends and various sections of the local population.⁴² The motives behind such public entertainment could be manifold; so an *epulum / epulae* could be a birthday party or a commemorative occasion (often at the Parentalia), but it could also be a feast of a professional collegium or a religious association. Banquets were also frequently arranged to celebrate the dedication of a public statue (*ob dedicationem*). Sometimes a dinner was accompanied by a separate cash distribution (*sportulae*) which, occasionally, was also used for the feast itself. This is precisely the case with the Rudiae inscription (*viscerationis nomine dividatur*, etc.), even if it did not explicitly speak of *sportulae*. Obviously, in most cases the final purpose of the donor was to preserve his or her own memory in the eyes of the recipients, though the possibility that private distribution was sometimes based on purely philanthropic charity should not be dismissed. On the whole, of all the distributions recorded in Italian inscriptions from the Imperial period, about 30% concern both money and provisions, whereas some 10% refer to foods and eating (as well as drinking) exclusively.⁴³

That *visceratio* could refer to a meal is also suggested by a passage in Seneca's Letters which underlines the importance of friendship and conviviality: "to have (meat) dinner without a friend (*sine amico visceratio*) is the life of a lion or a wolf".⁴⁴ A public meal might also be meant in an example given by the jurist Pomponius (Hadrian / Pius), which refers to the common

of meat in ancient Rome. For the expression *v. nomine*, cf. Dessau, ILS 5494 from Africa (Abthugni, Proconsularis [Zeugitana]): *epulationis nomine*.

⁴² R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge 1982², 271 n. 1 is right in separating the Rudiae *visceratio* from any sacrificial context. Further evidence on banquets, etc. at p. 201 ff.

⁴³ St. Mrozek, *Historia* 27 (1978) 357 f. For the beneficiaries of private distributions, see Id., *Epigraphica* 34 (1972) 30 ff.

⁴⁴ Sen. epist. 19,10: *ante, inquit, circumspiciendum est, cum quibus edas et bibas, quam quid edas et bibas; nam sine amico visceratio leonis ac lupi vita est*. Seneca attributed the sentence to Epicurus whose original is unfortunately lost.

institution of *sportulae* and feasts.⁴⁵ However, *visceratio* more normally occurs in the company of a banquet (mostly called *epulum* or *epulae*). Besides the above-mentioned Livian passages concerning Republican funerals and Cicero's comment on *largitiones* (off. 2,55; see above), *visceratio* is also coupled with *epulum* in Sen. epist. 73,8 where the writer compares some *individua bona* (like peace and freedom) with material things such as *epulum et visceratio et quicquid aliud manu capitur*: the latter can be shared out in pieces, whereas the former are indivisible. In one of his letters to Ausonius, Symmachus complains of the laconic style of his friend's answers and writes: "If I had asked you to give a festal dinner and a sumptuous feast, and also *viscerationes atque epulum*, would you deliver only desserts and some morsels on a small tray?"⁴⁶

Regarding the epigraphic evidence other than the Rudiae text, an inscription from Lanuvium shows that a M. Valerius M.f., local aedile and dictator, was honoured by the *municipes compitenses veicorum quinque* somewhere in the early Principate, because he had benefited the town in various ways, including the organization of a public *visceratio* and gladiatorial games.⁴⁷ According to a second-century text from Eburum in Lucania, a city patron who had been honoured with a statue by the *dendrophori*, set up a foundation which not only provided different sums of money to various groups of the local population, but also an *epulum* for the colleges of *dendrophori* and *fabri* as well as a *visceratio* for the *plebei*.⁴⁸ Another Italian inscription records a *sevir Augustalis* who had been publicly honoured with *ornamenta decurionalia* and a statue. In return he gave the decurions and the people a banquet together with a *visceratio*.⁴⁹ Outside of Italy, this term occurs in some African documents. At Sutunurca (Procons.), a *visceratio*

⁴⁵ Pompon. Dig. 32,54: '*Lucius Titius plebi quina milia dedit, hoc amplius Seius viscerationem*'.

⁴⁶ Symm. epist. 1,23,2: *Si ego cenas dapales et saliare convivium* [i. e. like those of the Salii], *tum viscerationes atque epulum postulassem, tu mihi mensas secundas et scitamenta exiguae lancis adponeres?*

⁴⁷ CIL XIV 2121 = Dessau, ILS 5683: ... *populo viscerati(onem), gladiatores dedit, ...* As we have already seen, distributions and banquets were often accompanied by *munera* and games.

⁴⁸ CIL X 451 = Inscr. It. III,1, 5.

⁴⁹ CIL XI 5965 (Pitinum Merg.): *epulas dedit et [vis]cerationem*.

was given at least twice in the year 146 A.D., once by a local office-holder on the occasion of the dedication of an honorific statue to M. Aurelius Caesar,⁵⁰ and again by a local man whose daughter had become *flaminica perpetua*. In gratitude for this honour, he set up a statue to divus Hadrianus, the dedication of which was celebrated with a public *visceratio* and the distribution of oil.⁵¹ A third African text, probably concerning the Imperial cult (M. Aurelius and Commodus), refers to the dedication of an altar by a man who celebrated the event with a banquet and *visceratio* given to his *congenticiles* and the *sacerdotes*.⁵²

Most of the evidence, literary and epigraphic, couples *visceratio* with a banquet (*epulum*). Now, even if the menu at a normal *epulum* mostly consisted of bread and wine or at least was based on them,⁵³ meat could, of course, also be served at a banquet,⁵⁴ and so the difference between *epulum* and *visceratio* was not based on the type of food, but rather the way in which it was served (organized banquet [with or without meat] v. public distribution of meat).⁵⁵ On the other hand, sometimes perhaps the word *visceratio* announced that there was also some meat to be eaten at, or in

⁵⁰ CIL VIII 24003, l. 12/13: *ob dedicationem visce[rationem ---] dedit* (one wonders whether *epulum* followed by a dative could be restored in the lacuna). For a new reading of the preceding lines, see A. Beschtaouch, BCTH 22 (1987–88 [1992]) 290.

⁵¹ ILAfr. 300 (= Z.B. Ben Abdallah, Catal. inscr. lat. Mus. Bardo [1986], no. 160): *ob dedicationem viscerationem et gymnasium populo dedit*. For the locality, Sutunurca, see L. Maurin, MEFRA 107 (1995) 124 f.

⁵² CIL VIII 14853 (Tuccabor, Procons.): *ob dedicatione(m) congenticilibus et sacerdotib[us] viscerationem et epu[lum] dedit*.

⁵³ Duncan-Jones (op.cit. n. 42), 263 f.; Id., Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy, Cambridge 1990, 143.

⁵⁴ This is self-evident, but is also shown by an inscription from Amiternum, which records an *epulum* given to the *plebs urbana* on the occasion of the dedication of a statue in A.D. 338 (CIL IX 4215): *ob cuius dedicatione(m) dedit plebi urbanae ad aepulum convivii panem et vinum, tauros II[---], verbeces XV*, etc. Moreover, a capital sum was given, the income of which was to be spent for annual banquets, cf. Mrozek (art.cit. n. 43 [Historia]), 362.

⁵⁵ In fact, the Romans did make a distinction between *cena recta* (e. g. Suet. Aug. 74, Domit. 7; Mart. 2,69,7; 7,20,2; 8,50,10) and the distribution of small quantities of food in baskets (*sportulae*).

connection with, an *epulum*, usually pork which was the most common type of meat available in ancient Rome. But meat was expensive and even if its importance and market varied regionally, it was not largely accessible to the majority of Romans until the 270s, when Aurelian introduced free pork distribution on the model of older alimentary systems.⁵⁶ One wonders whether high prices and the general unavailability of meat might partly explain the relative rareness of the word *visceratio* in the extant sources. On the other hand, the people of Roman municipalities must have been familiar with the institution of *visceratio*, considering that the Flavian municipal law records it in the list of festivals and feast-days on which matters were not to be judged: *quibusque diebus ex decurionum conscriptorumve decreto spectacula in eo municipio edentur, epulum aud vesceratio municipibus aut cena decurionibus conscriptisve municipum impensa dabitur*.⁵⁷

Visceratio thus means either 'public distribution of meat' or a 'meal (based on meat)', though in some cases it is difficult to decide between the two meanings which surely may also overlap sometimes. So it is easy to imagine that the meat was first distributed to the guests who then consumed it (if cooked) as at a modern buffet or cocktail party. Rather than suggesting a connection with sacrificial meat, *visceratio* mostly belongs to the categories of *largitio* and *munificentia*. It is hardly a coincidence that the usual

⁵⁶ Aur. Vict. Caes. 35,7; cf. H.W. Bird, Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus, Liverpool 1994, 151 (but cf. also Hist. Aug. Alex. 26,1: *carnem populo addidit*). The people involved in pork business: C. Lega, in: Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani in Vaticano (Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2), Città del Vaticano 1997, 330 f. For the situation in late antique Rome, which was nutritionally better than during the early Principate, see P. Garnsey, in: Nourrir la plèbe. Actes du Coll. Genève 1989 en hommage a D. van Berchem (Schweiz. Beitr. Altertumswiss. 22), Basel 1991, 86, with references. For the consumption of meat in Rome, cf. also P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower 225 B.C. – A.D. 14, Oxford 1971, 372 f.; E. Salza Prina Ricotti, in: L'alimentazione nel mondo antico. I romani – età imperiale, Roma 1987, 88 ff. The best and most exhaustive account of the role and significance of meat in ancient Rome is given by M. Corbier, Food and Foodways 3 (1989) 223–264 (= DHA 15 [1989] 107–158). Let it be added that Laura Chioffi (Rome) is preparing a study entitled "Caro. Produzione, commercio e consumo di carne nell'Occidente romano. Riflessi epigrafici ed iconografici", see now a preliminary report in: Epigrafia romana in area adriatica (Ichnia 2), Macerata 1998, 263 ff.

⁵⁷ Lex Irnitana (Ch. 92, l. 30 ff.): J. Gonzáles, JRS 76 (1986) 180 = AE 1986, 333 (p. 110). Cf. also Ch. 79, Tablet IX A, l. 2, discussing the spending of common funds on *sacra, ludi* and *cenae* to which *decuriones* and *conscripti* or *municipes* are invited.

expression from the Livian passages throughout the Principate was *viscerationem dare* which means that someone provided the distribution, in other words, there was someone to pay for it: the amusement could be financed by a private person, an office-holder or a community.⁵⁸ Like the very common *epulum dare*,⁵⁹ this phrase often implies self-advertisement and the wish to strengthen one's popularity, both typical tendencies among the more elevated and propertied sections of Roman society. Significantly, Servius wrote *visceratio dabatur* in his reference to the ancient Latin sacrifice, but he may not have bothered about the social context from which the phrase originally came.

There is still, however, one important ceremony where a *visceratio* is recorded in Roman society, namely the triumph. It was normal during great triumphal festivities in Rome that the victorious general showed his generosity to the inhabitants of the city by giving them various sorts of entertainment and spectacles. On such occasions common people were likely to have free access to gladiatorial fights, horse races and theatrical performances, but it is also recorded for some triumphs that the people of Rome were given public banquets.⁶⁰ This is what happened during the triumphs of Caesar the Dictator: both in August 46 B.C., when Caesar was celebrating his victories over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Africa, and in the next autumn after the great triumph *ex Hispania*, the Romans were offered food and drink: *adiexit epulum ac viscerationem et post Hispaniensem victoriam duo prandia; nam cum prius parce neque pro liberalitate sua praebitum iudicaret, quinto post die aliud largissimum praebuit*.⁶¹ Such banquets normally followed the official part of the festivities.

⁵⁸ Sometimes one and the same person gave spectacles not only in his official capacity but also privately, cf. the Trajanic CIL II²/5 789, 6–7 from Singili(a?) Barba (conv. Astigitanus): *Hic in Iiviratu publicos ludos et totidem dierum privatos dedit*.

⁵⁹ ThLL V:2, 707; Diz. epigr. II:3, 2142 f.

⁶⁰ Lucullus gave a superb feast for the people of Rome and the surrounding *vici* in 63 B.C. (*ex Asia*, Plut. Luc. 37,4); Tiberius fed the Roman people at 1,000 tables in October A.D. 12 (*de Pannonis et Delmatis*, Suet. Tib. 20); Titus and Vespasian were not so wasteful, for they selected their guests in A.D. 71 (J. BJ 7,6). Otherwise, of course, on diverse occasions emperors provided banquets and distributions of food to the people of Rome.

⁶¹ Suet. Iul. 38.

A particularly luxurious dinner is attested during one of those triumphs. We know from Varro that once Caesar was granted two thousand murenae as a kind of loan, although the supplier did not require compensation.⁶² Other writers affirm that those murenae were even more, six thousand, and that they were served at the *cenae triumphales* organized by the Dictator.⁶³ As for the date of the murena meal, it does not seem likely that they were offered during the Hispania triumph, for it would be incomprehensible that Caesar used the words *parce neque pro liberalitate* to refer to a meal including as many as thousands of murenae. But if the first *prandium* was really too modest, one can hardly think that Caesar or anybody else was able to purchase in only a couple of days such a huge amount of murenae to be offered during the second *prandium*. What is more, the Elder Pliny says that the murenae were served at *cenae triumphales* (not *prandium*) which fits better the fourfold triumph celebrated on four days in August 46 B.C. There was an interval between each triumph and each festival day had a different *apparatus* and *instrumentum*.⁶⁴ Plutarch refers to the festivities immediately after the triumphs of 46, when he says that Caesar entertained the people with food and spectacles.⁶⁵ His account of the guests having been fed simultaneously at 22,000 *triclinia* suggests that an enormous amount of food was provided in the streets and squares of the city. Considering that there were nine places in a Roman *triclinium*, those dining-couches would have been enough for almost 200,000 people,⁶⁶ a number

⁶² Varro rust. 3,17,3.

⁶³ Plin. nat. 9,171; Macr. Sat. 3,15,10.

⁶⁴ Suet. Iul. 37,1: *quater eodem mense, sed interiectis diebus...diverso quemque apparatu et instrumento*.

⁶⁵ Plut. Caes. 55,4: καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνελάμβανεν ἐστίασει καὶ θέαις, ἐστίασας μὲν ἐν διαμυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις τρικλίνοις ὁμοῦ σύμπαντας. On the municipal level, it has been argued recently that the *Iivir* P. Lucilius Gamala may have imitated Caesar when he gave the Ostian people a banquet with 217 *triclinia* (CIL I² 3031 *a* = XIV 375: *...[id]em epulum trichilinis CCXVII / colonis dedit / [id]em prandium sua pecunia coloni[s] Ostiesibus bis dedit*, etc.), cf. M. Cébeillac Gervasoni, *Les magistrats des cités italiennes de la seconde guerre punique à Auguste: le Latium et la Campanie* (BEFAR 299), Rome 1998, 108 n. 44, referring to a forthcoming study by J. D'Arms.

⁶⁶ But if the guests were lying closer to each other (as was normal in Rome), there was space for even more people; Hor. serm. 1,4,86: *saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quater-*

well in keeping with the estimated urban citizen population of the time.⁶⁷ We do not know where and how this banquet was organized, but if the people were not scattered to different eating points, the only venue sufficient for some 200,000 people was the Villa Publica with the surrounding porticos and the Saepta.⁶⁸ Despite immense arrangements, however, some people always remained without food, for Caesar's triumphs as any later Roman triumphs with good entertainment must have allured a public of some hundreds of thousands to the streets of Rome, and indeed Suetonius affirms that the spectacles offered by Caesar were so popular that the streets of Rome were extremely crowded on those days.⁶⁹ The meals probably included various types of food that were served together. Suetonius refers to *visceratio* and *epulum* which, again, shows the two words joined with each other. Other writers mentioned specifically only the murenae, obviously because they were an extraordinary dish.⁷⁰ However, the murenae were probably served for special guests at the *cena triumphalis* (or *cenae*?) which the Dictator joined himself. This banquet traditionally concluded the

nos; Petr. cena 31: at least fourteen persons (see Friedlaender's commentary).

⁶⁷ In the year 46 B.C., the 22,000 *triclinia* would have been enough for all those who were entitled to free grain distribution in Rome, since Caesar had reduced the number of recipients from 320,000 to 150,000 (Suet. Iul. 41,3). The drastic cut was carried out because the number of the *plebs frumentaria* had become uncontrollable in the aftermath of the more liberal Clodian law. But since a triumphal *epulum* and a *visceratio* were optional events, it is unlikely that similar restrictions were observed for them. Non-citizens must have been excluded (as far as possible), but many freedmen and poorer citizens probably found something to eat. One should note further that if the distribution of meat was similar to that of public corn (Brunt [op.cit. n. 56], 382), most of the recipients were probably males.

⁶⁸ F. Coarelli, *Il Campo Marzio. Dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica*, Roma 1997, 175.

⁶⁹ Suet. Iul. 39,4: *Ad quae omnia spectacula tantum undique confluit hominum, ut plerique advenae aut inter vicos aut inter vias tabernaculis positae manerent, ac saepe prae turba elisi exanimatique sint plurimi et in his duo senatores.*

⁷⁰ For murenae and other fish in ancient Rome, see my 'Murenae, Oysters and Gilt-Heads. Fish for Name, Table, and Show in Ancient Rome' (forthcoming in *Acta Class. Univ. Debrec.*). Note, incidentally, that the people of Rome may have offered living fish and other animals to Volcanus about the same time, i. e. at the feast of Volcanalia on the 23rd of August, see now J. Linderski, *AJPh.* 118 (1997) 645.

triumph, and it is recorded that after the feast given on the fourth triumphal day, Caesar first entered his own, new Forum and was then escorted home by a torchlight procession with the Roman people, musicians and a number of elephants.⁷¹ Regarding the *epulum* and *visceratio* mentioned by Suetonius, basically they should be taken as any banquet and distribution given in an Italian municipality, with the only difference being that the volume and dimensions of the Caesarian feast were extraordinarily large. The arrangements described by Plutarch clearly refer to this popular banquet (unless more banquets were organized) which seems to have taken place after the fourth and last triumph and which perhaps continued for several days.⁷² But the *visceratio* was not the only distribution, for Caesar also gave other provisions to the people: each man received ten pecks of grain and ten pounds of oil, and in addition four hundred sesterces in cash.⁷³ Among many other things, he also sponsored various kinds of spectacles which included combats of gladiators, athletic competitions, stage-plays, races at the circus, and even an artificial sea-battle. One wonders, finally, whether some of the meat for the *visceratio* came from the carcasses remaining after the *venationes* which, according to Suetonius, lasted for five days.⁷⁴ Any

⁷¹ Dio 43,22, for which see S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford 1971, 77 f. The fourth triumph *ex Africa*: J.-L. Voisin, *AntAfr* 19 (1983) 7 ff. (the elephant episode: 32 f.).

⁷² Cf. Vell. 2,56,1: *epulique per multos dies dati celebratione replevit eam* [i. e. *urbem*]. This was not unprecedented (cf. the evidence on early funeral games), and from the earlier Empire we already know some protracted banquets given by private persons (CIL IX 981 [Compsa]: *biduo*; Dessau, ILS 5713 [Afr. Procons.]: *per tridum*); lengthy dinners with other entertainment also in CIL XI 5170 (Vettona; fourth century A.D.).

⁷³ Suet. Iul. 38,1: *Populo praeter frumenti denos modios ac totidem olei libras trecenos quoque nummos, quos pollicitus olim erat, viritim divisit et hoc amplius centenos pro mora.*

⁷⁴ This means that beast hunts (as well as many other spectacles) perhaps went on during two consecutive triumphs, unless they finished with a pause (Suet. *interiectis diebus*); but it may be more probable that they started only with the final triumph and thus extended the extra programme for many days. *Spectacula varii generis*: Suet. Iul. 39,1–3; cf. also Vell. 2,56,1–2; App. BC 2,102; Z. Yavetz, *Caesar in der öffentlichen Meinung*, Düsseldorf 1979, 167 ff. Caesar's expenditure was, of course, enormous; for some estimates, see Shatzman (op.cit. n. 10), 355 f.

food was good in those times, for in the early 40s B.C. the civil war had created considerable food shortages in Rome.⁷⁵

The conclusion of the triumph did not mean stopping the festivities, however. A few weeks later, following the long-awaited dedication of the temple of Venus Genetrix on the 26th of September, Caesar organized funeral games in memory of his daughter who had died in 54 B.C. He had announced these festivities many years earlier,⁷⁶ but it was not until then that a suitable occasion offered itself: like Caesar's own funeral organized by Octavian two years later, the feast coincided with the *ludi Veneris Genetricis* (later called, officially, *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*). The commemoration was particularly apt in this context, since one of the main purposes of the *ludi* was to underline the divine origin of the *gens Iulia*.⁷⁷ Judging from a fragment of the Ostian fasti, Caesar seems to have redeemed his promise of a public banquet as reported by Suetonius.⁷⁸ Other writers are silent about this, except that Plutarch associated the triumphal banquet of August with Julia's commemoration.⁷⁹ If Plutarch was right, the triumphal banquet and probably also the *visceratio* commemorated Julia's death as well. But he

⁷⁵ P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World. Responses to Risk and Crisis*, Cambridge 1988, 201 ff.

⁷⁶ Suet. Iul. 26,2: *munus populo epulumque pronuntiavit in filiae memoriam, quod ante eum nemo*. Posthumous commemoration was not so rare among the aristocrats (for Sulla, see n. 15). Caesar himself had organized gladiatorial combats on a lavish scale as aedile in 65 B.C. in memory of his father who had died twenty years earlier. What counted in most cases was the right timing, for such occasions could be very useful for one's political career.

⁷⁷ Weinstock (op.cit. n. 71), 89; Bernstein (op.cit. n. 31), 333.

⁷⁸ F. Ost. A 11 ff.: *Aed[es Veneris Genetricis] / dedicata. Ep[ulum ---]. / Naumachia [---]*. The lacunae have been variously restored by modern editors: Degraffi's proposal was based on Suet. Iul. 39, but it was too adventurous (Inscr. It. XIII:1,5 I 11 ff.); Vidman (1982) suggested *Ep[ulum et congiarium dat(um).]* where *congiarium* would refer to the delayed (*pro mora*) distribution of money reported by Suet. Iul. 38,1. Other restorations could also be considered, even [*visceratio*] which was often coupled with *epulum*, but if the order of the items is significant, the banquet did not precede the dedication. Perhaps the sea-battle took place only after late September, even if the construction and installation of the enormous equipment must have started much earlier. For the *naumachia* and its collocation in the Campus Martius, see now Coarelli (op.cit. n. 68), 584 f.

⁷⁹ Plut. Caes. 55,4.

may have confused the evidence, which would be understandable, since in those days various games and feasts followed each other in quick succession. The spectacles were in fact so numerous that one cannot take it for granted that ancient authors reported them in a correct chronological order. What seems probable is that most of the festivities reported by Suetonius and others continued for several days, even weeks, after the official conclusion of the triumph. It may be that there was no visible break between the triumphal entertainments and the *ludi*.⁸⁰

Hundreds of triumphs were held in Rome until the last official one in Honorius' honour in A.D. 403, though the old tradition with triumphal procession and sacrifice to Jupiter had already come to an end one hundred years earlier with the joint triumph of Diocletian and Maximian. But even if only one *visceratio* is explicitly recorded during the festivities, it is likely that doles of meat were now and then added to the more normal *epula*. It may even be that Caesar was not the first triumphator to do so. However, the meat needed for the *visceratio* did not necessarily come from sacrificed animals, even if sacrifice did play an important role in the Roman triumph.

⁸⁰ However, though less relevant to our argument, the possibility exists that the fourfold triumph took place only in September. What we know for sure is that the triumph was organized after Caesar had returned to Italy on the 25th of July and before the dedication of the temple of Venus on the 26th of September (confirmed by the *Acta Arv.*: *Inscr. It.* XIII:2 p. 35). And since *Suet. Iul.* 37,1 says *quater eodem mense*, the triumph took place in either August or September (there would be no time in July). The earlier date seems to me preferable, for otherwise Caesar would have waited for his triumph for several weeks. The triumph with the 40-day *supplicationes* had been voted for him much earlier and so there would have been good time for making everything ready for August. If the fourfold triumph took place, say, in late August, the extra festivities continued through September and culminated with the *ludi Veneris Genetricis*. – I cannot conclude from *Dio* 43,22,1–3 that the *ludi* coincided with the final day of the triumph (thus Bernstein [*op.cit.* n. 31], 334). *Dio* states that in the evening of the fourth triumphal day (whenever it was), Caesar visited his own forum which he had himself constructed. After having completed the forum and the temple of Venus, *Dio* continues, he dedicated both at that very time (εὐθὺς τότε) and in their honour he gave various entertainments to the people, which also included gladiatorial combats in Julia's memory. Caesar's visit to the Forum Iulium after the *cena triumphalis* should not be connected with the dedication and the following games. *Dio*, of course, also failed to observe that the whole area was still under construction at the moment of the dedication, and it was not finished until the time of Augustus (cf. C. Morselli, in: *LTUR* II 300).

Besides some minor and preparatory sacrifices, the main ritual took place on the Capitol where the triumphator ascended together with the procession or, if too crowded, a part of it. Among the normal stuff displayed (booty, all kinds of exotic things and animals, foreign captives, representatives of the general's own legions, etc.), there were also a number of richly decorated white bulls to be sacrificed on the altar of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. This is the only sacrifice during a triumph which one could think of as providing meat for a major banquet.⁸¹ Now, the number of bulls slaughtered on the Capitol is very rarely given by ancient writers, but one is hardly wrong to guess that their number normally varied from a few to some dozens at the most. There is no doubt that the 120 bulls at the triumph of L. Aemilius Paullus in late November 167 B.C. (*ex Macedonia et rege Perse*) were a startling exception which deserved specific mention.⁸² If Caesar had sacrificed as many as 120 bulls on the Capitol, not only would the official timetable have become extremely tight, but also the huge amount of blood (c. ten hectolitres) might have created problems in the August heat of Rome, for it could not possibly be left on the ground.⁸³ If Caesar offered some ten to fifty bulls to Jupiter, this would already be a remarkable sacrifice, but whatever their exact number was, the rest of the meat was reserved for the priests attending the ritual, some participants of the procession as well as all those gathered around Jupiter's temple, who by virtue of their office had been patiently awaiting Caesar's coming to the Capitol. The hungry Roman mob had to wait for the *visceratio*, but this was another affair.

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⁸¹ One may also note that *suovetaurilia* had no place in a Roman triumph (pace Serv. Aen. 9,624), see H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus. An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*, Leiden 1970, 151 n. 1.

⁸² D.S. 31,7,9 ff.; Plut. Aem. 33. For the obvious technical problems involved with such a massive sacrifice and the considerable time which the ritual must have taken, see E. Künzl, *Der römische Triumph. Siegesfeiern im antiken Rom*, München 1988, 82 f.

⁸³ But if the blood was collected and stored, it could be used for black puddings and sausages and for binding in general. The (meagre) evidence for Roman priests consuming sacrificial blood is discussed by Latte (*op.cit.* n. 4), 391 n. 3.

MARTIN CRUSIUS UND DAS STUDIUM DES GRIECHISCHEN IN NORDEUROPA

WALTHER LUDWIG

Iiro Kajanto hat in zahlreichen wertvollen Studien die Entwicklung des Humanismus, der neulateinischen Literatur und der klassischen Philologie vom 16. bis frühen 19. Jahrhundert in Finnland und Schweden zu seinem Thema gemacht. Diese Aufsätze und Monographien haben unser Bild von dieser Entwicklung bleibend geprägt. Es erscheint deshalb angemessen, zu einem Band, der seinem Andenken gewidmet ist, einen Beitrag beizusteuern, der davon handelt, wie ein mitteleuropäischer Gräzist im 16. Jahrhundert Beziehungen zu einem schwedischen Humanisten anknüpfte und sich dadurch Kenntnisse über Nordeuropa und den dortigen Humanismus verschaffte, die er dann im Druck verbreitete.

Martin Crusius (Kraus, 1526–1607) war von 1554–1559 Rektor der Lateinschule in der Reichsstadt Memmingen im Allgäu und 1559 bis zu seinem Tode Professor für griechische Sprache und Literatur an der Universität Tübingen. Er sah die griechische Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis in seine Zeit als eine Einheit. Nach seiner Selbstaussage liebte er die griechische Sprache so sehr, daß er die größte Zeit seines Lebens damit verbrachte, sie zu lernen, und er betrachtete es als Abstattung einer Dankesschuld gegenüber den Griechen, die der übrigen Welt die Wissenschaften, die Philosophie, das Neue Testament und viele bedeutende Theologen geschenkt hätten, daß seit Johannes Reuchlin nun auch in Deutschland ihre Sprache und Literatur durch Unterricht tradiert und darüber hinaus durch neue in der griechischen Sprache verfaßte Gedichte und Prosatexte von Deutschen fortgesetzt wurde. Sein 1585 in Basel in Folio mit insgesamt 382 Seiten gedrucktes Werk *Graecogermania* hatte vor allem das Ziel, in Reden, Gedichten und umfangreichen Anmerkungen darzustellen, wie Deutschland

in diesem Sinne das durch die Türken exilierte "Griechenland" bei sich aufgenommen hatte¹.

Crusius, der darüber hinaus an der Verbreitung des griechischen Unterrichts überhaupt interessiert war, vermerkte jedoch schon in seinem an Herzog Ludwig von Württemberg gerichteten Widmungsbrief zu diesem Werk, daß die griechische Sprache jetzt auch in erstaunlich weit entfernten nördlichen Regionen gelehrt werde (*in locis, quod aliquis miretur, ad septentriones valde remotis*)² und er bezog sich dabei auf die von ihm eingezogenen Erkundigungen über Schulen in Nordeuropa, über die er später im einzelnen informiert.

Er hatte zwei Informanten über die Situation in Dänemark, Finnland, Norwegen und Schweden, erstens den Württemberger Johann Georg Godelmann³, der bei ihm Griechisch studiert und 1579 eine Reise nach Kopenhagen unternommen hatte, zweitens den Schweden Petrus Jonae aus Hälsingland⁴, der ihn 1582 in Tübingen besuchte.

Der in der württembergischen Stadt Tuttlingen geborene Godelmann hatte sich 1572 an der Universität Tübingen immatrikuliert und war dort 1574 Baccalaureus und 1576 Magister artium geworden. Er studierte danach in Wittenberg, Rostock und Basel, wo er zum Dr. iur. utr. promoviert wurde. Zum Professor für Jurisprudenz an die Universität Rostock berufen, heiratete er im April 1581 dort Regina, die Tochter des gleichfalls aus Südwestdeutschland stammenden Professors Dr. theol. David Chytraeus⁵. Crusius sandte ihm aus diesem Anlaß ein in griechischer Sprache verfaßtes Epithalamium, das er zusammen mit einer lateinischen Übersetzung in

¹ Vgl. zu Crusius und diesem Werk insgesamt Walther Ludwig, *Hellas in Deutschland, Darstellungen der Gräzistik im deutschsprachigen Raum aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 16, Heft 1, Hamburg 1998 (in Kommission beim Verlag Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen), S. 28–82.

² Martin Crusius, *Germanograeciae libri sex*, Basel 1585, Bl. (:) 2v.

³ Zu seiner Biographie vgl. Friedrich Merzbacher in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* Bd. 6, 1964, S. 497–498.

⁴ Zu seiner Biographie vgl. Olle Hellström in: *Svenska Män och Kvinnor, Biografisk Uppslagsbok*, Bd. 6, 1949, S. 103, und Stefan Östergren in: *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Bd. 29, 1995–97, S. 217–221 (im dortigen umfangreichen Quellen- und Literaturverzeichnis erscheint Crusius nicht).

⁵ Vgl. Karl Heinz Glaser, Hanno Lietz und Stefan Rhein, Hrsg., *David und Nathan Chytraeus – Humanismus im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, Ubstadt–Weiher 1993.

seiner *Graecogermania* wieder veröffentlichte⁶. Godelmann hatte ihn im August 1582 in Tübingen besucht und ihm dabei auch Einzelheiten über seine dänische Reise mitgeteilt, die Crusius in den Anmerkungen zu dem erwähnten Epithalamium wiedergab⁷. Er schreibt dort:

Fuit cum Ulrico, D[omini] Cancell[arii] nostri F[ilio]⁸, anno 79. mense Maio Hafniae Daniae, ubi a Rectore Episcopo et Nicolao Hemmingio⁹ aliisque Professoribus convivio honoratus est. Fuit et cum Aulico Concionatore D. Andrea Severino, qui tunc historiam Daniae ediderat habens antiquissimas historias temporibus Abrahami de gente Danica, Islandica, Nortvegica, Finlandica scriptas, quas tunc Godelmannus vidit minutissimis literis ipsorum lingua conscriptas¹⁰. In Dania unicus Professor Graecae linguae est, Hafniae. In reliquis Scholis Philippica omnia sonant¹¹. Similiter et in Suecia Rex Ioannes

⁶ Wie Anm. 2, S. 256–257. Es steht in Liber VI, 1 als 14. von insgesamt 19 Epithalamia.

⁷ Wie Anm. 2, S. 272.

⁸ Der Kanzler der Tübinger Universität war damals der Professor der Theologie Dr. theol. Jakob Andreae (1528–1590). Sein Sohn Ulrich (1555–1596) wurde als Dr. med. Stadtarzt in Lindau am Bodensee. Sein Sohn David (1551–1588) heiratete 1579 eine Schwester von Johann Georg Godelmann. Vgl. zu ihren Biographien Peter Meinhold in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* Bd. 1, 1953, S. 277, und Hansmartin Decker-Hauff und Wilfried Setzler, Hrsg., Erhard Cellius, *Imagines Professorum Tubingensium 1596*, Sigmaringen 1981, Bd. 2, S. 127–128.

⁹ Vgl. zu Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) Jens Glebe-Møller in: Peter Brask u. a., *Dansk litteratur historie 2, Laerdom og magi 1480–1620*, Kopenhagen 1984, S. 365–366, und Minna Skaftte Jensen in: Minna Skaftte Jensen, Hrsg., *A History of Nordic Neo-Latin Literature*, Odense 1995, S. 31.

¹⁰ Es handelt sich um den damaligen Kopenhagener Hofprediger Andres Sørensen Vedel (1542–1616), der auch Isländische Sagas sammelte, und seine 1575 unter dem Titel *Den Danske Krønike som Saxo Grammaticus screff* gedruckte dänische Bearbeitung der *Gesta Danorum* des Saxo Grammaticus. Vgl. Peter Brask in: Brask (wie Anm. 9), S. 441–445, und Minna Skaftte Jensen in: Skaftte Jensen (wie Anm. 9), S. 29–30, sowie Lars Boje Mortensen, Andres Sørensen Vedel, *The Latin writings of a vernacular humanist*, ebenda S. 267–289.

¹¹ Zum Einfluß Melanchthons auf das dänische Schulwesen s. Minna Skaftte Jensen in: Skaftte Jensen (wie Anm. 9), S. 20.

Ericus¹² habet Academiam, ubi unicus Graecarum literarum Doctor est. In eo Regno tum Luterana, tum Papistica Religio. In Finlandia vero et Lappia homines superstitiose vivunt, barbari omnes, nec a quoque cogi possunt, nisi quod tributa Regibus Daniae et Sueciae pendunt.

Godelmann hat in Kopenhagen die prominentesten Gelehrten, Niels Hemmingsen und Andres Sørensen Vedel, kennengelernt, aber von ihnen nur wenig über die nördlich von Dänemark liegenden Länder gehört. Crusius konnte nur registrieren, daß an den Universitäten Kopenhagen und Uppsala je ein Professor für Griechisch tätig sei, erhielt über Norwegen aber keine und über Finnland nur eine zum großen Teil falsche Information. Das Schulwesen in Finnland war den Gesprächspartnern Godelmanns in Kopenhagen damals anscheinend unbekannt. Das Urteil *barbari omnes* meint, daß in Finnland und Lappland niemand die klassischen Sprachen kenne. Das Interesse von Crusius war jedoch geweckt und kurze Zeit später erfuhr er mehr und Besseres über die Verhältnisse in Schweden, Finnland und Norwegen, denn schon im November 1582 besuchte ihn der Schwede Petrus Jonae. Eigentlich hätte er danach die Aussagen Godelmanns nicht unkommentiert wiedergeben dürfen. Es war eine Folge seiner dokumentarisch akribischen, aber oft unkritischen Arbeitsweise, daß uns Godelmanns Mitteilungen von ihm unverändert überliefert worden sind.

Petrus Jonae, der 1586 Bischof der schwedischen Diözese von Strängnäs wurde, war 1538 im Hälsingland geboren und zuerst in der Kathedralschule von Uppsala unterrichtet worden. In der Lateinschule im norwegischen Drontheim hatte er, wie Crusius berichtet, 1559–1560 Griechisch und Hebräisch gelernt und sich dann 1562 an der Universität Rostock immatrikuliert, wo er unter anderem bei dem Gräzisten Johannes Cas(s)elius¹³ studierte und 1567 zum Magister artium promoviert wurde. Er kehrte danach nach Schweden zurück und unterrichtete seit 1568 etwa zwölf Jahre an der Universität Uppsala, seit 1572 als Professor artium liberalium collegii Upsaliensis.

¹² Crusius vereinigt irrtümlich die schwedischen Könige Erich XIV. (†1577) und dessen jüngeren Bruder Johann III. (†1592).

¹³ Vgl. zu ihm Richard Newald in: Neue Deutsche Biographie, Bd. 3, 1957, S. 164, und Ludwig (wie Anm. 1), S. 76 und 95.

Als 1581 eine Pestepidemie die Stadt heimsuchte, verließen viele Professoren und Studenten die Universität, darunter auch Petrus Jonae, der die Gelegenheit nutzte, um in den Jahren bis 1583 eine zweite Bildungsreise nach Deutschland und Frankreich zu unternehmen, auf der er sich besonders um humanistische und theologische Kontakte kümmerte. Als Stationen waren bisher Aufenthalte in Lübeck und Heidelberg bekannt. Aus den von Crusius veröffentlichten Texten erfährt man, daß Petrus Jonae von Norden, also wohl über Lübeck kommend die Residenzstadt Braunschweig und dann die erst 1576 gegründete Universität Helmstedt, darauf Magdeburg sowie die Universitäten Wittenberg, Leipzig und Jena besuchte, ehe er ins fränkische Bamberg und nach Nürnberg gelangte. Von dort reiste er nach Augsburg, wo er gegen Ende des Jahres 1582 den damals beginnenden, von Kaiser Rudolf II. einberufenen Reichstag sah. Er sprach in Augsburg mit den zwei ranghöchsten evangelischen Geistlichen der Reichsstadt, mit dem Superintendenten und Pfarrer von St. Anna, der ehemaligen Klosterkirche der Karmeliter, Dr. theol. Georg Mylius (Müller), auf dessen Betreiben kurz danach, am 3. Dezember 1582, die evangelische Internatsschule bei St. Anna, das sogenannte Collegium evangelicum, eröffnet wurde¹⁴, und mit dem Superintendenten und Pfarrer zu den Barfüßern, das heißt dem Pfarrer an der ehemaligen Klosterkirche der Franziskaner, Mag. Christoph Neuberger¹⁵. Die zwei Superintendenten waren ranggleich und verrichteten abwechselnd halbjährig die Amtsgeschäfte des evangelischen Ministerium in Augsburg. Die Stadt hatte damals sechs evangelische Pfarreien¹⁶. Nach einem Zwischenaufenthalt in der Reichsstadt Ulm an der Donau, wo er den

¹⁴ Vgl. zu Georg Mylius (1548–1607) B. Pünjer in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie Bd. 23, 1886, S. 142f., Hans Wiedemann, Augsburger Pfarrerbuch, Die evangelischen Geistlichen der Reichsstadt Augsburg 1524–1806, Nürnberg 1962 (Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns 38), S. 29 f. (mit Literatur), und Wolfram Baer in: Welt im Umbruch, Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Reformation, Ausstellung ... anlässlich des 450. Jubiläums der Confessio Augustana, Augsburg 1980, Bd. 1, S. 369–380. Mylius hatte den Grad eines Dr. theol. 1576 in Tübingen erworben, war seit 1579 in Augsburg Pfarrer an St. Anna, 1580–1584 Superintendent, 1582–1584 wohl auch Rector des Collegium evangelicum und später Professor und Superintendent in Wittenberg.

¹⁵ Vgl. zu Christoph Neuberger (1531–1599) Wiedemann, wie Anm. 14, S. 31. Er hatte 1553 in Heidelberg den Magistergrad erworben, war seit 1571 in Augsburg Pfarrer bei den Barfüßern, wohl 1582–1586 Superintendent und später Pfarrer und Dekan im württembergischen Heidenheim an der Brenz.

¹⁶ Vgl. Wiedemann, wie Anm. 14, S. 49 ff.

dortigen, mit Martin Crusius gut bekannten evangelischen Superintendenten und Münsterpfarrer Dr. theol. Ludwig Rabus gesprochen hatte¹⁷, traf er im November 1582 in Tübingen ein, wo er Gast im Hause von Martin Crusius wurde und die Tübinger Humanisten und Theologen kennenlernte. Er suchte von Tübingen aus auch Herzog Ludwig von Württemberg in seiner Residenz in Stuttgart auf, der ihm erlaubte, einer Sitzung des Synodus, das heißt des Leitungsgremiums der Kirche des Herzogtums, als Zuhörer beizuwohnen. Ihm gehörten von Amts wegen die Stuttgarter Hof- und Stiftsprediger und die evangelischen Pröbste aus Stuttgart und Tübingen und von den reformierten Klöstern des Herzogtums an. Sein prominentestes Mitglied war der Tübinger Stiftsprobst, Universitätskanzler und Theologieprofessor Jakob Andreä¹⁸, der 1577 zusammen mit dem Braunschweiger Superintendenten Martin Chemnitz¹⁹ und dem Leipziger Generalsuperintendenten Nicolaus Selnecker²⁰ die in der Folgezeit lange maßgebliche lutherische "Konkordienformel" formuliert hatte. Am 24. November 1582 verabschiedete sich Petrus Jonae von Crusius in Tübingen, um – vielleicht über Straßburg – nach Frankreich weiterzureisen (später dürfte er auch Heidelberg besucht haben).

¹⁷ Vgl. zu Ludwig Rabus (1524–1592) Wagenmann in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie Bd. 27, 1888, S. 97–99, Hans Greiner, Geschichte der Ulmer Schule, in: Geschichte des humanistischen Schulwesens in Württemberg, herausgegeben von der Württembergischen Kommission für Landesgeschichte, Bd. 2, 1, Stuttgart 1920, S. 1–90, hier S. 29, und Lupold von Lehsten, Besprechung von: Johann Rabus, Rabus-Chronik, mschftl.Ulm (1997), Genealogie, Deutsche Zeitschrift für Familienkunde 24, 1998, S. 59–60. Der 1553 zum Dr. theol. in Tübingen promovierte Rabus, der 1556 als Münsterprediger und Lehrer der Theologie am Gymnasium in Straßburg zum Ulmer Superintendenten und Münsterpfarrer berufen worden war (er behielt diese Stellung bis 1590), hatte 1554 die Ernennung von Martin Crusius zum Rektor der Lateinschule in der Reichsstadt Memmingen veranlaßt und war diesem dadurch gut bekannt. Rabus, konfessionell ein orthodoxer Lutheraner, reformierte die Ulmer Lateinschule nach dem Vorbild des Sturmschen Gymnasiums in Straßburg und erweiterte sie zu einer fünfklassigen Schule.

¹⁸ Vgl. zu ihm oben Anm. 8.

¹⁹ Zu Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586) vgl. Ernst Wolf in: Neue Deutsche Biographie Bd. 3, 1957, S. 201f.

²⁰ Zu Nicolaus Selnecker (1530–1592) vgl. Georg Winter in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie Bd. 33, 1891, S. 687–692.

Crusius hatte für seine Abreise von Tübingen ein Propempticon²¹ in 34 griechischen Hexametern mit einer lateinischen Übersetzung in ebensovielen lateinischen Versen verfaßt, das er ihm – vermutlich bei einem Abschiedsessen – vorlas und wohl handschriftlich mitgab und später in seiner *Germanograecia* veröffentlichte²². In diesem Werk ist der griechische und lateinische Text in zwei nebeneinanderstehenden Spalten gedruckt, die links die griechischen und rechts die lateinischen Verse zeigen. Der doppelte Text wird im folgenden aus räumlichen Gründen und wegen des auf diese Weise erleichterten Vergleichs so wiedergegeben, daß jedem griechischen Vers jeweils der entsprechende lateinische unmittelbar danach eingerückt folgt (die griechischen Akzentsetzungen des Originaldrucks wurde beibehalten).

KYP'ΙΩι Π'ΕΤΡΩι ΤΩι 'ΙΩ-|| νᾶ Ελσιγγίῳ σουηκῶ.
M. PETRO IONAE|| Helsingo Sueco.

Εἰ γεραρὸς πέλεται, ὡς οὖν γεραρὸς πέλε λίην,
Si debetur honos, ceu certe est debitus illi,
τηλόθεν ὃς γεγαῶς ἀπίη ἴδε πολλ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ,
Qui genitus longe peregrinans plurima discit,
οὐ σύ ποτ' ἂν τελέθοις ἀγέραστος, ἐράσμιε Πέτρε,
Nunquam tu digno, Petre chare, carebis honore,
τηλόθεν ὃς γεγονῶς²³ ἀπίη ἴδες ἐν χθονὶ πολλὰ.
Qui genitus longe peregrinans plurima discis.
5 ἀρκτόφου σύ πέλεις γέννημα δαίφρονος ἔθνους,
Te genuit tellus septem subiecta trioni,
Σουηκῶν τιμῇ βασιλίδι γαυριοώντων,
Regia quam decorant, fortissima Suecia, scepra,
χριστὸν τιόντων, παιδείην ἠδὲ θέμιστας.
Cui Christus curae est doctrinaque sanctaque iura.
εἶτα δὲ Ροστόχιόν τε καὶ ἀλλόσ' ἀφιγμένος ἴκου
Rostochium petis inde et limina plura Scholarum

²¹ Vgl. zu dieser Gedichtgattung Pernille Harsting, Latin valedictory poems of the 16th century, in: Skafte-Jensen (wie Anm. 9), S. 203–218.

²² Wie Anm. 2, S. 176–177. Es steht in Liber V, 1 als 16. von insgesamt 17 Propemptica.

²³ γεγονῶς conieci: γεγεῶς editio 1585.

ἔς τόσσον σοφίης, ὡς πατρίδα καλὰ διδάξαι.

- Excultusque redis patriae instituisque iuventam
 10 νῦν δ' αὖ μείζον' ἔρωτι νόον κοσμεῖν νόα τρωθεῖς,
 Maiore incensus nunc cognitionis amore,
 ὄφρα θεῶ μᾶλλον δουλεύσης, πατρίδ' ὀφέλλης,
 Ut mage grata Deo, patriae mage commoda dicas,
 μακρόταθ' ἱστορέεις σοφίης τε θεοῖό τε ἔδεθλα.
 Tempa Scholasque Dei quaeris, quae dissita longe.
 Βρούνωνος κλείνην πόλιν εἶδες ἰδ' ἔλμσταδιαίαν,
 Urbs tibi Brunonis adita est, adita Helmstadiana,
 παρθενόπην καὶ λευκορέην, συγγείτονας ἄλβει,
 Parthenope et Vviteberga, ambas quas praeterit Albis,
 15 ἔδρανα λιψιάδος καλὰ καὶ σαλομυρέ' ἰήνην,
 Lipsia pulchra Salae vicinaque moenia Ienae,
 καὶ φραγκωνίδα²⁴ Βαμβέργην μήνοι²⁵ παρ' ὄχθας,
 Et Bamberga sita ad Meni Franconica ripas
 νωρικίην τε πόλιν πολύανδρον τειχιόεσσαν,
 Tum, quae Pegneso populosa urbs finditur amne,
 καὶ πάλιν ἀγούστης ἐπέβης μεγαλόφρονος, ἔνθα
 Augustae post haec adiisti tecta superba,
 Καίσαρά θ' ἠγεμόνας τε συναθροισθέντας ὄπωπας,
 Imperii Proceres ubi secum Caesar habebat;
 20 καὶ μύλιον Νεοπεργῆρόν τε, θεόφρονας ἄνδρας.
 Vidisti Mylii et Neubergii pectora sancta.
 εἶτα βιβὰς παρὰ δανυβίῳ πολύχαρον ἔς οὔλμην,
 Danubium repetens, sedem intras divitis Ulmae,
 ὠμίλεις ράβῳ φωσίν τε θεουδέσιν ἄλλοις,
 Colloqueris Rabo reverendo aliisque piorum,
 εἴως νεκκαρίδ' εἰς τυβίγην μετανεύμενος ὄφθης.
 Donec te Nicro accepit coniuncta Tybinga,
 ἡμέτερόν τε δόμον κόσμησας, σύντροφος ἡμῖν,
 Ornastique meam mensam sermone suavi
 25 ἀνδράσι παιδευτοῖς πεφιλημένος ἡμετέροισιν.
 Dilectus cunctis Sophiae hic Doctoribus almae.

²⁴ φραγκωνίδα editio 1585, in Erratis: Βραγκωνίδα editio 1585 ante, correcturam.

²⁵ μήνοι conieci: μήνου editio 1585.

ἔνθεν Στουκκάρδης κατέβης πόλιν ἀμπελόεσσα,

 Stuccardae inde petis cinctam undique vitibus urbem,

 ἔνθα σὲ δεξιτέρῃ ταγὸς δειδίσκετο λαμπρὸς,

 Hic ubi clementi te Princeps excipit ore,

 σφῆς ἱεροῦ²⁶ συνόδου σὲ συνέδριον εἶσεν ἀκουστήν.

 Atque sacram Synodum tibi fit spectare potestas.

 οὕτως ἄρ γεραρὸς σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τηλόθεν ἔλθων

 Sic procul huc veniens dignus censeris honore,

 30 νῶπτε προσηνεῖη τε θεῶ τε κεκασμένος ἀνήρ.

 Qui pietate nites, doctrina menteque recta.

 εὐτυχέως νῦν αὐτ' ἐσίδοις, φίλε, κελτίδ' ἄρουραν,

 Gallia nunc etiam lustres feliciter arva,

 εὐτυχέως πλέονας φῶτάς τε καὶ ἄστεα γνοίης,

 Nosce alios doctos, claras feliciter urbes,

 εὐτυχέως παλινοστήσαις εἰς πατρίδα γαίαν.

 In patriae redeas dulces feliciter oras.

 ὠφελέοις πολλοὺς, ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔπειτα φιλοίης.

 Tum prosis multis, tum nos constanter amato.

Μαρτῖνος ὁ Κρούσιος, ἑκατέρας γλῶσσης
 ἐν τυβίγγῃ διδάσκαλος, κδ' νοεμβρίου αφπβ.
 Martinus Crusius, utriusque Linguae
 Professor in Academ. Tybingensi, 24. Novemb. 1582.

Eine sprachliche Analyse des griechischen Textes könnte zeigen, daß Crusius in großem Umfang homerische Worte und Ausdrucksweisen verwendete. Er zeigt eine gute Vertrautheit mit der homerischen Sprache, aus der er bewußt auch alternativ gebrauchte Formen entnimmt, ohne jedoch zu versuchen, einheitlich in homerischen Sprachformen zu schreiben. Er griff auch auf unhomerische Sprachmuster zurück. Im epischen Bereich blieb er, als er die Form μετανεύμενος in V. 23 im Anschluß an den Text des von

²⁶ ἱεροῦ conieci: ἱερὸν editio 1585. Crusius beklagt sich in einem Brief über die nach seiner Meinung vielen Druckfehler und darüber, daß der Drucker es ihm nicht ermöglichte, Korrektur zu lesen, s. Walther Ludwig, Das Geschenkexemplar der Graecogermania des Martin Crusius für Herzog Ludwig von Württemberg, Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte 56, 1997, S. 43–64, hier S. 52.

ihm noch für vorhomerisch gehaltenen Musaeus wählte²⁷. An anderen Stellen gebrauchte er spätere Worte der klassischen Gräzität. Ein Neologismus ist in V. 15 σαλομυρέ'; Crusius scheint das Wort im Blick auf *Il.* 21, 190 ποταμῶν ἄλιμυρηέντων sowie *Od.* 5, 460 und im Sinn von "von der Saale durchflutet" gebildet zu haben. Eine eingehende sprachliche Analyse des Gedichts kann an dieser Stelle jedoch nicht gegeben werden²⁸.

Es genügt für unsere Zwecke den Aufbau des Propempticon und seine Leitbegriffe zu vergegenwärtigen. V. 30–34 richten die Gedanken in die Zukunft und sprechen – nachdrücklich durch das anaphorische εὐτυχέως – die für ein Propempticon obligatorischen Wünsche aus, die Crusius Petrus Jonae auf den Weg gibt. Zuvor bietet Crusius einen Rückblick auf das bisherige Leben und besonders die Reise seines Gastes (V. 5–28) und rahmt diesen Hauptteil seines Gedichts durch die Abschnitte V. 1–4 und V. 28–29, in denen dem Weitgereisten versichert wird, wie sehr er verdient geehrt zu werden und hier auch geehrt wurde. In der Lebensbeschreibung betreffen V. 5–9 die Zeit vor der jetzigen Reise, seine Herkunft aus Schweden, sein Studium in Rostock und seine daran anschließende Unterrichtstätigkeit in seinem Heimatland. V. 10–27 geben dann sozusagen ein Hodoeporicon innerhalb des Propempticon²⁹. Dabei wird die Erzählung umso ausführlicher, je näher sie der Gegenwart rückt. Die ersten sechs im nieder- und ober-sächsischen Reichskreis gelegenen Orte (Braunschweig, Helmstadt, Magdeburg, Wittenberg, Leipzig und Jena) werden in nur drei Versen durchgeil, die beiden Städte im fränkischen Kreis (Bamberg und Nürnberg) erhalten je einen Vers, worauf die vier Aufenthalte im schwäbischen Kreis (in den Reichsstädten Augsburg und Ulm und in den zum Herzogtum Württemberg gehörenden Städten Tübingen und Stuttgart) in insgesamt elf Versen dargestellt werden, von denen auf die Zeit in Tübingen und Stuttgart allein sechs Verse kommen. Auf diese Weise wird die Zeit in Schwaben gewissermaßen

²⁷ Vgl. *Her.* 205, wo das singuläre μετανέμενος an der gleichen Versstelle gebraucht wird. Crusius (wie Anm. 2), S. 3, datierte Orpheus und Musaeus in einem Überblick über die griechische Literatur auf das Jahr 1271 v. Chr., Homer auf 1000 oder nach anderen auf 842 v. Chr.

²⁸ Zu den im 16. Jahrhundert von Humanisten verfaßten griechischen Dichtungen vgl. allgemein Ludwig (wie Anm. 1), S. 52–60.

²⁹ Das Gedicht kann deshalb der Liste der lateinischen Hodoeporica aus Deutschland in: Hermann Wiegand, *Hodoeporica, Studien zur neulateinischen Reisedichtung*, Baden-Baden 1984 (*Saecula Spiritualia* 12), hinzugefügt werden.

zum Höhepunkt der Reise. Die erwähnten Begegnungen mit Mylius, Neuberger und Rabus zeigen, daß Petrus Jonae die ranghöchsten evangelischen Geistlichen am Ort aufzusuchen pflegte. Bei Mylius und Rabus dürften auch ihre schulischen Erfahrungen und Pläne Gesprächsgegenstand gewesen sein. Der Besuch des herzoglich württembergischen Synodus läßt erkennen, daß Petrus Jonae immer auch Informationen über die kirchliche Administration der evangelischen Territorien sammelte. Es ist anzunehmen, daß er in den anderen Städten ähnlich vorgegangen war und immer die maßgeblichen Geistlichen und Universitätsprofessoren gesprochen hatte, so zum Beispiel in Braunschweig den Superintendenten Martin Chemnitz und in Leipzig den Generalsuperintendenten und Pastor St. Thomä Nicolaus Selnecker. Die Beziehung dieser beiden Lutheraner zu dem württembergischen Andreä wurde oben erwähnt. Die von Petrus Jonae besuchten Städte haben in Crusius' Gedicht im übrigen oft schmückende Beiworte erhalten, und sie werden in der Regel auch durch die Namen ihrer jeweiligen Flüsse (Elbe, Saale, Main, Pegnitz, Donau und Neckar) charakterisiert. Crusius hat für seinen Gast gewissermaßen zur Erinnerung eine deutsche Landkarte in sein griechisch-lateinisches Gedicht eingefügt.

Gerühmt wird von Crusius an Petrus Jonae selbst zunächst, daß er die weite Reise aus Wißbegier auf sich genommen habe, gerühmt werden sodann die Eigenschaften des richtigen christlichen Glaubens, der gelehrten humanistischen Bildung ($\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$) und des rechtlichen Sinnes. Das Streben nach diesen Eigenschaften wird bereits zu Anfang den Schweden allgemein zugesprochen (V.7); sie sind verkörpert in Petrus Jonae, der deshalb auch von Humanisten (V. 25) und Theologen (V. 20, 22, 28) überall und besonders in Tübingen und Stuttgart als Freund aufgenommen worden sei.

Das Gedicht ist ein Zeugnis für die Hochschätzung und Zuneigung, die der damals 56-jährige Crusius seinem 44-jährigen Gast entgegenbrachte. Sie hatten viele lange Gespräche geführt, Crusius hatte seinen Gast ausgefragt und eine Menge erfahren über die Verhältnisse in dem ihm bislang kaum bekannten Norden. Petrus Jonae hat nicht nur selbst viel auf seiner Reise aufgenommen, sondern auch viel über das Land, aus dem er kam, mitgeteilt. In der *Germanograecia* hat Crusius in den Anmerkungen zu dem Propempticon den Inhalt dieser Informationen auf zweieinhalb eng bedruckten Folioseiten festgehalten³⁰. Sie betreffen erstens eine Beschreibung

³⁰ Wie Anm. 2, S. 183–185.

Schwedens (und Finnlands), die zu dem Lemma Σουηκῶν (V. 5 des Pro-pempticon) gegeben wird, sodann daran angeschlossen und über die Hintergrundserklärung des Gedichtes weit hinausgehend gewissermaßen als Exkurs eine Beschreibung Norwegens und schließlich noch ein umfangreicher Bericht über die Kriege, die in letzter Zeit in Nordeuropa und im Balticum stattfanden (*De recentibus ad Septentrionem bellis ex eodem M. Petro*).

Diese sozusagen geordneten Gesprächsprotokolle geben Bemerkungen zur Geographie und Geschichte, zur kirchenrechtlichen Gliederung, zu kirchlichen Bauten, zu Reliquien und zur evangelischen Konfession, zum humanistischen Schulwesen, zu Bodenschätzen, zu Landesprodukten und zum Export- und Importhandel über See, zu den schwedischen Kämpfen um Estland und Livland gegen die Russen und am Ende noch zur schwedischen Talerwährung. Da ein vollständiger Abdruck hier zu viel Raum beanspruchen würde, sei wenigstens die Beschreibung von Schweden (mit Finnland) und Norwegen hier wiedergegeben, da sie gut erkennen läßt, wie präzise und detailliert der Bericht war, den Petrus Jonae seinem Gastgeber über die nordeuropäischen Länder gab und auf welche verschiedene Aspekte er einging.

Sueciae Regnum, sicut ex ipso M. Petro Ionae, convictore meo 82. mense Novemb. didicimus, Episcopatus habet octo, hoc ordine in consessibus: Upsaliensem, Lincopensem, Scarensem, Strenginensem, Arusiensem, Vexionensem, Aboensem et Vviburgensem.

Upsalia sedes Archiepiscopi est. Ibi in templo S[ancti] Erics, qui patronus Regni sub papatu habebatur, est sepultura Gustavi et duarum Reginarum. Habuit hactenus etiam mediocre Collegium, in quo Cyclo-pediae artium liberalium et trium linguarum cum S. Theologia per-spicua erat doctrina. In quo etiam M. Petrus, ex Rostochii Academia reversus, 12. annos docuit [*in marg.*: L. Graeca ex Clenardo³¹]; inde-que non pauci Scholarum et Ecclesiarum Ministri prodierunt. Sed hoc tempore magna ex parte pestilentia dissipatum est. In templo cathedra-li praedicto servantur reliquiae S[ancti] Regis Erics in argenteo scrinio

³¹ Nicolaus Clenardus, *Institutiones absolutissimae in Graecam linguam*, zuerst Löwen 1530; vgl. zu der immensen Auflagenzahl dieser griechischen Grammatik und ihrer schulischen Verbreitung René Hoven, *Les éditions d'oeuvres de Nicolas Clenard: Étude bibliographique pur la Bibliotheca Belgica*, in: Jozef Ilsewijn und Eckhard Kessler, Hrsg., *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis*, Löwen – München 1973, S. 305–310.

maximi ponderis et exquisitissimi artificii, quod in Papatu statis temporibus frequentibus nundinis et sex viris circumgestari ad perpetuandam illius memoriam solebat, quod Christianam religionem Ethnicis cultibus expulsis in Regnum introduxisset et ab hostibus suis Danis, cum sacris interesset, oppressus sit. Unde non multo post ante 400. annos in sanctorum Catalogum relatus fuit. Sic et S[anctae] Brigittae reliquiae in Monasterio Vvastenensi sumptuoso et artificioso argenteo scrinio asservatae ante religionis emendationem colebantur. Archiepiscopalis haec diocesis plures continet provincias: Uplandiam, Gestriam, Helsingiam (M. Petri patriam), Melpediam, Angermanniam, Botniam occidentalem et Lappiam. Omnes orientem versus mare Balticum attingunt pluribus piscosis lacubus et fluviis abundantes.

Arusiensis diocesis multa habet oppida et lacum Melerum, in quo etiam Stocholmia sita est. Fodinas argenti, cupri, ferri plurimas incolis praebet. Longissimo tractu ad limites Norvegiae porrigitur. Inhabitatur bona eius pars in vallibus metallicis a Dalecarlis, qui hoc tempore viri fortissimi habentur, quorum opera valde profuit in proximo bello Danico.

Scarensis amplissimam continet Gotthorum occidentalium regionem et Vvermiam, Principis Caroli, qui est frater Eriki R[egis] [*in marg.:* Carolus Princeps Electoris Palatini Ludovici gener], provinciam Norvegis occidentem versus conterminam. Celebris est maximo lacu Vvenero separante Gotthiam a Vvermia et urbe Elsburgo in littore oceani. In cuius portu conspiciuntur aestate tota naves Gallicae, Britannicae, Scoticae, Germanicae, Danicae et Norvegiacae. Scholam quoque superioribus annis satis celebrem, ubi etiam literae Graecae, habuit. Ex hac regione exportantur in Germaniam casei prodigiosae magnitudinis, passim satis commendati.

Aboensis Episcopatus maximam partem Finnoniae (Finlandiae) ambitu suo complectitur et porrigitur in maris Baltici littore, quod Bothnicum vocant, ultra mare glaciale. Eam vastae sylvae dividunt a vicina Moscovia. Scholas aliquot habet. Abogiae oppidi Schola ad Templum primum frequentissima est, Discipulis saepe DCC aut DCCC, ubi Graeca et Latina docentur, saepe etiam Hebraica. Eam

Scholam nunc regit Christianus Agricola, Episcopi ibi filius³². Finnonia populissima est, non tantum militem, sed etiam nautas, famulos et famulas toti fere Sueciae suppeditans. Vviburgensis Episcopatus, Moscoviae maxime vicinus, celebris est arce atque urbe Vviburgo in finibus Careliae, quam Rhuteni (Mosci) frustra tentarunt. Natura enim et arte munitissima est.

Evangelii doctrinam a Luthero sinceram Saxoniae introductam R[ex] Gustavus 1527 in Sueciam introduxit, cui F[ilius] Ericus 14. successit. Nunc ibi Ioannes 3. et Catharina regnant³³.

De Norvaegiae Regno. Norvegia tribus Episcopatibus distincta est, Nidrosiensi, Astloensi et Staffangensi. In Nidrosiensi cathedrale templum S. Olavo Regi dicatum est, ubi Reges Norvegiae coronari solebant. Quod etsi patrum nostrorum memoria conflagravit, tamen etiam nunc ex ruinis magnificentia illius apparet partibus extrinsecus insculptis simulacris Apostolorum, Martyrum et celebriorum patrum. Quaestum ei maximum afferebant peregrinationes ad S. Olavum ex tota Europa pluribus ibi iactatis miraculis indeque Paparum indulgentiis consecutis. In hoc S. Olavi oppido aliter Nidrosia appellato superioribus annis celebris Schola particularis fuit, in qua M. Petrus prima elementa Graecae Hebraeaeque linguae percepit anno 59. et 60. ex Grammatica Clenardi et Munsteri³⁴. Habet Nidrosia Canonicos 24, qui in Templo Olavi, cuius nunc tantum tertia pars instaurata est, quotidie ter cantiones et preces suas obeunt.

³² Der Bischof ist Michael Olavi Agricola (1509–1557). Er studierte in Wittenberg 1536–1539, promovierte dort 1539 zum Magister und war bis 1557 Bischof von Abo, s. Iiro Kajanto, Finland, in: Skafto Jensen (wie Anm. 9), S. 159–200, hier S. 161–164. Sein Sohn Christianus Agricola (1550–1586) wurde 1578 Rektor der Domschule von Abo und 1583 Bischof von Reval, vgl. K. B. Westmann und K. B. Wiklund in: Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon, Bd. 1, 1918, S. 291–295.

³³ Diese genauen und zutreffenden Feststellungen wirken wie eine Berichtigung der Godelmannschen Vermengung der Könige Erich und Johannes (s. Anm. 12).

³⁴ Zu Nicolaus Clenardus vgl. Anm. 31. Sebastian Münster veröffentlichte mehrere hebräische Grammatiken. Gemeint ist wohl sein weit verbreitetes Opus grammaticum consummatum, Basel 1542, vgl. Dieter Harlfinger u. a., Graecogermania, Griechischstudien deutscher Humanisten, Die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance (1469–1523), Weinheim 1989 (Ausstellungskatalog der Herzog August Bibliothek 59), S. 325–335.

Episcopatus Astloensis Canonicos hodie 12. alit et Scholam bene constitutam ad templum primarium. Celebris est hic Episcopatus oppido Marstram, ubi tanta copia halecis [*in marg.*: Haering] intra Michaelis natalemque Christi capitur, ut multis Europae regionibus sufficiat, maximos Reg[i] Daniae redditus afferens.

In Staffangerensi Episcopatu portus Bergensis est (incolis Baern), qui propter piscium ad solem induratorum [*in marg.*: Stockfisch] multitudinem frequentatur ab omnibus fere Germanis maritimis, Scotis, Anglis et Gallis.

Tota ferme Norvegia etiam prosperis annis advecticio frumento vivit, quod fere piscibus pellibusque emit. Paret hodie R[egi] Daniae Friderico 2.

Es ist bei aller Ausführlichkeit noch kein vollständiges Panorama der nordischen Länder. Man erkennt, daß Petrus Jonae auf die ihm aus Erfahrung näher bekannten Orte Uppsala und Drontheim detaillierter und anschaulicher einging und daß er die kirchlichen Verhältnisse und das Schulwesen besonders beachtete. Es überrascht seine pragmatische Sicht auf ökonomische Realitäten, die Crusius seinerseits mit gleichem Interesse registrierte.

Gegenüber den knappen und teilweise irreführenden Bemerkungen über Schweden und Finnland, die Godelmann kurz zuvor geboten hatte, hat Petrus Jonae ein vielfältiges und zutreffenderes Bild der nördlich von Dänemark gelegenen Länder gegeben. Dazu gehörte auch, daß Crusius nun von ihm etwas über den griechischen und zum Teil auch hebräischen Unterricht an den Schulen in Uppsala, Elfsborg, Abo/Turku, Drontheim und Oslo erfahren hatte. An diese fünf Orte dachte er, wenn er im Widmungsbrief der *Germanograecia* davon sprach, daß der Unterricht in der griechischen Sprache weit in den Norden vorgedrungen sei³⁵. Der Abschnitt über die Domschule in Abo mit seinen konkreten Angaben über den angesehenen Direktor der Schule, die große Schülerzahl und das humanistische Lehrprogramm auf hohem Niveau läßt vermuten, daß Petrus Jonae hier mit absichtlicher Deutlichkeit und Präzision die Vorstellung über Finnland korrigierte, die Godelmann aus Kopenhagen mitgebracht und auf die Crusius seinen schwedischen Gast sicher direkt angesprochen hatte.

³⁵ S. Anm. 2.

Petrus Jonae war ein guter Botschafter seines Landes. Der aufmerksame Zuhörer Crusius gab den Lesern seiner *Germanograecia* ein Bild der nordeuropäischen Länder aus erster Hand, das in vielen Punkten – auch und gerade in den Informationen über das Schulwesen – weit über das hinausging, was sie andern Orts³⁶ lesen konnten.

Die hier berichtete Geschichte von der fruchtbaren Begegnung des schwedischen und des schwäbischen Humanisten macht uns bewußt, wie schwierig es in dieser Zeit war, über weit entfernte Regionen zutreffende Informationen zu erhalten und wie leicht sich falsche Gerüchte an die Stelle der Wahrheit setzen konnten, sie ist zugleich ein schönes neues Dokument für die intensive Kommunikation zwischen Humanisten aus verschiedenen Ländern und die Bedeutung ihrer Reisen für einen gegenseitigen Erfahrungsaustausch.

Universität Hamburg

³⁶ Etwa in einem der damaligen Städtebücher wie in: Adrianus Romanus, *Parvum theatrum urbium sive urbium praecipuarum totius orbis brevis et methodica descriptio*, Frankfurt am Main 1595, S. 247–250, oder in einer Kosmographie wie der von Sebastian Münster, die zuerst Basel 1541 erschien (vgl. die deutsche Ausgabe: *Cosmographia*, das ist Beschreibung der gantzen Welt, Basel 1628, S. 1350–1364).

ANCORA NOMI NUOVI O RARI DA ISCRIZIONI LATINE DI ROMA

SILVIO PANCIERA

Dedico alla memoria di Iiro Kajanto, uno studioso che ho sempre molto apprezzato, questo breve studio "onomastico" che si pone a continuazione di un altro dello stesso tipo che scrissi per festeggiare i suoi sessant'anni.¹ Nell'occasione, la tristezza per la sua morte si mescola, stemperandosi, con i ricordi di una lunga amicizia e con un senso di persistente vicinanza che diviene quasi palpabile quando, come in questo caso, si studiano temi che gli furono cari e sui quali tanto ha insegnato.

Anche questa volta prendo le mosse da un gruppetto d'iscrizioni sepolcrali urbane, per lo più del tutto banali, non fosse per l'interesse suscitato per l'appunto da alcuni elementi onomastici (gentilizi, cognomi o nomi servili) che vi compaiono.

Comincio presentando rapidamente i documenti. Seguirà il commento onomastico.

1. – Angolo inferiore destro di lastra marmorea scorniciata (33,5 x 50 x 3,5; lett. 2,2). Provenienza sconosciuta, ma verosimilmente dall'area vaticana. Grotte Vaticane, corridoio d'uscita. Foto dono Fabbrica di S. Pietro, lastra 328. P. 169, fig. 1.

----- / [- c.15 -], *quae vixit annis* / [---, *mensib(us) ---*], *dieb(us) XIII;*
vibus / [*comparavit A*] *urelio Pistico et* / [*Aurelio M*] *aximo filis suis et*
[- c. 8 - *Tr*] *ophime et sibi et suis* / [*libertis libe*] *rtabusque posterisque*
/ eorum.

¹ "Qualche nuova iscrizione d'interesse onomastico", *Studia in honorem Iiro Kajanto* (Arctos, Supplementum II), Helsinki 1985, 153–183.

Tracce di linee guida; punti anche in fine di riga; r.6 ultima lettera sulla modanatura della cornice; r.7 sul listello inferiore; *vibus* pro *vivus*. La lastra era affissa al monumento sepolcrale che un *Aurelius* da vivo si era procurato, oltre che per la moglie verosimilmente ricordata nella parte superiore, per due figli, per un altro personaggio femminile d'inquadramento non specificato, (forse anch'essa un'*Aurelia*), per se stesso e, come d'abitudine, per i liberti, le liberte e i loro discendenti. III sec. d.C.

2. – Plinto marmoreo modanato (4 x 20,5 x 16; lett. 0,8) di piccola statua di cui rimangono solo (fino ad un'altezza massima di cm. 13, plinto compreso) resti del piede destro nudo e, a fianco, la testa di un animale (torello?). Si potrebbe pensare ad una figurazione di Diana con a lato una scena di caccia in cui il cane atterrava l'animale, oppure in cui, dell'animale cacciato, viene rappresentata solo la testa (qualche confronto in LIMC, II, 2, 1984, pp. 468, 595, 628). Provenienza ignota. Mus. Vat., Mag. delle Corazze. Inv. 4415. Neg. 10897. P. 169, fig. 2.

Aur(elius) Roemetalca f[ecit ?].

A senza barra; tratti superiori di *E*, *T*, *F* lunghi e svettanti verso l'alto; secondo tratto della *L* lungo e incurvato verso il basso; punto anche in inizio di riga e invece mancante prima di *f[ecit]* (da escludere comunque una lettura *Roemetalcae*). La posizione e la struttura del testo fanno pensare piuttosto ad una firma che ad un'iscrizione dedicatoria.² Se così è, si guadagna il nome di un altro scultore, forse un nuovo cittadino dopo la *Constitutio Antoniniana*. III sec. d.C.

² Sugli scultori romani e le loro firme: I. Calabi, *Studi sulla società romana. Il lavoro artistico*, Milano – Varese 1958, 90–91, 159–166; Ead., *EAA*, IV (1961), 870–875; I Suppl. (1973), 461. Sulla posizione degli artisti a Roma, vd. da ultimo R. Chevallier, *L'artiste, le collectionneur et le faussaire. Pour une sociologie de l'art romain*, Paris 1991; R. Robert, "Immensa potentia artis. Prestige et statut des oeuvres d'art à Rome à la fin de la République et au début de l'Empire", *Rev. Arch.*, 1995, 291–305; Th. Pekary, "Welcher vernünftige Mensch möchte Phidias werden? Das Ansehen des Künstlers im antiken Rom", *Boreas* 18 (1995) 13–18. Per considerazioni metodiche generali: F. Coarelli, "Artista e società nel mondo antico", *Revixit Ars*, Roma 1996, 1–14.

3. – Stele marmorea mutila a destra e inferiormente (32 x 23,5 x 6; lett. 3,2–2,9). Superiormente si vede parte di una coroncina vittata che doveva occupare il centro, sopra *M[an(ibus)]*. Provenienza ignota. Mus. Naz. Rom., Mag. Ep. D, II, 7 est. Inv. 255135. Neg. 13451. P. 170, fig. 3.

D(is) M[an(ibus) s(acrum)]. / Capyrus [et - c.4 -] / parentes [- c.6 -] / merenti [- c.5 -].

r. 1 *M[an(ibus)]* invece che *M(anibus)* calcolando che in r. 2 si deve guadagnare lo spazio per il nome, sia pur breve, della madre.³ Incerta la struttura successiva dell'epigrafe; forse: *parentes [fili-] / merenti [fecer(unt)]*? Il nome del defunto (figlio o figlia) sarebbe stato in tal caso omissso, come talora capita.⁴ II / III sec. d.C.

4. – Stele marmorea centinata con acroteri a palmetta, mancante a sinistra ed in basso (13,5 x 18 x 2; lett. 2,2–1,9). Al centro dello spazio centinato una corona con vitte. Campo epigrafico definito da una linea profondamente incisa. Provenienza ignota. Mus. Vat., Lap. Prof. ex Lat. Z48R (già nel Magazzino ex Galli con un foglietto su cui era scritto 22 dicembre 1964). Inv. 27751. Neg. 10891. P. 170, fig. 4.

[Dis] M(anibus) s(acrum). / [- c.4 - i]ae Cháeridi, / [vix(it) a]nn(os) XVII / -----.

r. 1 *[Dis]* e non *D(is)* perché altrimenti la M che segue dovrebbe trovarsi esattamente sotto la coroncina, mentre risulta spostata a destra; r. 2 gentilizio non integrabile. II sec. d.C.

³ L'abbreviazione *D. Man.* si trova quattro volte in CIL VI (15104, 15265, 23402, 29553). *D(is) M[anib(us) s(acrum)]* sbilancerebbe il testo rispetto alla verosimile posizione della coroncina soprastante e molto disarmonica risulterebbe anche una prima riga con *D(is) M[anibus]*.

⁴ L'ampio spazio bianco sottostante mostra che l'iscrizione doveva finire con la r. 4. Problematica una restituzione del nome tanto nella r. 3 quanto nella r. 4.

5. – Parte inferiore di lastra marmorea rotta in tre parti tra loro ricongiunte (23 x 32 x 2). Provenienza ignota. Mus. Naz. Rom., Mag. Ep. I, I, 6 int. terra. Inv. 51728. Neg. 644. P. 170, fig. 5.

[--- vix(it)] a[nn(os) --- mens(es)] III, di[es - c.10 -] / Hilar[u]s et Creper[eia Parthe]/nope cogn(ati) et Ostiens[is? - c.5 -], / Nasennius Salutaris, Ve[elia He]/liane, Veius Iulianus, Veiu[s] / Pescennius, fili, fecerunt m(atri) / b(ene) m(erenti), locum concessu(m) a Fl(avio) / Parisaco.

Manca un frammento in alto a sinistra dove furono viste le lettere sottolineate in rr. 2 e 3. *T* montanti in rr. 3 e 4; *I* longa in r.6. Punti anche in fine di riga e, nell'ultima, anche all'inizio. Iscrizione sepolcrale posta per una donna il cui nome si trovava nella parte superiore perduta, da due parenti (*cognati*) e, come pare, da cinque figli che dovrebbero esser nati, visti i gentilizi diversi (*Ostiensis, Nasennius, Veius*), da tre padri diversi (uno dei gentilizi, se portato da un illegittimo, potrebbe essere però lo stesso della donna). Il luogo per la sepoltura era stato concesso da un ulteriore personaggio. Notare l'accusativo della formula *locum concessu(m)*.⁵ II sec. d.C.

6. – Piccola tavola marmorea mancante da un lato e rotta in due pezzi ricongiunti. Fu scritta su entrambe le facce (A, B): una prima volta su A usando la lastra verticalmente cosicché ora la lacuna si trova in basso; la seconda volta su B, usando la lastra trasversalmente (la lacuna si trova conseguentemente a destra). Rispetto alla faccia A le misure sono 18 x 21,6 x 3,3; lett. 3,2–3 (l'altezza originaria calcolata sulla base dell'integrazione di B sarà stata di cm. 30 circa). Provenienza ignota. Mus. Naz. Rom., Mag. Ep. G, IV, 5 tra le iscrizioni della Collezione Gorga, nel cui catalogo sommario redatto al momento della sua acquisizione da parte dello Stato non sembra però figurare.⁶ Inv. 255265. Negg. 13035.13036. P. 170–1, figg. 6A–B.

⁵ Su quest'uso con espressioni come *locus emptus (datus, donatus, concessus) ab aliquo*: A. Helttula, *Studies on the Latin Accusative Absolute* (Comm. Hum. Litt. Soc. Sc. Fenn., 81), Helsinki 1987, 94–96.

⁶ Collezioni Gorga, I, *Raccolte archeologiche ed artistiche*, Roma 1948. Nel Catalogo, le iscrizioni sono identificate solo attraverso la prima riga, non sempre ben letta. Altre

Sulla faccia A:

Deliacus / Florentin/ae vicariae / [qu]aę vix(it) / a[nn(os)] / [---, mens(es) ---, dies ---].

Sulla faccia B (lett. 2,5–3):

D(is) Manibu[s - c.4 -] / et Prisca et Co+[- c. 8 -]/is Prim[- c. 7 -]/ci bene [merenti] / feceru[nt].

A, 3 *E* nana. Tracce di linee guida verticali e orizzontali. Per la problematica figura del *servus vicarius* rinvio a due studi fondamentali.⁷ I / II sec. d.C.

B, 2 in fine di riga, dopo *Co*, in basso graffia di lettera; una cavità per le libagioni interrompe le rr. 3–4, ma occupando il centro, è utile per stabilire la larghezza originaria e quindi l'ampiezza delle lacune. L'iscrizione è posta da tre o quattro personaggi, (il primo dei quali, con nome molto breve, era indicato in r. 1 e il terzo, nonché eventualmente il quarto, tra le rr. 2–3, dove c'è spazio o per un nome lungo, tipo *Co[n]cordial]is*,⁸ o per due brevi, di cui il primo iniziante per *Co+ -* e l'altro terminante per *-is*) ad un quarto o quinto individuo: piuttosto *Prim[o]* che *Prim[ae]* per ragioni di spazio. Visto il numero dei dedicanti, escludo l'integrazione *[coniu]ci* e propendo per un altro termine di parentela, preferibilmente *[pat(ri)]* seguito dall'aggettivo *[dul]ci*.⁹ I tre o quattro dedicanti sarebbero dunque tutti figli del defunto e forse di condizione servile. III sec. d.C.

iscrizioni di questa raccolta ho pubblicato nell'articolo ricordato in nt. 1 e in Bull. Com. 92 (1987–1988) 307–313.

⁷ H. Erman, *Servus vicarius: l'esclave de l'esclave romain* (con nota di lettura di L. Labruna [che aggiorna problematica e bibliografia], Napoli 1986 (ed. orig. Lausanne 1896); F. Reduzzi Merola, *Servo parere. Studi sulla condizione giuridica degli schiavi vicari e dei sottoposti a schiavi nella esperienza greca e romana*, Napoli 1990.

⁸ Unico *cognomen* a me noto di 12 lettere che si presti all'integrazione. Peraltro se ne hanno solo due attestazioni, entrambe di epoca cristiana: I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 255 (più brevi *Conventalis*, *Compitalis*, *Cosmopolis*).

⁹ Da escludere *fil(io/-iae)* sempre per il numero dei dedicanti e verosimilmente anche *sor(ori)* perché troppo lungo con *Prim[ae]*, o termini come *frat(ri)* o *cons(ervo)* perché anch'essi darebbero luogo ad integrazioni troppo lunghe. Per *dulcis* in luogo del più comune *dulcissimus*: CIL VI (index vocabulorum), p. 1733 sg.

7. – Parte di stele marmorea con specchio epigrafico scorniciato segata da ogni lato meno forse in basso, per essere riutilizzata, nascondendo l'iscrizione, come elemento di cornice modanata (123 x 15 x 3 [alla cornice 5,5]; lett. 2,5–1). Sopra restano parte dell'acroterio di sinistra e, al centro, buona parte di un bustino femminile; la metà inferiore è in parte trattata a martellina, in parte scalpellata per il reimpiego. Trovata in Trastevere in luogo non precisato, fu acquistata nel 1918 sul mercato antiquario. Mus. Naz. Rom., Mag. Ep. G, I, 4. Inv. 75749. Neg. 1162. P. 171, figg. 7,1–2.

Diis Ma[nibus] / [F]laviae Sp. f. [- c. 9 -], / vixit ann[os - c. 6 -], / [et] Calpurni[ae - c. 9 -] / et Atimet[i]ano - c. 6 -], / vixit ann[os - c. 9 -], / [e]t Antiophe f[iliae] ē[t - c. 10 -] / et Scepheni sor[or] - c. 12 -] / M. Alitenu[s] Ati[metus coniugi] / carissimae d[omi]nicissimae in] / testimonium [- c. 10 -] / hoc [monument(um)] / de se 'tam' be[ne merita]e] / p[ro]p[ri]etaria(?) s[ua] +[---].

5, in fine, graffia di lettera in alto forse appartenente ad *I*; tracce di linee guida; *I longa* in *Diis*; *eam* pro *tam* in penultima riga. Punti sempre presenti meno tra *de* e *se*. Interpreto l'iscrizione nel senso che *M. Alitenu[s] Ati[metus]*, in occasione della morte della moglie, l'illegittima *[F]lavia Sp. f. [---]*, a testimonianza del suo affetto (*amoris sui?*) e in riconoscimento dei meriti di lei, le costruisce un monumento sepolcrale destinato a servire anche ad altri familiari, in parte già in precedenza defunti, che potrebbero essere: *Calpurni[a ---]* la madre, *Atimeti[anus]*, un figlio o un fratello, *Antiope* una figlia, *Scepe* una sorella (forse nella lacuna che precede ce n'era un'altra). L'emendamento *eam* > *tam* mi sembra imporsi.¹⁰ Alla fine ci si aspetta un verbo come *f[ecit]*., ma ciò che rimane non sembra parte di *F*. Fine I / inizio II sec. d.C.

8. – Lastra marmorea scorniciata integra, ma con varie incrostazioni superficiali (26 x 34 x 8; lett. 3–1). Provenienza ignota. Appartenne alla Collezione Gorga.¹¹ Mus. Naz. Rom., Mag. Ep. H, sul ripiano. Inv. 257098. Neg. 13263. P. 172, fig. 8.

¹⁰ Per l'uso epigrafico di *tam* in contesti analoghi: CIL VI (index vocabulorum), p. 5586 sg.

¹¹ Vd. sopra con nt. 6.

D(is) M(anibus). / Hymnidi, / v(ixit) a(nnos) V, m(enses) IIII; / Q. Vestinius Nicanor / fecit sibi et / Vestinae Genethle, / matri optimae, posterisque / suis; in fr(onte) p(edes) VI, in agro p(edes) IIII.

Tracce di linee guida orizzontali. *T* sormontante in r. 5. *I longae* in r. 7. I / II sec. d.C.

9. – Lastra marmorea con corniciatura costituita da un solco che corre su tutti i lati meno in basso (48 x 34 x 3; lett. 4–3,5). Scheggiature marginali. Provenienza ignota. Mus. Naz. Rom., Mag. Ep. F, II, ripiano. Inv. 30516. Neg. 1847. P. 172, fig. 9.

D(is) M(anibus). / Ingeniane / infelicissime / puelle, que vi/xit ann(os) III, m(enses) / VII, d(ies) II; Ingen/uus et Respect/a avi miseri / fec^re^runt.

Linee guida. Scrittura con tendenza al corsivo (vd. *G* e *Q*). In r. 9 la seconda *E* è stata incisa incompletamente: Punti solo saltuariamente presenti. Cattiva impaginazione con a capo non rispettosi della divisione sillabica. Il dittongo *ae* è sempre reso con *e*. Rara la dedica da parte di avi. III sec. d.C.

10. – Piccola lastra in marmo scuro (destinata all’inserimento nella parete di un colombario) integra tranne per piccole scheggiature ai margini superiore e inferiore (9,2 x 15 x 3,6; lett. 1,5–1). Provenienza ignota. Mus. Naz. Rom., Mag. Ep. G, IV, 1 tra le iscrizioni della Collezione Gorga, nel cui catalogo non sembra però figurare.¹² Inv. 255154. neg. 13106. P. 172, fig. 10.

Ischyra Nomi (scil. servus), / protau«l»es, / vixit ann(os) XLV.

Linee guida; r. 2 al posto di *L* fu scritto in origine *E*, anticipando la lettera seguente e poi si tentò di correggere l’errore senza ricorrere all’erazione, ma approfondendo ed evidenziando il primo ed il quarto tratto. Notare la forma antica del numerale *L*, che non sembra generalmente attestata oltre

¹² Vd. sopra con nt. 6.

i primi decenni del I sec. d.C.¹³ Al nome segue la qualifica di *protaules* (πρωτάυλης; *tibicen primus* o *princeps*, primo flautista), che ricorre anche in altre iscrizioni, urbane e non,¹⁴ e sembra rinviare a Roma principalmente al mondo delle rappresentazioni sceniche, in particolare pantomimiche.¹⁵ Prima metà del I sec. d.C.

11. – Coperchio marmoreo d'urna a sezione trapezoidale con lati esterni incurvati, mancante inferiormente, con due iscrizioni coeve, di cui una (a) su una delle facce trapezoidali e l'altra (b) sul tratto spianato superiormente orientata verso (a). Assumendo a faccia principale quella con l'iscrizione a) le misure sono: 7 x 24 (in basso) – 10 (in alto) x 27,5; lett. di a) 1,2–0,8; di b) 1,5–0,9. Provenienza ignota. Mus. Naz. Rom., Mag. Urne. Inv. 254448. Negg. 13504. 135011. P. 172–3, figg. 11a–b.

a) *D(is) M(anibus) / L. Iuli Hyacint̄i / et Iuliae Panagiae / πᾱ[ε]ntum optumor(um)*

b) *Parcé / pias / scelerár̄e / manus.*

¹³ J.S. Gordon – A.E. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1957, 181: il più tardo degli esempi datati di Roma raccolti dagli autori è del 12 d.C.; in Spagna questa forma del numerale si trova ancora in miliari del 35/39. Assai sporadiche le attestazioni posteriori (ad es. CIL X 7647, *Carales*).

¹⁴ CIL VI 4719 (*Prosdocimo protaulae*) e 10136 = ILS 5237 (*P. Lucilius O. l. Chroesus, protaules*); CIL IX 468 (*Venusia, Chrysanthus protaules*); OGIS³ 1257 (*Ephesus*, Ἐβενοσ πρωτάυλης); P.Oxy. 2721.5 (234 d.C., Ἀντίνοος Ἐρμίου πρωτάυλης; nel commento, p. 116 sg., altre possibili attestazioni in papiri). Documentata anche la forma πρώταυλος (Rev. Arch., III s., 12 (1888) 223: Yeni-Ali, Ἀὐρ. Τροφίμ[η] πρώταυλος Διὸς Οὐρυδαμηνοῦ).

¹⁵ Sulle specializzazioni degli auleti/tibicini e sui termini che le contraddistinguono si vedano (in particolare, per il contrasto con *protaules*, vd. ὑπαύλης/hypaules in CIL VIII 21098 = ILS 5238): A. Bellis, "Les terms grecs et latins désignant des spécialités musicales", Rev. Phil. 62 (1988) 227–250; e, recentemente, W. Schneider, "Cappa", ZPE 112 (1996), 203–217. In generale sui suonatori: A. Baudot, *Musiciens romains de l'antiquité* (Etudes et commentaires, 82), Montreal 1973. La documentazione raccolta alla nt. prec. mostra comunque che il *protaules* poteva trovarsi impiegato anche in cerimonie religiose e in feste.

Notare il taglio obliquo (per reimpiego?) dell'ultima riga di a). Nell'iscrizione b), ove sulla pietra è *scelerari* pro *scelerare* (notare anche gli apici), troviamo la prima ripresa epigrafica di un emistichio virgiliano che, nell'Eneide (III, 41–42: *Quid miserum, Aenea, laceras? Iam parce sepulto, / parce pias scelerare manus*) è inserito nella preghiera che Polidoro rivolge ad Enea perché non disturbi il suo cadavere sradicando gli arbusti nati dalle frecce che l'hanno ucciso, e qui è invito rivolto al lettore affinché non si macchi le mani empivamente manomettendo l'urna.¹⁶ Fine I sec. d.C.

12. – Lastra marmorea sostanzialmente integra, ma con lacune superficiali su cui vd. sotto (31 x 29 x ?). Provenienza ignota, forse dalla zona di Monteverde Nuovo. Pervenuta per dono in proprietà dell'Ammiraglio Achille Zoli, si trova ora a Pesaro, Via Collenuccio 37, in casa di proprietà della Dott.ssa Donatella Corsi, ved. Zoli, alla cui cortesia devo segnalazione e foto dell'epigrafe. P. 173, fig. 12.

*D(is) M(anibus) / Iulia Ofilia, / vixit ann(is) VI, / mensibus V, die(bus)
/ XXII; parentes / fecerunt.*

r.1 *hedera*; r.6 irregolare spaziatura delle prime 4 lettere come per evitare lacune superficiali già esistenti al momento dell'incisione. Scrittura accurata, ma poco elegante (vd. in particolare l'occhiello della *P* totalmente chiuso) che potrebbe indurre in sospetto. Se autentica, come crederei: II / III sec. d.C.

13. – Tavola marmorea pseudoansata mancante dello spigolo inferiore sinistro e rotta in tre pezzi ricomposti (20 x 32 x 2,5; lett. 3,5–1,2). Trovata nello scavare il nuovo Sottopassaggio Prenestino il 9 febbraio 1955 (Inv.

¹⁶ In generale sulle riprese epigrafiche di Virgilio si vedano principalmente: R.P. Hoogma, *Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Amsterdam 1959 e H. Solin, "Epigrafia", *Enc. Virg.*, II (1985), 332–340 (ivi tutta la principale restante bibliografia). Dell'emistichio non è traccia nelle seguenti opere: P. Colafrancesco, M. Massaro, M.L. Ricci, *Concordanze dei Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Bari 1986; M.L. Fele, Cr. Cocco, E. Rossi, A. Flores, *Concordantiae in Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1988; M.R. Mastidoro, *Concordanze dei Carmina Latina Epigraphica* compresi nella silloge di J.W. Zarker, Amsterdam 1991, utili peraltro per l'individuazione di più o meno vicine reminiscenze.

Ant. Com. 6956). Si trova attualmente nei sotterranei del Palazzo delle Esposizioni, cassa 180. Neg. 6554. P. 173, fig. 13.

D(is) M(anibus) / Iustae Arriae / Fadillae ser(vae); / Hēbros coniugi / [opt]im(ae) bene merenti / fec(it).

Esecuzione piuttosto rozza tanto delle linee incise per fingere la tabella ansata, quanto del foro per fissarla e della scrittura di altezza incostante e ad andamento corsiveggiante. La defunta fu schiava della ricchissima *Arria Fadilla*, figlia di *Arrius Antoninus* console nel 69 e nel 97 (?), moglie di *T. Aurelius Fulvus* console nell'89 e di *P. Iulius Lupus* console nel 98 (?), madre (dal primo matrimonio) dell'imperatore Antonino Pio.¹⁷ Fu proprietaria, fra l'altro, delle *figlinae Caepionianae*.¹⁸ Prima metà del II sec. d.C.

14. – Frammento di lastra marmorea mancante su tutti i lati meno, per un tratto, a destra (27,5 x 18 x 3; lett. 2,5–2). Superiormente si conserva parte di un bassorilievo su piano ribassato con un'asta al centro (ne resta solo la parte inferiore) tra due scudi (rimane solo quello di destra). Questo schema e la grande edera che segna il centro della prima riga, consentono di calcolare la larghezza originaria della lastra in circa 33 cm. Trovato sulla via Casilina, all'altezza dell'Aeroporto di Centocelle, "presso la stazione delle ferrovie Vicinali" prima del 21 novembre 1946 quando entrò nel Mus. Naz. Rom., ove si conserva. Mag. Ep. E, III, 4. Inv. 125383. Neg. 2542. P. 173, fig. 14.

[D(is)] M(anibus). / [- c. 3 - N]epotino; / [- c. 9 -]o carissimo / [bene mer]enti fecit; / [vixi]t ann(os) [---] / [-----]?

Se nella lacuna di r. 2 ci doveva essere il gentilizio o il nome del defunto, forse un *Aur(elio)*, in r. 3 ci si aspetta il nome (breve o abbreviato) del/della dedicante ed un termine di parentela che doveva precedere immediatamente *carissimo*. In margine di frattura vi è un chiaro resto di *O*; il

¹⁷ PIR², A 119; M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial* (I^{er}–II^e s.), Lovanii 1987, 115 sg.

¹⁸ P. Setälä, *Private Domini in Roman Brick Stamps of the Empire*, Helsinki 1977, 62–64.

tratto obliquo che si vede nell'interlinea potrebbe essere parte di un apice: [--- fili]ó? [--- marit]ó?. III sec. d.C.

Il gruppo d'iscrizioni è stato messo insieme, traendole dallo schedario del supplemento a CIL, VI, tenendo d'occhio essenzialmente i *cognomina*, sui quali dunque essenzialmente mi soffermerò. Ma, prima, qualche nota di commento su altri elementi onomastici.

I gentilizi, a cominciare da quelli di più o meno lontana origine imperiale, sono per lo più già ben attestati a Roma,¹⁹ ma non tutti.

Del tutto nuovo è il gentilizio *Alitenus* (*M.* - *Ati[metus]*, 7). La lettura è certa e non v'è motivo di pensare che *Alitenus* nasca da cattiva scrittura per *Allienus*. Non viene, del resto, del tutto inaspettato: i gentilizi *Alius* / *Alitius* (*Alidius*) / *Alitenus*,²⁰ messi in serie, formano infatti una terna sostanzialmente non diversa (se non si considera la sostituzione di *-d* con *-t*) da altre come *Alfius* / *Alfidius* / *Alfidenus*, *Babius* / *Babidius* / *Babidenus*, *Ovius* / *Ovidius* (ma anche *Oviti*), *Ovidenus*, *Tettius* / *Tettidius* / *Tettidenus*.²¹ Riterrei che, come i precedenti nomi in *-enus*, anche il nuovo vada classificato tra i derivati da formazioni osco-umbre con suffisso *-idius*.²²

Altri gentilizi meritano attenzione poiché poco comuni almeno a Roma. Sono: *Ostiensis* (*Ostiens[is? ---]*, 5, possibile anche *Ostiens[ia ---]*), *Vestinius* (*Q.* - *Nicanor*, 8) e *Nasennius* (- *Salutaris*, 5).

Ostiensis può essere anche *cognomen*.²³ Nel nostro caso, vista la struttura del testo, ritengo che debba essere considerato piuttosto gentilizio del tipo originariamente imposto ad ex servi pubblici traendolo dal nome della

¹⁹ *Aurelius* (1, 2), *Calpurnius* (7), *Crepereius* (5), *Flavius* (5, 7), *Iulius* (11, 12), *Veius* (5).

²⁰ Documentazione di *Alius/Alitius* (*Alidius*) in H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1988, 12.

²¹ Solin–Salomies, 12, 30, 135, 185.

²² R. Arena, "La formazione del gentilizio in osco e in umbro", *RIL* 100 (1966) 352–375; E. Lazzeroni, "Sulla preistoria del suffisso onomastico gr. -ίδης, lat. *-idius*, messap. *-ides*", *Studi e Saggi Linguistici* 6 (1966) 96–115; H. Rix, "Zum Ursprung des römisch-mittelitalischen Gentilnamensystems", *ANRW*, I, 2, Berlin – New York 1972, 722 s.

²³ Kajanto, 50, 182.

città da cui erano manomessi o dall'etnico dei loro abitanti.²⁴ Naturalmente particolarmente diffuso ad Ostia, se ne ha a Roma una sola altra testimonianza neppur certa.²⁵

Non molto dissimile la formazione di *Vestinius*, tratto dal nome della popolazione centro-italica dei *Vestini*.²⁶ Due sole attestazioni a Roma una delle quali trovata nel sepolcreto salario-pinciano.²⁷ Questa provenienza interessa perché la nuova iscrizione, che non sappiamo dove sia stata trovata, appartiene però alla Collezione Gorga nella quale ho già creduto d'identificare vari pezzi di consimile provenienza.²⁸

Più comune, ma di poco, il gentilizio *Nasennius* di cui, oltre alla nuova, abbiamo solo tre testimonianze in CIL, VI²⁹ più due in un'iscrizione pubblicata successivamente.³⁰

I prenomi sono per lo più assenti coerentemente con una datazione piuttosto avanzata delle iscrizioni considerate. Interessante la presenza del piuttosto raro *Manius* nella formula onomastica di *M. Alitenus Ati[metus]* entro un'iscrizione che dovrebbe appartenere alla fine del I o all'inizio del II sec. d.C.³¹

²⁴ Vd. *P. Ostiensis coloniae libertus Acutus* (AE 1939, 148) e cfr. *Interamnius*, *Minturnius*, *Amiterninius*, *Saepinius*, *Venafranius*, Diz. Ep., IV, 29 (1958), 913.

²⁵ Dei due *Ostienses* registrati nell'indice dei *nomina*, uno appartiene ad iscrizione sicuramente ostiense (CIL VI 479 cfr. ILS 6152 e CIL XIV 32) l'altro ad un sarcofago d'ignota provenienza in proprietà dei Giustiniani (CIL VI 23591).

²⁶ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Göttingen 1904 (ristampa anastatica con aggiunte a cura di O. Salomies, Darmstadt 1991), 526, vd. anche 254 nt. 5 e 481 nt. 10.

²⁷ CIL VI 36522. L'altra, apparentemente più tarda, è stata pubblicata in Not. sc., 1924, p. 50 e viene dalla via Ostiense.

²⁸ Vd. sopra nt. 6.

²⁹ CIL VI 200 IV 69, 16327, 20328.

³⁰ Acta Inst. Rom. Regni Sueciae, s. in 4°, 18 (1954) 129 nr. 100.

³¹ Sulla storia di questo prenome: O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (Comm. Hum. Litt. Soc. Sc. Fenn., 82) Helsinki 1987, 35, 155 sgg., 186 sg.

Anche patronimici e patronati sono per lo più omessi. Degno di nota il caso della *[F]lavia* di cui, nella stessa iscrizione di *Alitenus*, si dichiara l'illegittimità con la formula *Sp. f.*³²

Venendo infine ai *cognomina* ed ai nomi servili (non sempre lo stato dell'epigrafe o la semplificazione dell'onomastica consentono di stabilire con sicurezza la condizione delle persone nominate)³³ essi sono in tutto 35, una parte dei quali, d'uso molto comune, non meritano particolare attenzione. Per varie ragioni diversa invece la situazione degli altri che considero qui di seguito. Come nel precedente articolo indico il nome nella forma in cui compare nell'iscrizione.

Antiope (7). Scrittura scorretta con *h* parassita per *Antiope* (dat.). Si veda nella stessa iscrizione *Scepheni* per *Scepeni*.³⁴ Il nome non è particolarmente frequente a Roma.³⁵

Capyrus (3). Nome di prima attestazione a Roma e forse anche in generale. Probabilmente è diverso infatti dal *Capirus* o *Capirius* che si trova (se la lettura è corretta) in un'iscrizione votiva della *Belgica* e su due lucerne viste a Köln?³⁶ Dovrebbe venire dal greco *καπυρός*, *ά*, *όν* (seccato, arido, ma anche ardente e, per traslato, sonoro). Si veda in Alcifr. 3, 26 il nome composto di un parassita variamente restituito dagli editori come *Καππαροσφράντης*, *Καπνοσφράντης* o, quel che qui più interessa, *Καπυροσφράντης*, comunemente inteso come "fiuta graticola" (in quanto questa serve per arrostitire).

Chaeridi (*[---i]ae* -, 4). Dativo di *Chaeris* (da *Χαίρις* con il consueto passaggio *Χαι* > *Chae*). Ben noto come nome maschile,³⁷ appare qui per la

³² Su *Sp. f.* come falso patronimico: S. Panciera, *L'onomastique latine*, Paris 1977, 201; Salomies, 1987, 51 sg.

³³ Ma vd. *Ischyra Nomi* (10) e *Iusta Arriae Fadillae* (13).

³⁴ Su questo fenomeno: G. Purnelle, *Les usages des graveurs dans la notation d'upsilon et des phonèmes aspirés. Le cas des anthroponymes grecs dans les inscriptions latines de Rome*, Genève 1995, 179 sgg.

³⁵ H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom*, Berlin – New York 1982, I, 529 (4 attestazioni, vd. anche p. 208).

³⁶ CIL XIII 4571 (*Scarponna*), 10001,81.

³⁷ Vd. ad es. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford, I, 1987, 479; II, 1994, 472; IIIA, 1997, 471.

seconda volta (la prima a Roma) riferito ad una donna coerentemente con il carattere, femminile appunto, di questa desinenza in ambiente romano, mentre in Grecia è spesso maschile.³⁸

Deliacus (6A). Gli abitanti di Delo sono detti tanto *Delii* quanto *Deliaci*,³⁹ ma, mentre del nome *Delius* si hanno a Roma già due attestazioni,⁴⁰ questa è la prima volta che vi si riscontra *Deliacus* come *cognomen*.

Genethle (*Vestinae* -, 8). Non v'è ragione di ritenere che sia cattiva scrittura per *Genethliae*, del quale nome si hanno a Roma due attestazioni tarde.⁴¹ Sarà piuttosto traslitterazione del sostantivo γενέθλη, ης, i cui molteplici significati (generazione, nascita, età, tempo o luogo di nascita, origine, discendenza, famiglia, razza, stirpe) ben si prestavano ad un uso onomastico (cfr. il lat. *Natio*).⁴²

Hebros (13). Fedele traslitterazione dal greco del nome del fiume della Tracia (Ἑβρος, od. Maritza). È la prima volta che esso viene usato a Roma per una persona in questa forma. Nelle precedenti attestazioni (tre in tutto) due volte compare come *Hebrus* ed una volta, come pare, nella forma *Hebro*.⁴³

[*He*]liane (*Ve[ia]* -, 5). Traslitterazione dal greco Ἡλιονή presente a Roma solo in *ICUR* 17226b. Per ragioni di spazio è l'unica integrazione possibile (a meno che non fosse scritto [*Ae*]liane). Vd. anche *Aelia Haeliana* in *ICUR* 22308. Questa attestazione anticipa la comparsa del nome a Roma.

Ingeniane (9). Il *cognomen Ingeniana*, raro in assoluto,⁴⁴ era fin qui inattestato a Roma. Il Kajanto, a proposito dell'uso preferenziale del suffisso *-ianus/na* per derivare cognomi da quelli dei genitori, osservò già, proprio con riferimento ad *Ingenianus*, che il *cognomen* poteva essere derivato, con

³⁸ L'altra attestazione (registrata dal *Thes.L.L.*, *Onomasticon.*, II, col. 362) è in *CIL* II 5168 (*Balsa*): *Aemi[liae] Chaeridis* (si tratta certamente di una donna).

³⁹ *Thes.L. L.*, *Onomasticon*, III, coll. 89–90.

⁴⁰ Solin, *Personennamen*, I, 286.

⁴¹ Solin, II, 938.

⁴² Peraltro anch'esso di scarsissimo uso onomastico: 1 caso in *Eph. Ep.*, VIII 531 (Kajanto, 304).

⁴³ Solin, I, 642.

⁴⁴ Kajanto, 314 (tre sole attestazioni: *CIL* III 1661 e 3181; VIII 9786).

lo stesso suffisso, anche da quello del nonno.⁴⁵ È possibile che la nostra iscrizione fornisca un altro esempio di quest'uso: la *puella Ingeniana* (di cui peraltro non conosciamo i genitori) aveva infatti per nonno un *Ingenuus*.

Ischyra Nomi (scil. *servus*) (10). Interpreto la formula onomastica nel senso che il personaggio, qualificato come *protaules* (primo flautista), sarebbe un uomo denominato *Ischyra(s)*, schiavo di un altro individuo, identificato, non con il gentilizio (o con prenome e gentilizio o con i *tria nomina*), ma con il solo *cognomen*, verosimilmente *Nomius*. In primo luogo, anche se teoricamente *Ischyra* potrebbe essere femminile da ἰσχυρός, ἄ, ὄν,⁴⁶ mi sembra infatti preferibile interpretare il nome come forma in *-a* dal maschile *Ischyras* (già noto a Roma)⁴⁷ analogamente a quel che si può osservare per vari altri antropnimi di egual terminazione.⁴⁸ A ciò sono indotto anche dal mestiere di *protaules* (πρωτάυλης, ου), che nella documentazione disponibile risulta esercitato pressoché esclusivamente da uomini di condizione servile o libertina.⁴⁹ In secondo luogo, *Nomius* come gentilizio non sembra esistere⁵⁰ e tra i *cognomina Nomus* e *Nomius*, entrambi già attestati a Roma⁵¹ preferisco il secondo per ragioni che subito dirò. Che uno schiavo indichi il suo padrone con il solo *cognomen* non è "normale". Come nel caso dei liberti che mettono nella formula di patronato il *cognomen* e non il *praenomen* del loro manomissore, vi è ragione di ritenere che a questo artificio si ricorra preferibilmente per evidenziare padroni di particolare rilievo o, almeno, notorietà.⁵² Orbene, mentre nell'epoca cui la nostra

⁴⁵ Kajanto, 109 sg. con riferimento a CIL III 3181 in cui una *Ingeniana* ha per nonno un *Ingenuus*. In un altro caso (CIL VIII 9786) un *Ingeniuus* ha per padre e fratello due *Ingenii*.

⁴⁶ Di un nome femminile *Ischyra* non c'è comunque attestazione né a Roma né, a quanto pare, altrove.

⁴⁷ CIL VI 11997, *M. Antonius Ischyras* (Solin, II, 665).

⁴⁸ Ad esempio *Aenea(s)*, *Amycla(s)*, *Andrea(s)*, *Anta(s)*, *Aphroda(s)*, *Arpocra(s)*, *Artema(s)* (Solin, 568, 945, 208, 319, 380, 288).

⁴⁹ Vd. sopra, nt. 14.

⁵⁰ Dubbio il caso di Eph. Ep., VIII (1899) 37 (*Brundisium*).

⁵¹ Solin, 415, 1246, 1348.

⁵² Qualche esempio tratto dalle prime 10 pagine di H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen*, Stuttgart 1996: *Agelavi Plancinaes* (CIL VI 4896), *Agelavos Calpetani*

iscrizione verosimilmente apparteneva (prima metà del I sec. d.C.)⁵³ non vi sono personaggi "noti" di nome *Nomus*, vi è invece un *Nomius* famoso che ben potrebbe essere il padrone del nostro *protaules*. Si tratta del pantomimo di tal nome di origine sira⁵⁴ che, contemporaneo di altri pantomimi famosi come *C. Iulius Pylades* I, originario della Cilicia,⁵⁵ *Hylas*, allievo del precedente, da Salmakis in Caria,⁵⁶ il tiburtino *Pierus*⁵⁷ e *C. Theorus* verosimilmente identico all'alessandrino liberto di Mecenate *C. Maecenas Bathyllus* I,⁵⁸ fu certamente attivo a Roma nella prima età imperiale.⁵⁹ Secondo una felice congettura del Bücheler,⁶⁰ il suo nome andrebbe restituito anche in un passo corrotto di Seneca padre, dal quale risulterebbe che, mentre *Bathyllus* fu più abile nei ruoli comici che tragici ed a *Pylades*, al contrario, riuscirono meglio i ruoli tragici che comici, *Nomius* si contraddistinse per particolare agilità di gambe in contrasto con un certo qual impaccio delle braccia e delle mani.⁶¹ Che il nostro *Ischyra(s)* sia stato schiavo di questo pantomimo non mi sembra solo possibile, ma molto probabile. È vero che *Nomius* è sempre menzionato con un solo elemento onomastico, ma questo fatto, comune anche ad altri pantomimi certamente liberi e cionondimeno identificati con il

(Tituli, 2, 1980, p. 104 nr. 3), *Antipho Magnae* (CIL VI 1961).

⁵³ Vd. sopra nr. 10. Oltre alla forma del numerale *L*, si considerino la verosimile appartenenza dell'epigrafe ad un colombario, l'uso del nominativo, la stringatezza del testo, la mancanza di *Dis Manibus* e, in generale, la paleografia.

⁵⁴ H. Leppin, *Histrionen*, Bonn 1992, 267.

⁵⁵ Leppin, 284 sg.

⁵⁶ Leppin, 250 sg.

⁵⁷ Leppin, 377.

⁵⁸ Leppin, 217–219.

⁵⁹ In CIL VI 10115 (ILS 5197, CLE 925) è menzionato tra i pantomimi sconfitti da (*C. Maecenas Bathyllus* I) *Theorus* che in età augustea fondò a Roma, con *Pylades*, l'arte pantomimica.

⁶⁰ F. Bücheler, *Kleine Schriften*, II, Leipzig – Berlin 1927, 196–198.

⁶¹ Sen., *Controv.*, III, praef. 10: "*Pylades in comoedia, Bathyllus in tragoedia multum a se aberrant, †nomini meo† cum velocitas pedum non concedatur tantum sed obiciatur, lentiores manus sunt*". L'emendamento *nomini meo* > *Nomio*, menzionato ma non accolto nel testo nelle recenti edizioni di Winterbottom (1974) e di Håkanson (1989), sembra a me del tutto persuasivo e conveniente.

solo nome con cui erano famosi, non deve trarre in inganno. Se anche egli poté essere originariamente schiavo, non dovette restarlo per tutta la vita.⁶² Una volta manomesso, è del tutto verosimile che abbia a sua volta acquistato schiavi e, tra questi, almeno un *protaules* che aveva il vantaggio di poter essere profittevolmente allocato nei suoi stessi spettacoli.

[N]epotino ([--] -, 14). Per un italiano, naturale pensare ad un diminutivo di *nepos*. Ma in latino diminutivi di *nepos* furono essenzialmente *nepotillus* / *nepotilla* e *nepotulus* / *nepotula*;⁶³ *nepotinus* non è mai attestato. Improbabile, d'altronde, anche una derivazione da *nepos* nel senso di "dissipatore", "scialacquatore", da confrontare con *nepotalis* (di lusso), *nepotor* (essere prodigo, scialacquatore) ed i derivati *nepotatio* (*actio nepotandi*), *nepotatus* (*scialacquio, lusso*) e *nepotatus* (*luxuria profusus*);⁶⁴ in tal caso *nepotinus* varrebbe *luxoriosus, immoderatus*, senso con il quale è registrato nel *Lexicon* del Forcellini con riferimento ad un passo della svetoniana Vita di Caligola (37) in cui alcuni codici danno *nepotinis sumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia superavit*, altri, preferiti nelle edizioni critiche, *nepotatus* e, come nome, non sarebbe lontano dal tardo *Luxurius*.⁶⁵ Più probabile che, come mi suggerisce Heikki Solin, la derivazione non sia da *nepos*, ma da *Nepos*; che si tratti, cioè, di un nuovo *cognomen* tratto dal preesistente e ben noto *Nepos* mediante il suffisso senza valore semantico *-inus*.

Oflia (*Iulia* -, 12). Questo nome suscita qualche perplessità. Si può pensare naturalmente al comune gentilizio *Ofilius/Ofellius* (vd. anche *Offilius, Offillius*)⁶⁶ usato come *cognomen*. Di fatto, latino è stato conside-

⁶² Sulla condizione dei pantomimi: Leppin, 36–44 (con bibliografia precedente). Statisticamente poco probabile che *Nomius* sia stato un *peregrinus*.

⁶³ *Nepotilla, Nepotula* (vd. anche *Nepotia, Nepotianus, Nepotillianus*) sono usati anche come *cognomina*: Kajanto, 304–305. Il *Nepotinus* che Perin (*Onomasticon totius Latinitatis*. VI, Patavii 1920, 325) ricava da Muratori è emendato in *Nepoti[an]us* in CIL VI 228 r. 3 (M.P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites singulares Augusti*, Köln 1994, 85 nr. 60).

⁶⁴ Su come *nepos, nepotor* e derivati siano pervenuti a questi significati si vedano in particolare: J.L. Heller, "Nepos 'σκορπιστής' and Philoxenus", *TaPhA* 93 (1962) 61–89 e M. Bettini, *Antropologia della cultura romana*, Roma 1986, 62–66.

⁶⁵ Kajanto, 117, 270.

⁶⁶ Schulze, 115, 443, 451–452.

rato nelle sue attestazioni romane il nome servile *Ofellius*,⁶⁷ portato anche, come *cognomen*, da ingenui e da altre persone d'incerta condizione.⁶⁸ Ma forse non si dovrà trascurare un possibile rapporto con la radice dei verbi greci ὀφείλω, ὀφέλλω, ὠφελέω, donde anche vari sostantivi ed aggettivi esprimenti l'idea di aiuto, assistenza, soccorso, utilità, guadagno. Se ne ricava anche un certo numero di nomi. A Roma sono stati riconosciuti come appartenenti alla famiglia *Ophelio(n)*, *Ophelimus* e *Ophelime*.⁶⁹ Mi chiedo se non possa essere aggiunto anche *Ofilia*, considerandola grafia alternativa di *Ophilia* / *Ophelia* / *Ophellia* (cfr. *Ophilio* per *Ophelio*).⁷⁰ Lo stesso potrebbe valere per almeno una parte delle attestazioni, del nome servile o *cognomen* *Ofellius* ricordato sopra. Comunque Ὠφελία ricorre tanto come antroponimo quanto come teonimo,⁷¹ e Ὠφέλιος è usato come epiteto di Zeus.⁷²

Panagiae (Iuliae -, 11). Poiché anche ad un controllo diretto, sulla pietra non è scritto *Panacia*, comune per *Panacea* (Πανάκεια),⁷³ ma *Panagia* avremmo qui la prima attestazione assoluta di un uso onomastico dell'aggettivo πανάγιος, α, ον (santissimo, venerabilissimo) che, praticamente ignoto nell'uso pagano, conobbe invece grande favore nel greco dei cristiani, al femminile in particolare con riferimento alla Madonna.⁷⁴ Non sarebbe del resto nome del tutto inatteso se si pensa all'uso di *Hagius* / *Hagia* (cfr. *Sanctus* / *Sancta*)⁷⁵ ed alla frequenza dei composti con παν-. Ma forse si tratta solo di un errore di scrittura per *Panacia*.

⁶⁷ Solin, 1996, I, 19.

⁶⁸ CIL VI 22585 (*Ofelius*), 23372 (inc.), 23373, 26160.

⁶⁹ Solin, 1982, II, 936; III, 1299; id., 1996, III, 582.

⁷⁰ CIL VI 6286.

⁷¹ A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, I, 489; IIIA, 482. Teonimo: *Pap. Lugd. Bat.*, XXV, 8, II 15.

⁷² E. Schwertheim, *Die Inschriften von Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia* (Inscr. griech. Städte aus Kleinasien, 33), Bonn 1987, 12 nr. 10.

⁷³ Solin, 1982, I, 363.

⁷⁴ G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 1000.

⁷⁵ Solin, 1982, II, 725; Kajanto, 252 (*Sanctissimus* non sembra attestato, ma cfr., tra i nomi derivanti da virtù, *Pientissimus*, *Iustissimus*, *Probissimus*, *Verissimus*, *Fidelissimus*).

Parisaco (*Flavius* -, 5). Interpretabile forse come forma scorretta per *Parisiacus*, dalla popolazione gallica che ha dato il nome a *Lutetia Parisiorum*. Di tale etnico si hanno due attestazioni: una epigrafica (CIL XIII 3026 = ILS 4613d: *nautae Parisiac[i]*) ed una letteraria (Ven. Fort., Vita s. Martini, 4, 656: *inde Parisiacam placide properabis ad aram*). Qui sarebbe per la prima volta usato come *cognomen*. Heikki Solin mi rinvia anche a F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Hildesheim 1963, p. 243 ove si trova Παρίσκας, nome di eunuco di Ciro il giovane menzionato da Plut., *Artax.*, 12. La questione mi sembra resti aperta.

Pescennius (*Veius* -, 5). Ben noto come gentilizio,⁷⁶ il nome è qui usato per la prima volta in funzione cognominale (cfr. *Pescennianus* e *Pescenninus*).⁷⁷

Pisticus (*[A]urelio* -, 1). Da πιστικός. Nome in generale di scarsa frequenza⁷⁸ e con una sola attestazione a Roma, in un'iscrizione greca perduta.⁷⁹

Roemetalca (*Aur(elius)* -, 2). Ben noto nome trace,⁸⁰ che tuttavia a Roma non è attestato se non attraverso la denominazione di alcuni ex schiavi di appartenenti alla dinastia dei *C. Iulii Rhoemetalcae* che regnarono sulla Tracia nella prima metà del I sec. d.C.⁸¹ Soprattutto nel III sec., i Traci a Roma furono numerosi.⁸² È verosimile che anche il nostro *Roemetalca* vi si sia stabilito per esercitarvi il mestiere di scultore.

⁷⁶ Schulze, 80.

⁷⁷ Kajanto, 152 e 162.

⁷⁸ A *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, I, 372; IIIA, 362.

⁷⁹ IGUR 1031 (Φλα. Πιστικῶ).

⁸⁰ D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien 1957, 392; V. Běsevliev, *Untersuchungen über die Personennamen bei den Thrakern*, Amsterdam 1970, 6, 15, 24.

⁸¹ CIL VI 20718 cfr. p. 3915 = ILS 849 (*Iulia Tyndaris C. Iuli regis Rhoemetalcaes l(iberta)*); Not.sc., 1922, 417 nr. 51 = *AE* 1923, 70 (*Ti. Iulio Diogeni Remothalciano; Diogenis Remotalciani*). Sui re traci: PIR, R 50–52; R.D. Sullivan, "Thrace in the Eastern Dynastic Networks", ANRW, II, 7, 1, Berlin – New York 1979, 186–211. Sui *Rhoemetalciani* romani, da ultimo: C. Ricci, "Principes et reges externi (e loro schiavi e liberti) a Roma e in Italia", in *Rend. Linc., cl. mor., ser. IX*, 7 (1996), 589, nrr. 25–26 cfr. p. 591. Su *Ti. Iulius Rhoemetalces* re bosforano fra 131/2 e 153/4: PIR², I 516; R.D. Sullivan, "Dynasts in Pontus", ANRW, II, 7, 2, Berlin – New York 1980, 913–930.

⁸² G.G. Mateescu, "I Traci nelle epigrafi di Roma", *Eph. Dacor.* 1 (1923) 57–290; L.

Scepheni (7). Grafia scorretta del dativo eteroclito *Scepeni* da *Scepe* (σκέπη, ης, riparo) attestato una sola altra volta a Roma.⁸³ Si veda nella stessa iscrizione *Antiophe* per *Antiope*.

Elysiis campis floreat umbra tibi.

Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"

Moretti, "Sui Traci nelle iscrizioni pagane e cristiane di Roma", *Pulpeveva* 2 (1978) 36–40 (Id., *Tra epigrafia e storia*, Roma 1990, 205–209); C. Ricci, *Stranieri a Roma dalle province occidentali nell'urbe nei primi tre secoli dell'impero*, Tesi di Dottorato di Ricerca in Storia Antica (Sede amm.va Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"), Roma 1991, 348–444; H. Solin, "Thrakische Sklavennamen und Namen Thrakischer Sklaven in Rom", *Studia in honorem Georgii Mihailov*, Sofia 1995, 433–447. Per le scarse attestazioni tarde vd. anche D. Nuzzo, "Provinciali a Roma nelle testimonianze dell'epigrafia sepolcrale tardoantica", XI Congr. Int. Ep. Greca e Latina, Preatti, Roma 1997, 705–712 (Atti in corso di stampa).

⁸³ CIL VI 7673 (*Alliae Scepe*).

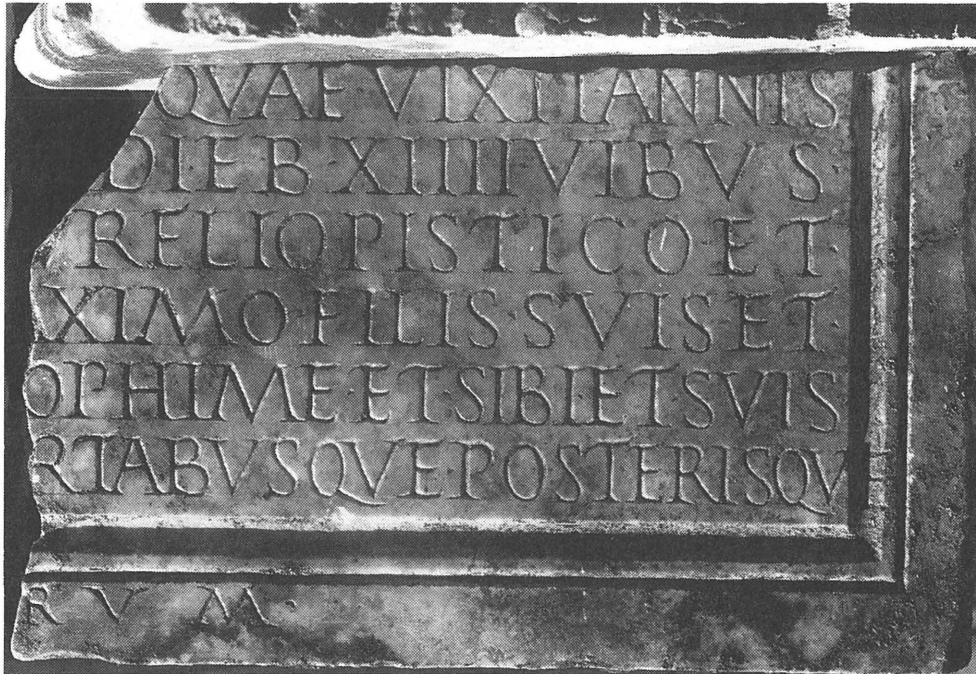


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6A.

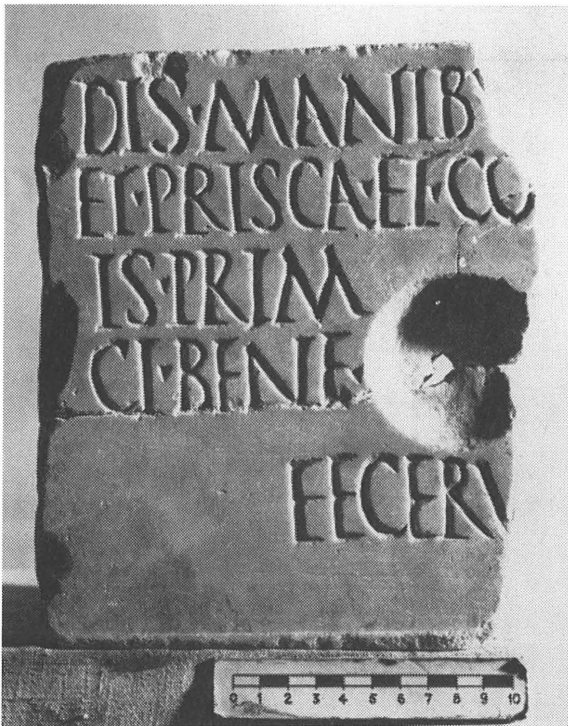


Fig. 6B.

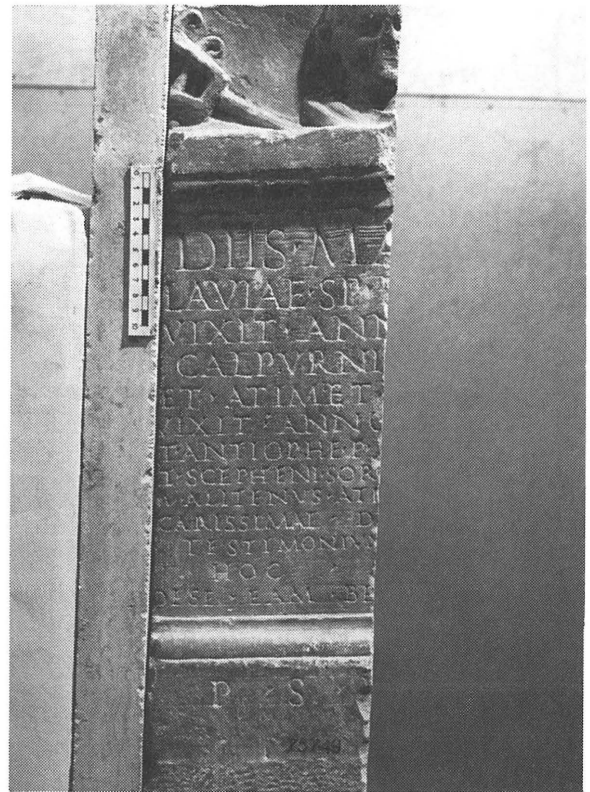


Fig. 7,2.

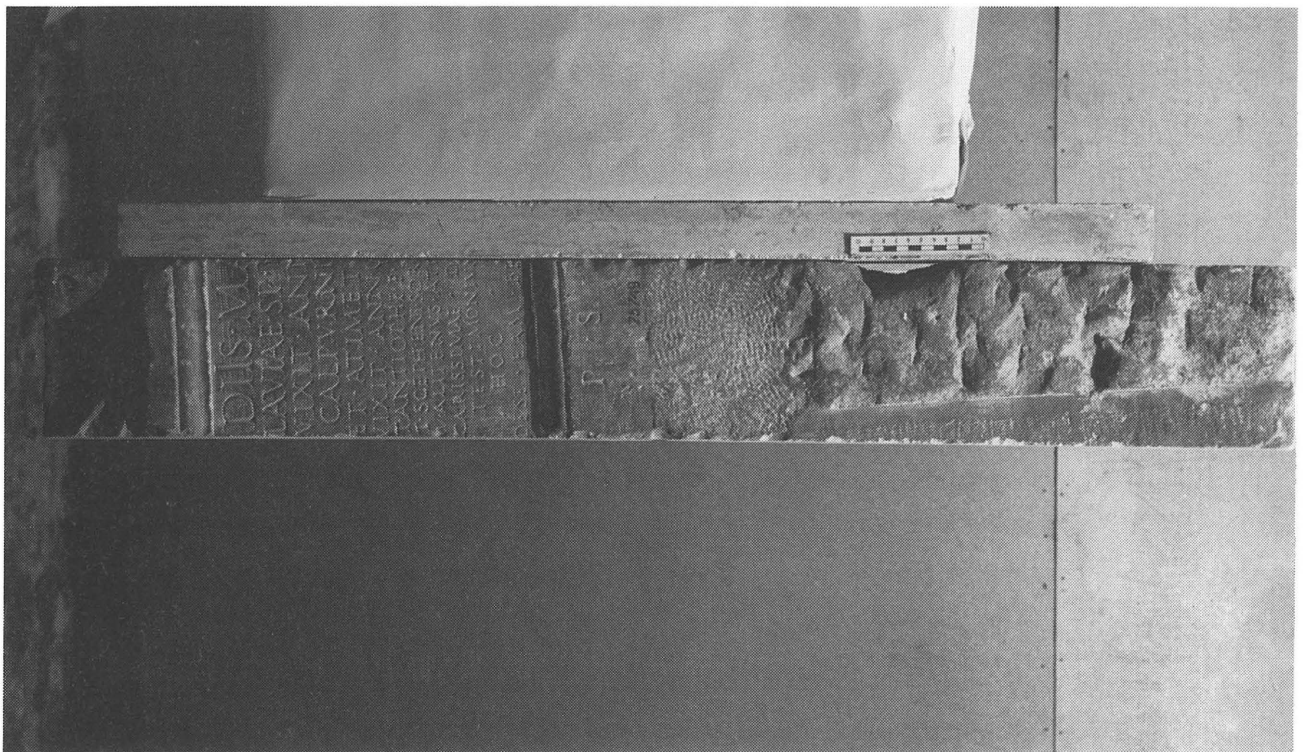


Fig. 7,1.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.

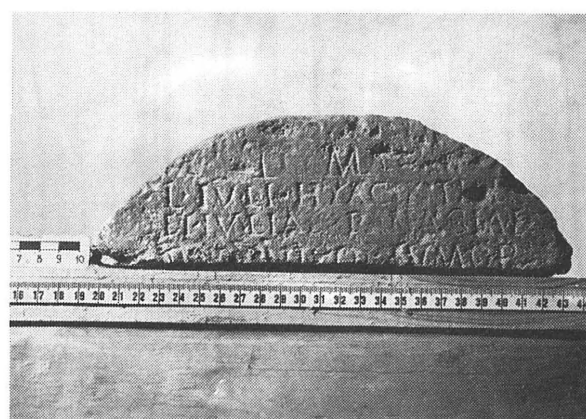


Fig. 11a.

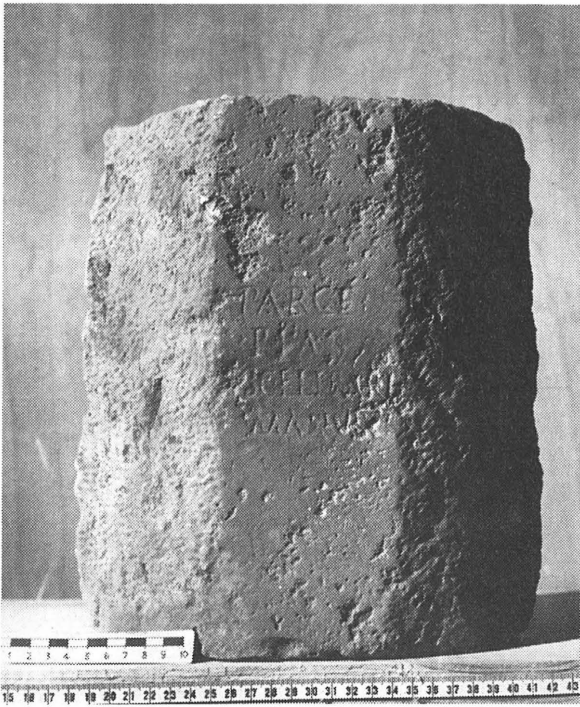


Fig. 11b.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

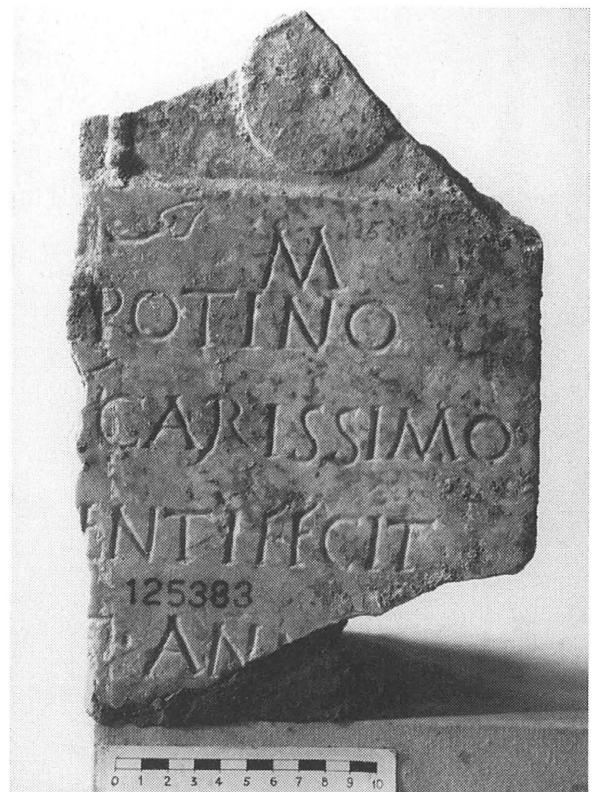


Fig. 14.

THE DECREE OF THE *PAGUS HERCULANEUS* AND THE ROMANISATION OF 'OSCAN' CAPUA¹

MARK POBJOY

The inscribed decree of the *pagus Herculaneus*, dated to 14th February 94 B.C., is among the most precious documents of the Republican period to survive from the environs of the ancient city of Capua. It is first reported as being located on Jesuit property at Recale, about four kilometres outside the city, and ever since its publication by Mazzocchi in 1727 has been recognised as of great importance for understanding local government in this area.² The text is generally treated as one of the long series of *magistri* inscriptions from the city and its neighbourhood, an unusually rich epigraphic record which makes a great difference to our understanding of Capua's internal history during the late second and early first centuries B.C. This was a period when the city was still under the punitive administrative settlement imposed by Rome after the recapture of the city from Hannibal in 211 B.C. Deprived of her territory, the *ager Campanus*, which became Roman public property, Capua also lacked the 'regular' apparatus of local government, having no senate, magistracies, or popular assemblies, and was one of the Campanian cities governed by prefects sent out annually from

¹ The ideas presented in this article were first aired in a lecture given at the University of Helsinki in September 1994. I should like to express my gratitude to Heikki Solin for inviting me to speak on that occasion, and for his help in many ways since, and also to Olli Salomies, Martti Leiwo, Kalle Korhonen, Uta-Maria Liertz, Ed Bispham and Michael Crawford for their questions, comments, and criticisms at various times. Some of the points developed in what follows have been presented also in papers given in Oxford, at the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in May 1997, and at Corpus Christi College in May 1998. I am most grateful to Charles Crowther and to Alison Cooley for their invitations to speak on those occasions.

² A.S. Mazzocchi, *In mutilum Campani amphitheatri titulum aliasque nonnullas Campanas inscriptiones commentarius*, Naples 1727, 147ff.

Rome.³ The *magistri* inscriptions do something to explain how life in Capua carried on in such remarkable circumstances, but quite what this material tells us is a matter of much controversy. I shall be exploring its implications at more length in a forthcoming work on the political history and civic identity of Capua under Roman rule, but this *pagus*-decree deserves separate treatment for the invaluable light it sheds on Rome's organisation of the area. It offers us a snapshot of local decision-making procedures in operation shortly before the outbreak of the Social War. I believe that it has not been properly understood, and that, taken in conjunction with various other epigraphic documents from Italy and beyond, it allows us to see a wholly different picture of local administration in this region from that which prevails in modern accounts.

Besides improving our understanding of Campanian administration at this turbulent time, the information conveyed by this text and its companions has wider implications for how we think about the area and how we characterise the city of Capua itself. The absence of Capua from ancient accounts of the Social War is striking, given the degree to which this part of Italy suffered in the conflict, and one must ask why so important a place does not make a more prominent appearance in our sources. It seems hard to believe that this would have been the case if there had been a serious rebellion in the city, and it is natural to conclude that Capua did not join in the revolt.⁴ If not, why not? Discussions of Capua's attitude during the war reveal a view of the city as having a relatively thin veneer of Roman influence at this time. Gabba, for example, regarded the explanation for her loyalty as being the presence of Roman armies in the city. Dench, in arguing against attempts to explain allegiance to one side or the other in the Social War solely in terms of linguistic affinities, reveals a view of Capua in this period as still being Oscan-speaking. Such views have in common the notion that Capua was not in any profound sense 'Roman' at this time, and they are encouraged by the prevailing tendency to regard the administration revealed by the *magistri* inscriptions as being a local development.⁵ I believe that an

³ See above all M.W. Frederiksen, 'Republican Capua: a social and economic study', *PBSR* 27 (1959), 80ff.

⁴ This is clearly the implication of Cicero, *de lege agraria* 2.80 and 90.

⁵ E. Gabba, 'Ricerche sull'esercito professionale romano da Mario ad Augusto', *Athenaeum* n.s. 29 (1951), 258 (= *Esercito e Società nella tarda repubblica romana*,

analysis of what the text here under consideration reveals about Rome's organisation of this area forces us not only to revise current interpretations of the whole series of *magistri* texts, but also to rethink such characterisations of the city. In the process, we may have further food for thought on why Capua, notoriously rebellious in the Hannibalic War, remained loyal to Rome during the Social War.

I

To begin with, I offer a corrected text of the inscription (see Fig. 1, photo Solin):



Fig. 1.

Florence 1973, 154) : but note the view later expressed in CAH IX², Cambridge 1994, 119, that Capuans had Roman citizenship; E. Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men*, Oxford 1995, 213. For examples of the view of the Capuan *magistri* as representing a local development, see M.W. Frederiksen (cit. n. 3), 91; P.A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic*, Oxford 1988, 121; N. Purcell, 'The city of Rome and the *plebs urbana* in the late Republic', CAH IX², 671–2.

- Pagus Herculaneus scivit a(nte) [d(iem)] X Termina[lia]:
 conlegium seive magistrei Iovei Compagei s[unt]
 utei in porticum paganam reficiendam
 pequniam consumerent ex lege pagana
 5 arbitratu Cn.Laetori Cn.f. magistrei
 pagei{ei}, uteique ei conlegio seive magistri
 sunt Iovei Compagei locus in teatro
 esset tamqua(m) sei {sei} lu[d]os fecissent.
 L.Aufustus L.l. Strato, C.Antonius M.l.
 10 Nico, Cn.Avius Cn.l. Agathocles, C.Blossi(us)
 M.l. Protemus, M.Ramnius P.l. Diopant(us),
 T.Sulpicius P.Q.pu(pilli) l., Q.Novius Q.l. Protem(us),
 M.Paccius M.l. Philem(o), M.Licculeius M.l.
 Philin(us), Cn.Hordeonius Cn.l. Euphemio,
 15 A.Pollius P.l. Alexand(er), N.Mummius N.l.
 Antioeus C.Coelio C.f. Caldo,
 [L.]Domitio Cn.f. Ahenobarb(o) co(n)s(ulibus).

A decree of the *pagus* of Hercules (in two parts) is followed by a list of twelve names and a consular date. For the decree, which covers the first eight lines, I offer the following translation:

”The *pagus* of Hercules decreed the following on the tenth day before the Terminalia: that the *collegium* of Jupiter Compages (or *magistri*, if that is what his officials are) should spend money on repairing the portico of the *pagus*, in accordance with the *pagus*-statute and at the discretion of Gnaeus Laetorius, son of Gnaeus, *magister* of the *pagus*; and that that *collegium* of Jupiter Compages (or *magistri*, if that is what his officials are) should have a place in the theatre as though they had put on shows.”⁶

⁶ CIL I² 682 = CIL X 3772 = ILS 6302 = ILLRP 719. In line 2, the reading s[unt] given by Mazzocchi and Waltzing is preferable to the usual reading [sunt] (Mazzocchi (cit. n. 2), 148; J.-P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains depuis les origines jusqu’à la chute de l’Empire d’Occident*, Louvain 1895–1900, III, 448). In line 8, I prefer the reading *tamqua(m) sei* suggested by Accame and Degrassi to the *tam quasei* of CIL I² 682 or the *tam quasei sei* of Schulten, but either of these alternative readings is possible (S. Accame, ‘La legislazione romana intorno ai col-

After the twelve names which follow, the text closes with a consular date (94 B.C.).

The majority of the associated texts from this area begin with a list of names of *magistri*, and then give an account of their activities, usually construction work and sometimes also the putting on of shows. For example, in one inscription we read 'Heisce magistrei Iovei Optumo | Maxsumo | murum coniungendum | et peilam faciendam et theatrum | terra exaggerandum locavere | eidemque luudos fecere. Ser.Sulpicio Ser.f. Galba co(n)s(ule).'⁷ In another, we have 'Heisce magistreis Cererus murum | et pluteum long(um) p(edes) LXXX alt(um) p(edes) XXI | faciund(um) coiravere eidemq(ue) loid(os) fec(ere) | C.Atilio Q.Servilio co(n)s(ulibus).'⁸ This text from Recale, however, is quite different. It records a decree of a body called the *pagus Herculaneus*, which is giving orders to a *collegium*, or *magistri*, about what to spend money on, and then proceeds to grant them honorary seating in a theatre as though they had spent the money in question on shows.

Before we examine the institutions and administrative structures implied by this document (sections II and III respectively), it is worth noting various features of the inscription and its text. The limestone block on which it is inscribed is rather smaller than is usual for the *magistri* texts in this series, and the lettering too is smaller (c. 2–3 cm high). But it may, like most of those inscriptions, have been incorporated in one of the buildings to which it refers: if so, presumably the *porticus pagana* rather than the theatre.⁹ There are certain mistakes in the engraving (see Fig. 1): twice 'O' is inscribed for 'D', in 'a.[d.] X' (line 1) and in 'lu[d]os' (line 8); 'PAGEIEI' appears for 'PAGEI' in line 6; and 'SEI' is repeated in line 8

legi nel I secolo a.c.', BCA 70, app. 13 (1942), 22; A. Schulten, *De conventibus civium Romanorum*, Berlin 1892, 72).

For the form *Iuppiter Compages*, see Degrassi, ILLRP 719, n. 5; J. Linderski, 'Der Senat und die Vereine', in M.N. Andreev et al. (edd.), *Gesellschaft und Recht im griechisch-römischen Altertum*, I, Berlin 1968, 127, n. 55 (= Roman Questions. Selected Papers, Stuttgart 1995, 198); CIL I², p. 933 (ad 682). *Iovei Compagei* is here dative, as commonly in the Capuan *magistri* inscriptions.

⁷ ILLRP 708 (108 B.C.).

⁸ CIL I² 677 = X 3779 = ILS 3340 = ILLRP 714 (106 B.C.).

⁹ On the original locations of the *magistri* inscriptions, see the observations of A. De Franciscis, 'Templum Dianae Tifatinae', ASTL 1 (1956), 321.

(although this may be deliberate: see n. 6). Mommsen entertained the idea that these errors may have resulted from the engraver's lack of familiarity with Latin,¹⁰ but they need indicate no more than that his concentration was poor.

The calendar date of the decree, the tenth day before the Terminalia, is of particular interest. The festival of the Terminalia was used as a convenient peg for dating when it was not clear whether there would be an intercalation in the year, since it occurred just before the point at which the intercalary month of twenty-two or twenty-three days would be inserted. Were it not used, there would be different possible labels for the day in question (either 'the sixteenth day before the Kalends of March' or 'the eleventh' (or 'twelfth') 'day before the Kalends of the intercalary month', depending on whether or not there was going to be intercalation, and, if so, when it began).¹¹ The circumvention of such confusion was desirable at any time, but especially in a legal document such as this.

The twelve individuals whose names follow the decree are all freedmen, and, with one exception, each of the names concludes with a Greek cognomen, the exception being perhaps the result of another engraver's error.¹² The striking regularity with which cognomina appear here has different possible explanations. On two other *magistri* inscriptions from the area we have lists of freedmen all of whom are given cognomina, and we might conclude that it had by this time become the standard practice here for the inscribed names of freedmen to include cognomina, which would have been natural if it was the case that each freedman was now legally obliged to have a cognomen.¹³ But it is also possible that the use of cognomina here is

¹⁰ Ad CIL X 3772. He was followed in this by Waltzing (cit. n. 6), 448.

¹¹ See A.E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, Munich 1972, 160–4.

¹² T.Sulpicius P.Q.pu(pilli) l. in line 12 is the only individual in the list without a cognomen. If this is not an error on the part of the engraver, then it could be that this man's being a freedman of three Sulpicii (one of whom had not yet reached the age of maturity) was felt to identify him sufficiently without need of a cognomen. For the resolution pu(pilli), see O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 62–5.

¹³ CIL I² 683 = ILS 5734 = ILLRP 720 and CIL I² 688 = X 3785 = ILS 3064 = ILLRP 723a. On the cognomina of freeborn individuals in the Capuan *magistri* lists, see H. Solin, 'Sul consolidarsi del cognome nell'età repubblicana al di fuori della classe

related to the nature of the document, which, being a legal text, needed to be exact about the identities of the individuals to whom it referred. In that case, this would represent another respect in which the decree gives a strong impression of attention to the finer points of legal detail.

II

It is important to clarify the nature of the various bodies (*collegium*, *magistri*, and *pagus*) which we encounter in this text. One point to establish as clearly as possible is the relationship between the *magistri* and the *collegium* to which it refers. I believe that a misapprehension about this relationship has been responsible for encouraging a mistaken view about the nature of all the boards of *magistri* which appear in this series of texts. The phrase *collegium seive magistrum Iovei Compagum s[unt]* (line 2, cf. lines 6–7) has been taken as meaning 'the *collegium* of Jupiter Compages or its *magistri* (if the *collegium* has *magistri*)', thus treating the *magistri* as being representatives of a much larger *collegium*. Hence it was one of Flambard's 'proofs' of the view (held by Hatzfeld, Heurgon and Accame) that all the Capuan boards of *magistri* were representatives of wider associations.¹⁴ But the notion that this decree supports such a view is based on a mistaken reading of the Latin text. It seems to me that the formulation is merely the result of a quest for legalistic precision, and means 'the *collegium* of Jupiter Compages (or *magistri*, if that is what his officials are)'. The officials of Jupiter Compages may be called a 'collegium' or may be called 'magistri', and our text is allowing for both possibilities, but it is not indicating that *magistri* form a body of a kind radically different from a *collegium*.

This identification of *collegium* and *magistri* was made by Mommsen, and accepted by Schulten, Waltzing, and Boak, and has more recently been

senatoria e dei liberti', in *Epigrafia, Actes du Colloque en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi*, Rome 1991, 153ff., esp. 181–3.

¹⁴ J.-M. Flambard, 'Les collèges et les élites locales à l'époque républicaine d'après l'exemple de Capoue', in *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.*, Naples and Paris 1983, 75ff., esp. 76–7; J. Hatzfeld, 'Les Italiens résidant à Délos mentionnés dans les inscriptions de l'île', *BCH* 36 (1912), 184ff.; J. Heurgon, 'Les *magistri* des collèges et le relèvement de Capoue de 111 à 71 avant J.-C.', *MEFRA* 56 (1939), 5ff., esp. 12–13; Accame (cit. n. 6), 17ff., esp. 22 with n. 75.

supported against the alternative view by Frederiksen, Linderski, and Guadagno.¹⁵ I accept Mommsen's view, which distinguishes the *magistri* mentioned here from those who appear as leading officials of various kinds of *collegia*. There is in fact an example of such representative *magistri* from Capua herself: one of the inscriptions in the series, unfortunately now lost, refers to *magistreis conlegi mercatorum*.¹⁶ But the *magistri* mentioned in the decree of the *pagus Herculaneus* will not be of that type. As Boak and Frederiksen saw, if a distinction were being made in the decree between a *collegium* and its representatives, an unacceptable consequence would follow: the *pagus* would be allowing that honorary seating in the theatre might be reserved for a large *collegium* of indeterminate size.¹⁷ Furthermore, when we look at the other texts in the Capuan series, as Frederiksen noted, the appearance of different 'professional' cognomina within the same group of *magistri* puts paid to the notion of these groups as the representatives of professional corporations.¹⁸ I would suggest that it is necessary to make a firm distinction between 'representative' *magistri* on the one hand, and those that appear in this decree and in the majority of texts in the Capuan series on the other.¹⁹ As for the nature of the latter, I see no reason to doubt that Mommsen was right to identify them with the institution of *magistri ad fana templa delubra* which is referred to in the charter from the Caesarian colony of Urso in southern Spain.²⁰ The *magistri* (or *collegium*) mentioned in the decree would thus seem best understood as sanctuary officials to

¹⁵ Mommsen, CIL X, p.367; Schulten (cit. n. 6), 73; Waltzing (cit. n. 6), 448; A.E. Boak, 'The Magistri of Campania and Delos', CP 11 (1916), 30; Frederiksen (cit. n. 3), 88; Linderski (cit. n. 6), 109 with n. 56 (= Selected Papers, 180); G. Guadagno, 'Pagi e Vici della Campania', in A.Calbi et al. (edd.), L'Epigrafia del Villaggio, Faenza 1993, 420 with n. 41.

¹⁶ CIL I² 672 = X 3773 = ILS 7274 = ILLRP 705.

¹⁷ Boak (cit. n. 15), 30; Frederiksen (cit. n. 3), 87. Heurgon (cit. n. 14), 13, n. 2, saw the problem, but did not draw the correct conclusion.

¹⁸ Frederiksen (cit. n. 3), 87–8.

¹⁹ See Linderski (cit. n. 6), 108 (= Selected Papers, 179). The distinction is made again with pleasing concision in his entry on *magistri* in the new edition of the Oxford Classical Dictionary (S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (edd.), Oxford 1996).

²⁰ See below, n. 36.

whom fell certain responsibilities in connexion with the cult of Jupiter Compages.

If the identification of *magistri* and *collegium* is correct, we must ask why the draftsman was so careful to allow for the possibility that the officials of Jupiter Compages might be termed 'magistri' rather than a 'collegium'. If these two sorts of group are essentially the same, what difference between them would explain the need for this careful wording? It is not easy to say, but one possibility is that *magistri* are appointed to serve for a single year, while members of a *collegium* hold office for a longer term.²¹ Alternatively, the manner of appointment might be different in the two cases. In fact, we need not attribute the draftsman's care to any particularly striking distinction between the two. It may simply be that there were certain rules or conventions applying to one which did not apply to the other, and hence in a legal document a distinction of terminology would be necessary. We should thus have yet another example of care taken over legal niceties. Simply for the sake of convenience, 'magistri' alone will be used in what follows.

Who are the twelve *liberti* named in this inscription? There are really two possibilities. Either they constitute the membership of the *pagus Herculanus* which has passed the decree, or they are themselves the *magistri* of Jupiter Compages. I think it far more likely that they are the *magistri* of Jupiter Compages, who are being given instructions by the (unnamed) individuals who constitute the *pagus*. If they were the members of the *pagus* of Hercules, it would be curious that this group of freedmen was making a resolution which involved giving instructions to a freeborn *magister pagi*. It is far more plausible to see this individual as being senior to the twelve freedmen who are named, and as having responsibility for supervising their expenditure of money.²²

²¹ That the Capuan *magistri* served for a single year seems probable: as Boak pointed out (cit. n. 15, 31 with n. 9), we possess completely different lists of *magistri* of Ceres from 106 and 104 B.C. Note, however, that one set is libertine, the other freeborn: might those two types have existed concurrently?

²² Boak (cit. n. 15), 29, suggests that the *magistri* themselves set up this inscription 'as a warrant for their action', but the decree will rather have been set up by the body that passed it, the *pagus Herculanus*.

As for what the *pagus* of Hercules actually is, I find it hard to accept the standard interpretation offered in modern accounts that this is a 'central' unit which effectively represents the city of Capua itself. Various assertions have been made to this effect, following the example of Schulten. Observing that the *pagus* of Hercules has the authority to confirm honorary theatre-seating, he considered that this *pagus* must be a division of territory which embraced the city of Capua itself: 'theatrum Capuae quia ad pagum Hercul. pertinet, intellegitur Capuam in pagi H. finibus fuisse.'²³ Frederiksen, followed by Solin, claimed that 'the Pagus Herculanus was, if not the only *pagus* of the area, then in some sense a special or central one'.²⁴ Galsterer, influenced by Frederiksen, claimed that the *pagus Herculanus* actually replaced Capua.²⁵ I think that there is good reason to doubt this prevailing view. There are, it is true, examples of *pagi* which were administratively connected with *municipia* or *coloniae*, and Rome herself even had districts called 'pagi', so there would be nothing extraordinary in there being a close administrative connexion between the *pagus Herculanus* and Capua.²⁶ But I do not think that the text actually provides evidence of such a connexion.

The one thing which seems at first sight to favour the interpretation of the *pagus* as a central authority is the second of the two parts of the decree, where the *pagus* confirms that the *magistri* are to have honorary seating as though they had put on shows. The question is quite simple: how can this *pagus* have the power of decision over who has honorary seating at the theatre unless it plays the role of a central authority for the area? Would there not be quite intolerable scope for confusion and conflict if several *pagi* all had equal rights to make such a decision? Reflection on the implications of the decree suggests that this is not so difficult a problem. For if honorary seating is a regular reward for the putting on of shows, then it is presumably a privilege that is usually enjoyed by *magistri* only at those shows which

²³ Cit. n. 6, 73. He was, however, sure that this was not the only *pagus* of the *ager Campanus* (*pace* Linderski, cit. n. 6, 128, n. 63 (= Roman Questions, 199)).

²⁴ Frederiksen (cit. n. 3), 90; H. Solin, 'Roman Capua', in H. Solin and M. Kajava (edd.), *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History*, Helsinki 1990, 155.

²⁵ H. Galsterer, *Herrschaft und Verwaltung im republikanischen Italien*, Munich 1976, 28.

²⁶ See for example the *pagus* inscription from Rome cited below (n. 42).

they themselves have put on.²⁷ An occasional decree from a *pagus* outside the city effectively authorising a group of twelve *magistri* to have honorary seating at a set of *ludi* that another group of *magistri* have put on need not have been thought a serious source of potential difficulty. But it seems to me that in any case the question has arisen because of too restrictive a view about the presence of theatres in this part of Campania. Why should we assume that the only theatre that can be at issue is the principal (or even the only) theatre of the city of Capua? I think that Mazzocchi, writing more than two and a half centuries ago, was right to suggest that the theatre to which the inscription refers is actually the theatre of the *pagus*.²⁸ After all, our inscription attests that the *pagus* of Hercules has a portico. Why not a small theatre as well?²⁹

Thus it seems fair to suggest that there are no compelling reasons for seeing the city of Capua as falling within the administrative competence of the *pagus Herculaneus*. I believe that Mommsen was right to see this *pagus* as a rather humbler organisation, a district of the *ager Campanus*, which had one or more officers entitled 'magister pagi'.³⁰ As Mommsen suggested,

²⁷ This seems to me more likely than that a special area was reserved throughout the year for the (many dozens?) of *magistri* who put on shows.

²⁸ Mazzocchi (cit. n. 2), 149; 153. Long afterwards, Boak (apparently independently) made the same suggestion (cit. n. 15, 30).

²⁹ We need not be thinking of a great structure such as the theatre that had already been built at Pompeii, but should allow for a smaller construction (perhaps of wood, although a more permanent building is by no means out of the question). Furthermore, there are examples of porticoes in close proximity (or direct relation) to theatres: note Inscr. It. IV 1.19 from Tibur, which refers to the construction of a *porticum pone scaenam*. Mazzocchi considered that the *porticus pagana* was actually in the theatre of the *pagus Herculaneus* (cit. n. 2, 149).

Whatever the truth of these matters, it is important to realise that this *pagus*-decree cannot be used, as it often has been, as a *terminus ante quem* for dating those *magistri* inscriptions which refer to the construction of parts of a theatre (as, for example, by Frederiksen (cit. n. 3), 88–9, 90–1, and inscriptions 14–16 on 128).

³⁰ CIL X, p. 367. Guadagno too challenges the notion that this *pagus* was in some sense central (cit. n. 15, 421 with n. 45), but there is no reason to follow him in assigning it to the territory of Calatia rather than Capua (421 with n. 46). Frederiksen was clearly right to go back on his earlier view (shared by others) that the local *pagi* reflected pre-Roman structures ('Changes in the Patterns of Settlement', in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in*

there were probably several such *pagi* in the area.³¹ The *pagus* had its own buildings, and enjoyed authority over one or more groups of sanctuary officials, to the extent that it could direct their spending of certain money toward necessary repair work, under the supervision of the (or a) *magister pagi*. It could also permit them to maintain the position of honour that they would have occupied in a local theatre had they spent that money on the provision of shows. As for the question of what administrative body or bodies did have authority in the city of Capua itself, that must be left open in the present study.

III

What can we say of the administrative structures which this text reveals at work? Some importance clearly attaches to understanding the term *lex pagana* and determining the nature of the document to which it refers, since the *magistri* are to spend money *ex lege pagana*. It might initially be tempting to draw parallels with the *lex parieti faciundo* from the colony of Puteoli, dating to 105 B.C., a text which gives detailed regulations for the construction of a wall in the town.³² But the Puteolan *lex* is a document of a different type from that which seems to be at issue here, much more a 'contract' than a 'statute' or 'law'. The references in our decree to the spending of money, the provision of shows, and honorary seating in the theatre suggest strongly that we are in the realm of the sort of regulations that we find in Roman colonial and municipal charters, and in documents that refer to such charters, and it is to these that we must turn for illumination.

Mittelitalien, Göttingen 1976, 350–1). For the view that 'Recale', the name of the place from which the inscription is said to come, derives from 'Herculaneus', see Mommsen, CIL X, p. 367.

³¹ CIL X, p. 367. He believed that there was also a *pagus* of Diana Tifatina, but there is no direct evidence of this. It is hard to say what significance we should attach to the epithet 'Compages' of the divinity whose officials are being given orders by the *pagus Herculaneus*. For the suggestion that it indicates a sanctuary common to several *pagi*, see Degrassi's comment in ILLRP 719, n. 5 and CIL I², p. 933 (ad 682).

³² CIL I² 698 (cf. p. 839) = X 1781 (cf. p. 1009) = ILS 5317 = ILLRP 518. So M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio*, Rome 1978, 388–9.

From early in the history of Pompeii as a Roman colony comes an inscription recording work done on the Stabian baths by two magistrates of the town, C. Uulius and P. Aninius.³³ The contract-work that they saw to and approved, namely the construction of a *laconicum* and *destrictarium* and the repair of porticoes and a palaestra, was done *ex d.d. ex ea pecunia quod eos e lege in ludos aut in monumento consumere oportuit*, 'in accordance with a decree of the decurions from that money which they were obliged by statute to spend on shows or on a monument'. The *lex* in question is presumably the *lex coloniae*, the charter of the colony, which will have stipulated appropriate conduct over a wide range of local affairs. The Pompeian charter is lost, but we do possess a few chapters of the charter from the municipality of Tarentum which contain what seem to be closely corresponding rules pertaining to the affairs of that community. When someone is found guilty of having unlawfully unroofed or demolished a public building belonging to the *municipium* of Tarentum, the magistrate who exacts the consequent fine (equal to the value of the building) is to pay half of it into the public treasury, while the other half he is to spend *in l[u]deis, quos | publice in eo magistratu facie[t]*, or if he wishes he is to be permitted to spend it *ad monumentum suum in publico*.³⁴ Thus the public benefit of the people of Tarentum is to accrue from the collection of these fines, in the form either of shows or of a construction of some sort.

The regulations in the charter of Pompeii will have been of a similar kind, with the local senate, which authorised the expenditure by Uulius and Aninius, clearly being allowed to specify on occasion that such money as is to be spent on shows or a monument is to be directed toward work on a particular building of public utility.³⁵ Given that the decree of our *pagus* from the *ager Campanus* seems to be concerned with directing expenditure that would otherwise have gone on shows toward work on a communal building, it is reasonable to suggest that at this more local level in the environs of Capua there were in place regulations parallel to those which a little later on governed proceedings at Pompeii. The parallel is not one we

³³ CIL I² 1635 = X 829 = ILS 5706 = ILLRP 648. Degrassi suggests that it belongs to the Sullan period.

³⁴ *Roman Statutes*, ed. M.H. Crawford (London, 1996), no. 15, lines 32–8.

³⁵ From a later period in Pompeii's history, we may compare the *pro ludis* inscriptions from the amphitheatre (CIL X 853–857).

should press too closely: there are hardly going to be many respects in which the *magistri* of Jupiter Compages had functions similar to those of the *duoviri* of Pompeii. But both groups are officials apparently bound by rules concerning roughly similar types of expenditure, and both are subject at least on occasion to the decrees of a council concerning how that expenditure is to be directed. Furthermore, it is interesting that both in the Pompeian case, and in the case of the *pagus*-decree, the intervention of the relevant council ensures that the money in question is to be spent on repair work.

Further illumination on our inscription comes from the charter of the Caesarian colony of Urso in Spain.³⁶ Two of its sections in particular concern us here. Chapter cxxviii stipulates that whoever shall be *duovir*, *aedile*, or *prefect* of the colony is to see to the appointment in his year of office of *mag(istri) ad fana templa delubra*, in whatever way the *decurions* shall have thought fit. Furthermore, he is to see that the *magistri* look after the provision of *ludos circenses*, *sacr[i]ficia*, *puluinariaque*, according to the decision and decree of the *decurions*.³⁷ It is easy to see why Mommsen suggested that the *magistri* of the Capuan inscriptions are the equivalent of these *magistri* at Urso, given their attachment to particular divinities and their provision of shows, and I concur with those who have supported his view (above, section II).³⁸ It is highly likely too that the late Republican *magistri* and *magistrae* who appear at Minturnae will have been similarly regulated by statutes pertaining to that community, a Roman colony since 295 B.C., although the precise content of those statutes is not deducible from the surviving inscriptions.³⁹

The other relevant section of the Urso charter consists of chapters cxxv–cxxvii, where there are detailed regulations about who is to be permitted a position of honour for watching shows. The first of these three chapters institutes a penalty of 5,000 sesterces for infringing the rules about

³⁶ *Roman Statutes*, no. 25 (for a discussion of its date, see pp. 395ff.).

³⁷ For the giving of shows we may compare chapter lxxi, where *aediles* are obliged to spend both their own money and public funds on shows.

³⁸ It happens that the *magistri* at Urso are obliged to give *ludi circenses* rather than the *ludi scaenici* which seem to be at issue in the decree of the *pagus Herculaneus*, but the exact form of the obligation to give *ludi* is not of any importance for the argument.

³⁹ Note, however, that one of the texts (CIL I² 687 = ILLRP 727) records that the individuals in question gave *lu[dos] scaen[icos]*. See also below, n. 55.

who may sit in the space reserved for the decurions to watch shows (it is not specified that these *ludi* are *scaenici* or *circenses*, and it may be that both are meant). Several categories of distinguished people are listed as eligible, and there is provision for the decurions to decide who else may enjoy the privilege.⁴⁰ The second chapter gives the decurions of the colony authority to decide on who is to sit where at stage shows, and institutes a similar penalty for any infringements of the rules so decided. The third chapter gives rules about who may watch stage shows from the *orchestra* of the theatre, with a list of approved categories of people, including those who are permitted by decree of the decurions, in accordance with the charter, to sit in the place reserved for decurions.

The role granted to the decurions in deciding about honorary seating allows a certain flexibility in the assignment of seats, but the charter essentially ensures that there are strict limitations on who will enjoy a position of honour while watching shows in the colony of Urso. It is unlikely that the regulations of the *lex pagana* which governed the affairs of the *pagus Herculaneus* were vastly different in tone. Our *pagus*-decree, in declaring that a privileged place in the theatre is to go to the *magistri* of Jupiter Compages *as though they had put on shows*, apparently reveals that for such *magistri* there was regularly to be a position of honour in the theatre for putting on performances. It also makes it clear that the *pagus* can under certain circumstances grant such a position for *magistri* even when they do not put on shows. But it seems clear that these are special privileges bestowed in return for the provision of shows or a comparable service, which a person holding the office of *magister* would not otherwise enjoy.

Thus I would suggest that the *lex pagana* to which our text refers contained regulations similar in kind to those which appear to have been in force at Pompeii, Tarentum, Urso and in numerous other colonies and municipalities.⁴¹ It may have applied to a number of *pagi*, or may have been restricted to the affairs of the *pagus Herculaneus*. It is of course impossible to reconstruct in detail even the regulations pertinent to the case here under

⁴⁰ We may compare chapter lxvi, which gives pontiffs and augurs the right to watch *ludi* and gladiatorial combats from the place reserved for decurions.

⁴¹ Our comparative documentary evidence from Pompeii, Tarentum, and Urso does postdate the decree of the *pagus Herculaneus*, but such an origin for the rules under which the *pagus* operated is likely nevertheless.

consideration, let alone the range of matters over which the *lex* will have prescribed appropriate conduct. But we can see some of its provisions in outline. From the *pagus*-decree alone it is clear that there was an obligation for *magistri* to spend money in certain ways; that these *magistri* are to receive honorary seating in the theatre for giving shows; and that the *pagus* itself has the authority to direct the spending of these *magistri* to a particular project. And other documentary evidence makes it highly likely that the *lex pagana* will also have specified such things as the manner of appointment of the *magistri* in the first place.⁴²

As for the source of the money which the *magistri* are obliged to spend, it is important to note that this is not specified in the decree. Five *magistri*-inscriptions do indicate the source of the funds used for the activities which they report: there are references both to the funds of divinities and to the personal funds of officials.⁴³ It could be that the money which the *lex pagana* obliged *magistri* to spend on games was their own (a *summa honoraria* or its equivalent), but it could also have come from temple funds, from fines, or have come from a combination of these sources.⁴⁴ At all events, confident assertions about the source of this money are out of place. Nor are there any indications from this text about what funds the *pagus* itself may have had.

⁴² Apart from the Urso charter, it is worth noting the following text from the *mons Caelius* in Rome which refers to the manner of appointment of *magistri* by a *pagus*: (CIL I² 984 = VI 30888 = ILS 6081 = ILLRP 701): [---] | *mag(istri) He[rc(ulis)] | suffragio pag(i) prim[i creati] | ludos feceru[nt]*.

⁴³ CIL I² 680 = X 3781 = ILS 5561 = ILLRP 717: *de stipe Dian(ai)*; the same formula is found in the mosaic inscription in the floor of the temple of Diana Tifatina, for which see now PBSR 65 (1997), 59ff.; CIL I² 683 = ILS 5734 = ILLRP 720: [*Heisce*] *mag(istrei) lacum Iovei de stipe et de sua pequn(ia) | [faciu]nd(um) coeraver(unt)*; CIL I² 686 = X 3783 = ILS 6303 = ILLRP 722: *Heisc(e) magistr(ei) ex pagei scitu in servom Iunonis Gaurae [co]ntule(runt)*; CIL I² 687 = ILLRP 723: some of the work involved is described as done *de sua pecunia*.

⁴⁴ If the *magistri* were obliged to spend money on shows *or* a monument, it is conceivable that where they spend money on both, this indicates their donation of extra money of their own, beyond what was required by the *lex pagana*. We should also contemplate the possibility that part of the attraction of spending money on construction work as well as shows was the opportunity it afforded for advertising the provision of those shows, which would not otherwise receive permanent epigraphic commemoration.

There will clearly have been a certain amount of regular activity by the *magistri* which did not require a *pagus*-decree or equivalent authorisation, and I would suggest that the majority of the *magistri*-inscriptions from Capua and the *ager Campanus* are records of such activity. There is no reason to think that in the case of the inscriptions recording building work, whether or not accompanied by the giving of *ludi*, a *pagus* or other such authority had made any specific decision pertaining to this work.⁴⁵ But there survives one local inscription recording activity which was done in accordance with a *pagus*-decree.⁴⁶ After a list of twelve names, we read *heisc(e) magistr(eis) ex pagei scitu in servom Iunonis Gaurae [co]ntu- le(runt)*. The text is then dated by the consuls of 71 B.C. This purchase of a slave for Juno Gaura looks as though it is a rather unusual kind of expenditure, which may explain why there is a *pagus*-decree in the background.⁴⁷ Our text from Recale is an example of just such a decree.

Thus it seems that either one or two stages of documentation lie behind the *magistri*-inscriptions proper. Behind all these texts is a statute containing various regulations for the conduct of local affairs, the (or a) *lex pagana* (or perhaps in some cases an urban equivalent thereof). In discharging the duties it prescribed, local boards of *magistri* put up many inscriptions, demonstrating publicly, as Mommsen suggested, their fulfilment of their obligations.⁴⁸ But the *lex* (or *leges*) also permitted *pagi* to direct the spending of *magistri* on certain occasions, and the decisions of a *pagus* to do

⁴⁵ Seven of the Capuan *magistri* inscriptions record the giving of *ludi* as well as construction work: see Guadagno (cit. n. 15), 420, n. 42 (for two of the seven inscriptions we possess two copies of the text, although the reference to *ludi* survives in only one of these duplicate texts). Note that one text previously thought to contain a reference to *ludi* has been misread: in CIL I² 687 (= ILLRP 723), line 8 should read *eidemqu[e]* and not *eidem lu[dos]*.

⁴⁶ CIL I² 686 = X 3783 = ILS 6303 = ILLRP 722. It comes from San Prisco (a little to the north-east of ancient Capua). Mommsen considered that the *pagus* in question might be the *pagus Herculanus* (CIL X, p. 367).

⁴⁷ With this activity conducted *ex pagei scitu* we may compare a text from Pescosansonesco (in what had been Paelignian or Vestinian territory), which reads *mag(istri) Mart(i) fornice(m) | et parietes caementicios | ex pagi decr(eto) faciundum | coer(arunt) probaruntque* (CIL I² 1801 = ILS 5575 = ILLRP 635).

⁴⁸ CIL X, p. 367.

this constituted another stage of documentation. Our *pagus*-decree is a public record of an occasion when the members of the *pagus Herculaneus* made such a decision, and the *magistri*-inscription concerning Juno Gaura's slave is an example of a record of business conducted in fulfilment of another such decree. Thus our evidence of public documentation in this area, far from being the result of a euergetic initiative, as it is sometimes portrayed, is rather a reflection of the tight structure of local authority. Many of the details of how this system worked are unclear, and likely to remain so. What is clear from the preceding analysis is that in this extremely sensitive area of southern Italy, the local administrative bodies organised under Roman authority show a remarkably fine attention to detail in regulating the conduct of affairs, and in publicising what they have done.

IV

There are clearly several details in this intriguing text which may remain controversial, but I believe that even without a resolution of all the problems it raises, there emerges an important conclusion which has a direct bearing on how we think about the Roman organisation of Capua and her surroundings in this period. In various respects, we might say that the decree of the *pagus Herculaneus* reveals a clear focus on the city of Rome. The appearance in this text of features of Roman colonial and municipal charters is remarkable, and gives a strong impression that the bodies which we are witnessing at work here formed part of the administration that Roman authorities gave to the area. It is true that the mechanism by which it was introduced is not clear, and various possibilities must be allowed for. These rules may have been drawn up by one of the early *praefecti* for the area, but we cannot exclude the involvement of other officials, either at Rome or locally.⁴⁹ At all events, the inspiration for the regulations drawn up for this area would seem to be the kind of regulations drawn up for Roman colonies

⁴⁹ We cannot date them precisely, although it might be thought unlikely that rules about honorary seating in a Campanian theatre in such a context will have predated the introduction of formal regulations about seating to Rome herself in 194 B.C. (Livy 34.54.3–8). Yet any time thereafter is possible. Cf. M.H. Crawford, 'Arranging Seating', *Athenaeum* 81.2 (1993), 617.

and municipalities, which themselves owed a certain amount to legislation passed at Rome. However exactly they were introduced here, the resulting system under which *magistri* spent money on buildings and the giving of *ludi*, and set up inscriptions reporting what they had done, is clearly not the spontaneous local development which has often been imagined,⁵⁰ but rather an imposed administration which required local officials to fulfil certain obligations.

Yet it is not the content of the regulations alone that is significant in evaluating the implications of the decree. The use of Latin rather than Oscan in this text is in itself worthy of note. The issue of the significance of language-use in any particular community is an extremely complex one, and no far-reaching conclusions about the society or politics of Capua and her surroundings at this time could be drawn simply from the presence in the area of a certain number of Latin inscriptions.⁵¹ It is perfectly possible that in various aspects of her life Capua was 'Oscan-speaking', as Dench suggests.⁵² But when we note that this Latin text is not only an official document of the local administration, but is also dated to a Roman religious festival, and furthermore concludes with a Roman consular date, the degree to which Rome, her language, and her religion can be seen to have permeated local affairs is striking. This combination of factors, when considered together with the content of the regulations revealed by the decree, is impressive in suggesting that Rome is both the source of this administrative system and its ultimate political focus.⁵³

This local administration can thus clearly be seen to bear a far stronger imprint of Roman organisation than was previously thought. The degree of

⁵⁰ Above, n. 5.

⁵¹ For the complexity of the issue in respect of the choice of language for Neapolitan inscriptions, see M. Leiwo, *Neapolitana*, Helsinki 1994, 8ff.; 49ff.

⁵² Above, n. 5.

⁵³ There is an interesting contrast with the *magistri* and *magistrae* inscriptions from Minturnae, where, besides a single Roman consular date of 65 B.C. (CIL I² 2683 = ILLRP 735), there are three occasions when the duoviri of Minturnae are used as a means of dating one of these inscriptions: CIL I² 2685, 2702, 2706 = ILLRP 737, 742, 745 (in the middle case only do the names of the duoviri survive – P.Hirrius M.f. and P.Stahius P.f.). Such a means was not available in the case of Capua and her surroundings, since the city lacked magistrates whose names might be so used.

effort put into making these arrangements for the *ager Campanus* may in part be explained by the enormous agricultural and strategic importance of the land. The resulting administrative structures represent an important aspect of the Romanisation of this area, a complex process to which there are naturally many other aspects. Our text is relevant for other questions pertinent to the study of this process. For one thing, we must ask what the names of the former slaves whom it lists can tell us about local society. For another, it bears on the issue of whether or not the freeborn inhabitants of Capua and the surrounding territory had the rights of Roman citizens at this time. The freeborn *magister pagi* who appears in the text, and the freeborn *magistri* named in the other texts from the area, certainly look to all intents and purposes as though they are full Roman citizens, although unfortunately the matter cannot be decided as simply as that. These are difficult questions which require taking into consideration all of the relevant epigraphic and literary evidence, and they must therefore be examined in detail elsewhere. But the principal conclusion here reached about the character of the local administration applies regardless of what answers we give to these other questions.

The nature of the administrative regulations which applied in this area is instructive about the degree of control exercised by the authorities. The obligation to give *ludi* is not just a requirement to provide public entertainment but is also a means of ensuring that certain religious observances take place, since these *ludi* would clearly have a strong religious dimension. And it is unlikely that this was the only such obligation imposed upon these officials. We recall that in the Urso charter the *magistri* were obliged to arrange not just *ludi circenses* but also *sacrificia* and *pulvinaria*. All of this brings to mind Polybius' penetrating remarks about the Romans' promotion of religious belief as a means of maintaining control over the populace as a whole.⁵⁴ The observances which *magistri* were obliged to keep may be seen as representing the concrete form of Roman authorities' efforts to encourage such beliefs at a local level, and thus as a means of helping to maintain social order. But this is just one among many functions of these local regulations. Another can be seen in the reward of honorary seating for the *magistri* for putting on their obligatory shows. This was a means whereby

⁵⁴ Polybius 6.56.

former slaves, and their freeborn counterparts, could be given not just a role in local society but also some form of public honour.⁵⁵

The date of our inscription, less than four years before the outbreak of the Social War, is particularly interesting. Capua will have been an important base for Roman forces during the conflict, which raged strongly in Campania.⁵⁶ Does that alone explain Capua's failure to join in the opposition to Rome? This text of course does not provide direct insight into the political sentiments of the inhabitants of the city and the surrounding territory, but it does provide remarkable evidence of the administrative system which regulated their lives, and this must be taken into account. The question is complicated by the issue of whether or not freeborn inhabitants of Capua had full Roman citizen rights. It may be that they did have these rights, and, if so, it is improbable that they will have felt the choice between Rome and her opponents to be a difficult one, being themselves Roman. But even if they did not have the full rights of citizenship, the local circumstances revealed by the decree of the *pagus Herculaneus*, which show far more than a thin veneer of Roman influence, are highly suggestive about the strength of Roman authority in the *ager Campanus*. This is not for a moment to suggest that in this part of Campania there was no strong feeling against Roman rule. But we might argue that so tight was Rome's control over this important area, which had long been deprived of the central direction of a senate, popular assemblies, and magistracies, so careful and detailed was her administration even at the most local level, that concerted political action against Rome was rendered very difficult indeed, if not impossible. It may simply be that such political resentment as there was among the freeborn populace had no opportunity for effective expression.

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⁵⁵ It may also have applied to slaves who acted as *magistri* or *ministri*: most of those who are recorded as putting on *ludi scaenici* at Minturnae were slaves (above, n. 39). In that case, such honour might be seen as an encouragement to remain obedient, as an alternative to outright hostility to the system. Slave revolts broke out at both Minturnae and Capua in the late second century B.C. (Orosius 5.9.4; Diodorus 36.2 and 2a), perhaps indicating the inefficacy of such measures in the case of slaves, or perhaps giving a reason for their introduction.

⁵⁶ Above, n. 4.

THREE NOTES ON ROMAN NOMINA

I. Considerations on What Names Can and Should be Regarded as Nomina – II. On the Relative Frequency of Roman Nomina – III. Nomina Missing in, and to be Deleted from, the Second Edition of *Repertorium Nominum Gentilium et Cognominum Latinorum*

OLLI SALOMIES

I. Considerations on What Names Can and Should be Regarded as Nomina

In the early 1980s, there was a period when Professor Heikki Solin of Helsinki and I were busy collecting Roman names, both cognomina and nomina, Professor Solin being responsible for the cognomina, I for the nomina. Our plan was to supplement the material to be found in the standard collections of Roman nomina and cognomina by Schulze and Kajanto,¹ with a view to producing a reverse lexicon of both classes of names. In the end it turned out that we had found so many names missing in these two repertories that we published a book including not only the reverse lexicon but also a list of all nomina and cognomina known to us, the books of Schulze and Kajanto being referred to in the case of names listed in them, and full references being given in the case of "new" names missing in the two books. The result was called *Repertorium Nominum Gentilium et Cognominum Latinorum*, and it was published in 1988; a second edition, with additions and corrections, appeared in 1994.

Now in the title of the book the adjective *Latinus*, *-a*, *-um* was applied, with a certain licence, to both the nomina and the cognomina, but it is good to note that strictly speaking the adjective is applicable only to the

¹ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (originally 1904; latest reprint 1991); I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965; reprinted in 1982).

cognomina. In the case of cognomina, it is both useful and, in most cases, possible to distinguish between Latin, Greek, and other cognomina, but in the case of nomina one has to face the question of defining a Latin nomen. What, in fact, is a Latin nomen? Now, if *Lucius*, *Marcus* and *Quintus* are Latin praenomina, and surely one can go as far as to assert that, then the nomina derived from these praenomina, *Lucilius*, *Marcius* and *Quintius*, can obviously be regarded as Latin nomina. As far as these things are simple – although one can introduce some trouble even at this stage, for example by observing that *Lucius* was also an Oscan praenomen, and that the nomen *Lucius*, in Latin formally identical with the praenomen but in Oscan having the suffix *-iis* which differentiates it from the praenomen ending in *-is*, is especially frequent in Samnium and Campania, in areas, that is, in which Oscan was the predominant language until replaced by Latin. So perhaps we should say, although I doubt this would be really meaningful, that *Lucilius* is a Latin nomen, *Lucius* an Oscan one, although of course both derive from the same root. But, to stay with nomina derived from praenomina, what about (say) *Aulus* and *Aulius*? It is well established that *Aulus* was a praenomen of Etruscan origin, although not uncommon in Rome; but what is one to think about the nomen *Aulius*, found among Republican senators? Could one classify this nomen as a Latin one, since it has been derived from a praenomen which, although of Etruscan origin, had become a part of the repertory of normal Latin names? Or should even the nomen *Aulius* be classified as Etruscan? To go on with problems with the etymological attribution of Roman nomina, it may well be that *Calvius* has something to do with *calvus*, and *Catius* with *catus*, and if this is the case, then we would be dealing with further Latin nomina. But again one can easily think of problems: if *Calvius* is Latin, what about *Calvenus*, *Calventius*, *Calvidius*, *Calvisius*, to say nothing of *Calviatius* or *Calvisidius*? These are names which certainly do not point to Rome, but rather to Samnium, Umbria and other Italian regions; and yet a good case can be made to regard them all as deriving from the same root, whatever its meaning. As for *Catius*, in making a judgment on the origin of *Catii*, one should take into account not only this name, but also nomina such as *Catedius*, *Catellius*, *Catidius*, *Catienus*, which, again, make one think of remote places somewhere in Italy rather

than of places where Latin was spoken in the early times when the system of having family names was developing.²

Furthermore, there are familiar names like *Aelius*, *Calpurnius*, *Cornelius* etc., which were most probably thought of as Latin names by contemporary Greeks and other non-Romans, but which in fact do not seem to admit a Latin etymology. But in spite of that, we are, of course, entitled to regard them as good Roman names. And this fact makes one ask the following question: is it really at all useful to try to find etymological explanations for Roman nomina, and e.g. to try to distinguish between Latin and non-Latin nomina? Now the answer is obviously that efforts of this kind would be rather senseless; on one hand because it is impossible to say anything of substance on the origin of most nomina (the old trick of saying that a name is probably Etruscan not really leading anywhere), and on the other because further studies based on Roman nomina are rarely of such nature that exact knowledge of the *etymological* origin of individual nomina would be needed.³ In studies which use nomina (for instance studies of population and population mobility) it is normally more important to be able to attach certain names to certain regions, and here pure "etymology" is rarely of any help; it is not etymology which makes us think of Paestum when we hear the name *Digitius* (cf. n. 26), of lands on the Rhine and the

² Note also the interesting cases in which a nomen a priori looking like a Latin (or at least Roman) one is in fact derived from a barbarian name; e.g. *C. Verginius Vergionis f. Vergio* (ILNarbonnaise, Antibes no. 11), where one sees that the nomen has been invented on the basis of the father's barbarian name *Vergio*. Similar cases in A. Chastagnol, in: *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de M. Le Glay* (Collection Latomus 226, 1996) 407–415 (examples from outside Gaul: CIL III 4724, CIL V 774, 5377).

³ It is true that some authors use the etymological approach, for instance in commentaries to inscriptions in epigraphical publications. But this is misguided and leads to absolutely nothing. It is even worse, when scholars make the mistake of identifying etymology with local origins. This is the case for instance in G.B. Brusin's *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* (1991–1993), where it is often said of a name that it is Etruscan (or the like), but also fairly often that a *family* with a name considered as Etruscan (or Umbrian etc.) was Etruscan (or Umbrian etc.); a reader of the book not acquainted with Roman onomastical studies will get the ridiculous impression that people living in Aquileia were mostly Etruscans, to whom a few Umbrians, Samnites and other could be added (cf. *Gnomon* 69 [1997] 521; for another instance of a study of this kind see *Arctos* 23 [1989] 275).

Danube when have to deal with the name *Privatius*, but other considerations. (On the other hand, one would consider a name like *Barigbalius* African even if it were not known from an inscription – ILTun. 246 – found in Africa.)

So the truth is that, for many reasons, the nomina, unlike the cognomina, listed in the *Repertorium* are not Latin names in the strict etymological sense. They are rather names in the case of which it can be established that they were nomina in the Roman sense, that is, names of Latin, Etruscan, Oscan or other origin which were used as family names, the most important feature of which was the fact that they were inherited (in about the same way as modern family names), the sons and daughters of a *Tullius* becoming *Tullii* and *Tulliae*.

But how is one to recognize a Roman family name? Now this is a most interesting question and the main subject of this part of this paper. Normally, of course, it is the collocation of the name within the Roman nomenclature which makes us recognize a nomen when we see one. Here we have several alternatives because of the evolution of the Roman name system. But basically we can say that, in principle, any name that is collocated either between the praenomen and the filiation or (in the case of men omitting the filiation) between the praenomen and the cognomen, or (in the case of men who omit the filiation but mention the tribe)⁴ between the praenomen and the tribe will have been a nomen. It thus follows that *Tullius* in the nomenclatures *M. Tullius M. f.* (and, of course, *M. Tullius M. f. Cicero* and *M. Tullius M. f. Cor. Cicero*), *M. Tullius Cicero* and *M. Tullius Cor. Cicero* would be a nomen. (I am not saying that this a new observation.) Accordingly, even names which do not give the general impression of being nomina must be considered as such if found collocated as above. For instance, since we find a soldier from Amasia called *C. Niger C. f. Pol.* in CIL III 6607, a man called *M. Palicanus M. f. Quir. Marcellinus* in I. Ephesos 2230B, we must conclude that the names *Niger* and *Palicanus*, familiar as cognomina, could also sometimes be used as nomina. But there is a problem (the words 'in principle' used above were meant to imply this), namely the fact that there existed a habit of omitting the nomen from nomenclatures which included one or more cognomina, so that one could

⁴ As the men e.g. in ILS 1042, 1181. Cf. H. Solin, *Arctos* 21 (1987) 134f. = *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) 293.

say *L. Sulla* instead of *L. Cornelius Sulla*, *M. Cicero* instead of *M. Tullius Cicero*. If the filiation was added, it was collocated after the cognomen, and so we find nomenclatures like *M. Agrippa L. f.*, *L. Plancus L. f.* (CIL VI 1316 = ILS 41)⁵; however, since this type of nomenclature was typical of the upper classes, the problem is not so grave, because we have some knowledge of the representatives of these classes, and we can thus say – in fact we know – that the full names of these men were *M. Vipsanius L. f. Agrippa* and *L. Munatius L. f. Plancus*, from which it follows that *Vipsanius* and *Munatius*, not *Agrippa* and *Plancus*, were the nomina of these men. In the same way, nomenclatures including two cognomina in which the nomen is omitted (for instance *P. Lentulus Sura* Sall. Cat. 17,3) do not generally pose a problem because this type is mainly restricted to nobles, especially in the Republican period, which means that we have no problem in recognizing for instance the man mentioned above as a member of the *gens* of the Cornelii whose full name was *P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura*. However, this name type is also found, although not very frequently, during the Empire; in this period, the interpretation of these names can be more problematic, especially because the Republican *gentes* using inherited cognomina (the Cornelii Sullae, the Claudii Marcelli etc.), in whose names the cognomina reveal their nomina, were dying out. It is generally agreed that *M. Vestinus Atticus*, consul in 65 (PIR² I 624) was really a Iulius (and thus officially called *M. Iulius Vestinus Atticus*), and we know that L. Lollianus Avitus cos. 114 was by his full nomenclature called *L. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Avitus* (PIR² H 39, cf. Altertümer von Pergamon VIII 3, 22); furthermore, it seems likely that the nomenclature of a consul of AD 146, C. Annianus Ver[us], was in fact an abbreviation of *C. Ummidius Quadratus Annianus Verus*.⁶ On

⁵ This kind of nomenclature often appears on coins from the Republican period; for examples from inscriptions see Arctos 22 (1988) 126–8.

⁶ See Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature (1992) 52 n. 73. – As for consuls with a nomenclature of this kind, note the consul of 115, who is called both *M. Vergilianus Pedo* (CIL VI 43/44 = ILS 1634/5; CIL VI 791; AE 1949, 23) and *M. Pedo Vergilianus* (CIL VI 1984; when a cognomen only is used, the consul is called at times *Vergilianus* [e.g. CIL VI 31148. 32637 and numerous quarry inscriptions from Docimium], at times *Pedo* [e.g. CIL XV 20–22, the ms. consular fasti]). The nomen of this consul has yet to be established (*Popilius* is suggested in PIR² P 843), and the same goes for M. Rebilus Apronianus, consul in 117 (thus CIL VI 2076, CIL XV 25, CIL XIV 4235 = ILS 318 = Inscr. It. IV 1, 79).

the other hand, in the case of C. Erucianus Silo cos. 110 (PIR² E 92) it seems that *Erucianus* is indeed a nomen, this observation being based on the fact that the same name is used as a nomen by several representatives of the so-called lower classes, some of whom may well be freedmen (or descendants of freedmen) of the consul.⁷ One sees, then, that during the Empire things get a bit complicated, as far the interpretation of this type of name goes; this can be further illustrated by the following case. In the inscriptions from Ephesus, I. Ephesos 2076, 2077 and SEG XXXV 1109, we find a certain M. Ποπλικκιανὸς Ν(ε)ικηφόρος (i.e., *M. Publicianus Nicephorus*), a splendid character in early third-century Ephesus (as we know from many sources); if nothing else were known of his name, one would conclude that *Publicianus* was his nomen, an easy conclusion because nomina ending in *-ianus*, formed from nomina ending in *-ius*, were especially common in the Greek-speaking East.⁸ However, there are many other inscriptions regarding the same man which show that the conclusion presented above is a mistaken one, for in these texts a fuller nomenclature *M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus* is used.⁹ It appears, then, that the correct conclusion would be that *Fulvius*, not *Publicianus*, was the nomen of the man.

In the exposition above we have already been dealing with a few nomenclatures consisting of more than just the praenomen, the nomen, and the cognomen. Now it is perhaps more common to find nomenclatures in which a nomen is followed by two or more cognomina (I mean the type *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum*, often also found during the Empire), but there were also nomenclatures which included two or more nomina (this type not being found before the Empire), for instance *C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus* and *A. Platorius Nepos Aponius Italicus Manilianus C. Licinius Pollio* (Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature 27; 140). From the point of view of this paper this means that one can pick up nomina not only from the positions mentioned above, but also within lengthier nomenclatures where the nomina do not occupy the "normal" position. The problem is that

⁷ CIL VI 16993 (cf. *Aerychianus* CIL VI 25372); five instances from Ostia in CIL XIV, where the consul may have come from (cf. O. Salomies, in: *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico* [ed. H. Solin, 1996] 72f.).

⁸ See *Arctos* 18 (1984) 97–104.

⁹ I. Ephesos 444. 445. 632. 679. 739. 1080. 1087A. 2078. 2079. 2082. 3049. 3063. 3089; SEG XXXV 1110.

in this case one cannot formulate any rules for identifying nomina except that names which give the impression of being nomina or which are for some reason most conveniently seen as nomina should be classified as nomina. Since *Caucidius*, appearing in the nomenclature of the senators L. Mummius Niger Quintus Valerius Vegetus Severinus Caucidius Tertullus (PIR² M 707) and P. Vigellius Raius Plarius Saturninus Atilius Braduanus Caucidius Tertullus (PIR V 434; cf. also PIR² A 720; M 541), but not otherwise attested as a name in Latin or Greek inscriptions, looks more like a nomen than a cognomen, it should be classified as a nomen even if the fact that it is indeed a nomen were not confirmed by an Oscan inscription.¹⁰ Another case which could be cited here is that of the Antonine equestrian from Heliopolis, M. Licinius Sex. f. Fab. Pompenna Potitus Urbanus (IGLS 2791). In theory this man could be interpreted as having either one nomen and three cognomina or two nomina and two cognomina, depending on the interpretation of *Pompenna*. In my view, this name should be a nomen, of Etruscan origin of course, to be compared with nomina like *Perpenna Porsenna Volusenna*. It is true that these names could also sometimes be used as cognomina (e.g. *Sisenna*; *Gargenna* AE 1981, 317), but in this case the interpretation as a nomen is recommended not only by the fact that in most cases the names of this type are nomina but also by the fact that this man, because of his filiation, seems to have an "adoptive" nomenclature of the type described in my *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature* 25–30.

However, in looking for nomina, one has to cast one's net much wider, it not being enough to keep an eye on nomenclatures of the "classical" *tria nomina* type or on polyonymous nomenclatures. Women did not, in principle, use a praenomen, so that we cannot apply the rule that a name collocated between a praenomen and a cognomen is a nomen to them, but we will have to content ourselves with the constatation that in female nomenclatures the name appearing before the cognomen will have to be a nomen. The same goes for men in whose nomenclature the praenomen is left out, a phenomenon common in authors from the earliest Empire onwards and somewhat later also in inscriptions. It is thus permissible to conclude that *Ceselius* in the nomenclature of Ceselius Montanus(?) (AE 1994, 520 from Sant'Agata di Puglia), and *Menigia* in the nomenclature of Menigia Quinta from Emerita (AE 1994, 858a) are nomina – not to speak of cases

¹⁰ E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* I (1953) no. 5 AD line 11.

like *Gavoleia* in the nomenclature of Gavoleia P. f. Rufa (M. Silvestrini, MEFRA 109 [1997] 10 from the ager Beneventanus) and *Egusia* in the nomenclature of Egusia L. l. Severa (Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 93), in which the filiation and the reference to the patron clearly indicate that the name coming at the beginning is a nomen.¹¹ Here, too, one must of course be careful, for there are cases in which a man or a woman are designated by two cognomina instead of a combination of a nomen and a cognomen, for instance *Messalla Corvinus*, *Silanus Torquatus*, *Thrasea Paetus*;¹² but the first cognomen can usually be identified easily as a such, so that for those looking for new nomina there is usually not a real problem.

To go on, remembering that nomina were sometimes used as cognomina, one also has to keep an eye on cognomina which for some reason give the impression of being nomina in origin. This type of nomenclature is found both in the early Empire, when we encounter men like P. Sulpicius Quirinius (cos. 13 BC) and Sex. Papinius Allenius (cos. AD 36), and women like Albia Terentia (the mother of the emperor Otho),¹³ and also later, when we find men like the emperor of AD 268–70, M. Aurelius Claudius. With such examples in mind, one can proceed to identify as nomina names used as cognomina but which look like nomina, and this is how we stumble into names like *Aulaeus*, *Aulanius* (these two already listed in our *Repertorium*), *Maiarius* (CIL VI 13770), *Pilionius* (Suppl. It. 13 Nursia 84), *Tudienus* (CIL VI 33858 c II 22), which, although attested only as cognomina, must by origin be nomina and which, accordingly, either already appear as nomina in our *Repertorium* or will appear as such in future editions. But cognomina are also useful to the collector of nomina inasmuch as they are often derived from nomina (much more often than being identical with nomina), usually

¹¹ Male names corresponding to this type (nomen – filiation (– tribe) – cognomen) are rare, and they are found mostly in inscriptions in which something has gone wrong; for some examples see *Die römischen Vornamen* 418ff.

¹² In the inscriptions of the Empire, one finds this type of nomenclature most often in consular dates (e.g. *Torquatus Asprenas*, one of the consuls of 128 [CIL VI 10048 = ILS 5287; CIL XIV 1433; CIL II 5095 cf. AE 1994, 1014]; *Civica Pompeianus*, one of the consuls of 136 [CIL VI 10242 = ILS 7861]; Scapula Tertullus – or Scapula Priscus –, one of the consuls of 195 [CIL XIV 169 = ILS 6172; CIL III 4407. 12802]).

¹³ M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial* (1987) no. 44; cf. *ibid.* nos. 82, 130, 159, 204, 205, 217, etc.

with the suffix *-ianus*; I am thinking here of the type *Aemilianus*, *Claudianus*. In this group of cognomina, there are quite a few which are derived from nomina not otherwise attested. A number of them are enumerated by Kajanto, *Cognomina* (see n. 1) p. 159f., but quite a few could be added, for instance *Ganicus* or *Caltonius* (extracted from *Ganiciana* Inscr. It. X 5, 1080 and *Caltonianus* CIL VIII 18020, 3). Of course, pursuing this line of thought one has to keep in mind that cognomina ending in *-ianus* can have been derived not only from nomina, but also from other cognomina, this type of cognomen being most popular from the second century AD onwards, when we start to encounter cognomina like *Maximianus*, *Severianus*. In many cases it is, it is true, difficult to decide whether a cognomen of this type is based on a nomen or a cognomen, since for instance the two cognomina mentioned above could have been derived not only from *Maximus* and *Severus*, but also from the nomina *Maximius* and *Severius*. Of course, in some cases there can be no doubt; if we know two senators, one called D. Fonteius Fronto, the other D. Fonteius Frontinianus, we can say that in this case *Frontinianus* is based not on *Frontinius*, but on *Fronto*, and because of the existence of senatorial *Ninnii Hastae*, the cognomen of the consul *Ninnius Hastianus* can obviously not be derived from the nomen *Hastius*.¹⁴ On the other hand (to get back to my theme proper), the problem is not very grave from the point of view of someone collecting unattested nomina, because I think that it is safe enough to say that those cognomina ending in *-ianus*, in the case of which no cognomen can be identified from which they could have been derived (this seems to be the case of *Ganiciana* and *Caltonianus*), must have been based on nomina.

To stay with names ending in *-ianus*, it is good to remember that this ending also appears in geographic names (of *fundi* etc.) derived from personal names and also in the names of many other things which were in some way or other connected with individuals;¹⁵ and a closer inspection of such names in fact does produce a great number of names in *-ianus* which have been derived from nomina otherwise unattested. We find for instance

¹⁴ For these, and further, instances see *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature* 61 n. 1.

¹⁵ From the index to Dessau's ILS (vol. IV, p. 641ff.) one can extract examples such as *horrea Lolliana*, *Seiana*, *Volusiana*, *horti Sallustiani*, *Titiani*, *insula Sertoriana*, *theatrum Pompeianum*.

fundus Dirrianus (CIL XI 1147, iii 25f.), *fundus Hermedianus* (CIL XI 5845), *fundus Vefeianus* (CIL X 407, 3, 4), *saltus Firronianus* (CIL V 5503), *ager Peduceianus* (CIL X 6706add., cf. CIL VI 33745 = ILS 1626), *agellus Aeseianus* (CIL V 4489),¹⁶ and, looking a bit further on, *olea Colminiana* (Cato, agr. 6, 1) and *Licerniana* (or *Liceriana*) *pira* (Plin. nat. 15, 54). Furthermore, *senatus consulta* (listed by A. O'Brien Moore, RE Suppl. VI 810–2) in the imperial period also often have names ending in *-ianum* derived from nomina (*s.c. Vellaeianum* etc.), although one finds them also derived from cognomina (*s.c. Libonianum, Orfitianum* etc.); however, *senatus consulta* (unlike *leges*, on which see below) do not seem to be able to produce new nomina.

But it is good to remember that the derivative ending in *-ianus* was not the original adjectival form corresponding to a nomen, for in the origin a nomen itself, not its derivative, was an adjective; it was only during the later Republican period when the nomen began to be thought of as being a noun rather than an adjective, and when, accordingly, adjectival forms ending in *-ianus* begin to appear.¹⁷ But even in the period when new names were coined mainly following the new style (*senatus consultum Trebellianum, horrea Lolliana* etc.), one still finds a large number of denominations following the older tradition; in addition to the well-known types *via Aurelia* (not *Aureliana*), *lex Antonia* (not *Antoniana*) and *aqua Marcia* (not *Marciana*), there are a large number of names of places and of other things named after individuals, in the names of which the nomen appears in its original adjectival form.¹⁸ And, to get back to my subject proper, from the point of view of the collector of nomina this means that one has to keep one's eye on these types of names, too. If one does this, some interesting things do emerge. For instance, *porta Mugonia* in Rome preserves a nomen which is otherwise attested only indirectly, the cognomen *Mugonianus* being known at Cirta (see Repertorium² s. v., p. 485). The nomen *Semurius* is

¹⁶ Observe that here, too, one has to be cautious; perhaps the *fundus Fangonianus* in CIL XI 6528 owes its name not to a certain Fangonius (listed in our Repertorium), but to a Fango (cf. C. Fuficius Fango RE VII 200 no. 5; Schulze 314).

¹⁷ Cf. for this development K. Meister, Lateinisch-griechische Eigennamen I. Altitalische und römische Eigennamen (1916) 81–98.

¹⁸ For some further examples, cf. again Dessau's index (see n. 15), where one finds *basilica Opimia, circus Flaminius, clivus Triarius, turris Mamilia*, etc.

known only from the name of the *ager Semurius* appearing in Cato (orig. fr. 16 P.).¹⁹ Cato also offers *lacus Prilius* (this name seems, however, to be attested also in a play by Titinius; see Repertorium² s. v., p. 149), and inscriptions furnish us with otherwise unattested nomina such as *Disaenius* in *pagus Disaenius* (AE 1947, 45, Patavium), *Granisius* in *fundus Granisius* (CIL XI 1147 ii 75, 77), *Veccius* in *saltus Veccius* (CIL XI 1147 iii 72, viii 37). Even lesser known *leges* turn out to be useful in this respect: the nomina *Ollinius* and *Pesolanus* seem to be attested only in the *leges Ollinia* and *Pesolania* (Gaius, inst. 4, 109; Paul. sent. 1, 15).

But it is also useful to keep an eye on those cases in which a single name is used of persons, on one hand because it is not uncommon that individuals are referred to in our sources by just one name, and on the other, because this one name often happens to be a nomen, for instance *Vergilius*, *Horatius*, *Tullia*. This type of denomination is, of course, more common in literary sources than in, say, inscriptions, and literary sources in fact do offer interesting instances of single names which (because of the fact they are not praenomina and cannot be thought of as cognomina or non-Latin individual names) must be nomina, and not only that, but nomina which are otherwise unattested; Vergil in the *Bucolics* (3, 90) mentions a certain *Bavius*, who has a name which makes the impression of being an (otherwise unknown) nomen, this impression being confirmed by some later sources from which it appears that this man was called M. Bavius (see RE III 152f.). Another instance is *Gannius*, the nomen (so it seems) of a poet perhaps of the late second or first century BC (*Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum*, ed. J. Blänsdorf [1995], p. 142f.). Furthermore, there is much potential material in the *Codex Iustinianus*, in which individuals are normally designated by just one name, in quite a few cases by the nomen (note e.g. *Serpius* 4, 32, 2 which looks like a nomen but which is otherwise unknown). There is also something to be gained from the study of single individual names in inscriptions (not, it is true, a very common phenomenon). One class of people appearing in inscriptions designated often by one name only are centurions named as commanders of *centuriae*; the nomen (instead of the cognomen) is often used in these cases even in the 2nd century AD (e.g. (*centuria*) *Caecili* CIL

¹⁹ In the same fragment, Cato also mentions an *ager Lintirius*, offering another otherwise unknown nomen. (Some might, however, be tempted to correct this to *Tintirius*, a nomen of which there are a few scattered attestations.)

VI 32521 of AD 147), and of course one also encounters names which must be nomina but which are otherwise unattested as such; for instance *Flageri* (the name – in the genitive – of a centurion in CIL VI 2607 and AE 1984, 68) must be the genitive of *Flagerius*, which one can without hesitation classify as a nomen.²⁰ But one can find stray instances of single names which must be nomina in other places also, for example in collections of Christian funerary inscriptions, in which the deceased usually have only one name; in the collection of Christian inscriptions from Rome, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, one observes under no. 11852 *Caesuleius*, under no. 21297 *Stateius*, names which are readily recognizable as being nomina (not, it seems, otherwise attested) in origin.

Let me conclude this part of my paper by observing rather in passing that one can of course also extract new nomina from many other types of sources, and then by saying a few words on nomina which look like cognomina ending in *-ius*. Now cognomina of this type, derived from participles, adjectives and nouns and in origin often *signa* and *agnomina*,²¹ became popular in the later third century and are extremely common in later centuries; examples are *Constantius*, *Dulcitus*, *Gaudentius*, *Laurentius*, *Luxurius*, and there are of course also many of Greek origin such as *Eutropius* and *Gregorius*. In late-third and fourth-century inscriptions and other sources these names are sometimes used in combination with other cognomina ending in *-us*, in these cases making the initial impression of being used as nomina, especially if one remembers that many of the names ending in *-ius* attested later as cognomina are in fact attested earlier as being used as nomina (e.g. *Concordius*, *Constantius*);²² instances are *Dulcitus*

²⁰ However, I still hesitate to establish the existence of the nomen *Blicisius*, which would be based on the (praetorian) (*centuria*) *Blicisi* attested in CIL VI 37213, an inscription of the third century (and thus a bit late for this kind of speculation). On the other hand, there seems to be a nomen *Blicius* (CIL V 2058), and *Blicisius* could have the same relation to *Blicius* as *Calvisius* to *Calvius*; I have thus included *Blicisius* in the list below, accompanied by a questionmark.

²¹ On which see I. Kajanto, *Supernomina* (1967).

²² As for *Concordius*, cf. the material in Schulze (p. 148, 483, 525). *Constantius* is attested as the nomen of an *urbanicianus* from Nuceria who served from 197 to 218 (CIL VI 32526, a i 18). Note also e.g. *Praesentius*, a nomen of Etruscan origin (cf. Schulze 69 n. 4; 210 n. 6), which, however, could also be a cognomen derived from *praesens*.

Sabinus (AE 1977, 265B of AD 287) and *Strategius Musonianus* (*praefectus praetorio Orientis* in 354–358, PLRE I 611). Now in collecting material for the Repertorium I decided not to take into account these cases except when there were special reasons for considering the name ending in *-ius* as a nomen (and not as a cognomen followed by another cognomen). In the latter instance there was no reason at all to consider *Strategius* as a nomen (or at least as a name being used with the function of a nomen); *Strategius* was simply Musonianus' (first) cognomen.²³ On the other hand, the case is different with *Dulcitius Sabinus* in AE 1977, 265B; although the name *Dulcitius* cannot have existed as a nomen in the Republican period and in the earlier Empire, and clearly formally represents the late type of nomina in *-ius*, in this case it can be classified with some justification as a nomen, for the man Dulcitius Sabinus appears in a list of names where he is mentioned between Aurelius Augurius and Cassius Gelasius.²⁴ *Dulcitius* was thus used by its owner with a function for which his colleagues Augurius and Gelasius used the nomina *Aurelius* and *Cassius*, and so I think I was justified in registering *Dulcitius*, accompanied by a reference to the inscription mentioned above and (to exclude the possibility of being censured for my decision) by a question mark, in the Repertorium.

II. On the Relative Frequency of Roman Nomina

There exist calculations on the frequency of individual nomina, especially of the most frequently attested ones, for instance in the case of nomina found in provinces such as the Hispaniae and Gallia Narbonensis.²⁵ But there do not seem to exist calculations, or at least estimates, on the relative frequency of nomina in the Roman world. Of course we all know that *Arrius*, *Licinius*, *Valerius* and similar names are "common", whereas we

²³ In fact, we do know that the man was originally called *Strategius* (the nomen not being mentioned) and that he was called *Musonianus* by the emperor Constantine because of his erudition (Amm. 15, 13, 2).

²⁴ In the same text, *Gregorius*, appearing between *Maximius* and *Fan(i)us*, also seems to be used as a nomen.

²⁵ R. Syme, *Tacitus II* (1958) 784; R. C. Knapp, *AncSoc* 9 (1978) 211 (with an overview of the most common nomina in all volumes of CIL).

tend to think of names such as *Ligarius* or *Nasidienus* as being "rare", and one is accustomed to finding casual observations of this type on the frequency of nomina in many places, for example in commentaries on inscriptions with names appearing in them. However, I thought that it might be interesting and perhaps even useful to try to find out some concrete information on the relative frequency of nomina in the Roman world. Now since more than 12,000 nomina (or rather, more than 12,000 different forms of a somewhat smaller number of different nomina) are attested in the Roman world, of which hundreds, or perhaps even thousands, are attested only once, it would be impossible to list them all according to their frequency, but instead, one can try to do something about the more common ones, and this is exactly what I aim to do in this section. To do something like this, I could in theory count all the instances of nomina such as *Arrius*, *Licinius*, *Valerius* etc., in order to be able to produce a certain number of attestations of *Arrius* and to relate this number to (say) the number of *Licinii* and *Valerii*. However, to avoid having to spend years in doing something like this, I must use a cruder method. A long time ago, when I was collecting material for the *Repertorium*, I had the habit of making a note, on a provisional list of nomina, at each nomen whenever there was an attestation of this nomen in a collection of inscriptions or of other sources, the different collections (these including my own notebooks with information on texts appearing in publications without indices) being marked with separate numbers (for instance IGR IV = 100), and I have been going on with this since then. In practice this means that a glance at this list gives one a certain idea of the frequency of a nomen, for in the case of very common names which appear in all the big corpora and in numerous volumes of the *AE* and in other collections, the name is followed by a long list of marks. Now to achieve my aim of producing some information on the relative frequency of the more common nomina, I proceeded to count the number of marks attached to those nomina which had sixteen or more marks, and found out that altogether 575 nomina belonged to this category. Meanwhile, I had, at the same time, distributed these 575 nomina into different groups according to the number of marks. The groups are as follows:

A: 16–20 marks; **B:** 21–30 marks; **C:** 31–40 marks; **D:** 40–55 marks (distributed over one-and-a-half lines, there being about 30–35 marks per line); **E:** around two lines of marks (that would make around 55–80 marks); **F:** about two-and-a-half lines to three lines (this would produce around 80–

100 marks); **G**: between three and four lines (we are now somewhere between 100 and 120); **H**: four lines (120 or somewhat more marks); **I**: extremely common names on the frequency of which I have no information since I did not think it useful to make notes on nomina which can be found everywhere.

It is clear that this is indeed a most crude method, and my results cannot be treated as more than as vague indications of the relative frequency of the nomina appearing on the list. To point out some problems, an attestation of a nomen appearing in (say) not one, but two collections, will have two marks (e.g. one referring to a volume of AE, the other to a volume of Suppl. It.), a fact which obviously will distort the results, although, since this is a methodological problem affecting all nomina, this is perhaps not a very serious distortion inasmuch as we are talking here of relative rather than of absolute frequencies. On the other hand, it is true that some distortion is introduced by e.g. the fact that for some areas there are more epigraphical publications – each producing a new mark in my lists – than for others; for instance, there are numerous local publications in Spain, and so one could think that a nomen which is generally rare, but which has some Spanish attestations, would do better in my calculations than a nomen which in fact has about the same number of attestations, but in an area which is covered by a big corpus and not by additional local publications (one might here think of e.g. Africa). Again, fifty instances of a nomen in a major corpus (e.g. CIL VI or VIII) will produce just one mark, the same as one instance of a rare nomen in the same corpus (or in some other collection). This means that the number of marks cannot be used to calculate the number of individual attestations of a nomen; they simply indicate the number of collections in which a certain nomen can be found, and only this number is (as already said) the basis of the calculations which follow. On the other hand, the fact that a nomen appears once in fifty different collections of nomina perhaps tells us more of the frequency of the nomen in question than the fact that the nomen is found fifty times in one corpus (say, CIL VI or VIII) – but nowhere else.²⁶

²⁶ Of course I am not saying that the fact that a nomen is found exclusively or almost exclusively in one corpus only (which normally means that the nomen in question is attested in one city or area only) is without interest; in the case of Rome for instance this would probably in most cases point to the existence of a wealthy person of that name who had a large *familia*; in the case of provincial cities information of this kind can be

Before I present the list of nomina, let us have a look at what it means in practice if a nomen appears in one of the groups. Let us take *Abudius*, a nomen which appears in group A, this (as noted above) meaning that my notes say that this nomen is found in between 16 and 20 corpora or other collections of nomina. In practice this produces the following number of attestations:²⁷ PIR² A 17f.; Rome: 2 instances in CIL VI; Gabii: CIL XIV 2809; Aquileia: I. Aquileia 743. 2752. AE 1977, 725 = IMS VI 48; Parentium: CIL V 328. 329 = Inscr. It. X 2, 3. 4; Pola: CIL V 216 = Inscr. It. X 1, 177; brick stamps in this area: CIL V 8110, 34 cf. C. Zaccaria, AN 59 (1988) 325; AAd 29 (1987) 514; Nemausus: Espérandieu, ILGN 438; Iader: CIL III 2938; Thessalonica: IG X 2, 1, 244. 259. 744; Demetrias: IG IX 2, 1162; Africa: BACTH 1914, 604 no. 29 (Ammaedara).

As for *Muttienus*, also in group A, this nomen is attested as follows: Rome: CIL VI 32515 e ii 24. V. Väänänen (ed.), *Le iscrizioni della necropoli dell'autoparco Vaticano* (1973) 87; Venusia: CIL IX 444/5. AE 1994, 469; Luceria: CIL IX 868. 869. 870. AE 1983, 239; Teanum Apulum: CIL IX 704. AE 1976, 154, 155; Veleia: CIL XI 1147, iv 93f., v 11 (*fundus Muttienianus*); Placentia: CIL XI 1216 (but this is a centurion of unknown origin); Interamna: CIL XI 4264; Oriculum: CIL XI 7813; Pola: CIL V 8139 = Inscr. It. X 1, 85 (cf. F. Tassaux, in: *La città nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana* [1990] 93); Concordia: CIL V 1890; Patavium: CIL V 2999; Mediolanum: CIL V 6046; Senia in Dalmatia: ILJug. 2899; *vascula cretaea* from Dalmatia: CIL III 6434, 3. 10186, 15. 14031; Lete in Macedonia: Bull. épigr. 1953, 112; Dion: unpublished inscription of AD 36/37 seen by me in 1990.

used e.g. to establish the origin of (say) a senator with a rare nomen (for instance, one can assume that the two known senators with the nomen *Digitius* were from Paestum, since this nomen is hardly found outside Paestum (cf. O. Salomies, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* [ed. A.D. Rizakis, 1996] 118 with n. 37). On the other hand, it is true that, in the case of nomina such as *Atiarius* and *Eburenus*, of which there are many attestations, but from only one provincial city, Philippi in the case of *Atiarius*, Iconium in the case of *Eburenus*, one would very much prefer possible new attestations coming from somewhere else than from these two cities, for otherwise it will be impossible to trace the history of these two interesting nomina.

²⁷ I am here using material partly presented in the list of nomina in the article quoted in the preceding note, p. 118ff.

Let us also have a look at a nomen in group B (in 21–30 different publications), and let us choose *Cusonius*, which is attested as follows: Rome: CIL VI: 9 instances. CIL XV 6084; Nola: CIL X 1251; Nepes: CIL XI 3208; some city in *regio VIII* (Aemilia): Phlego, FGrHist 257 F 37; Aquileia: CIL V 909 = I. Aquileia 2854; Opitergium: CIL V 8786; Bellunum: CIL V 2057; Altinum: CIL V 2221; Ateste: CIL V 2663. 2575. Patavium: CIL V 2939; Tregnano in Venetia: NSA 1893, 131; Verona: CIL V 3310. NSA 1893, 13. Brixia: CIL VI 32520, A, 3; Anauni: Suppl. It. 6 Anauni 10; Arusnates: CIL V 3916. 3952; Arilica: CIL V 4011; Chalcis: IG XII 9, 916; Thessalonica: 8 instances in IG X 2, 1 and CIL VI 2679; Asia: I. Ephesos 1043. 1145. I. Kyme 42. Africa: CIL VIII 9376. AE 1939, 213 (a centurion of the legio III Augusta).

Appearing in group A thus in the case of *Abudius* and *Muttienus* means that the real number of attestations of the name is around or somewhat more than 20; in the case of *Cusonius*, belonging to group B in practice means around 40 attestations of the name. Obviously things can be very different in the case of other nomina belonging to these groups (for instance if there is a strikingly high number of attestations of a nomen in only one corpus); but the examples presented above may perhaps be taken to indicate roughly what one can expect of the number of real attestations of nomina belonging to groups A and B, this perhaps giving an idea of the frequency of nomina belonging to the other groups, and in any case I am talking here about relative rather than absolute frequencies. Let us then go on to the enumeration of the nomina belonging to the different groups. Nomina not appearing in the following lists have a smaller number of attestations.

Group A: Nomina in 16–20 different collections, publications etc.

Abidius – Abudius – Aedius – Aetrius – Aius – Alfenus – Alleius – Allienus – Ancharenus – Anius – Apicius – Apidius – Appaeus – Argentarius – Arrenius – Asellius – Atanius – Babbius – Badius – Bellicius – Betilienus – Birrius – Blassius – Caesellius – Caesidius – Caesilius – Calavius – Caprius – Careius – Caristianus – Caulius – Ceius – Celerius – Cispus – Cluentius – Cossinius – Dasimius (cf. *Dasumius* B) – Decidius – Decrius – Dellius – Dexius – Dindius – Etrilius – Fictorius – Fufidius – Horatius – Hosidius – Laetorius – Lappius – Lorentius – Maecenas – Maelius – Maenius – Manneius – Matius – Maximius – Mescinius – Mundicius – Murcius – Murdius – Mutilius – Mutius (cf. *Muttius*) – Muttienus – Muttius (cf. *Mutius*) – Nasidius – Nassius – Nevius – Ninnius – Obulcius – Ocratius – Ogulnius – Ostorius – Ovinus – Pedanius – Pedius – Perperna – Plutius – Procilius – Publius – Racilius – Ragonius – Rocius – Rufinius – Salaris – Saturius – Secundinius – Secundius – Sedatius – Sellius – Servaeus

– Sestullius – Suellius – Sutorius – Tarquitiu(s) – Tiberius – Tillius – Titacius – Tossius – Turellius – Tutilius – Urgulanius – Utius – Varenius (cf. *Varenus* B) – Varinius – Vehilius – Velius – Ventidius – Verius – Vettidius – Vibidius – Viccius – Vicirius – Vicrius – Vilius – Virrius – Vitorius – Voltilius.

Group B: Nomina in 21–30 different collections, publications etc.

Aburius – Aconius – Aeficius – Afinius – Albanus – Albinus – Albucius – Alfidius – Allidius – Amatius – Ambivius – Ammius – Ampius – Anneius – Anteius – Arius – Atellius – Atius – Atrius – Aufustius – Aulius – Aurelianus – Autronius – Avonius – Axius – Baburius – Barbatius – Bassius – Bellius – Bennius – Betutius – Blaesius – Blossius – Caetronius – Camerius – Camil(l)ius – Campanius – Cantius – Carisius – Cartilius – Catinius – Ceionius – Cerrinius – Cippius – Considius – Consius – Coponius – Cornificius – Cottius – Crepereius – Crispus – Critonius – Curiatius – Cusinius – Cusonius – Cuspis – Dasumius – Decumius – Egrilius – Equitius – Erucius – Faltonius – Fanius (cf. *Fannius* D) – Favonius – Folius – Fundanius – Galerius – Gallius – Genucius – Gessius – Graecinius – Haterius – Helvidius – Herius – Hirrius – Hostius – Laecanius – Laetilius – Laevius – Lanius – Lartidius – Lartius – Lepidius – Liburnius – Longinius – Lucanius – Luscius – Maecilius – Maesius – Magnius – Mamius – Mammius – Manius – Martius – Mattius – Minatius – Minius – Mulvius – Murrius – Mussius – Nasennius – Neratius – Nerius – Numitorius – Nunnius – Obellius – Occius – Orfius – Ovius – Pactumeius – Pacuvius – Papinius – Paquius – Patulcius – Peducaeus – Perel(l)ius – Pinnius – Planius – Plinius – Pollius – Poppaeus – Proculeius – Propertius – Raecius – Raius – Rasinius – Rennius – Saenius – Safinius – Salluvius – Salonius – Samiarius – Septicius – Servius – Severius – Seuius – Silicius – Silvius – Sittius – Sosius (cf. *Sossius* C) – Spurius – Staberius – Tampius – Tan(n)onius – Tadius – Tedi(s) – Tertius – Timinius – Tineius – Titurius – Trebellius – Trosius – Turius – Tutorius – Umbricius – Umbrius – Ummidius – Ursius – Valgius – Vallius – Varenus (cf. *Varenus* A) – Varronius – Vaternius – Vecilius – Veius – Velleius – Venidius – Vennonius – Venuleius – Verginius – Vetilius – Vetius (cf. *Vettius* H) – Vettienus – Victorius – Vinius – Vivius – Volcacius – Volussius (cf. *Volusius* E).

Group C: Nomina in 31–40 different collections, publications etc.

Accius – Agrius – Ancharius – Artorius – Ateius – Audius – Avianus – Avius – Babullius – Barbius – Caedicius – Caerellius – Caesennius – Caesernius – Calidius – Calvius – Camurius – Canius – Carminius – Carvilius – Cascel(l)ius – Catil(l)ius – Cattius – Cervius – Cestius – Cincius – Cordius – Curius – Decimius – Epidius – Eppius – Faenius – Flaminius – Flavonius – Florius – Fulcinius – Gargilius – Grattius – Heius – Hordeonius/Hordionius – Hortensius – Insteius – Latinius – Luccius – Maius – Malius – Mestrius – Metilius – Mummius – Norbanus – Novellius – Nummius – Oclatius (with *Oculatius* D) – Ofellius – Ofillius (with *Ofilius* D) – Olius – Orbius – Pacilius – Pescennius – Peticius – Pinarius – Plaetorius – Plancius – Poblucius – Pullius – Pupius – Quinctius – Romanus – Roscius – Rufrius – Rupilius – Rustius – Sabidius – Sabinius – Saufeius – Scantius – Seppius – Sestius – Sicinius – Sossius (cf. *Sossius* B) – Spedius –

Staius – Stertinius – Veranius – Verrius – Vibullius – Villius – Vinicius – Vipsanius – Visellius.

Group D: Nomina in approximately 40–55 different collections, publications etc.

Afranius – Aninius – Antestius (cf. *Antistius* G) – Antius – Appius – Apronius – Arellius – Atinius – Caesonius – Calventius – Calvisius – Cadius – Clodius – Cluvius – Cosconius – Fonteius – Fuficius – Fufius – Gabinius – Lucius – Lurius – Lusius – Lutatius – Mallius (cf. *Malius* C) – Mamilius – Manilius – Mevius – Mindius – Modius – Numerius – Paconius – Plautius – Publilius – Quintius (cf. *Quinctius* C) – Rufius – Sallustius – Sertorius – Stlaccius – Silius – Tadius – Trebonius – Tuccius – Turpilius – Veratius – Vergilius – Virius – Vitellius – Voconius – Volumnius.

Group E: Nomina in approximately 55–80 different collections, publications etc.

Acutius – Aebutius – Albius – Anicius – Annaeus – Aponius – Bruttius – Caecina – Caninius – Cocceius – Cossutius – Curtius – Decius – Didius – Ennius – Fadius – Fannius – Firmius – Hostilius – Iuventius – Laberius – Larcius – Lucceius – Maecius – Magius – Manlius – Messius – Mettius – Minicius – Novius – Numisius – Papirius – Papius – Petil(l)ius – Porcius – Postumius – Publicius (cf. *Poblicius* C) – Rubrius – Satrius – Scribonius – Sentius – Septimius/Septumius – Sergius – Sextilius – Sextius – (Sosius + Sossius) – Tettius – Titinius – Trebius – Turranius – Vedius – Volusius (cf. *Volussius* B).

Group F: Nomina in approximately 80–100 different collections, publications etc.

Alfius – Allius – Aquil(l)ius – Arrius – Arruntius – Asinius – Atilius – Avidius – Avil(l)ius – Caecilius – Caelius – Caesius – Calpurnius – Castricius – Coelius – Cominius – Fabius – Fabricius – Fulvius – Furius – Gavius – Gellius – Geminus – Granus – Helvius – Laelius – Livius – Lollius – Lucilius – Lucretius – (Malius C + Mallius D) – Marcius – Mucius – Munatius – Naevius – Nonius – Oppius – Otacilius – Paccius – Plotius Pontius – (Quinctius C + Quintius D) – Rutilius – Salvius – Seius – Servilius – Statilius – Staius – Sulpicius – Titius – Tullius – Varius – Veturius – (Volusius E + Volussius B).

Group G: Nomina in approximately 100–120 different collections, publications etc.

Acilius – Antistius – Ap(p)uleius – Baebius – Cassius – Egnatius (with *Ignatius*) – Memmius – Pomponius – Popil(l)ius – Sempronius – Terentius – Vettius.

Group H: Nomina in approximately 120–140 different collections, publications etc.

Attius – Aufidius – Herennius – Marius – Octavius – Petronius – Vibius.

Group I: Nomina appearing about everywhere

Aelius – Aemilius – Annius – Antonius – Aurelius – Claudius – Cornelius – Domitius – Flavius – Iulius – Iunius – Licin(n)ius – Ulpus (this nomen probably belongs to some other group, but I have no information on the number of attestations of Ulpus) – Valerius.

Index of the nomina in groups A–I:

Abidius A – Abudius A – Aburius B – Accius C – Acilius G – Aconius B – Acutius E – Aebutius E – Aedius A – Aeficius B – Aelius I – Aemilius I – Aetrius A – Afnius B – Afranius D – Agrius C – Aius A – Albanus B – Albinus B – Albius E – Albucius B – Alfenus A – Alfidius B – Alfius F – Alleius A – Allidius B – Allienus A – Allius F – Amatius B – Ambivius B – Ammius B – Ampius B – Ancharenus A – Ancharius C – Anicius E – Aninius D – Anius A – Annaeus E – Anneius B – Annius I – Anteus B – Antestius D – Antistius G – Antius D – Antonius I – Apicius A – Apidius A – Aponius E – Appaeus A – Appius D – Ap(p)uleius G – Apronius D – Aquil(l)ius F – Arellius D – Argentarius A – Arius B – Arrenius A – Arrius F – Arruntius F – Artorius C – Asellius A – Asinius F – Atanius A – Ateius C – Atellius B – Atilius F – Atinius D – Atius B – Atrius B – Attius H – Audius C – Aufidius H – Aufustius B – Aulus B – Aurelianus B – Autronius B – Avianus C – Avidius F – Avil(l)ius F – Avius C – Avonius B – Axius B – Babbius A – Babullius C – Baburius B – Badius A – Baebius G – Barbatius B – Barbis C – Bassius B – Bellicius A – Bellius B – Bennius B – Betilienus A – Betutius B – Birrius A – Blaesius B – Blassius A – Blossius B – Bruttius E – Caecilius H – Caecina E – Caedicius C – Caelius F – Caerellius C – Caesellius A – Caesennius C – Caesernius C – Caesidius A – Caesilius A – Caesius F – Caesonius D – Caetronius B – Calavius A – Calidius C – Calpurnius F – Calventius D – Calvisius D – Calvius C – Camerius B – Camil(l)ius B – Campanius B – Camurius C – Caninius E – Canius C – Cantius B – Caprius A – Careius A – Carisius B – Caristianus A – Carminius C – Cartilius B – Carvilius C – Cascel(l)ius C – Cassius G – Castricius F – Catil(l)ius C – Catinius B – Catus D – Cattius C – Caulius A – Ceionius B – Ceius A – Celerius A – Cerrinius B – Cervius C – Cestius C – Cincius C – Cippius B – Cispus A – Claudius I – Cluentius A – Clodius D – Cluvius D – Cocceius E – Coelius F – Cominius F – Considius B – Consius B – Coponius B – Cordius C – Cornelius I – Cornificius B – Cosconius D – Cossinius A – Cossutius E – Cottius B – Crepereius B – Crispus B – Critonius B – Curiatius B – Curius C – Curtius F – Cusinius B – Cusonius B – Cuspis B – Dasimius A – Dasumius B – Decidius A – Decimius C – Decius E – Decrius A – Decumius B – Dellius A – Dexius A – Didius E – Dindius A – Domitius I – Egnatius (with *Ignatius*) G – Egrilius B – Ennius E – Epidius C – Eppius C – Equitius B – Erucius B – Etrilius A – Fabricius F – Fabius F – Fadius E – Faenius C – Faltonius B – Fanius B – Fannius E – Favonius B – Fictorius A – Firmius E – Flaminius C – Flavius I – Flavonius C – Florius C – Folius B – Fonteius D – Fuficius D – Fufidius A – Fufius D – Fulcinius C – Fulvius F – Fundanius B – Furius F – Gabinius D – Galerius B – Gallius B – Gargilius C – Gavius F – Gellius F

– Geminus F – Genucius B – Gessius B – Graecinius B – Granus F – Grattius C –
 Haterius B – Heius C – Helvidius B – Helvius H – Herennius H – Herius B – Hirrius B –
 Horatius A – Hordeonius/Hordionius C – Hortensius C – Hosidius A – Hostilius E –
 Hostius B – Insteius C – Iulius I – Iunius I – Iuventius E – Laberius E – Laecanius B –
 Laelius F – Laetilius B – Laetorius A – Laevius B – Lanius B – Lappius A – Larcius E –
 Lartidius B – Lartius B – Latinius C – Lepidius B – Liburnius B – Licin(n)ius I – Livius
 F – Lollius F – Longinius B – Lorentius A – Lucanius B – Lucceius E – Luccius C –
 Lucilius F – Lucius D – Lucretius F – Lurius D – Luscius B – Lusius D – Lutatius D –
 Maecenas A – Maecilius B – Maecius F – Maelius A – Maenius A – Maesius B – Magius
 E – Magnus B – Maius C – Malius C – Mallius D – Mamilius D – Mamius B –
 Mammius B – Manilius D – Manius B – Manlius E – Manneius A – Marcius F – Marius
 H – Martius B – Matius A – Mattius B – Maximus A – Memmius G – Mescinius A –
 Messius E – Mestrius C – Metilius C – Mettius E – Mevius D – Minatius B – Mindius D
 – Minicius E – Minius B – Modius D – Mucius G – Mulvius B – Mummius C –
 Munatius F – Mundicius A – Murcius A – Murdius A – Murrius B – Mussius B –
 Mutilius A – Mutius A – Muttienus A – Muttius A – Naevius F – Nasennius B –
 Nasidius A – Nassius A – Neratius B – Nerius B – Nevius A – Ninnius A – Nonius F –
 Norbanus C – Novellius C – Novius E – Numerius D – Numisius E – Numitorius B –
 Nummius C – Nunnius B – Obellius B – Obulcius A – Occius B – Oclatius C – Ocratius
 A – Octavius K – Ofellius C – Ofillius C – Ogulnius A – Olius C – Oppius F – Orbius C
 – Orfius B – Ostorius A – Otacilius F – Ovinus A – Ovius B – Paccius F – Pacilius C –
 Paconius D – Pactumeius B – Pacuvius B – Papinius B – Papius F – Papius E – Paquius
 B – Patulcius B – Pedanius A – Pedius A – Peducaeus B – Perel(l)ius B – Perperna A –
 Pescennius C – Peticius C – Petil(l)ius E – Petronius H – Pinarius C – Pinnius B –
 Plaetorius C – Plancius C – Planius B – Plautius D – Plinius B – Plotius F – Plutius A –
 Poblicius C – Pollius B – Pomponius G – Pontius F – Popil(l)ius G – Poppaeus B –
 Porcius E – Postumius E – Procilius A – Proculcius B – Propertius B – Publicius E –
 Publilius D – Publius A – Pullius C – Pupius C – Quinctius C – Quintus D – Racilius A
 – Raecius B – Ragonius A – Raius B – Rasinius B – Rennius B – Rocius A – Romanus
 C – Roscius C – Rubrius E – Rufinius A – Rufius D – Rufrius C – Rupilius C – Rustius
 C – Rutilius F – Sabidius C – Sabinius C – Saenius B – Safinius B – Salarius A –
 Sallustius D – Salluvius B – Salonius B – Salvius F – Samiarius B – Satrius E – Satrius
 A – Saufeius C – Scantius C – Scribonius E – Secundinius A – Secundius A – Sedatius A
 – Seius F – Sellius A – Sempronius G – Sentius E – Seppius C – Septicius B – Septimius
 E – Sergius E – Sertorius D – Servaeus A – Servilius F – Servius B – Sestius C –
 Sestullius A – Severus – Sevius B – Sextilius E – Sextius E – Sicinius C – Silicius B –
 Silius D – Silvius B – Sittius B – Sosius B – Sossius C – Spedius C – Spurius B –
 Staberius B – Staius C – Statilius F – Stadius F – Stertinius C – Stlaccius D – Suellius A –
 Sulpicius F – Sutorius A – Tadius D – Tampius B – Tan(n)onius B – Tarquinius A –
 Tatius B – Tediis B – Terentius I – Tertius B – Tettius E – Tiberius A – Tillius A –
 Timinius B – Tineius B – Titacius A – Titinius E – Titius F – Titurius B – Tossius A –
 Trebellius B – Trebius E – Trebonius D – Trosius B – Tuccius D – Tullius F – Turellius
 A – Turius B – Turpilius D – Turranius E – Tutilius A – Tutorius B – Ulpius I –
 Umbricius B – Umbrius B – Ummidius B – Urgulanius A – Ursius B – Utius A –
 Valerius I – Valgius B – Vallius B – Varenus A – Varenus B – Varinius A – Varius F –
 Varronius B – Vaternius B – Vecilius B – Vedius E – Vehilius A – Veius B – Velius A –
 Velleius B – Venidius B – Vennonius B – Ventidius A – Venuleius B – Veranius C –
 Veratius D – Vergilius D – Verginius B – Verius A – Verrius C – Vetilius B – Vetius B –

Vettidius A – Vettienus B – Vettius G – Veturius F – Vibidius A – Vibius H – Vibullius C – Viccius A – Vicirius A – Vicrius A – Victorius B – Vilius A – Villius C – Vinicius C – Vinius B – Vipsanius C – Virius D – Virrius A – Visellius C – Vitellius D – Vitorius A – Vivius B – Voconius D – Volcacius B – Voltilius A – Volumnius D – Volusius E – Volussius B.

III. Nomina Missing in, and to be Deleted from, the Second Edition of *Repertorium Nominum Gentilium et Cognominum Latinorum*

Nomina shown to be non-existent, to be deleted from the *Repertorium*. Reference is made to the publication in which the original mistaken reading of the name is corrected.

Avilienus MGR 18 (1994) 276 no. 99 (the correct reading is *Aulienus*)

Catalus (in VI 3897 = 32703) the correct reading is *Catalius*, with a ligature of the *l* and the *i* (autopsy of the inscription, in the American Academy at Rome)

Concius (allegedly in ICVR 1567) ICVR 23874 (the correct reading is *Congius*)

Elusius (allegedly in CIL X 4119) H. Solin, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 162 = id., *Analecta epigraphica* 1970–1997 (1998) 225

Felutius the correct reading in CIL X 5470 is *Tellutius* (M. Kajava, in: H. Solin [ed.], *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico* [AIRF 15, 1996] 196f. no. 28)

Flan- cf. below

Gampulaeus AE 1995, 372

Gerraeus M.-F. Baslez, in: A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* (*Meletemata* 21, 1996) 218 n. 12

Hurunius CIE 5801; CIL XI 7401

Metronius SEG XLII 817

Pedo AE 1995, 1055

Pollacaspenus M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina* (1994) 53

Quintienus (allegedly in CIL V 5598, adduced by Schulze on p. 55) F. Cantarelli, *Catalogo del lapidario dei musei civici di Varese* (1996) 12–19 no. 3 (the correct reading is *C. Quinti Cn. f. / Quintiani / etc.*)

Roncarius Suppl. It. 13 Pedona 7

Subicius Inscr. It. X 1, 269 (but cf. AE 1991, 1076 from Hispania Citerior)

Ustilius (derived from a cognomen read mistakenly as *Ustilianus*) G. Camodeca, in: *Ercolano 1738–1988. 250 anni di ricerca archeologica* (1993) 524

Vetto AE 1995, 1055

Volonius (attested in CIL VI 29467) H. Solin, *Arctos* 29 1995 177 = *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) 382 (the correct form is *Vilonius*)

Nomina missing in the second edition of the *Repertorium*:

Acidilius AE 1994, 1216 (Aquitania) (perhaps not to be interpreted as a nomen)

Adsidius Ulp. dig. 48, 19, 5 pr.

- Aelliu[s]** CIL II² / 7, 1007
- Aeschinius** (cf. Aescinius) in *fundus Aeschinianus* CIL XI 1147 v 39
- Aescinius** in *fundus Aescinianus* CIL VI 10242 = ILS 7861 (Rome)
- Alitenu** S. Panciera, *Arctos* 32 (1998) 154
- Ambavius** AE 1992, 984 (Hispania Citerior)
- Anneaues** F. Cappelli, *Picus* 16–17 (1996–97) 234f. (Asculum Picenum; perhaps a mistake for *Annaeus*)
- Annosius** HEP. 5 (1995) 941 (an inscription now in Tarragona)
- Annusidius** (cf. *Annisidius*) A.D. Rizakis, *Achaie II. La cité de Patras. Épigraphie et histoire* (Meletemata 25, 1998) 136
- Apanicus** HEP. 4 (1994) 585 (Hispania Citerior)
- Apstidius** AE 1993, 573 (between Praeneste and Carsioli)
- Argennius** J. Bodet & S. Tracy, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA* (1997) p. 60 (a soldier from Mediolanum)
- Arictecius** (?) BACTH 1905, 372 n. 4 (Uppenna, Africa)
- Artue(ius?)** M. Mello, *Paestum romana* (1974) 19f.
- Asonilo** (?) AE 1995, 640 (Ruginello east of Milan)
- Baebirius** see *Bebirius*
- Βαιτέννιος** I. Prusa ad Ol. II 1039
- Barbulius** AE 1994, 469 (on a brick stamp in the museum of Venosa)
- Bebirius** J. Bodet & S. Tracy, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA* (1997) p. 85 (Puteoli; reading of the nomen by H. Solin)
- Blicisius** (?) CIL VI 37213 (cf. above n. 20).
- Bofonius** (or perhaps rather *Bufonius*) attested as Βοφονι(ν) (acc.) in an Oscan *defixio* from Lucania (G. Pugliese Carratelli, in: *Laos II. La tomba a camera di Marcellina* (E. Greco & P.G. Guzzo, eds., 1992) 17ff., cf. E. Campanile, *SE* 58 (1992) 371ff.)
- Bombilius** BACTH 1921, ccxlix n. 9 (Sitifis)
- Bufonius** (?) cf. *Bofonius*
- Caeselius** (cf. *Caesellius*, and *Ceselius*, below) CIL VI 13930; CIL VI 1485* cf. H. Solin, *Festschrift H. Chantraine* (1993) 343; P. Palazzo, in: *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron* (1996) 48 (amphora from Brundisium)
- Caesianius** VI 1488* cf. H. Solin, in: *Festschr. H. Chantraine* (1993) 344
- Calcidius** (cf. *Calchidius*) BACTH 1907, cxcix n. 2 (Aïn-Teffaha in Africa)
- Caltonius** inferred from the cognomen *Caltonianus* CIL VIII 18020, 3
- Campuleius** CIL X 8340 cf. AE 1995, 372; AE 1995, 376 (Potentia in Lucania); the cognomen *Campuleianus* AE 1994, 457 (Monticchio near Venusia)
- Καπιτωνιανός** SEG XXXIV 718 = IGBulg. 5904 (Parthicopolis)
- Carbo** M. Christol & Th. Drew-Bear, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica* (Ichnia 2, Macerata 1998) 321 no. 7 (Antiochia Pisidiae)
- Ceselius** (= *Caeselius*) AE 1994, 520 (Vibinum)
- Cirius** AE 1995, 1068 (Nemausus; cf. *Cirrius*)
- Cittius** S. Gsell, *Recherches archéologiques en Algérie* (1893) 166 no. 167, 169 (Sitifis)
- Κλωδιανός[ς]** R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde* (1899) 78 no. 65
- Cocleius** BACTH 1906, 212 (Thamugadi)
- Coffius** AE 1994, 517 (Vibinum; attested as a cognomen, but perhaps originally a nomen)

- Κωμέδιος** (?) AE 1941, 301 = SEG XXIV 953 = M.A. López Jimeno, *Las tabellae defixionis de la Sicilia griega* (1991) no. 20 = J.B. Curbera, *Mnemosyne* 50 (1997) 220 (Lilybaeum)
- Commun[ius]** BACTH 1909, clxxxvi no. 4 (Karthago)
- Creminus** (?) (a nomen?) AE 1993, 1165 (on an amphora from Baetica)
- Crippius** AE 1995, 1681 (Theveste)
- Cudius** (?) BACTH 1909, ccxxxv (Thysdrus)
- Cumarenus** AE 1992, 1382 (Iader)
- Curilius** Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 88
- Denatius** (?) CIL II² / 7, 250 (Corduba; Stylow proposes *Denctatius*)
- Docquirius** CIL II² / 7, 280 (Corduba)
- Ebatienus** Bollettino d'Arte 18 (1983) 84 (Rome?)
- Egusius** Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 93
- Epaticcius** AE 1995, 1064 (Nemausus)
- Ἐπτόνι(ο)ς** (or Ἐπτόν-) P. Cabanes & F. Drini, *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion* (1995) 146
- Etruscus** Epigraphica 23 (1961) 35 (Canale Monterano in S. Etruria); AE 1991, 1695 (Numidia)
- Evolius** (?) AE 1994, 295 (Rome)
- Fadianus** BACTH 1901, 109 (Bougie in Africa)
- Farro** AE 1991, 1271 (a centurion in Germania Superior)
- Farusaenus** AE 1994, 585 (Asisium), with the emendation suggested by M. Kajava
- Ficul(-)** *Ricognizioni archeologiche* 4 (1989) 17 (*anulus fictilis* from Signia)
- Flanius** Inscr. It. X 1, 374; AE 1995, 552 (Pola)
- Furent(ius?)** AE 1993, 1103 (on an amphora from Africa)
- Fuxa[...]** BACTH 1918, 146f. n. 1, line 4 (Karthago, a soldier)
- Ganicus** inferred from the cognomen *Ganiciana* Inscr. It. X 5, 1080 (Brixia)
- Gavoleius** M. Silvestrini, MEFRA 109 (1997) 10 (ager Beneventanus)
- Gelasin(ius?)** BACTH 1904, 206 no. 35 (Lambaesis, a soldier)
- Getul[...]** Z. Benzina Ben Abdallah, *Ant. Afr.* 32 (1996) 123 no. 23 (in the Bardo Museum)
- Geusi(us)** AE 1993, 1286 (Poetovio)
- Grunius** BACTH 1904, 206 no. 35 (Lambaesis, a soldier)
- Heptanius** (?) cf. Ἐπτόνι(ο)ς
- Insidius** AE 1993, 593 (Asculum Picenum)
- Iphronius** (?) AE 1995, 1720 (Theveste)
- Isucius** A. Pelletier, ZPE 119 (1997) 209 no. 1 (Vienna [?])
- Iurdan[-]** B.E. Thomasson, *A Survey of Greek and Latin inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections* (1997) 152 (of unknown origin)
- Iustulenus** AE 1994, 859d (Emerita)
- Labennius** (or *L. Abenn-*?) AE 1991, 1667 (Dougga)
- Λάμπιος** M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos* (1993) 214 no. EV 171
- Lepthinius** (?) AE 1992, 1805 (Civitas Chul, Africa)
- Lollidius** CIL II² / 7, 340 (Corduba)
- Lucilianus** CIL V 635* = F. Resnati, in: *Notizie del Chiostro Maggiore (Rassegna di studi del civico museo archeologico e del civico gabinetto numismatico di Milano)* 1995, fasc. lv–lvi, 70 no. 67 (Magonza east of Milan)

- Μαδίλιος** P. Cabanes & F. Drini, *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion* (1995) 297 (Μαδίνα Πωμετείνα the eds., but *Madilia* seems to be the correct reading)
- Maiarius** CIL VI 13770 (attested as a cognomen but probably to be interpreted as a nomen; cf. [-]aiarius BCH 47 [1923] 88 no. 7 from Philippi)
- Malonius** (?) (cf. *Mallonius*) HeEp. 4 (1994) 1071 (Lusitania)
- Mamullius** AE 1991, 1033 (Jerez de la Frontera not far from Gades)
- Mannaeus** M. Christol & Th. Drew-Bear, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica* (Ichnia 2, Macerata 1998) 329ff. no. 10 (Antiochia Pisidiae, a centurion)
- Masenius** (or *Masenus*) G. Lettich, *Iscrizioni lat. di Iulia Concordia* (1994) 83
- Masenus** (or *Masenius*) cf. *Masenius*
- Maxum[ius]** (written as *Maxsum-*; cf. *Maximius*) AE 1993, 957 (Lusitania)
- Medulius** AE 1992, 1388 (Iader)
- Megenatius** unpublished inscription from Abellinum (A. Simonelli, *Arch. Class.* 47 [1995] 155)
- Menigius** AE 1994, 858a (Emerita)
- Methonius** AE 1991, 662 (a semi-Etruscan text in Arretium but perhaps from Clusium)
- Mithrius** AE 1995, 1657 (Pagus Mercurialis near Uthina, Africa)
- Mitonius** (?) A. Lozano Velilla, *Die griechischen Personennamen auf der iberischen Halbinsel* (1998) 75 (Emerita)
- Μούφιος** P. Cabanes & F. Drini, *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion* (1995) 292
- Muricius** (cf. *Murricius*) HEp. 3 (1993) 489 (Lusitania)
- Μουσηνός** (cf. *Mussenus*) ICVR 15755 cf. H. Solin, *Arctos* 30 (1996) 245 = *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) 390
- Narcisius** A. Lozano Velilla, *Die griechischen Personennamen auf der iberischen Halbinsel* (1998) 138
- Nerca[-]** CIL I² 2668 = *Suppl. It.* 15 Ateste 140
- Nevvius** G. Mennella, in: *Studi in onore di A. Garzetti* (1996) 260f. (Augusta Bagiennorum)
- Νωναρηνός** P. Cabanes & F. Drini, *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion* (1995) 146
- Nympsius** unpublished inscription in the Naples Museum (observed by H. Solin)
- Ὀπήνιος** AE 1995, 1382 (Beroea)
- Oponius** (cf. *Opponius*) *Iscrizioni greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino* (Tituli 7, 1996) 291 no. 123
- Ovinucianus** (?) AE 1992, 1286 (Germania Superior)
- Paronius** G. Paci & R. Rossi, *Picus* 16–17 (1996–97) 176 (ager Asculanus)
- Patulicius** J. Bodel & S. Tracy, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA* (1997) p. 61 (perhaps from somewhere in Central Italy)
- Pepanius** *Bollettino d'Arte* 18 (1983) 84 (Rome?)
- PESTINA** (?) see *Pestinia*
- Pestinia** fem. *Arch. Class.* 9 (1957) 86, cf. N. Terrenato, *JRS* 88 (1998) 102 (Volaterrae)
- PESTINIUS** (?) see *Pestinia*
- Pholius** (cf. *Folius*) unpublished inscription in the Naples Museum (reported by H. Solin)
- Pilionius** *Suppl. It.* 13 Nursia 84 (attested as a cognomen, but perhaps originally a nomen)
- Piontius** AE 1995, 668 (Mediolanum)
- Pipponicus** AE 1995, 576 (Iulium Carnicum)
- Πλαυτιανός** P.M. Nigdelis, *Klio* 77 (1995) 172, cf. 173 (Beroea)

- Plexsena** (cf. *Plexina*) HEp. 5 (1995) 900 (Villazán [prov. de Zamora], Hispania Citerior)
- Plexena** cf. *Plexsena*
- Plotus** (*sic?*) Mevania. Da centro umbro a municipio romano (1991) 80 no. 2.111
- Ποντιλῖνος** D. Berges, Rundaltäre aus Kos und Rhodos (1996) 114 no. 18 (Kos)
- Provincialis** CIL II 5559 = AE 1994, 940 (perhaps *p(rovinciae) l(ibertus)*, Lusitania; delete the reference to CIL II 5559 under *Provincius*)
- Puccius** A. Lozano Velilla, Die griechischen Personennamen auf der iberischen Halbinsel (1998) 199 (Emerita)
- Pulaienus** CIL VIII 26402
- Pullanus** CIL VIII 12578
- Κυρίτιος** (= *Quiritius?*) E. Schwertheim, Asia Minor Studien 22 (1996) 117 no. 22 (Troas)
- Raniliu[s]** Z. Benzina Ben Abdallah – R. Sanna, in: M. Khanoussi & A. Mastino (eds.), Uchi Maius 1 (1997) 296f. no. 14
- Rasnus** AE 1995, 464. 466 (Asisium, = *Rasinus*)
- Rasticius** AE 1991, 1008 (Baetica)
- Resinius** AE 1994, 1236 (Augusta Treverorum)
- Resinna** AE 1993, 652 (Rusellae)
- Roucarius** Suppl. It. 13 Pedona 7
- Ruficanus** (cf. *Ruficanus*) Suppl. It. 13 Septempeda 5
- Rufillius** Suppl. It. 13 Pedona 2
- Runcanus** (?) AE 1991, 1077 (Isturgi, Hispania Citerior)
- Safenius** (?) CIL X 3626
- Sahelicius** (?) CIL II 2289 = II² / 7, 488
- Salassus** (?) A.M. Burnett – M. Amandry – P.P. Ripollès, Roman Provincial Coinage (1994) no. 660 (Agrigentum)
- Salfenius** Z. Ben Abdallah & Y. Le Bohec, MEFRA 109 (1997) 48 no. 2d (Ammaedara; attested as a cognomen but probably originally a nomen)
- Santius** AE 1994, 1291 (potter in Vidy near Lousonna)
- Scrofarius** (?) (a nomen?) AE 1993, 574 (between Praeneste and Carsioli)
- Seppidius** (?) CIL II 3940 = II² 14, 533 (Saguntum; transmitted form *Seppidus*)
- Seranus** (cf. *Serranus*) A.M. Burnett – M. Amandry – P.P. Ripollès, Roman Provincial Coinage (1994) no. 410 (Turiaso, Hispania Citerior)
- Sescinius** AE 1994, 703 (Tarvisium)
- Sestus** AE 1995, 507 (Statonia)
- Setidien[us]** M. Buonocore, Epigraphica 59 (1997) 258 no. 13 (Alba Fucens)
- Severienus** A. De Giuli, BSPN 67 (1976) 61–5 = G. Mennella, in: A.F. Bellezza (ed.), Un incontro con la storia nel centenario della nascita di Luca de Regibus 1895–1995. Atti del pomeriggio di studio a Vogogna d'Ossola (Genova 1996) 94 (Pallanza on the Lago maggiore)
- Siculeius** to be inferred from the cognomen *Siculeianus* CIL V 8110, 34; AE 1995, 546 (on brick stamps from the area of Aquileia)
- Stadius** Z. Benzina Ben Abdallah, Ant. Afr. 32 (1996) 131f. no. 44 (in the Bardo Museum)
- Sufitius** CIL III 514 = A.D. Rizakis, Achaie II. La cité de Patras. Épigraphie et histoire (Meletemata 25, 1998) 141 (thus the reading of the *nomen* in the ms. copy; emended to *Sulpicius* by Mommsen and Rizakis)

- Supidius** G. Asdrubali Pentiti, *Epigraphica* 58 (1996) 171f. no. 3 (Ameria)
- Syllatius** (cf. *Sullatius*) J. Bodel & S. Tracy, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA* (1997) p. 203 (Rome)
- Tartarius** CIL VI 14731; AE 1995, 178 (Rome)
- Tarulleius** BACTH 1911, cxcvi (Sfax in Tunisia)
- Tegedius** Cod. Mus. Flor. 7, 1 f. 30' (Rome?) (Information due to H. Solin)
- Teresius** AE 1992, 1382 (Iader)
- Transilius** AE 1995, 166 (Rome, a man with the tribe *Vel*).
- Trebianicus** AE 1993, 549 (Aesernia; attested as a cognomen, but perhaps originally a nomen)
- Trottidius** (cf. *Trot(t)edius*) Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 197
- Tullenius** (?) perhaps to be deduced from the cognomen *Tullenianus* L'Africa romana 11 (1996) 1346–51 (Capsa)
- Upsedius** (cf. *Upsidius*) CIL I² 2800 = Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 199
- Urmis** A.M. Burnett – M. Amandry – P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage* (1994) no. 1504f. (Dion)
- Ursacius** (a *nomen*?) BACTH 1910, 90 no. 12 (Thaenae in Africa)
- Vacillius** AE 1994, 706 (Altinum)
- Vardius** AE 1992, 709 (Aquileia)
- Οὐειήνοϛ** AE 1995, 1554 (procurator of Lycia–Pamphylia in AD 80; cf. S. Sahin, EA 17 [1991] 116)
- Velturenus** AE 1994, 620 (a semi-Latin inscription from the ager Faliscus)
- Vetonius** to be inferred from the cognomen *Vetonianus* AE 1994, 1284 (Germania inferior)
- Vibonius** (?) CIL IX 120* cf. AE 1995, 347 (a *corrector Apuliae et Calabriae*; perhaps to be corrected in *Vinicius*)
- Vienus** (?) cf. *Οὐειήνοϛ*
- Vilagenius** V 7700 = Inscr. It. IX 1, 120 cf. G. Mennella, in: *L'epigrafia del villaggio* (1993) p. 265
- Vino[leius (?)]** Suppl. It. 13 Nursia 27
- Virellius** F. Bérard, in: G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica* (Ichnia 2, Macerata 1998) 213 (Lugdunum)
- Viton[ius?]** Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 207
- Vittidius** AE 1993, 648 (between Arretium and Cortona)
- Votonius** (cf. *Vottonius*) Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 159
- Vulius** (?) M. Cristofani, in: *Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift H. Rix* (1993) 69f. (attested as *vuliiis* [gen.] in an Oscan inscription from Nola)
- aceius** BACTH 1917, clxxxvii no. 1 (Karthago)

Reverse index of the new nomina:

Plexsena Plexena Pestina Resinna Carbo Asonilo (?) Farro Provincialis Trebianicus
 Apanicus Anneaeus Mannaeus Ursacius Epaticcus Puccius Arictecus Sahelicius (?)
 Patulicius Ganicius Muricius Rasticius Etruscius Isucius Stadius Tegedius Comedius
 Upsedius Calcidius Lollidius Seppidius Supidius Adsidius Insidius Annusidius Vittidius
 Trottidius Vardius Cudius -aceius Cocleius Tarulleius Vinoleius (?) Gavoleius Siculeius
 Campuleius Artue(ius?) Coffius Mufius Menigius Caeselius Ceselius Bombilius

Madilius Acidilius Ranilius Curilius Transilius Aellius Virellius Vacillius Rufillius
 Mamullius Pholius Evolius (?) Medulius Vulius (?) Cremius (?) Urmius (?) Maxumius
 Ruficanus Runcanus (?) Fadianus Caesianus Flanius Pepanius (H)eptanius Safenius
 Salfenius Vilagenius Tullenius Masenius (or -nus) Aescinius Sescinius Aeschinius
 Lepthinius Gelasinius (?) Resinius Pestinius Labennius (?) Argennius Baetennius
 Vibonius Bofonius Bufonius Methonius Pilonius Malonius (?) Oponius Paronius
 Iphronius (?) Vetonius Mitonius (?) Vitonius (?) Caltonius Votonius Rasnius Communius
 Grunius Lampius Crippius Roucarius Scrofarius Maiarius Tartarius Mithrius Baebirius
 Bebirijs Cirius Docquirius Teresius Blicisius (?) Narcisius Annosius Nympsius Geusius
 Egusius Syllatius Denatius Megenatius Sufitius Quiritius (?) Santius Furentius (?)
 Piontius Cittius Ambavius Nevvius Ovinucianus Clodianus Lucilianus Capitonianus
 Plautianus Pullanus Seranus Farusaenus Pulaienus Setidienus Veienus Severienus
 Ebatienus Vienus (?) Iustulenus Cumarenus Nonarenus Velturenus Masenus (or -nius)
 Musenus Alitenus Apstidinus Pontilinus Salassus (?) Plotus (?) Sestuus

Finnish Institute at Athens

**PHILOLOGISCH-KUNSTGESCHICHTLICHE
BEMERKUNGEN ZU DREI STÜCKEN DER
*ANTHOLOGIA LATINA***

W. J. SCHNEIDER

60 R

47 SB

De Calypso et Didone

*inputat aegra toris quae fert deserta Calypso;
vim Dido incensis inputat aegra toris.*

<i>qui pfert</i>	A
<i>profert</i>	sched.
<i>quia (vel quod) flet</i>	Bae
<i>vim fert</i>	Oudendorp
<i>vim per</i>	R
<i>quae fert</i>	SB ("her sufferings")
<i>inpensis</i>	A
<i>infensis</i>	D'Orville
<i>incensis</i>	Bae

Nur scheinbar ein Fall von Homer-Vergil-Synkrisis: die hohe Frau als große Liebende in Äneis und Odyssee. Die im Pentameter angedeutete Szene vom selbstgewählten und rituell überhöhten Ausgang Didos ist vom Ende des vierten Buches der Äneide sattem bekannt¹. Nicht so das Los der

¹ Während **SB** noch in D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, *Towards a Text of 'Anthologia Latina'*, PCPhS Suppl. 5 (Cambridge 1979) 13 behauptet hatte "The pentameter means that Dido blames her own (self-directed) violence on the bed to which she has set fire", lautet seine Randbemerkung zu *vim* in Vers 2 im app. crit. seiner Teubneriana schlüssiger: "Sc. qua

verlassenen Kalypso bei Homer. Und doch bringt es die Themenwahl der epanaleptischen Monodisticha mit sich, daß der Dichter hier auf vorliegendes Überlieferungsgut rekurrieren dürfte, dessen Kenntnis er auch bei seinem Publikum voraussetzen konnte.

Anders als bei der den *torus* ehelicher Gemeinschaft nunmehr als *lectus funebris* handhabenden Dido² ist es im Falle Kalypsos nicht unbedingt eine literarische Quelle, die uns erhalten geblieben wäre. Die Anregung zur Situation darf vielleicht aber – direkt oder mittelbar über eine vorgängige literarische Version – in einem berühmten Gemälde des klassischen Meisters Nikias von Athen³ vermutet werden, der Plinius zufolge auch eine *Calypso sedens* geschaffen hatte⁴. So könnten wir uns die verlassene Heroine als tragisch Liebende auf dem ehemals gemeinschaftlichen *torus* sitzend denken⁵, dem sie im Epigramm die Schuld an ihrer Lage zuweist. Schon in der griechischen Tragödie führt die zum Selbstmord entschlossenen Heroinnen der Weg zum ehelichen Lager zurück, dem Ort, der ihre soziale und personale Identität wie kein zweiter definiert und verbürgt hat und an dem sich dann beziehungsreich ihr Geschick vollenden soll⁶.

Dieses Gemälde der sitzenden Kalypso befand sich seit Ausgang der Republik mit anderen Tafelbildern desselben Meisters⁷ in einem Raum der

in se ipsam usa est”.

² T.E. Goud – J.C. Yardley, Dido’s Burning Effigy: Aeneid 4. 508, RhMus 131, 1988, 386ff. Zu vergleichen wäre Dido auf dem *lectus funebris* in der Illustration des Virgilius Vat. fol. 40 r: D.H. Wright, Der Vergilius Vaticanus. Ein Meisterwerk spätantiker Kunst (dt. Graz 1993) 40f.

³ B. Neutsch, Der Maler Nikias von Athen. Ein Beitrag zur griechischen Künstlergeschichte und zur pompejanischen Wandmalerei (Borna 1940).

⁴ NH 35. 132 = J. Overbeck, Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen (Leipzig 1868) Nr. 1816 = Neutsch a.O. 19 Nr. 6 = LIMC V (Zürich-München 1990) Kalypso Nr. 3 (B. Rafn).

⁵ Es kommen einem Bildszenen in den Sinn wie die der sog. Aldobrandinischen Hochzeit mit der verhüllten Braut auf dem *lectus = torus* – nur daß in unserem Fall die Verlassenheit der Frau durch die nicht mehr währende Anwesenheit des Partners motiviert ist: M. Borda, La pittura romana (Mailand 1958) 204f. mit Farbtaf. nach p. 208.

⁶ S. Oed. rex 1241ff.

⁷ Stricto sensu sind durch den Wortlaut des Plinius nur zwei Nikias-Gemälde für die

Portikenanlage des Pompeius-Theaters zu Rom⁸ und stellte zweifelsohne einen Hauptattraktionspunkt der dortigen Sammlung von opera nobilia dar⁹.

102 R

91 SB

De Medea cum filiis suis

*Opprimit insontes infidi causa parentis,
Iasonis et nati crimina morte luunt.
sed quamvis mater vivo viduata marito
coniugis in poenam pignora cara metat.
sacra tamen pietas insanae mitigat ausus:
hunc furiata premit, hunc miserata levat.*

<i>metat</i>	A
<i>necat</i>	Oudendorp praeter necessitatem
<i>hinc ... hinc</i>	Wakker ("recte?" R)
<i>nunc ... nunc</i>	Munari optime
<i>lebat</i>	A
<i>labat</i>	ego praeunte Munari

Das finale Couplet macht, setzt man die Textkonstitution durch **SB** voraus, Schwierigkeiten. Auch sein Hinweis im app. crit. zur abschließenden Pentameterhälfte (*sc. in imagine*) hilft kaum weiter. Zwar gibt es in Epigrammen auf Kunstwerke tatsächlich den Typus von *Pointe*, der auf die kongruenten oder differenten Verhältnisse von dargestelltem mytholo-

Pinakothek der Porticus Pompei bezeugt; zu Sinn und politischer Bedeutung des dortigen Gemälde-Quartetts werde ich mich eingehend in den von mir vorbereiteten Studien zu antiken Kunstsammlungen äußern.

⁸ F. Coarelli, Il complesso pompeiano del Campo Marzio e la sua decorazione scultorea, *RendPontAcc* 44, 1971/72, 99ff. = *Revixit ars. Arte e ideologia a Roma. Dai modelli ellenistici alla tradizione repubblicana* (Rom 1996) 360ff.

⁹ M. Pape, Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom. Von der Eroberung von Syrakus bis in augusteische Zeit (Diss. Hamburg 1975) 189f. s.v. Porticus Pompei.

gischem Bildinhalt und technischer Kunstfertigkeit bzw. Reproduktion verweist – daß also etwa Phaethon im Medium der enkaustischen (!) Malerei zum zweiten Male sein trauriges Schicksal zu erleiden habe¹⁰. Doch wäre der Gedanke, daß Medea im Gemälde notwendigerweise nur einen der beiden Söhne tödlich attackiere, den anderen dagegen – den Zwängen der Bilddarstellung entsprechend – (scheinbar) unbehelligt lasse, allemal eine flauere Pointe und stünde ja auch der eingangs getroffenen Feststellung *Iasonis et nati crimina morte luunt* entgegen.

Was aber könnte sonst mit *miserata levat* gemeint sein? Absoluter Gebrauch von *levare* ist anders als im Falle von *premere*¹¹ nur schwer zu verfechten. Unter Rücksicht auf die Lesart von A liegt indessen die Änderung zu *labat* (= nachlassen) auf der Hand¹².

premere und *labare* ergeben als Funktionen von wildem Furor und weichem Mitgefühl ein denkbar plastisches Kontrastpaar, welches das Epigramm mit einer griffigen Sentenz abrundet. Der Dichter steht mit dieser Antithese in einer Tradition, die wir aus zahllosen Epigrammen der Anthologia Palatina gut kennen; diese haben das hochberühmte hellenistische Gemälde der Medea des Timomachos im Blick¹³, welches Caesar zur Einweihung seines Forum Iulium nach Rom verbracht hatte¹⁴. Sie alle thematisieren den inneren Zwiespalt der Heroine, deren Leidenschaftlichkeit zwischen den widerstreitenden Effekten von Rachsucht und Mutterliebe

¹⁰ Martial 4. 47. 2 sowie demnächst meine kleine Studie "Stumm wie im Bilde. Bemerkungen zu dem eigenartigen Schluß eines Martial-Epigramms (9. 74)".

¹¹ Zum objektlosen Gebrauch von *premere* in der Bedeutung *drängen, nicht ablassen* kann etwa O. Met. 4. 368ff. verglichen werden:

*perstat Atlantiades sperataque gaudia Nymphae
denegat, illa pr e m i t commissaque corpore toto
sicut inhaerebat...*

Die Ovidstelle fassen etwas anders auf F. Bömer, P. Ovidius Naso: Metamorphosen. Kommentar Buch IV–V (Heidelberg 1976) 128 ad locum ("premere, hier etwa 'tenere'") und E.J. Kenney, Notes on Ovid: II, CQ n. s. 9, 1959, 240ff. hier 244.

¹² vgl. bereits F. Munari, Kleine Schriften (Berlin 1980) 178 Anm. 12.

¹³ AP 16. 135–43.

¹⁴ Pape a.O. 193 s.v. Venus Genetrix, Templum und 196 s.v. C. Julius Caesar und zuletzt R. Westall, The Forum Iulium as Representation of Emperor Caesar, RM 103, 1996, 83ff. hier 93ff.

changierend alterniert – nicht anders als es bereits der berühmte Monolog¹⁵ der euripideischen Titelheldin in immer neuen Anläufen vorgeführt hatte. Als Beispiel möge einer dieser Texte hier folgen¹⁶:

Τέχνη Τιμομάχου στοργὴν καὶ ζῆλον ἔδειξε
 Μηδείης τέκνων εἰς μόρον ἐλκομένων.
 τῆι μὲν γὰρ συνένευσεν ἐπὶ ξίφος, ἥι δ' ἀνανεύει
 σῶιζειν καὶ κτείνειν βουλομένη τέκεα.

Ein anderer¹⁷ faßt den Zwiespalt der Frau aus Kolchis in die Worte ψυχὰς διχθαδίας, einen Zustand, den der Maler vorzüglich zum Ausdruck gebracht habe. Da diese Ambivalenz nicht darin besteht, daß die Rasende den einen Sohn schont und den anderen heimsucht, empfiehlt es sich fernerhin, **Munaris nunc – nunc** in den Text aufzunehmen. Es wäre mithin zu schreiben:

*sacra tamen pietas insanae mitigat ausus
 nunc furiata premit, nunc miserata labat.*

137 R

126 SB

*de *theo**

*Inguine suspensam gestas — ∪ <l> agunam,
 quae tibi fit turgens amphora flante Noto.
 vectigal poterat figulorum reddere fisco,
 quorum tam tereti ramice vincis opus.*

*de Theone vel atheo
 de <Lecy> thio*

*pensitavit SB nihil agens
 suppl. (vide commentum)*

¹⁵ E. Med. 1060 ff.

¹⁶ AP 16. 135 (anonym).

¹⁷ AP 16. 139. 2 (Julianos von Ägypten).

1	<i>sub ventre</i>	Heinsius ex epigrammate sequenti "sane pueriliter applicuit" (SB)
	<i>nutante</i> (sc. membri pondere)	SB inepte
	<i>o grylle</i>	e.g. suppl.
	<i>agunam</i>	A
	<i>lagenam</i>	sched.
	<i>lagunam</i>	Heinsius
2	<i>urgens amfora</i>	A

Es versteht sich von selbst, daß bei dem lacunösen Überlieferungsstand des Textes jede Erklärung nur mit Vorsicht, jede Ergänzung nur mit Vorbehalten erfolgen kann. Dennoch erlaubt es die Typologie des skoptischen Epigramms vielleicht, mit Blick auf die spezifische Motivwahl einige Vermutungen zu formulieren, die nicht vollends aus der Luft gegriffen sind.

Bei den *Grylloi*¹⁸, den grotesk verwachsenen Krüppelfigurinen¹⁹, sind sehr oft Kopf und Geschlecht im Verhältnis zur Statur überproportional groß dimensioniert. Der Verwachsene im Pendantepigramm kann aus eben diesem Grunde humoristisch als *biceps* verspottet werden – wobei das membrum oder hier eher: scrotum als zweites (da ebenso voluminöses) *caput* gedacht ist²⁰. Auf dieselbe anatomische Eigentümlichkeit zielt jedenfalls auch der Spott unseres nicht ganz vollständig überlieferten

¹⁸ Zur Wortgeschichte und zur Scheidung von γρῦλος (Ferkel) und γρούλλος ist K. Latte, Zur griechischen Wortforschung II, Glotta 34, 1955, 190f. Nr. 11 zu vergleichen.

¹⁹ Grundlegend zur Klärung des Begriffs W. Binsfeld, *Grylloi*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Karikatur (Diss. Köln 1956) bes. 27ff. sowie zum archäologischen Material seither N. Himmelmann, *Alexandria und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst* (Tübingen 1983) und L. Giuliani, *Die seligen Krüppel. Zur Deutung von Mißgestalteten in der hellenistischen Kleinkunst*, AA 1987, 701ff.

20 138 R

127 SB

Aliter

*Moles tanta tibi pendet sub ventre syringae
ut te non dubitem dicere bicipitem.
nam te si addictum mittat sententia campo,
vispillo ignoret quod secet ense caput.*

Epigramms: *tam tereti ramice* vermag der κωμωιδούμενος es gar mit den Erzeugnissen der Keramikwerkstätten und -händler aufzunehmen. Während in der Bildkunst die Grenzen zwischen einfach nur überdimensionierten membra und dem pathologischen Befund eines Wasserbruchs bisweilen fließend sind²¹, schafft unser Text hier in erwünschtem Sinne Klarheit; und wir vermögen auch wirklich ihm unter den Zeugnissen der griechischen Tonplastik ein rechtes Prachtexemplar²² illustrierend zur Seite zu stellen²³.



Abb. 1: Tonstatuette aus Smyrna im Louvre, Paris

²¹ Giuliani a.O. 709f.

²² Giuliani a.O. Abb. 8.

²³ Die Auslassung der Anrede *o grylle / grille* darf vielleicht mit *de gillone* und *gillo* im unmittelbar voranstehenden Epigramm der Sammlung erklärt werden.

Im Sinne des *pars pro toto*²⁴ wäre damit gleichfalls die von uns vorgeschlagene Belegung des Adressaten mit dem beziehungsreich sprechenden Namen *Lecythio(n)* erläutert, eine – mit Blick auf *lagena* / *laguna* und *amphora* (beides Gefäße mit reichlichem Fassungsvermögen!) – nachgerade hypokoristische Prädikation, die als *nomen proprium* etwa bei Lukian²⁵ belegt ist. Der Witz mit den beiden Gefäßmetaphern für die *pudenda* gewönne durch die dritte Vergleichung diesmal der ganzen Person²⁶ mit dem aus der Palästra bekannten Ölfläschchen (*Lekythion*)²⁷ zudem ein gerüttelt Maß literarischer Dignität, da bereits Aristophanes hierauf seinen Spott zu einem *running gag* in der Alten Komödie ausgebaut hat²⁸.

²⁴ J.N. Adams, *Anatomical Terms Used pars pro toto in Latin*, *PACA* 16, 1982, 37ff. und Verf., *Aristoteles genannt Mythos. Ein Name und das Phänomen der Verflechtung von Realität und Kunstwelt*, *Mnemos.* IV 50, 1997, 677ff. hier 681ff. mit den Anm.

²⁵ *fugit.* 33. Im Lateinischen scheint der hier erwogene Personen(über)name *Lecythus*, *Lecythio*, *Lecythium* bisher nicht nachgewiesen zu sein. Dagegen kommen vor *Pitho*, *Pithon* und *Cratero*, *Crateron* sowie *Cucumio*: vgl. den Überblick zu den entsprechenden Namensuffixen im 'Rückläufigen Wörterbuch' bei H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch III* (Hildesheim – New York 1982) 1394ff. sowie H. Solin – O. Salomies (edd.), *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1988) 320 s.v. *Cucumio*.

²⁶ Zum Phänomen ist zu vergleichen Verf., *Metamorphose einer anus ebria?* *Anthologia Palatina* 11. 409. 5, *Philol.* 143, 1999 (im Druck) sowie ders., *Von Frauen und Flaschen*, in: St. Büttner – A. Esser (edd.), *Selbstreferenzialität und Unendlichkeit. Fs. P. Reisinger* (in Vorbereitung). – Hier läge, sollte unsere Vermutung das Richtige treffen, zusätzlich ein humoristischer Zug darin, daß das bloße *pudendum* mit den raumgreifenden Bildern *lagena* und *amphora* umschrieben, die ganze Person aber mit dem kleinen Toilettegegenstand des *lecythion* evoziert wäre!

²⁷ *lecythus* ist im Lateinischen in der Bedeutung (Öl)Krug belegt.

²⁸ Zum vieldeutigen Witz in den 'Fröschen' des Aristophanes V. 1200 ff. s. J.H. Quincey, *The Metaphorical Sense of ΑΗΚΥΘΟΣ and ΑΜΡΥΛΛΑ*, *CQ* 43, 1949, 32ff.; C.H. Whitman, *ΑΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕΝ*, *HSCPh* 73, 1969, 109ff.; J.T. Hooker, *ΑΥΤΟΛΗΚΥΘΟΣ*, *RhMus* 113, 1970, 162 ff.; J.G. Griffith, *ΑΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕΝ: A Postscript*, *HSCPh* 74, 1970, 43f.; W. Beck, *ΑΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕΝ (and Theocritus II 156)*, *JHS* 102, 1982, 234 und M. Robertson, *ΑΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ and ΑΥΤΟΛΗΚΥΘΟΣ*, ebd.; im Sinne des Hodensacks verstanden von G. Anderson, *ΑΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ and ΑΥΤΟΛΗΚΥΘΟΣ*, *JHS* 101, 1981, 130 wie auch von H. Hommel, *Bocksbeutel und Aryballos*, *SBAW Heidelberg* 1978 (2) und der Auszug aus dieser Abhandlung in: *Mainpost Würzburg* 6. 7. 1979 = *Symbola. Kleine Schriften zur Literatur und Kulturgeschichte der*

Sigla:

- A** cod. Parisinus lat. 10318 (Salmasianus) saec. VIII, ut vid., script.
- Bae** E. Baehrens (Hsg.), *Poetae Latini Minores IV* (Leipzig 1882)
- R** A. Riese (Hsg.), *Anthologia Latina sive poesis Latinae supplementum I. Carmina in codicibus scripta 1: Libri Salmasiani aliorumque carmina* (Leipzig 1894)
- SB** D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Hsg.), *Anthologia Latina I. Carmina in codicibus scripta fasc. 1: Libri Salmasiani aliorumque carmina* (Stuttgart 1982)

Universität Heidelberg

Antike II (Collectanea V) (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1988) 362ff. (hier auch die Nachträge); R. Guido – A. Filippo, *ΛΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΙΩΛΕΣΣΕΝ* (Ar. Ranae 1208 sgg.), *GB* 10, 1981 (1983), 83ff. Contra J. Henderson, *The Lekythos and Frogs 1200–1248*, *HSCPh* 76, 1972, 133ff. Resümierend zuletzt K. Dover, *Aristophanes. Frogs Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford 1993) 337ff. ad locum.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CLXXIII. NEUE LATEINISCHE COGNOMINA

Am Anfang der neuen Serie der *Analecta epigraphica* soll ein Beitrag zu lateinischen Cognomina stehen als Widmung an das Gedächtnis des Altmeisters Iiro Kajanto, dessen zum Klassiker gewordenen Cognominabuch die Erforschung lateinischer Zunamen auf eine neue Basis gestellt hat. Hier unten folgen nun einige Bemerkungen vor allem zu neuen Cognomina als eine Art Supplement zum *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, von O. Salomies und mir in zweiter Auflage 1994 publiziert; gleichzeitig werden einige Korrekturen und Zusätze zu einzelnen Cognomina beigesteuert. Einen herzlichen Dank schulde ich Olli Salomies, der mich bei der Sammlung von neuen Namenbelegen unterstützt hat. – Im folgenden meint "Kajanto" dessen Buch *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) und "Rep." das *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* von Salomies und Solin (1988, 2. Aufl. 1994).

Aemilinus(?). Dieser Name könnte in einer stadtrömischen christlichen Inschrift (AE 1995, 172) vorliegen. Überliefert ist *Emelinus*.

Aequidicus: J. Bodel – S. Tracy, *Greek and Latin Inscr. in the USA. A Checklist*, Rome 1997, 156 (aus Rom; Lesung und Erklärung etwas unsicher), wohl zum Appellativum *aequidicus* (ThlL I 1007, 79–84; fehlt bei Fr. Bader, *La formation des composés nominaux du latin*, Paris 1982) gebildet, wenn dieses, nur beim Grammatiker Diomedes belegte Wort denn zum normalen Sprachschatz gehören sollte.

**Agenda* (Kajanto 359 aus CIL IX 3937, Alba Fucens) verschwindet; es muß *Augenda* gelesen werden: AE 1974, 307.

Ampelianus: *M. Ampelius Ampelianus* BACTH 1911, 395 Nr. 23 (Djebel Mansour = Gales). Diese Bildung wurde vom Namengeber direkt

auf das Gentilicium *Ampelius* bezogen, an sich wurde ein solcher Name aber als griechisch empfunden.

Zu dem bisher nur aus AE 1983, 830 (s. Rep. 293) bekannten Cognomen *Antoninianus* kommt jetzt ein neuer Beleg hinzu: Ἀντωνει-
ν[ίων]ός Orbis Terrarum 1, 1995, 110f (Neoclaudiopolis, 223/5 n.Chr.).

Anula: AE 1991, 1714 (Aïn-Kebira, Mauretania Caes.) *Iulia Anula*. Vertritt wohl eine neue Variante von *Anullus* -a aus der Sippe zu *Anus*; derartige Namen waren gerade in Afrika üblich (s. Kajanto 301).

Aperta: BACTH 1907, CCXIV (Tourhouz, war im Musée d'Oran). Ein Cognomen *Apertus* ist sonst nicht belegt, wäre aber dem Sinngehalt nach ein passender Name, so daß ich diese Bildung getrost dem lateinischen Namenrepertorium hinzufügen würde. Die Perfektpartizipien sind gerade in Afrika ein beliebtes Namenbildungsmittel bei Schaffung neuer Cognomina (s. z.B. Kajanto, Philologus 108, 1964, 311).

Apertian(us): C. *Iulius Apertian(us)* BACTH 1917, 275 Nr. 8 (Lambaesis, Soldat der legio III Augusta unbekannter Herkunft; vgl. Y. Le Bohec, La troisième légion Auguste, Paris 1989, 308). Ausgangspunkt wohl der Gentilname *Apertius*.

Architectus: Rep.² 497. Zu diesem von mir in Arctos 31, 1997, 135–140 = *Analecta epigraphica* 391–395 behandelten Namen kommt ein neues Zeugnis hinzu: P. *Cornelius Archite[ctus]* (Iscr. greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino [1996] Nr. 83), der ein naher Verwandter des bisher (aus CIL VI 148 = XIV 5) bekannten homonymen Namenträgers war, wenn nicht sogar mit ihm identisch (dazu s. S. Panciera in seiner Edition a.a.O. 250f).

Armatus Kajanto 319 mit einem Beleg. Weitere Belege für diesen nur aus spätantiken Quellen bekannten Namen: PLRE III 120f. Nr. 1–3. P.Tjäder 20 (c. 600 n.Chr.). AE 1995, 1431 (στρατιότης νομέρου Βραχια-
τῶν).

Ascula (Rep. 296) ist aus dem lateinischen Cognominarepertorium zu entfernen, denn es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um den griechischen Namen *Ascla*.

Asturio Rep. 296 aus ICUR 1515. Hinzuzufügen HEp. 905 (so zu verstehen; in der Edition wird an *Asturius* gedacht, richtig im Index).

Augurio: AE 1991, 1232 (Lugdunensis, Stempel auf Terra sigillata lokaler Herkunft).

Aurentia: CIL VIII 24941a (Carthago, christlich). Der Name wird von Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscr. of Rome and Carthage* (Acta IRF 2, 3, 1963) 77, 80 als aus *aura* oder *aurum* abgeleitet registriert, so daß er in Latin Cognomina wohl nur versehentlich fehlt.

Avernus(?): AE 1991, 1132 b (Amphorendipinto aus Londinium) *Averni*. Wenn die Lesung stimmt (die Namen der Editoren bürgen dafür) und ein Cognomen vorliegt (was gut möglich ist, denn ein Gentilname **Avernus* ist nicht bekannt), dürfte es zulässig sein, hier *Avernus* festzulegen. Gebildet ist es zu dem Seennamen – der lacus Avernus war den gebildeten Römern ein Begriff und konnte besonders wegen seines mythischen Inhalts ziemlich mühelos zu einem Personennamen werden. Andere Fälle, daß ein Seename zu einem Personennamen geworden wäre, habe ich nicht zur Hand, aber Flußnamen sind zuweilen dazu geworden, vgl. etwa *Rhenus R(h)odanus Danuvius*, von mehreren griechischen Flußnamen zu schweigen.

Baetulus: C. *Helvius C. f. Baetulus* AE 1992,332 (Corfinium). Suffixableitung aus *Baetus*, als Cognomen eines Quattuorvir ebenfalls aus Corfinium (CIL IX 3175) bezeugt. *Baetus* seinerseits ist ein alter Vorname (Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* 99).

Barbaras: obwohl dieser Name schon in Rep. 300 aus CIL II 3761 verzeichnet wurde, sei hier darauf hingewiesen, weil in CIL II² 14, 63 der Editor an die Bildung unnötigerweise zweifelt und vermutet, *Barbaras* sei für *Barbarus* verschrieben. Doch darf, angesichts der Popularität des griechischen Männernamensuffixes *-as* in lateinischen Cognomina, die Überlieferung nicht angetastet werden.

Bonavia (Rep. 302, Rep.² 497): hinzuzufügen noch CIL VIII 7233. 16700. Zur Bildung vgl. Solin, *Homobonus*, in: *Vir bonus, dicendi peritus*. Festschrift für A. Weische, Wiesbaden 1997, 394f.

Buccellicus (Rep. 304). Neu kommt hinzu AE 1991, 1658 (Clupea in der prov. proc., christl., ein Diakon).

Bucula: AE 1995, 259 (schon EE IX 891, aber schlecht) *Caleia P. filia Bucula* (Paliano, Territorium von Anagnia). Kann neben *Bucca* usw. (Kajanto 225. Rep. 304. Rep.² 498) gestellt werden.

Auf ähnliche Weise zu erklären ist *Buculus* Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 203 (1. Jh. n.Chr.), wenn es denn nicht mit dem epichorischen *Boculus* (CIL V 5042. 5669) zu verbinden ist.

Caesullus: CIL II² 7, 431 (Corduba, Sklave). Bisher nur als Frauennamen *Caesulla* belegt (Kajanto 172).

Calida: AE 1993, 1245 b (Virunum). Aus der bei Kajanto 268 gebotenen Information zu schließen scheinen Frauennamenbelege neben *Cal(i)dus* gänzlich zu fehlen. *Calida* könnte aber in Noricum ein epichorischer Name sein.

Calvisio: AE 1995, 532 (regio IX). Steht neben *Calvisianus* Kajanto 143.

Calvo: AE 1993, 1245 b (Virunum). Ist das eine Ableitung aus *Calvus* mittels des Suffixes *-o* oder eine epichorische Bildung?

Campuleianus: AE 1994, 457 (Monticchio im Territorium von Venusia). Zugrunde liegt der vor kurzem festgelegte Gentilname *Campuleius* (s. AE 1995, 372. 376 und O. Salomies, hier oben 219).

Campus: AE 1937, 64 = 1938, 110 (Luceria). Zu örtlichen Allgemeinbegriffen gebildete Cognomina sind nicht unbekannt, weder in der lateinischen (Kajanto 338f.) noch in der griechischen (Solin, GPN 1132–1135) Namengebung Roms.

Caprilla(?): CIL II² 7, 854 (Mirobriga) *Licina C[a]prilla* (die Ergänzung ist ansprechend, wenn auch nicht völlig sicher; möglich auch *Coprilla* (vgl. Solin, GPN 696),¹ *Cyprilla* neben *Cyprina* usw. (Solin, GPN 583).

Caridianus: CIL II² 14, 58 (Valentia). Aus dem sonst bisher nicht belegten Gentilnamen *Caridius* (s. Rep. 47) abgeleitet.

Cethegianus Rep. 313 aus CIL II 4579 ist in Wirklichkeit der Frauennamen *Cethegiana* (geschr. *Cetegiana*); vgl. I.Rom.Catalogne IV 192.

Cicerio: Greg. M. epist. 5, 28. (595 n.Chr., Mönch in Misenum; trotz eines Schwankens in der hsl. Überlieferung ist an der Lesung nicht zu zweifeln). Kann als Ableitung sowohl aus dem Gentilnamen *Cicereius* (auch *Cicerius* ist belegt) als auch aus *Cicero* erklärt werden.

Circus(?): Κίρκος TAM III 1, 234. AE 1994, 1749 (Termessos). Da es schwierig ist, für diesen Namen eine kleinasiatische oder griechische Zuweisung zu finden, würde man das Namenwort in *circus* vermuten können. Freilich wäre ein solcher Name bedeutungsmäßig etwas schwer zu

¹ S. auch S. Pomeroy, Copronyms and the Exposure of Infants in Egypt, in: Studies in Roman Law in memory of A. A. Schiller, Leiden 1986, 147–162, bes. Nr. 33, 69, 92, 95, 137, 142.

begründen, doch angesichts der großen Popularität des Zirkusrennens wäre ein solcher Name doch möglich. Vgl. Namen von Gebäuden o.ä. (Kajanto 347f. Solin, GPN 1164–1169).

Conservata: Kajanto 350 mit einem Beleg. Dazu kommen ein Ineditum im Campo Santo Teutonico in Rom. ICUR 26719. CIL II² 7, 530.

Consultius (Rep.² 498): zu entfernen der Beleg P. Strasb. VI 560.

**Crescentilia* (Kajanto 234) muß entfernt werden, zu verstehen ist zweifellos *Crescentilla*.

Cruscillio: AE 1993, 577 (nahe Praeneste). Vgl. *Cruscellio* (Kajanto 225).

Cubicularius. Kajanto 323 kennt nur den Frauennamen *Cubicularia* (drei Belege aus christlichen Inschriften Roms). Doch scheint der entsprechende Männernamen einwandfrei in CIL II 4065 (dort schon von Hübner als Cognomen erkannt) = II² 14, 800 überliefert zu sein.

**Culinus* Kajanto 161 aus CIL XIV 2428 verschwindet, vgl. Kajava, hier unten 289. Auch die Existenz des Frauennamens *Culina* (Kajanto 161. 347) steht auf unsicherem Boden (Kajava, a.a.O.).

Currentia: ICUR 14970. CIL II² 5, 187 (Tucci, christl.). Bisher war nur der Männernamen *Currentius* belegt (Kajanto 357).

Curtilianus: Suppl. It. 9 Ticinum 17 (die Lesung steht fest). Bisher war nur der Frauennamen *Curtiliana* belegt (Kajanto 145 aus CIL X 5904).

Deusdedit (Kajanto 217): der Name kommt in Italien auch außerhalb von Rom vor: PLRE III 399 Nr. 1–4.

Egerinus: CIL II² 7, 153 (Epora in der Baetica). Erklärung nicht unmittelbar, aber der Namengeber hat diese Bildung wohl auf den mythologischen Namen *Egeria* bezogen.² *Egeria* war den Römern der Kaiserzeit zweifellos eine geläufige Figur; jedenfalls war sie in der gelehrten Tradition festgelegt; ob der Dictator Latinus Egerius Laevius von Tusculum oder Arruns Tarquinius Egerius, Vater des L. Tarquinius Collatinus cos. 509, eine Rolle in der Bildung von Namen in der Kaiserzeit gespielt haben, ist sehr zweifelhaft (überhaupt ist der ganze Charakter des Namens *Egerius* umstritten; s. Salomies, Die römischen Vornamen 102).

² Man versteht nicht recht, was der Editor mit der Bemerkung "Egerini cognomen plane e Latio vetere ductum" meint. Dieses Cognomen kann wo auch immer in der römischen Welt in Gebrauch genommen worden sein, notwendig war nur eine gewisse Kenntnis römischer Geschichte oder Mythologie.

Eventiana: AE 1994, 524 (im Stein Nom. *Eventiane*, Vibinum, 3. Jh.n.Chr.). Bisher war nur der Männernamen *Eventianus* belegt (Kajanto 351; dort hinzuzufügen ICUR 23485).

Fabatilla: HEp. 5, 419 (= CILAndal. III 129) *Cornelia Fabatilla*. Suffixbildung aus dem nicht sehr üblichen *Fabatus* (Kajanto 335).

Fabullian(us)(?): BCTH 1905, 238 Nr. 21 (Lambaesis, Soldat der legio III Augusta). Zweifelloes Suffixableitung aus *Fabullus*, kaum aus dem Gentilnamen *Fabullius*. Nun ist aber die Lesung nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben: Y. Le Bohec, Ant.Afr. 25, 1989, 223 Nr. 25 (= AE 1989, 885) liest *Tabullian(us)*; leider läßt das von Le Bohec publizierte Photo keine gesicherte Entscheidung zu (aus diesem unscharfen Photo zu schließen, ist der erste Buchstabe des Cognomens weder ein gut gelungenes F noch T). Morphologisch wäre ein Name *Tabullius* etwas merkwürdig, doch nicht ganz auszuschließen neben einem Namen wie *Tabellius* (Rep. 179), der jedoch ein Unicum darstellt.

Falconianus: J. Nollé, Side im Altertum I (IK 43, 1993) 99 (ein Demiurge im 3. Jh.). Wird Nr. 80 des Corpus der Inschriften von Side.

Favonius. Darf dieser Name aus CIL II 3877 = IP² 14, 380 (Saguntum, 1./2. Jh.) dem Repertorium lateinischer Cognomina hinzugefügt werden? Die Inschrift beginnt wie folgt: *M. Aemilio M. f. Gal. Favonio*, ist also deutlich als Cognomen gebraucht. Nun ist aber *Favonius* ein Gentilname (das kann der Grund dafür sein, daß Kajanto den Namen nicht kennt, denn er hat ja – an sich ohne weiteres zu recht – alle solche Cognominabelege ausgeschaltet, die formal bekannte Gentilicia vertreten), freilich kein sehr verbreiteter – aus den hispanischen Provinzen lassen sich nur wenige Belege registrieren. Deswegen drängt sich der Gedanke auf, ob hier nicht ein echtes Cognomen vorliegen könne, zu dem Namen des Westwindes gebildet. Das Wort *favonius* gehörte sicher dem normalen Sprachgebrauch an (wie unter anderem dt. Föhn zeigt), und aus Windnamen gebildete Cognomina sind in der römischen Namengebung nicht unbekannt (s. Kajanto 338f. Solin, GPN 1124f).

Felico: AE 1991, 1667 (nahe Thugga) *Labennius Felico Adiutoris f(ilius)*. Die Lesung ist sicher (am Photo verglichen), wodurch ein neues Cognomen aus der beliebten Sippe *Felix* festgelegt wird. Ein bißchen eigentümlich mutet die Bildung freilich an, denn *-o* war kein produktives Suffix in der lateinischen Anthroponymie und wurde nur selten Namen angehängt, die aus Adjektiven gebildet worden waren.

Feliculanus (Rep. 330): CIL III 14575; jetzt IMS III 2, 39 mit Zeichnung und ILJug. 1299. Die Lesung steht fest; ich verweise eigens darauf, weil aus einem nicht ersichtlichen Grund (wohl pure Nachlässigkeit) der Mann im Index von CIL III Ss. 2625. 2632 zu T. Flavius Herculanus umgetauft wurde (so versteht sich besser das Fehlen von *Feliculanus* bei Kajanto).

Fenestella (Kajanto 347). Zu den von Kajanto angeführten zwei (CIL XI 2144. XII 259) Belegen kommen hinzu: ein Soldat in Haltern: B. Galsterer, Die Graffiti auf der römischen Gefäßkeramik aus Haltern, Münster 1983, S. 31 (zur Person, die vielleicht mit der in CIL XII 259 angeführten identisch ist, vgl. Klio 71, 1989, 298); CIL II² 5, 732 (38 n.Chr.).

Ferriola: ICI VII 135. I.Rom.Catal. IV 163. Bisher war nur der Männername *Ferriolus* bekannt (Kajanto 340), sowie der Frauename in der Form *Ferreola* (CIL XII 1725).

**Finitivus*(?). Diesen Namen haben die Editoren aus RIB 2501, 185 *Finitivi* (Terra sigillata) herausgepreßt, doch ist eher *Finitim[i]* zu lesen. In der Tat wäre *Finitivus* eine undurchsichtige Bildung.

Firmas: AE 1994, 1290, Graffito auf Keramik aus Lousonna. Wenn die Lesung stimmt, hätten wir einen mit dem griechischen Suffix *-as* versehenen Namen aus der Sippe *Firmus*.

Firminianius: AE 1991, 1288 (Dalmatia) *P. Ael(i) Firminianii*. Wenn es sich nicht um eine orthographische Entgleisung für *Firminianus* handelt, haben wir vor uns eine neue Bildung mit dem für spätantike Namengebung charakteristischen Suffix *-ius*, was die Zeit der Inschrift (zweite Hälfte des 3. Jh.) nicht ausschließt.

Fortunatio (Rep. 334 aus IG II² 13011): jetzt auch in lateinischer Form MEFRA 109, 1997, 62 (Ammaedara).

Frequentinus: AE 1994, 1404, 1405, 1464, ein Beneficiarius consularis in Sirmium in den neunziger Jahren des 2. Jh. Bisher waren bekannt die Ableitungen *Frequentianus*, *Frequentilla*, *Frequentio* (Kajanto 289).

Fulviana: I.Prusa ad Olymum II (IK 40) 1042 Φουλβιανή. Bisher war nur der Männername *Fulvianus* belegt (Kajanto 147).

Fuscula (Kajanto 228): hinzuzufügen I.Rom.Catal. IV 213. ILAlg. II 4929.

Garrula: Bull.com. 53, 1925, 298 (Rom). Bisher belegt war nur der Männername *Garrulus* (Kajanto 269).

Globulus (Kajanto 348 mit einem Beleg: P. Servilius Globulus, Prätor 64 v.Chr.): von diesem Namen kann ich drei weitere Belege anführen, von denen der älteste der interessanteste ist: CIL VI 26410 *P. Servilius Q. f. Globulus*, Sohn eines Freigelassenen (auch die Mutter war Freigelassene), der dem Sohn sowohl den Vornamen als auch das Cognomen des Senators verlieh, was auf irgendein näheres Verhältnis zur Familie des Politikers hinweisen dürfte; das Monument, ein Grabrelief, läßt sich in die späten dreißiger Jahre des 1. Jh. v.Chr. datieren,³ so daß die Eltern dem wohl in verhältnismäßig jungen Jahren verstorbenen (aus seinem Porträt zu schließen) Globulus sein Cognomen noch in lebendiger Erinnerung an den Prätor haben zulegen können. Die zwei restlichen Belege kommen aus Nomentum und Baetica: Forma Italiae reg. I, vol. 12 Nomentum 29 = Lapidario Zeri 51 und CIL II² 14, 415 (Saguntum; zweifellos lokaler Herkunft).

Γρατίολα Tyche 11, 1996, 47 (Siscia). Neben *Gratilla* usw. zu stellen (Rep. 340, Rep.² 500).

Habetdeus (Kajanto 217): hinzuzufügen die Formen *Abeddea* CIL X 7744 und *Abeddeus* CIL VIII 23565.

Heres (Kajanto 305 mit zwei Belegen. Rep. 341 mit einem weiteren Beleg). Dazu noch NSc. 1923, 378 (Rom). CIL II² 7, 307 (Corduba).

Initialis (Kajanto 294 aus CIL II 3027): zu diesem seltenen Namen, von dem bei Kajanto nur ein Beleg registriert ist, kommt hinzu CIL II² 14, 288 aus derselben Provinz.

Invenita AE 1993, 1207 (Treveri) ist Nebenform von *Inventa*.

Invita: CIL XII 4269 + 4297 vgl. Christol, Latomus 55, 1996, 433.

**Invitatus* (Kajanto 352 aus CIL VI 7010) muß entfernt werden, in der Inschrift ist zu verstehen *Apheto Aug. lib. invitatori*.

Iudex: Roman Provincial Coinage I 192 Nr. 741 (IIvir in Utica 29–30 n.Chr.).

Die Existenz von *Iuvatus* (Kajanto 352 aus Mart. 12, 24, 4) bleibt recht unsicher. Syme, Historia 27, 1978, 600 = RP III 1117 schlägt vor, *Iubatus* zu verstehen.

³ Dazu vgl. V. Kockel, Porträtreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten, Mainz 1993, 141f.

Laetantius: Pass. Scill. 16. Bisher war nur der Frauennamen *Laetantia* belegt (Rep. 348 aus ICUR 14388).

Laura: Kajanto 334 zufolge kommt neben dem üblichen *Laurus* (trotz des Genus von *laurus* ist *Laurus*, wie auch alle anderen diesbezüglichen Bildungen, z. B. *Pinus*, ein Männernamen) der Frauennamen *Laura* nur einmal in Rom vor (Kajanto meint wohl CIL VI 8539, wo aber Nom. *Laure* überliefert ist, so daß die nur bei alten Gewährsleuten überlieferte Inschrift etwas unsicher als Zeugnis eines Frauennamens *Laura* bleibt. Nunmehr liegt aber ein einwandfreier Beleg vor: CIL II² 14, 814 (Dertosa, 1. Jh. n. Chr.). Die Bildung neuer Namen durch sexuelle Motion ist nicht unbekannt in der römischen Namengebung. Besonders unter Namen aus Tier- und Pflanzennamen begegnet man solchen Geschöpfen, von denen die meisten freilich nur sporadisch gebraucht wurden; in der letzteren Gruppe, wozu *Laura* gehört, finden sich Frauennamen wie *Iunca* (ILAlg. II 1400) neben *Iuncus* (etwa 14 Belege in Kajanto 334) oder *Platane* (CIL VI 26126) neben *Platanus* (Kajanto 335 mit 4 Belegen); freilich wurde *Platane* in Rom wohl als griechisch empfunden. Umgekehrt der Männernamen *Arbusculus* (CIL III 7482) neben dem beliebten *Arbuscula*. Zu diesem namengeberisch freien Klima gesellt sich der okkasionelle Gebrauch von *Laura* zwanglos; aus *Laurus* ist durch sexuelle Motion auch ein anderer Frauennamen gebildet worden, nämlich *Lauris* (Kajanto 334 kennt 3 Belege). Andere Belege lassen sich aber in der antiken Anthroponymie nicht nachweisen; ein Modename wird *Laura* erst viel später.

Libarna: Suppl. It. 13 Vardacate 6 (christl.) *Livarna*. Trotz des fragmentarischen Zustandes der Inschrift liegt zweifellos ein Personennamen vor, nicht das Toponym. Der Name der nicht weit entfernten Stadt Libarna ist also hier metonymisch zu einem Personennamen geworden. Ob das etwas über die Herkunft der Frau besagt, steht auf einem anderen Blatt.

**Lurritanus* Rep.² 500 aus Diehl, ILCV 2936A ist wohl eher *Turritanus*.

Malliola. Kajanto 167 (vgl. auch Rep. 356) kennt nur einen Beleg, der außerdem wohl als *Manliola* zu verstehen ist (dagegen ist der aus einem mir nicht ersichtlichen Grund bei Kajanto fehlende Männernamen *Malliulus* belegt: Rep. 356 aus CIL V 997 = 8666. Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 197). Nunmehr ist dieser Name gesichert, wenn die in CIL II² 14, 757b (Fluchtafel aus Saguntum) gebotene Lesung das Richtige trifft.

Mammaeanus: AE 1993, 1298 (Annamatia, Pannonia inf.), M. Aur(elius), Soldat.

Μαρκίας Procop. BG 1, 13, 15 usw. (PLRE III 823f) (ostgotischer Befehlshaber).

Mariscanus: M. A. Speidel, Die römischen Schreibtafeln von Vindonissa (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa 12), Brugg 1996, 154 Nr. 29 (Centurio, 1. Jh. n.Chr., die Lesung scheint sicher zu sein). Es kann sich um eine mit dem Suffix *-anus* versehene Neubildung aus *Mariscus* (Kajanto 334) handeln, auch wenn eher nur eine sekundäre Graphie von *Mariscianus* (Kajanto 334 mit einem Beleg) vorliegt. Die meisten der wenig zahlreichen Belege von Cognomina auf *-anus* (von den zu Herkunftsbezeichnungen gebildeten Namen abgesehen) stehen neben viel besser beglaubigten auf *-ianus* (vgl. Kajanto 107–109) und sind deswegen meistens als vulgäre Schreibungen der letzteren anzusehen.

Martiensis: *Coccei(us) Martiensis* A. M. Canto, Epigrafia romana de Beturia Céltica, Madrid 1997, 53 Nr. 12.

Maurio: AE 1992, 1163c (Amphora aus der Baetica).

Maurius. Dieser Name fehlt bei Kajanto, kann aber mehrmals in altchristlichen Urkunden belegt werden in Fällen, in denen es sich nicht um ein Gentilicium handeln dürfte: I.Aquileia 3129. AE 1992, 707 (Aquileia). CIL VIII 9814.⁴ Beide Namen, sowohl *Maurio* wie *Maurius*, gesellen sich zu den zahlreichen Ableitungen der Sippe *Maurus* (Rep. 360f. Rep.² 501).

Mercurianus: AE 1991, 1236 (Noviodunum Diablintum, Graffito). Bisher war nur der Frauenname *Mercuriana* belegt (Kajanto 213).

Minutio: RIB 2503, 349 (Graffito auf Keramik)

Miracula Männername: AE 1993, 1273 (Iader). Mutet morphologisch wie bedeutungsmäßig recht merkwürdig an. Aber eine epichorische Deutung für den Namen liegt nicht zur Hand.

⁴ Nur der letzte Beleg steht als Cognomen nicht mit Sicherheit fest; überliefert ist *Maurius Cosidius*, was an einen Gentilnamen denken läßt; andererseits mutet eher *Cosidius* als Gentilnamenbildung an, so daß Inversion des Gentiliciums und des Cognomens vorliegen könnte. Zum Namen vgl. C. Sotinel, AN 62, 1991, 217f. Man kann aber nicht sagen, "le nom peut être une forme particulière de Maurus", gewiß handelt es sich um eine Ableitung aus *Maurus* mittels des für die spätantike Namengebung so charakteristischen Suffixes *-ius*.

Natio (Kajanto 304 aus EE VIII 531 (Cales). Als Beleg für diesen seltenen Männernamen kommt hinzu Iscr. greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino (1996) Nr. 106.

Negotianus: C. *Motilius Negotian(us)* BACTH 1905, 238 Nr. 21 (Lambaesis, Soldat der legio III Augusta unbekannter Herkunft und Zuweisung aus dem 3. Jh.; vgl. Y. Le Bohec, La troisième légion Auguste, Paris 1989, 322). Steht neben *Negotiator -trix* (Kajanto 321), ist aber nicht von diesem abgeleitet, sondern aus *negotium* gebildet. Semasiologisch hat aber wohl *negotiator/Negotiator* einen Ausgangspunkt geliefert oder wenigstens zur Ingebrauchnahme dieses Cognomens beigetragen.

Nepotinus: S. Panciera, oben 165.

**Nummulus -a* (Kajanto 343). Die ganze Existenz dieses Namens steht auf dem Spiel. Kajanto führt zwei Belege an, je einen maskulinen und einen femininen. Aber der Männernamenbeleg bleibt ganz unsicher, er kommt aus einem pompejanischen Graffito, dessen Lesung recht problematisch ist: CIL IV 9073, wo der Editor Della Corte den Namen N/MVLVS (das Graffito wurde seinerzeit schon von Zangemeister CIL IV 2054a herausgegeben und ganz anders gelesen) wiedergibt und darin *Numulus* vermutet.⁵ Auf einer solch fragilen Grundlage kann aber die Existenz eines Namens *Nummulus* (der hier dazu mit einem N geschrieben worden wäre) nicht gebaut werden; es sei ein für allemal daran erinnert, daß bei jedem pompejanischen Text, bei dem keine Nachprüfung am Original oder am Photo möglich ist, größte Vorsicht hinsichtlich Della Cortescher Lesungen geboten scheint.⁶ Nicht viel besser bestellt ist es mit dem vermeintlichen Frauennamenbeleg, der in CIL X 6085 (Formiae) vorliegen soll; aus vielen Gründen ist es vorzuziehen, hier statt dem überlieferten (O)NVMMVLA etwa *Numisia* zu verstehen.⁷ Um das Fazit zu ziehen, es scheint geboten, einen Namen **Nummulus -a* aus dem römischen Cognomenrepertoire zu entfernen.

⁵ Das Graffito ist sehr wahrscheinlich als verschollen zu betrachten. Wenigstens findet sich davon keine Spur in der ausgedehnten photographischen Sammlung pompejanischer Inschriften, die im Institut für Paläographie der Universität Rom La Sapienza aufbewahrt wird.

⁶ Vgl. Gnomon 45, 1973, 262.

⁷ Vgl. meine Bemerkungen in Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico (ActaIRF 15, 1996) 177.

Nutrix Kajanto 323 aus CIL XII 4742 *Nu[t]rix*. Hinzuzufügen RIB 2503, 349 (Graffito auf Keramik).

Octobrianus(?): RIB 2503, 363 (Graffito auf Keramik). Die Lesung scheint plausibel.

Paludinus: CIL II² 14, 804 (Dertosa, 1. Jh. n.Chr.). Eine gute Bildung, kann neben *Paludius* und *Paluster* (Kajanto 310) gestellt werden.

Parens: Suppl. It. 15 Ateste 63 (1. Jh. n.Chr.) *M'. Baebius L. f. Rom. Parens, M'. Baebius M'. f. Rom. Celer an. XXV*. Man hat darüber debattiert, ob hier *Parens* oder *parens* zu verstehen sei. Der Wortlaut der Inschrift legt nahe, daß es sich eher um ein Cognomen handelt (so auch Bassignano in Suppl. It.), denn *parens* wird in Grabinschriften in ähnlichen Zusammenhängen nicht gebraucht. Man könnte einwenden, daß *parens* kein geeignetes Namenwort war und darauf hinweisen, daß auch **Pater* nicht als Name gebraucht wurde, aber *parens* hatte mehrere Bedeutungsnuancen, weswegen es doch auf eine andere Weise als *pater* zu einem Personennamen werden konnte. Wieder anders Salomies, hier unten 294 mit einigen beachtenswerten Argumenten.

Parsianus: CIL X 7447 *L. Volumnius Parsianus* (Thermae Himeraeae, Lesung sicher).⁸ Die Bildung ist undurchsichtig, der Name hat aber den Anschein, Ableitung aus einem Gentilnamen zu sein. Da es keine Gentilnamen auf *Pars-* gibt, könnte man an eine Ableitung aus *Persius* denken. Das führt aber kaum viel weiter, denn *Persius* ist in Italien außerhalb des etruskischen Gebiets so gut wie unbekannt. An sich ist der Wandel *er > ar* im nachklassischen Latein belegt (s. ZPE 87, 1991, 246) und läßt sich phonetisch begründen. Oder steht die Form für *Sparsianus* (so Kajava, Arctos 29, 1995, 206)?

Mit dem vorigen Namen muß *Persianus* AE 1995, 1266 a (Carnuntum, centurio) verglichen werden. Er war bisher nicht belegt und zeigt somit auch, wie wenig verbreitet der Gentilname *Persius* war.

Im Vorbeigehen sei notiert die Form *Passario* AE 1994, 506 neben *Passerio* (Kajanto 331).

Pellio Rep.² 502 als Name eines plautinischen Schauspielers. Andere sichere Beispiele von *Pellio* als Cognomen waren bisher nicht vorhanden, vgl. Arctos 8, 1974, 153 = *Analecta epigraphica* 52 und 402. Jetzt kann ich

⁸ Vgl. L. Bivona, *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo*, Palermo 1970, 75 Nr. 63, Taf. XXXIX.

aber einen Beleg anführen, der sicher zu sein scheint: HEp. 5, 1070 *Silvanus Pellionis f(i)lius*). Während das Cognomen des plautinischen Schauspielers mit Sicherheit zu *pellio* gebildet wurde, kann der hispanische Beleg auch eine Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Pellius* sein.

Petilianus: donatistischer Bischof von Constantina in Numidien seit c. 390 (PCBE Afrique 855). Bisher war nur der Frauename *Petiliana* belegt (Rep.² 502 aus CIL IX 1378, Senatorenfrau aus dem Jahre 508 n.Chr.).

Pientissimus (Kajanto 251 mit zwei Belegen). Zu diesem seltenen Cognomen kommen zwei weitere Belege hinzu, die sicher Namen, nicht Epitheta sind: CIL VI 18400. ICUR 23941.

Pometina: Μαδιλία Πωμετείνα P. Cabanes – F. Drini, Inscr. d'Épidamne-Dyrrachion (1995) 297. Dies ist die Lesung von O. Salomies, oben 221, so daß *Pometina* hier als Cognomen feststeht. Ein Name *Pometinus* ist sonst nirgends belegt, aber Gentilnamen wie *Pomitinus* oder *Pomentinus* lassen einen fragen, ob *Pometina* hier ein in der Funktion des Cognomens verwendeter Gentilname ist oder ob der Namengeber ein 'echtes' Cognomen etwa aus *Pometia* geschaffen hat.

Protervus: CIL II² 5, 455 (Ucubi, ein Valerius aus dem 3. Jh. n. Chr.). Bisher nur als Frauename *Proterva* belegt (Kajanto 267 aus CIL XI 4220, Freigelassene).

Quinctilis: I.Aquileia 1583 *Cn. Vibius Cn. f. Quinctilis* aus der frühen Kaiserzeit. Ob der Namengeber direkt an den alten Monatsnamen angelehnt oder an eine Suffixbildung aus den beliebten Namen aus der Sippe *Quintus Quintius* usw. gedacht hat, läßt sich nicht sagen. Der Monatsname *Quintilis* war in der Kaiserzeit wenigstens in der gelehrten Literatur in Gebrauch.

Racilianus Rep. 389 aus CIL II 1010 mit Fragezeichen (erhalten [*R*]acilianus). Der Name ist jetzt sichergestellt: AE 1991, 1015 (derselbe wie in CIL II 1010).

Redimitus: AE 1993, 186 (Rom). Zum Partizip *redimitus* gebildet, das ja oft von Menschen gebraucht wird.

Saesolianus: BACTH 1918, CCV Nr. 3 (Aïn Mzata in Tunesien) *Selicius Selici fil. Saesolianus*. Die Bildung erweckt den Verdacht, daß hier eine Suffixableitung aus einem sonst nicht belegten Gentilnamen *Saesolius* vorliegt.

Salvinus. Den überraschenderweise sehr spärlichen Belegen dieser Bildung sei hinzugefügt CIL II² 14, 97 (Valentia, 2. Jh. n.Chr.).

Salvitta: CIL VI 4112 (dort SALVITIA überliefert) vgl. Arctos 29, 1995, 175 = *Analecta epigraphica* 381 (dort zur Erklärung des Namens).

Sapidosus. Dieser sonst nicht bekannte Name liegt wohl in Audollent, *Defix. tab.* 160 Ἀστέριος ὁ καὶ Σαπηδῶσος (ein Wagenlenker aus dem 4. Jh.) vor. Der Name ist mittels des Suffixes *-osus* aus *Sapidus* (oder auch aus *sapidus*) gebildet worden. Die Namensippe *Sapidus* kennt auch andere Ableitungen (Rep. 396), und *-osus* war kein unübliches Namenbildungsmittel (darunter übrigens eine Bildung *Saposus*, nach Kajanto 341 durch **Saponosus* aus *Sapo* gebildet; der Name hat aber wohl Assoziationen mit der Sippe *Sapidus* erweckt).

Sapiens (Kajanto 250) war bisher nur als Männername belegt (als Zuname des C. Laelius, bei dem *Sapiens* als Name nicht feststeht, und als Cognomen eines Namensvetters C. Laelius EE VIII 214 aus Asculum Picenum (zur Erklärung Solin, *Atti del Colloquium Tullianum* 1997, im Druck). Jetzt kann *Sapiens* auch als Frauenname belegt werden: AE 1995, 1698 (Theveste).

Scaenica: AE 1993, 281 (Rom). Aus Benennungen von Künstlern gebildete Cognomina (Kajanto 321) waren nie sehr populär, kommen aber durchaus vor. Varro spricht über *scaenicae mulieres*.

Σεπτωριανός: SNG München 692–693 und sonst (Mytilene). Die Lesung soll über alle Zweifel erhaben sein, wie mir Th. Drew-Bear versichert. Abgeleitet wäre das Cognomen aus einem nicht belegten Gentilnamen *Septorius* (vgl. aber *Septo[nius]* Inscr. It. X 3, 182 [Rep. 168], wo auch unser Name ergänzt werden könnte). Nun ist aber die Deutung gar nicht sicher, und es drängt sich die Vermutung auf, hier liege einfach *Sertorianus* vor; zu notieren ist, daß in der Kaiserzeit in griechischer Schrift das lat. R durch gr. Π wiedergegeben werden konnte.

Servatinus: AE 1992, 1450 (Klosterneuburg) *Ael(ius) Servat<i> nus eq(ues)*.

Siculeianus: CIL V 8110, 34 vgl. AE 1995, 546 (Ziegelstempel, Aquileia). Wohl Ableitung aus einem Gentilnamen; belegt ist *Siculius* (Rep. 171), aber der naheliegendste Ausgangspunkt wäre ein bisher nicht belegter **Siculeius*.

Silvicola Kajanto 310 mit einem Beleg. Dazu AE 1994, 1108–1109 (Britannia).

Sodalis (Kajanto 306). Das bisher nur als Männername bezeugte Cognomen läßt sich nunmehr auch als Frauenname belegen: CIL II² 14, 496

(Saguntum, 1. Jh.).⁹ In der Inschrift werden zwei nahe Verwandte angeführt, L. Magidius L. f. Gallus und Magidia Sodalis; interessant daran ist, daß die Cognomina beider charakteristisch für Afrika sind. War die Familie also aus Afrika gebürtig?

Sollertilla: AE 1994, 554 (Tibur); der Vater heißt *Sollers*. Auch dieser Grundname *Sollers* ist nicht sonderlich üblich. Aus der Sippe noch *Sollertius* (Rep. 405).

Spesindeo (Kajanto 217 aus ILT 1147) verschwindet; zu lesen ist *Ispesindeu*: Ennabli, Inscr.christ.Carthage I 394.

Supersta(?) Diesen Namen will G. Alföldy in CIL II² 14, 775 als feminines gegenstück zu *Superstes* festlegen; überliefert ist SVPE·STA. Eine solche feminine Bildung bleibt aber morphologisch etwas undurchsichtig. Andererseits war der Name *Superstes* populär in Hispanien (Abascal Palazón, Nombres personales 518 verzeichnet dafür c. 13 Belege), so daß letzten Endes unser Name doch etwas mit *Superstes* zu tun hat.

Tabullianus (Rep.² 504): vielleicht zu streichen, s. oben unter *Fabullianus*.

Tardus: CIL II² 14, 814 (Dertosa, 1. Jh. n.Chr.). Der Name mag bedeutungsmäßig eigentümlich anmuten, vgl. aber *Lentus* (Kajanto 249, Rep.² 500) mit Ableitungen und vor allem den bestehenden Namen *Lentulus*, wohl direkt zu *lentulus* gebildet. Zu beachten ist noch, daß der populäre *Celer* die wenn auch okkasionelle Ingebrauchnahme von *Tardus* bevorzugen konnte.

Tectus: Corinth VIII 3, 149 vgl. 345 *M. Insteius C. f. Tectus*, Duovir in Corinth 42–41 v.Chr. (vgl. M. Amandry, Le monnayage des duovirs corinthiens, BCH Suppl. 15, 1988, 33–36). Bedeutungsmäßig können Namen wie *Cautus Prudens* verglichen werden.

Titullio: Lettich, Iscr. Iulia Concordia 135 (sein Vater, vielleicht auch er selbst, führte den Vornamen *Titus*). Steht neben anderen Ableitungen aus *Titullus* (Kajanto 171).

⁹ Zum Problem des Sexus der zu adjektivischen Communia gebildeten Cognomina wie überhaupt zum Problem des Genuswechsels im römischen Cognomen vgl. vorläufig meine Ausführungen in *Utriusque linguae peritus*. *Studia in honorem T. Viljamaa*, Turku 1997, 1–9.

Tullenianus: M. Khanoussi, L’Africa romana 11, 1996, 1347 (Capsa) *Gampudius Tullenianus, frater et heres* eines Soldaten (der einen anderen Gentilnamen führt) aus Myrtilis in Lusitanien.

Turpia (Kajanto 286 kennt nur einen Männernamen *Turpius* aus CIL V 6036)¹⁰ scheint in CIL II 4001 = II² 14, 252 belegt zu sein (aus dem Photo zu schließen dürfte die Lesung stimmen, wenn auch letzte Sicherheit nicht zu eruieren ist). Oder liegt eine epichorische Bildung vor (vgl. das in Hispanien übliche Cognomen *Turpa*, das keine lateinische Erklärung zuläßt)?

Ummidiana: MAMA X 352 M. Οὐμμιδία Οὐμμιδιανή. Bisher war nur der Männernamen *Ummidianus* (Kajanto 159 aus CIL VI 16329) belegt.

Urvinianus: AE 1993, 1364 b (Moesia inf., 196 n.Chr.). Zum Gentilnamen *Urvinius* (Rep. 195).

**Ustilianus* Rep. 417 verschwindet. Statt *C. Manlius Q. f. Ustilianus* ist zu lesen *C. Manlius C. f. Ste. Tacitus*: G. Camodeca, in Ercolano 1738–1988. 250 anni di ricerca archeologica, Roma 1993, 524.

Vacrianus(?): EpAnat. 24, 1995, 55 ΟΥΑΚΡΙΑΝΟΥ (der Editor denkt an *Euagrianus*). Die Deutung bleibt in der Luft hängen, denn es gibt keinen Gentilnamen *Vacrius*, und sonst sieht man keine andere vernünftige Ableitung als aus einem Gentilnamen.

Vafra(?): HEp. 5, 609, wo die Grabinschrift einer Aemilia Vafra summarisch erwähnt wird. Da ein Name *Vafer Vafra* sonst vollends unbekannt ist, habe ich den Verdacht, daß *Afra* zu lesen sei. Andererseits wäre ein Cognomen *Vafer* bedeutungsmäßig wohl nicht auszuschließen.

Velianus Rep. 418 aus I.chr.Haidra 27: jetzt kommt hinzu H. Malay, Greek and Latin Inscr. in the Manisa Museum (TAM Ergänzungsband 19, 1994) Nr. 188 T. Φλ. Οὐάλης Βηλιανός.

Vernacellio: CIL II 5356 vgl. A. U. Stylow, Anuari de Filologia 18, 1995, 191ff. Zu *Vernacellus Vernac(u)lus* (Kajanto 312).

Vetonianus AE 1994, 1284 (Germania inf.) ist wohl Nebenform von *Vettonianus* (Kajanto 158).

¹⁰ J. M. Abascal Palazón, Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania, Madrid 1994, 535 verbucht aus HEp. 2, 687 einen weiteren Beleg für *Turpius*, dort liegt aber *Turpio* vor (falsch auch HEp. 2 Index S. 295).

Vicentius(?): CILAndal. II457 = EE IX 201 (Italica, 3./4. Jh.). Dies wäre eine neue Bildung; und freilich liest EE *Vincentius*, welcher Name auch in dem Falle vorliegen dürfte, daß *Vic-* auf dem Stein stünde.

Vinniola: AE 1992, 1771 (Ammaedara, um 200 n.Chr.). Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Vinnius* (Rep. 209).

Viticula (Kajanto 335 mit drei Belegen, Rep.² 505): ich füge noch (weil noch kein Index vorhanden ist) CIL II² 14, 159 hinzu.

Vitullinus AE 1994, 935 (Hispania cit., 147 n.Chr.). Vgl. *Vitulinus* Kajanto 329 mit ebenfalls einem Beleg.

Volcasianus: HEp. 4, 785 (Sevilla).

CLXXIV. VERKANNTÉ IDENTITÄTEN

CIL VI 17351, abgeschrieben von Bormann, und 20760, abgeschrieben von Bruzza, sind zwei Exemplare ein und derselben Inschrift. Bormann hat ein bißchen mehr gesehen, nämlich eine 7. Zeile mit zwei Buchstaben, die in Bruzzas Kopie fehlen. Sonst hat Bruzza aber besser gelesen (dazu gehört wohl auch die in der ersten Zeile von Bruzza erkannte *I longa* in DIS). Der erfahrene Epigraphiker Bormann hat mit seiner Lesung des Gentilnamens des Errichters *Eunius* ein Monstrum geschaffen, während Bruzza zweifellos richtig *Iunius* las, welche Lesung kaum als eine Art *lectio facilior* abgetan werden kann. Überhaupt kann man sich fragen, ob ein eigenständiger Gentilname *Eunius* in der römischen Anthroponymie je existiert hat. Schulze, ZGLE 161 scheint die Existenz eines solchen Namens anzunehmen. Wenn aber eine Gentiliciumform *Eunius* ein paar Male belegt ist (ich kenne nur CIL VI 17352, ebenfalls von Bormann verglichen [dort ist *Eunius* sicher, wie mir Rosetta Bernardelli Calavalle, die die Lesung verglichen hat, versichert; das Photo in M. Luni – G. Gori, 1756–1986. Il Museo archeologico di Urbino I. Storia e presentazione delle collezioni Fabretti e Stoppani, Urbino 1986, 144 Nr. 10 ist unbrauchbar]; und CIL XII 2810), so ist darin wohl nur eine Variante zu *Iunius* zu erblicken. Aber im griechischen Bereich war in Ephesos eine Familie mit dem Namen Εὐνίος beheimatet (IvE 1602 e. ZPE 120, 1998, 75 Nr. 14), und diese Namensform dürfte doch einen von *Iunius* verschiedenen Gentilnamen postulieren.

CIL VI 18167 = 24182. Für beide Fassungen ist der alte Gewährsmann derselbe, nämlich Amati, Cod. Vatic. 9754 f. 27'. 24182 wurde aber

auch von Henzen selbst im Lateran gesehen, der den Anfang [---] L·F·L·PIERO wiedergibt, während 18167 *L. Fl. Piero* beginnt, weswegen die zwei Fassungen voneinander gerissen wurden. Henzen hat richtig gelesen, wie mir Marco Buonocore mitteilt, der die Lesung für meine Zwecke verglichen hat: da ist also zwischen F und L ein Punkt, aber trotzdem würde ich ohne Zögern an *L. Fl.* denken. *L. Flavius* war eine nicht ganz unübliche Kombination in stadtrömischen Inschriften (im Gentilnamenindex von Bang habe ich davon 40 Fälle gezählt).

CIL VI 22390 aus der Abschrift von Schmidt = 27860, gesehen von Henzen selbst. Warum die zwei Fassungen an gesonderten Stellen stehen, bleibt ein Geheimnis des Editors, denn beide beginnen mit dem ergänzten Gentilnamen *[M]emma*.

Die von Doni unversehrt gesehene CIL VI 22871 gelangte später in fragmentarischem Zustand durch die Sammlung Passionei im Eremo Tuscolano von Camaldoli letztlich in den Vatikan und wurde dort von Henzen unter den Fragmenten in 30646, 1 publiziert. Die letztere Fassung verschwindet also.

CIL VI 23721 und 24386 sind zwei Exemplare ein und derselben Inschrift. 23721 wurde von Forcella gesehen, für 24386 ist der Gewährsmann Doni, der aber auch 23721 in Cod. Marucell. A 6 wiedergibt. 23721 beginnt *d. m. P. Paenio Epafrodito*, 24386 *d. m. P. Poenio Epafrodito*. Da *Paenius* in Rom gut bekannt ist, während *Poenius* nur vereinzelte Belege aufzuweisen hat (ich kenne Tac. ann. 14, 37, 3. CIL VI 15896. VIII 8656), ist zweifellos die erstere Variante zu wählen. Als Gentilicium bleibt *Poenius* allerdings bestehen; zur Bildung vgl. Schulze, ZGLE 89. Ob in der letzten Zeile LX von Doni den Vorzug vor Forcellas IX verdient, bleibt dahingestellt; an sich könnte LX als zweckdienlicher bezeichnet werden.

CIL VI 23828 steht an besserer Stelle unter 32856 unter der ansehnlichen Gruppe meist fragmentarischer Grabsteine von Equites singulares aus S. Pietro e Marcellino. Wenn Huelsen in 32856 richtig *Carpio* festgelegt hat, wird die in 23828 gebotene Ergänzung *[Eu]carpio* hinfällig.

CIL VI 29454 verschwindet. Die bei Iucundus und P. Sabinus mit falscher Zeilenteilung überlieferte Fassung ist nichts anderes als der untere Teil von 29457.

CIL VI 33793, gesehen von Forcella, Mau und Huelsen, wurde später unter 34680 aus der Abschrift von Vaglieri und Münzer aufs Neue publiziert, ohne daß die Identität vermerkt worden wäre. 33793 gibt in der

ersten erhaltenen Zeile den Anfang mit *F·RATIOI*[---] wieder, was Huelsen als *rationalis* verstanden haben wollte, weswegen er das Epitaph unter die Beamteninschriften placierte, während er in 34680 mit Vaglieris und Münzers Lesung [---]FRATIOI[---] nicht weiterkam und deswegen die Inschrift aufgrund des ersten erhaltenen Namens *Beronice* einordnete. Wie der Anfang zu verstehen sei, ist nicht zu bestimmen; unter Beibehaltung der Lesung ohne Punkt in 34680 könnte man für einen Namen aus der Sippe *Euphrates* optieren, entweder *Euphrates* selbst oder *Euphratius* (belegt in Rom: CIL VI 35310a), obwohl man wegen des darauf folgenden *vivus* eher den Nominativ erwarten würde: also *Euphratio*, in Rom nicht belegt, doch eine plausible Bildung.

CLXXV. VERKANANTE NAMEN

Myrto fem. So ist vielleicht in *Iscr. greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino* (1996) Nr. 120 zu verstehen. Die Editoren denken an den Männernamen *Myrto -onis*, es ist aber aus vielen Gründen wahrscheinlicher, daß das vorangehende E den letzten Buchstaben des Gentilnamens der verstorbenen *Myrto* vertritt. Μυρτώ war ein guter griechischer Frauenname: Bechtel, HPN 596; Att. Frauennamen 102.¹¹

Narbullia. In der von P. Ebner, PP 33, 1978, 62 nr. 6 (= AE 1978, 257) aus Velia publizierte Inschrift ist das Cognomen *Narbullia* verkannt worden. Der Editor (und mit ihm AE) liest *Narbulia*, anhand des Photos erkennt man aber ohne Schwierigkeiten die richtige Lesart. Interessant ist die Herkunft der Namensträgerin *Nervilia Narbullia* und damit die Etymologie ihres Cognomens. Sie war Freigelassene eines C. *Nervilius Iustus, veteranus deductus Vellias*, der *militavit centurio in classe praetoria Misenense*; sie hatten einen mit dem Vater homonymen Sohn, der ein Prätorianer war. Der Gentilname führt die Gedanken ungezwungen nach Mittelitalien (auch wenn von *Nerva* gebildete Namen auch anderswo, etwa im griechischen Bereich vorkommen), aber für das Cognomen der Frau (das sich sonst nur in Rom belegen läßt: Rep. 367) sehe ich keine anderen Anknüpfungspunkte als den Namen der Stadt Narbo (so auch, freilich mit Fragezeichen, Schulze, ZGLE 461), wenn nicht auch in *Narbullia* mittel-

¹¹ LGPN I verzeichnet den Namen 6mal, II 7mal und III.A 7mal.

italisches Namengut vorliegt (Wechsel zwischen *Nerv-* und *Narb-* könnte lautlich bedingt sein).

CLXXVI. VARIA URBANA

1. In CIL VI 4208 findet sich in der dritten Zeile ein auf beiden Seiten fragmentarischer Name, den Vidman im Cognominaindex 353 durch ...anasy... wiedergibt. Wenn der erste erhaltene Strich, dem vom CIL gebotenen Druckbild zufolge eine Schräghaste, den letzten Strich eines M vertritt, kann hier der Name *Mnasy(l)us -a* festgelegt werden. Belege mehrerer Kurznamen aus der Sippe Μνησι- finden sich bei Solin, GPN 1291f.

2. Im Verso der opisthographen Inschrift CIL VI 7665 findet sich nach [d.] m. der akephale Name des Verstorbenen, den Henzen ἈΝΓΑΛΙ druckt. Es liegt wohl *Pancalus* vor, denn Namen mit dem Ausgang *-ngalus* oder *-ngales* finden sich nicht in der römischen Namengebung. Und der Name braucht nicht im Dativ stehen, wie Vidman im Cognominaindex 353 meint (unverständlicherweise wird dort "...angal(es vel -ius)" gedruckt), auch wenn auf den Namen des Errichters dann *amico* im Dativ folgt, denn es ist eine in stadtrömischen Inschriften alltägliche Erscheinung, daß der auf die Formel *dis manibus* folgende Name im Genetiv steht, die darauf eventuell folgenden Epitheta aber im Dativ.

3. In der links als fragmentarisch überlieferten Inschrift CIL VI 10915 ergänzt Mommsen (mit ihm einverstanden Bang im Gentiliciaindex) ganz verkehrt *Aelia Ermo[lai l. Ga]me sibi et...* Ein Name *Game* ist aber unbekannt. Nun braucht der erste Buchstabe dieses Wortes nicht ein M zu sein, er kann auch ein A vertreten. Ich lese ohne Zögern *Aelia Ermo[---qu]ae sibi et...*

4. In der nur aus Passionei bekannten Inschrift CIL VI 11589 ändert Henzen das überlieferte PRODOCIMENES ganz ohne Not in *Prodocimenes*. Der entsprechende Männername *Prodocimus* in 5105; dort setzt Henzen ein *sic* nach dem Namen. Desgleichen Vidman im Cognominaindex 318. Wenn aber Προσδόκιμος ein gut bezeugter Name in der kaiserzeitlichen Anthroponymie ist, bedeutet das noch nicht, daß ein Name Προδόκιμος nicht möglich wäre. Freilich existiert kein Adjektiv *προδόκιμος, aber angesichts der großen Freiheit in der Handhabung der

Namenwörter in der kaiserzeitlichen Anthroponymie ist es ohne weiteres römischen Namengebern zuzutrauen, daß sie neben *Prosdocimus* bewußt einen Namen *Prodocimus* in Gebrauch nahmen. Wenn im Griechischen sowohl Προ- als auch -δοκος beliebte Glieder von Vollnamen waren, so konnte der Namengeber an solche Vorbilder anlehnen.

5. Die nur bei einem alten Gewährsmann überlieferte Inschrift CIL VI 15452 beginnt CLAVDIAE HARDIN. Hier ist der gute griechische Name *Nardis* verkannt worden. H und N wurden oft verwechselt (s. z. B. *Analecta epigraphica* 149, 154, 214, 384). Vidman im *Cognominaindex* 296 vermutet zwar hier ein N, hat die richtige Namensform aber nicht erkannt, indem er schreibt ”*Nardin(e) (*nisi est Hardin...*)”. Hier liegt eine Form der heteroklitischen Flexion vor, die ja bestens bei Namen auf *-is* bekannt ist.

6. *Pasidina Socratia* CIL VI 23842 und *Pasienia Socratia* 23849 können miteinander verglichen werden. Kaum sind sie aber ein und dieselbe Person. Die erstere Inschrift ist freilich nur bei alten Gewährsleuten überliefert, aber *Pasidinus* ist eine einwandfreie Gentilnamenbildung (zu Unrecht zweifelt Bang im *Gentilnamenindex* daran). Die zwei Inschriften sind wohl auseinanderzuhalten, und es ist bloß zufällig, daß ein nicht sehr übliches Cognomen mit zwei ähnlich lautenden Gentilnamen verbunden wird.

7. In der auf beiden Seiten fragmentarischen Inschrift CIL VI 30747 verbirgt sich in Zeile 5 APPVLLO der Modename *Apollonius*, es ist unnötig, mit Vidman, *Cognominaindex* 353 ...*appullus* zu verstehen.

8. CIL VI 30553, 12 beginnt [D] M / [---] ARCHES. Vidman im *Cognominaindex* 353 vermutet einen Männernamen ...*arches*. Da aber der Text mit *d. m.* beginnt und dann der Name der Errichterin folgt, ist es besser, ARCHES als Genetiv von *Arche* aufzufassen.

9. [---]ymius in CIL VI 30556, 185 muß wohl zu [*Catath*]ymius ergänzt werden oder, wenn eine späte Datierung für das Fragment zugelassen ist (aufgrund des vom CIL gebotenen Druckbildes kann nichts zur Datierung eruiert werden), [*Euth*]ymius.

10. CIL VI 33655 heißt *ossa Sullae Evei*. Vidman im *Cognominaindex* macht aus dem letzteren Namen ein männliches Cognomen *Euei... *Eveius* ist aber ein Gentilname, und der Text ist die Grabschrift eines Sulla, der Sklave eines Eveius war. Diese Deutung ist evident (der Name ist also in Bangs *Gentilnamenindex* nachzutragen). Zum Namen Rep. 75 (auch hier ist unser Beleg nachzutragen).

11. In CIL 36157 ist wahrscheinlich der Name [*Cyp*]are zu ergänzen.

12. In CIL VI 37596 führte der Freigelassene vielleicht das Cognomen *Pudens* (einen anderen Namen kann ich aus der im CIL gebotenen Transkription nicht herauspressen). Diese Deutung vertrete ich schon in Stadtrömische Sklavennamen 631. *Pudens* wird oft ohne *n* geschrieben (s. z. B. Stadtröm. Sklavenn. 80) und ist nicht ganz selten als Sklavename in Rom belegt (ebda. sind 11 Belege verbucht). Vidman im Cognominaindex 357 ganz verkehrt ("vir. ...y[.]dis") und mit Druckfehler 37516.

13. CIL VI 38993 ist wie folgt überliefert: Q·TVRAN / NI ON. Bang vermutet darin einen *Q. Turan(ius) Neon* oder eher *Nicon* (zwischen I und O soll ein C nur gemalt gewesen sein). Ich glaube, es ist besser, *Q. Turanni On[---]* zu verstehen.

14. L. Gasperini, *Latomus* 17, 1958, 350f Nr. 1 (mit Photo) publiziert eine stadtrömische Inschrift wie folgt: *D. M. Laedia Cry... Sex. Laenus Pen... patrone b. m.* Dabei fällt der Gentilname *Laenus* des Freigelassenen auf, denn man würde natürlich *Laedius* erwarten. Der Steinmetz hat in der Tat LAENVVS geschrieben, aber es muß *Laedius* verstanden werden (vergebens versucht der Editor, *Laenus* zu erklären). Wahrscheinlich hat der Steinmetz (oder sein Vorgesetzter) die vielleicht semikursive Vorlage mißverstanden, den unteren Teil des Bogens von D weggelassen und I an den vorhergehenden Buchstaben angehängt. Ein interessanter Zusatz zu den von mir in *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini*, Helsinki 1995, 94ff gesammelten Fällen von Steinmetzfehlern.

15. Die von A. Linfert, *Die antiken Skulpturen des Musée Municipal von Château-Gontier*, Mainz 1992, 65 Nr. 134 (= AE 1992, 206) publizierte Inschrift ist wohl zweifellos stadtrömischer Herkunft. Man versteht nicht recht, aus welchen Gründen G. Petzl bei Linfert feststellt, daß "die Inschrift wohl nicht aus Rom stammt".¹² Doch alles spricht dafür, so Typologie und Dekor wie der Wortlaut.

16. F. Alberini, *MGR* 18, 1993, 234f (= AE 1993, 233) publiziert eine Kolumbarientafel in der Form *A. Balonio A. l. / Diphilo. Olla(m) / dat*

¹² Wenn ich seine Worte richtig verstanden habe, scheint er zu seiner Auffassung dadurch gelangt zu sein, daß "ein Beispiel für eine zur gens Caedia gehörende Freigelassene" in meinem Namenbuch s.v. Euphrosyne "fehlt". Das ist doch kein triftiges Argument. Ein Einblick in Bangs Gentilnamenindex hätte ihn überzeugt, daß in Rom freigelassene Caedii durchaus nicht fehlen.

Pamphilo(n) und vermutet in Pamphilo(n) denjenigen, der die *olla* gegeben hat. Wie sie selbst zugibt, ist ein Name *Pamphilo* sonst nicht bekannt, und freilich wäre es eine recht eigentümliche Bildung. Deswegen schlage ich als Alternative vor, in *Pamphilo* einen Dativ zu sehen: Er (nämlich Diphilus) gibt die *olla* dem Pamphilus.

17. Ein paar Anmerkungen zur Edition stadtrömischer Inschriften in einer peruginischen Sammlung von G. Dareggi, *Antichità romane nel Palazzo Gallenga Stuart a Perugia*, Ann.Fac.Lett.Filos.Perugia 28, 1990/1991, 35–172: S. 76 Nr. 21 (= CIL VI 11754): statt *Blasii* ist mit den Corpuseditoren ohne weiteres *Blasti* zu lesen (nicht nur zu verstehen, wie man anhand des Photos leicht erkennt). Ein Name *Blasius*, der ein Gentilicium ist, wäre im Zusammenhang ganz sonderbar. – S. 91 Nr. 31 (CIL VI 23578): *Iasi* ist Genetiv von *Iasus*, nicht *Iasius*. – S. 94 Nr. 33 (= CIL VI 25035) ist bizarr. Der Name der Errichterin ist ALBVSA·PREPVSA geschrieben worden. Wenn man mit Bang *Albus*<*i*>*a Prepusa* emendiert, muß man einen etwas schweren Schreibfehler in einem nicht ganz alltäglichen Gentilnamen in Kauf nehmen (freilich ist *Albusius* nicht ein Unicum, er kommt noch in CIL VI 21276 [gesehen von de Rossi] vor). Deswegen könnte eine alternative Erklärung vorgelegt werden: der Steinmetz hat VSA in ALBVSA versehentlich aus PREPVSA übernommen, als er den Namen ALBIA zu schreiben hatte, hat IA weggelassen und mit PREPVSA fortgesetzt. – S. 106f Nr. 42: Die Editorin hat die Textgeschichte nicht genau genug beobachtet und sie kennt nicht meine Ausführungen zu dem bizarren Namen *Neobule* in *Arctos* 16, 1982, 195 = *Analecta epigraphica* 155; daraus hätte sie lernen können, daß eher *Nicobule* zu verstehen ist. Ferner darf man nicht eine Datierung ins 3. Jh. aufgrund des Namens *Sosibius* vornehmen, denn es handelt sich nicht um das spätantike Namensuffix *-ius* (Σωσίβιος ist ein alter griechischer Name!). – S. 112–114 Nr. 46: die Erklärung ist ganz schief; man braucht nur den vernünftigen Kommentar von Silvagni in ICUR 2934 zu vergleichen.

18. Ferrua, ICUR 16829 *b* ergänzt aus zwei nicht ineinander passenden Fragmenten einer Marmortafel zu Εὐ[αγγρ]ία. Dieser Name, an sich eine plausible Bildung für die spätantike Namengebung neben *Euagrius*, ist in Rom sonst nicht belegt, weswegen sich der Gedanke aufdrängt, daß hier eher Εὐανδρία oder Εὐαγγελία als Ergänzung vorzu

ziehen sei. Beide sind in der altchristlichen Anthroponymie belegt, und besonders Εὐαγγελία bietet sich gut als Name einer Christin an.

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AN ORIENTAL BAKER AT OSTIA *

RISTO VALJUS

At Tivoli, in the end of the 19th century, an inscription was found which had been made for the fulfilment of a vow: *M. Caerellius / Iazemis q(uin)q(uennalis) / pistorum III / et perp(etuus) et / codicarius item / mercator / frumentarius / invicto / Herculi / ex voto d(onum) d(edit)*.¹ Dessau thought him to be Ostian because of his titles. We know other persons at Ostia who were bakers, owners of small river boats and grain dealers, and who practised more than one trade.² Meiggs accepted Dessau's opinion and discussed Iazemis in his chapters about trade and the guilds.³ But he did not discuss the origin of the man although Dessau had considered Iazemis' cognomen as Syrian.

Two names of the same stem are known from Rome: *Iazemus* and *Iazymus*. Both names belong to freedmen and appear in epitaphs.⁴ In a recent work Solin has classified these names as originating from Asia

* Dr. Anne Helttula read a draft of this article and I am very grateful to her for her many helpful comments. I wish to thank Margot Stout Whiting for correcting my English. I am indebted to Dr. Sanna Aro for drawing my attention to the subject of this article.

1 CIL XIV 4234.

2 Marcus Licinius Privatus was *qq. corporis pistorum Ostiens. et Port. and magister quinquennalis collegi fabrum tignuarior. Ostiens.* (CIL XIV 374); L. Calpurnius Chius was *codicar. curat. Ostis et III honor. and quinq. corporis mensor. frumentarior. Ostiens.* (CIL XIV 309); M. Iunius M. f. Pal. Faustus was *mercator frumentarius* (CIL XIV 4142).

3 R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford 1973², 277 and 321.

4 CIL VI 6476: *Iazemus Posidippi lib.*; CIL VI 25363: *M. Raius M. l. Iazymus*.

Minor,⁵ which I think is a better explanation than the Syrian origin suggested by Dessau.

The name *Ιαζημις* is found a few times in Asia Minor. Sundwall thought it was Lydian, because it appears in an inscription from Magnesia.⁶ Robert claims that *Ιαζημις* is a Cappadocian name.⁷ The name appears three times in inscriptions found in this region.⁸ The basis for Robert's opinion is the provenance of the inscriptions; he also refers to the name *Ιαζαρμας* which has been found in neighbouring Cilicia,⁹ and to the study of Houwink Ten Cate on Luwian names.¹⁰ The name also appears in an

⁵ H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen. Ein Namenbuch I–III, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, Beiheft 2*, Stuttgart 1996, 607.

⁶ *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, hrsg. von O. Kern, Berlin 1900, 137: *Μιθριδάτην Ἰαζημιος*; J. Sundwall, "Kleinasiatische Nachträge", *Studia Orientalia* 16:1 (1950) 20. He was probably following Buckler, see W. H. Buckler, *Lydian Inscriptions, Sardis VI,2*, Leyden 1924, 92.

⁷ L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure gréco-romaine I*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul 13, Paris 1963, 124, 220 and esp. 433–442.

⁸ J. H. Mordtmann, "Eine cappadocische Porträtbüste", *MDAI(A)* 9 (1884) 204–205 [SEG XXXII 1315]: *Ἰάσονα Ἰαζημιος*; W. M. Ramsay, *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor*, Aberdeen 1941, 105 no.86 (improved from OGIS 364): *Τ[ρ]ι[τανταχ]μην Ἰαζημ[ιος]*; J. Oehler, "Epigraphisches. Griechische und lateinische Inschriften aus Kappadokien", in: H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 und 1907, I, Die fachwissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse 1*, Leipzig 1911, LXXIII no. 5: *θέσει δὲ Ἰαζημιος*; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 190 §448–3; Robert 436–438. See also Ramsay 106 no.88 (improved from CIG 4366, Pisidia): *Ἰάσον[ος] Ἰα[ζη]μιος*.

⁹ J. Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme*, *Klio Beiheft 11*, Leipzig 1913, 88 and 249.

¹⁰ Robert 439–441; E. L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Western Cilicia", *JHS* 12 (1891) no. 27 l.38; Ph. H. J. Houwink Ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera During the Hellenistic Period*, *Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui* 10, Leiden 1961, 118–119 and 136–138. According to Houwink Ten Cate, *Ιαζαρμας* is a compound of *Iā* and *Šar(ru)ma*, both of which are divine names in Luwian. So in his opinion, this is a Luwian name (cf. 185 and 190). Luwian was used both in Cilicia and Cappadocia from the third millennium B.C. until the Hellenistic period. There is also a name *Ιαζημιος* which has been found in Cilicia, cf. SEG XL 1302.

inscription from Crete which has been dated to imperial times.¹¹ Robert is willing to read this name in an inscription found on Delos, too.¹²

In my opinion Robert's thesis is correct, and can be supported by other arguments than the concentration of the occurrences in Cappadocia. The name *Iazemis* appears to have many components, which are characteristic of Luwian names according to Houwink Ten Cate.¹³ In Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions there is a name *Azamis*, which is a passive participle form of the verb *aza-* "to love".¹⁴ Although the name *Iazemis* has not been found in the Hittite or Luwian texts, I suggest that it could have been formed from two Luwian elements **Ia+azamis*. *Ija* is a divine name and widely used in personal names. The passive participle form *azamis* has been used in the

¹¹ ICret I, VII, 13: Ἰαζημος; Robert 435.

¹² IG XI 4, 609: Κ]οίρανος [Ἰαζ]ημιδος Παντικα[παιίτης. Robert 442. He has not found a name ending -ημις in South Russia but has found the name Κοίρανος in Cappadocia.

¹³ The Luwian name Ἰαζαρμας begins with the element *Ija*, which seems to be also the first component in *Iazemis*, cf. Houwink Ten Cate 118, 137–138. Luwian names have been composed with a suffix *-mi*, e.g. Τρεβημις which is formed from the element *Tarpa*, cf. Houwink Ten Cate 160–162, 181–182, 186, 189 n.4, 191 n.1. The name Μοαζημις is, according to Sundwall, a compound **muwa+zama*, see Sundwall 1913, 288 and 290. The first element *muwa-* is common in names from the Hittite period until the Hellenistic period, cf. Houwink Ten Cate 166. Sundwall also proposed the second element *zama*, without explaining its meaning, for the name Ἰαζημις, Sundwall 1950, 49. The name Μοαζημις appears in an inscription found in Isauria: H. Swoboda – J. Keil – F. Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien*, Brünn 1935, no. 63 (Vasada); Robert 441.

¹⁴ The name appears in the inscriptions IZGIN 1; BOYBEYPINARI 1–2 (probably 8th century B.C.). See for ex. A. Morpurgo Davies, "Analogy and the *-an* Datives of Hieroglyphic Luwian", *Anatolian Studies* 30 (1980), 124. See also J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (forthcoming), no. V.15 and VI.1–2. Cf. H. G. Güterbock, "Die Hieroglypheninschrift von Fraktin", *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*, Budapest 1978, 131–133; E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites: supplément*, *Hethitica* 4, *Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain* 21, Louvain 1981, no. 4 and 215a.

second position, with a divine name in the first position.¹⁵ Luwian names with a divine element, both in the first and second position, were common in the southern regions of Asia Minor until the beginning of the third century A.D.¹⁶

Robert drew attention to the connection between the Cappadocian origin of the cognomen of the Ostian Iazemis and his occupation as a baker.¹⁷ Cappadocian bread was an appreciated speciality which Athenaeus mentions three times in his work.¹⁸ The Greeks called it 'soft' and it was made with milk, oil and salt. This kind of bread was mainly made in Cappadocia but also in Syria. But the making of good bread in Cappadocia was not only a feature of Hellenistic and Roman times. The Hittites had known numerous varieties of bread.¹⁹ It seems, therefore that the high quality of baking was preserved in Cappadocia from the second millennium B.C. until at least the second century A.D.

¹⁵ *Ija*: Houwink Ten Cate 137–138, 185; L. Zgusta, *Anatolische Personennamensippen I–II*, Prag 1964, 141–142, 160; *asiya, asimi*: E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, *Études linguistiques* 4, Paris 1966, 319, 327; no. 773: **Masanasimi*; 1124: **Sarmanazi*; 1263: *Tarhunasi*; 1265: *Tarhunazi*. Laroche compares these names to the Greek *Theophilos*. For the popularity of divine name Aia/Ea/Ia as an element in semitic and Anatolian names cf. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire 1,I*, ed. Karen Radner, Helsinki 1998, XXV–XXVII.

¹⁶ T. B. Mitford, "The Cults of Roman Rough Cilicia", *ANRW II* 18.3, 1990, 2138. For the continuation of Luwian population and culture in Cappadocia from the third millennium B.C. until the Hellenistic period see (with discussion and further literature) S. Aro, *Tabal. Zur Geschichte und materiellen Kultur des zentralanatolischen Hochplateaus von 1200 bis 600 v. Chr.*, Helsinki 1998, 55–76.

¹⁷ Robert 439.

¹⁸ Athenaeus 3,113b; 4,129e and 4,647c. In the first and third passage there is a reference to Chrysippus of Tyana's work on bread making. Tyana was already a town in Cappadocia in the Hittite period. Athenaeus wrote around A.D. 200, so he was perhaps only a little later than M. Caerellius Iazemis. Athenaeus even wrote that τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἀρτοποιοῦς ἀρίστους ὄντας (3,112c).

¹⁹ Cf. Harry A. Hoffner Jr., *Alimenta Hethaeorum. Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor*, *American Oriental Series* 55, New Haven 1974, Chapter V, 149–204. Hoffner enumerates 148 different terms for bread in the Hittite texts, which are mainly of religious character.

At Ostia there are only two other inscriptions in which an *M. Caerellius* occurs. They both refer to the same man whose cognomen *Hieronymus* indicates servile descent, as does *Iazemis*, too.²⁰ A person very like Iazemis was Marcus Licinius Privatus. He was a magistrate of the collegium of bakers and a freedman.²¹ Royden has drawn attention to the fact that there was a magistrate of the bakers' association in Rome whose name was M. Caerellius Zmaragdus.²² In Royden's opinion a connection between Iazemis and Zmaragdus seems likely and I agree with him.

Robert does not think it surprising to find Cappadocian slaves in Rome.²³ Their existence is clearly shown by an epitaph in which *Prima Erotis Cappadoca* is unmistakably stated as originating from Cappadocia.²⁴ This epitaph belongs to the same *monumentum Statiliorum* as *Iazemus Posidippi lib.* whose cognomen also suggests a Cappadocian origin.²⁵

M. Caerellius Iazemis was obviously a successful freedman at Ostia since he practised three different trades and was granted an honorary position after serving three times as a magistrate in his *collegium*. The common factor between his three businesses was grain. As a *codicarius* he could transport the grain he had bought along the coast and up the Tiber to Rome. He also needed grain himself as a baker. Royden writes that it is

²⁰ CIL XIV 70: *M. Cerellius Hieronymus*; 4313: *M. Caer[ellius Hiero]nimus*; See also CIL XIV 4569, *dec. III, 7: Cerell. Ieronim. (album collegii fabrum tignuariorum* from 198 A.D.).

²¹ CIL XIV 374. Meiggs 514; J. H. D'Arms, Notes on Municipal Notables of Imperial Ostia, *AJPh* 97 (1976) 411; H. L. Royden, The Magistrates of the Roman Professional Collegia in Italy from the First to the Third Century A.D., Pisa 1988, 70–71. Privatus was also a magistrate of the builders' association from A.D. 200–204.

²² CIL VI 1002: *quinq. II, corpus pistorum* (144 A.D.). His son could be M. Caerellius Smaragdianus (CIL VI 16913). Royden 112 and 192.

²³ Robert 439.

²⁴ CIL VI 6510. Eros could have been a slave himself and it is possible that he had the same master – Posidippus – as Iazemus, cf. CIL VI 6274: *Eros T. Statili Posidippi ser. disp.*

²⁵ Cappadocian slaves were well known in Rome which is shown by many literary references to them, cf. L. Franck, "Sources classiques concernant la Cappadoce", *RHA* 24 (1966) 112–114.

unknown whether Iazemis began his career as a baker or a grain dealer.²⁶ Taking into consideration his Cappadocian origin and the same first and family name of his Roman colleague M. Caerellius Zmaragdus, it is probable that Iazemis had first been successful as a baker and after that had expanded his activities into the grain trade and transportation.

What is most interesting about Iazemis is his occupation as a baker and his cognomen of Luwian origin. Robert pointed out that Cappadocian bread was considered a luxury in the Greek sources, but earlier the Hittites had baked especially fine bread in Cappadocia. M. Caerellius Iazemis could have succeeded at Ostia as a baker, because, originating from Cappadocia, he was able to bake good bread according to an old tradition.²⁷

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²⁶ Royden 112.

²⁷ In late antiquity there was a term *panis Ostiensis* which meant a better bread than the one distributed free in Rome, cf. *Cod. Theod.* 14,19,1; E. Tengström, *Bread for the People. Studies of the Corn-Supply of Rome during the Late Empire*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 8°, XII, Stockholm 1974, 96–97.

***PARTICIPIUM CONIUNCTUM* – SYNTACTIC DEFINITIONS OF THE PARTICIPLE IN ANCIENT GRAMMARS**

TOIVO VILJAMAA

In ancient Greek and Roman grammars the participle is usually granted the third place in the canonical system of eight parts of speech. The classification was not without controversies. The participle is a kind of noun-verb hybrid participating both in verbal and nominal characteristics. As the usual definition runs, for instance, in the grammarian Diomedes (fourth cent. A.D.): *Participium est pars orationis dicta, quod duarum partium quae sunt eximiae in toto sermone, verbi et nominis, vim participet* (GL 4,401,11–12), and in the *Technē* of Dionysius Thrax: Μετοχή ἐστὶ λέξις μετέχουσα τῆς τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἰδιότητος. Παρέπεται δὲ αὐτῇ ταυτὰ ἃ καὶ τῷ ῥήματι δίχα προσώπων τε καὶ ἐγκλίσεων (GG 1:1,60,1–3).¹

The history of the participle in the *ars grammatica* is obscure. The earliest reliable text which deals with the system of eight parts of speech is that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus from the end of the first century B.C. But it is just the participle with which he hesitates. He notes (comp. 2; p.7,10–11) that some authors separated participles from common nouns (*prosēgoria*), but on the other hand, on another occasion (ep. Amm. II,7; p. 428,7–9) he refers to a participial form with the term *rhēma*. The conclusion is evident. In about the middle of the first century B.C. there was no agreement between the grammarians whether the participle should be classed sepa-

¹ This article is a modified version of the paper read at the VII International Conference on the History of Linguistics (Oxford, 12th–17th Sept. 1996). I would like thank professors Dirk M. Schenkeveld and W. Keith Percival for useful comments. For translations and commentaries of Dionysius Thrax, J. Lallot, *La grammaire de Denys le Thrace*, Paris 1989, and A. Kemp, "The Tekhne grammatike of Dionysius Thrax", *Historiographia Linguistica* 13 (1986) 343–363.

rately or with the noun or the verb.² Instead, we have no reason to doubt Priscian's statement, that it was the grammarian Tryphon (at the beginning of the first century A.D.) who separated the participle and was then eagerly supported by Apollonius Dyscolus (about one century later):³

Quaesitum est tamen, an bene separaverint id ab aliis partibus grammatici et primus Trypho, quem Apollonius quoque sequitur, maximus auctor artis grammaticae (15,1; GL 2,548,4–7).

The discussion about the status of the participle must be connected with that stage in the development of the grammatical art when the morphological criterion of case inflection and non-case inflection began to be used to define the two basic classes, noun and verb. And more generally, it is the stage when the grammarians searched for inflectional patterns and accordingly separated parts of speech mainly in terms of inflection. More philosophically oriented grammarians who tried to build a rational system then added notional criteria to describe the parts in terms of sentence-structure.⁴ Inflectional considerations are apparent in the usual definitions of the participle. It is similar to the noun because it is inflected by case, and resembles the verb because it has different forms in different tenses.⁵ The morphologi-

² See Dirk M. Schenkeveld, "Linguistic Theories in the Rhetorical Works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus", *Glotta* 61 (1983) 67–94, and "The Linguistic Contents of Dionysius' *Παραγγέλματα*", *The Henry Sweet Society Studies in the History of Linguistics* 1 (1995) 43. Dionysius of Halicarnassus probably meant that the Stoics distinguished the participle as a sub-species of the *prosēgoria*. – The participle is classed separately in the *Technē* ascribed to Dionysius Thrax, but certainly also for this reason, the *Technē* should be dated later than in the second century B.C. when Dionysius lived.

³ Tryphon is mainly known from Apollonius Dyscolus. A commentator of Dionysius' *Technē* (schol. Marc. in Dion. Thr., GG 1:3,356,7 ff.) presents him as an ardent critic of Stoic definitions.

⁴ On grammarians who turned to logic for their syntactical concepts, Anneli Luhtala, *On the Origin of Syntactical Description in Stoic Logic*, Diss. Helsinki 1997.

⁵ Prisc. 2,18; GL 2,55,10–11 *Participium autem iure separatur a verbo, quod et casus habet, quibus caret verbum, et genera ad similitudinem nominum*; and 11,5; GL 2,551,4 ff. *Itaque cum et verbi quaedam sua prohibent hoc esse nomen, id est tempora et significationes, et nominis propria prohibent esse verbum, id est genera et casus ... mansit participium medium inter nomen et verbum.*

cal principle is particularly prominent in Varro, who seems to be the first to clearly distinguish the class of participial forms. Varro distinguishes four categories of words inflected by nature: one of them is the Latin present participle:

Dividitur oratio secundum naturam in quattuor partis: in eam quae habet casus et quae habet tempora et quae habet neutrum et in qua est utrumque. has vocant quidam appellandi, dicendi, adminiculandi, iungendi (ling. 8,44; cf. 10,17).

The Varronian categories of naming, saying, supporting, and joining correspond approximately to nouns, verbs, adverbs ending in *-ē*, and participles. Though the categories are distinguished morphologically, their names imply not only notional but also syntactical considerations.⁶ As examples for the class of *'iungendi'* Varro mentions the present participles *docens* and *faciens* (ling. 10,17). This is also the doctrine to which Priscian refers: *quibusdam philosophis placuit nomen et verbum solas esse partes orationis, cetera vero adminicula vel iuncturas earum* (11,6; GL 2,551,18–20).

The participle, as defined by grammarians, may be a hybrid and its status obscure, but in the use of language – and particularly in ancient Greek and Latin – the form is not unimportant. On the contrary. Both Greek and Latin are rich in participles. Of course there are differences in use: Greek has past active and present passive forms, which are missing in Latin – except some forms of deponent verbs; Greek uses participial forms of the copula 'to be', Latin normally does not. On the other hand, in Latin past passive participles are incorporated in the inflectional tense system of verbs.

Participles or similar forms derived from verbal roots are also conceptually important.⁷ The importance is evidenced by Priscian, who often notes

⁶ Cf. Daniel J. Taylor, *Declinatio: A Study of the Linguistic Theory of Marcus Terentius Varro*, Amsterdam 1974, 81–85, and Fred W. Householder, "History of Linguistics in the Classical Period", *HL* 16 (1989) 136–138.

⁷ *Quid enim est alius pars orationis nisi vox indicans mentis conceptum, id est cogitationem?* (Priscian 11,7; GL 2,552,1–2). To illustrate the general cognitive import of them, I only need mention the ambiguous English phrase "flying planes", one of the semantic ambiguities made famous by Noam Chomsky. See J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, Cambridge 1986, 249–253.

their usefulness and indeed the necessity of using them for the correct completion of thoughts in linguistic expression. The cognitive aspect in this connection simply means that the *homo loquens* conceives in his mind the complexity of the real world; things, events and actions are interconnected with each other in many ways. Accordingly, we cannot express our thoughts only by enumerating, as it were, states, events, and actions one after another. The participle seems to be a useful tool – and in Greek and Latin, as Priscian states, a necessary means – for expressing these interconnections between simple statements. This being so, for instance, in Homer’s *Odyssey* in a phrase like *Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἠΰδα*, the participle is necessary and useful for connecting two ideas, but difficult to explain in grammatical terms which are suitable only for analysing simple sentences: “The wise Telemachus answered” or “Telemachus gave a wise answer”? Or both? Naturally this kind of phrase must have occupied the minds of ancient philosophers and grammarians, and they still continue to occupy the minds of modern linguists.⁸

The idea of a *pars iungendi* (above Varro, *ling.* 8,44 and 10,17) is implicit in the theory of the Stoics, who are usually mentioned by Priscian as theorists of language. They could not decide whether the participle is a subclass of nouns or of verbs (*nomen verbale* or *modus verbi casualis*).⁹

Stoici enim quomodo articulum et pronomen unam partem orationis accipiebant, infinitum articulum vocantes, quem grammatici articulum, eique adiungentes etiam infinita nomina vel relativa..., sic igitur supra dicti philosophi etiam participium aiebant appellationem esse reciprocam, id est ἀντανάκλαστον προηγορίαν, hoc modo: 'legens est lector' et 'lector legens', ... vel nomen verbale vel modum verbi casualem (11,1; GL 2,548,7 ff.).

⁸ Schol. Vat. in Dion. Thr. (GG 1:3, 215,30–31) in fact says: τῆς δὲ μετοχῆς μετουσία· μετουσία δὲ ἐστὶ κοινωμία δύο πραγμάτων. For an explanation in cognitive grammar, R.W. Langacker, *Concept, Image, and Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*, Berlin & New York, 1990, 78–100.

⁹ The double nature is also reflected in the distinction made by Roman grammarians between gerunds and participles. See M. Baratin, *La naissance de la syntaxe à Rome*, Paris 1989, 144–146.

In the passage quoted we can see that the Stoics were inclined to group participles with common nouns, calling them reciprocal appellatives. The Stoics, however, did not define words in terms of formal criteria but with reference to propositional logic and semantics. Thus a reciprocal appellative could be something like a word reflecting a quality of the substance referred to in the predication, that is, the referent remains the same, and the participle is therefore reciprocal, for instance in a phrase like *Priscianus intellegens – scribit*. But I will not go further into the Stoic semantics, all the more because Apollonius and Priscian did not accept their definition, though they seem to follow them in adapting abstract meaning relations, like existence (substance), identity and difference, to syntactic analysis.¹⁰

Priscian's chapter on the participle (lib. XI; GL 2,548–576) is the most extensive discussion which we have on the subject from the ancient grammars.¹¹ Apparently, it is based on Apollonius Dyscolus, whose book on the participle (περὶ μετοχῆς), however, has not survived, and his doctrine must be reconstructed from Priscian's book and from numerous other passages where both Apollonius and Priscian refer to the use of participles, particularly in connection with the discussions of pronouns and sentence structure.¹²

There seem to be two main reasons why participles attract Priscian's attention: first, the difficulty of their definition; secondly, their frequent use in both Greek and Latin. The latter makes one think that participles are

¹⁰ J. Pinborg, "Classical Antiquity: Greece", *Current Trends in Linguistics* 13.1 (1975) 99–101 and 116–117.

¹¹ Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* (about 500 A.D.) is the largest grammatical handbook surviving to us from classical antiquity; it is also the most influential in Medieval and Renaissance times; see Robins, "Priscian and the Context of his Age". *L'héritage des grammairiens Latins de l'antiquité aux lumières*, éd. Irène Rosier (Paris 1988), 49–55; cf. R. Amacker, "L'argumentation pragmatique chez Priscien: 'personne' et 'déixis'", *HL* 17 (1990) 269–291. Priscian's model is, as he himself says, Apollonius Dyscolus' Greek grammar. Although Apollonius' grammar is based on interpretation of Greek, and ultimately on Homeric linguistics and philology (cf. T. Viljamaa, "Paradosis and *Synetheia*. Language Study in Classical Antiquity", *Acta Ant. Hung.* 36 (1995) 167–174) Priscian adapts it to Latin and accordingly is forced to pay attention not only to apparent differences between Greek and Latin but also to the Roman grammatical tradition.

¹² For the reconstruction of Apollonius' περὶ μετοχῆς, Schneider, *GG* 2:3,122–129.

particularly useful for composing well-formed expressions. Despite the fact that Priscian was aware of the morphological problems connected with participles – problems of derivation, adjectival use of participles, differences between Greek and Latin – and of their use in the passive perfect forms, he, however, in his syntax and in his exposition of the status of the participle mainly uses examples of the present participle and of its predicative use (of the type *ego Priscianus scribo intellegens*, 17,153; GL 3,183,5).

Semantic and syntactic criteria prevail already in the beginning of the book on the participle, where Priscian, following his master Apollonius, emphasizes the meaning of the proper place of the participle in the order of the parts of speech. It is positioned third after the noun and the verb because its function in the complete sentence (*oratio perfecta*) presupposes the existence of two main classes and on the other hand other minor classes are not necessary for its existence.¹³ The article and the pronoun come next to the participle in the order of the parts. Thus their syntax is also discussed by Apollonius and Priscian in connection with appellatives and participles. As noted before, the Stoics differed from the grammarians in that they grouped participles into the class of appellatives; and also in regard to articles and pronouns – Priscian notes – they behaved similarly (*quomodo articulum et pronomen unam partem orationis accipiebant, infinitum articulum vocantes, ... sic etiam participium aiebant appellationem esse reciprocam*, 11,1; GL 2,548,7 ff.). Priscian, however, does not make the comparison only to hint at a peculiar Stoic behaviour, but he wants to remind the reader that there is a real linguistic affinity between articles and participles. When the Stoics defined the concepts of substance, identity, and existence, they did so using as examples Greek expressions with appellatives and participles. Here Apollonius and Priscian follow the Stoic argumentation. Apollonius discusses the matter at length (synt. 1,105 ff.; GG 2:2,87,20 ff.). He gives, for instance, the following Greek examples, in which the combinations of the article and the participle have different interpretations (synt. 1,111; GG 2:2,94,10 ff.):

¹³ Prisc. 11,1–14; GL 2,548,1 ff. *Qui tertio loco participium posuerunt, rectius fecisse videntur, cum enim nomen et verbum primum et secundum tenuerunt locum, participium, quod ex utroque nascitur, sequentem iure exigit.* The just order is based on the logic of substantial and accidental nature of the entities. Cf. F. Charpin, "La notion de phrase: l'héritage des accines", *L'héritage des grammairiens Latins de l'antiquité aux lumières* (Paris 1988), 63–64.

ὁ δειπνήσας παῖς κοιμάσθω "Let the boy who has dined go to bed".
 ὁ παῖς δειπνήσας κοιμάσθω "Let the boy go to bed after dining".

In the former the article is indefinite (i.e. it has a generic meaning), and the participle behaves like an adjectival noun;¹⁴ in the latter the article is interpreted anaphorically, and the participle is joined with the predicate-verb in two ways: temporally ("having dined", "after dinner") according to the tense-form of the participle,¹⁵ and referentially with the concept of person (πρόσωπον) which is indicated by the personal ending of the verb and marked by the nominative case of the participle. As we see this use of the participle would correspond to the Latin *participium coniunctum*, and accordingly, because Latin lacks the article, it will be of great interest to Priscian and other Latin grammarians.¹⁶

The Stoic doctrine about the article, *arthron*, which signifies the mere existence of a substance, either definite (ὀρισμένον) or indefinite (ἀοριστῶδες),¹⁷ is fundamental for understanding Priscian's discussion of the deficient morphology of Latin:

In quibus quia praeteritum deficit, loco participii verbo utimur et nomine infinito, ut 'qui amavit', ὅς φίλησεν, id est ὁ φιλήσας. quomodo enim loco verbi participium accipitur necessitatis causa cum verbo substantivo, sic etiam, ubi participium deficit, necessario verbum in-

¹⁴ Cf. Prisc. 11,13; GL 2,556,6 ff. *nec mirum ad formam adiectivorum haec dirigi, cum paene vim habeant participia quoque nominum adiectivorum; accidentia enim propriis vel appellativis nominibus significant, velut illa, ut 'bonus homo'. 'scribens homo'.*

¹⁵ Cf. Prisc. 11,3, GL 2,549,27 ff. *Participia vero actionem vel passionem aliquam in diverso fieri tempore demonstrant, non tempus ipsum per se.*

¹⁶ For the definition of *participium coniunctum* ("das bezügliche Partizip", "adverbiales Partizip", "prädikatives Attribut") in modern handbooks of Latin grammar, Kühner-Stegmann, I 744 ff., and particularly A. Scherer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Syntax* (1975) 193–195.

¹⁷ In the Stoic *arthron*-class, definite articles (ὀρισμένον = personal, reflexive and possessive) were distinguished from indefinite (ἀοριστῶδες = articles, interrogative and indefinite pronouns); cf. Pinborg, *op. cit.* 99.

finito nomini substantivo iunctum participii officio fungitur (11,25; GL 2,564,28 ff.).¹⁸

The passage is a graphic illustration of the way in which Priscian adapts Apollonius' Greek grammar to Latin, which lacks not only certain participial forms but also the article. The missing forms of the participle can be replaced by relative clauses, e.g. *qui amavit, qui amatur*, in which the pronoun is defined by Priscian as an *infinitum nomen substantivum*, "noun denoting indefinite substance".

But to grammarians the participle was not a *pars appellandi* (cf. Varro). In contrast to the Stoic semantics Priscian, following Apollonius, emphasizes the verbal character and syntactical behaviour of participles. The difference between a nominal and a participle is demonstrated by the verbal syntax of the participle: the participle follows the concord or agreement typical of verbs (*verborum consequentia*). Participles have their natural origin in verbs, they are always derived from verbs, and in the sentence structure they are used in place of verbs (*Participium est igitur pars orationis, quae pro verbo accipitur, ex quo et derivatur naturaliter*, 11,8; GL 2,552,18 ff.). The argument about the derivational nature of participles was usually employed to make a formal distinction between deverbatives and denominatives, for instance, between 'amatus' (participle) and 'togatus' (noun),¹⁹ but Priscian emphasizes the syntactical consequences of the deri-

¹⁸ Cf. also 11,25; GL 2,565,4 ff.: *In praesenti autem deficit, pro quo similiter verbum cum praedicto nomine proferimus dicentes 'qui amatur', ὃς φιλεῖται pro ὁ φιλούμενος. ex quo quoque ostenditur significatio participii, quod tam nominis quam verbi vim obtinet, quod et hoc pro illis et illa pro hoc ponuntur. dicimus enim 'legens est, qui legit' et 'qui legit, est legens'.*

¹⁹ Prisc. 8,90; GL 2,441,13–16 *participia sine verbis esse non possunt. si qua igitur videantur sine verbis formam habere participiorum, nomina sunt dicenda...: e.g. 'togatus, galeatus'.* Cf. Apoll. Dysc. synt. 4,45; GG 2:2,471,10 ff, Diomedes, GL 4,402,23 ff. Other formal criteria to distinguish between participles and adjectival nouns were: participles do not accept prefixes but they inherit them from verbs, and participles cannot have comparative and superlative forms. See, e.g. Prisc. 3,2; GL 2,48,21–22 *sed quando comparantur participia, transeunt in nominum significationem*; 11,31; GL 2,568,15 ff. In Roman grammatical tradition, since Varro, the classification of the participle was considered to be a problem of etymology or morphology; therefore the discussion of the participial forms usually concerned the concepts of imposition and derivation.

vation.²⁰ In terms of syntax, participles are 'transformations' (μεταλήψεις) from verbs into case-inflected words needed in order to obtain the correct construction.

*Participium etiam opportune post verbum ponitur, ex quo et nascitur, ..., quod necessario translationes verborum fiebant in casuales figuras cum generibus, quae eis accidunt, cum verba non possent consequentiam sui praesentare, ut etiam per obliquos casus adiungi possent et sine coniunctione consociari (17,18; GL 3,119,12–16).*²¹

The *consequentia verborum* ('correct construction' or 'correct syntax of verbs') simply means that case-forms should be selected correctly in agreement with verbs (and participles). Firstly there must be a nominative case to which the person indicated by the personal ending of the verb refers ('*legens doceo*'), and secondly there must be the correct oblique case, if there are more than one person (*persona*) involved in the predicated situation (*pragma*) (e.g. '*docentem audio*', '*illo docente didici*');:

Igitur participium inventum est, ut nominativus quidem sine coniunctione proferatur cum alio verbo, ut 'legens doceo' pro 'lego et doceo', quae compositio intransitiva est, hoc est ipsam in se manere ostendit personam, obliqui vero casus participiorum ad hoc sunt utiles, quod non solum sine coniunctione proferuntur cum obliquis casibus nominum, sed etiam ad alias transeunt personas, ut ... 'docentem audio' et 'illo docente didici'... (11,12; GL 2,554,28 ff.).

Thus in Priscian's grammar the formal duality of the participle, its being a case-inflected verb, is a reflection of its syntactical behaviour, and indeed, its existence is a necessary condition (*necessario*, ἀναγκάτως) for making syntactically correct sentences (cf. schol. in Dion. Thr. GG 1:3,415,29 ff.). Priscian says that the participle retains the syntax both of verbs and nouns

²⁰ If a derivative does not follow the verbal syntax it will not be a participle but a noun, for instance, *amans illum* (participle) but *amans illius* (noun); Prisc. 11,4–5; GL 2,550,4 ff., Apoll. Dysc. synt. 3,190; GG 2:2,432,20 ff.

²¹ Here Priscian translates Apollonius Dyscolus almost word for word: synt. 1,21; GG 2:2,23,8 ff. Cf. schol. Heliodori in Dion. Thr., GG 1:3,77,4 ff.

(*participia tam nominum quam verborum sibi defendunt structuram*, 17,92; GL 3,159,13 ff.):

a) it is a case-form replacing the verb (*loco verbi*) to fill the structural requirements of the verb, to refer to the subject-person ('*ambulans cogito*'), and to take an object-complement ('*laudans te*').²²

b) it is a verbal replacing the noun with the verb (*loco nominis cum verbo*) to fill the structural requirements of the noun, to agree in the nominative case with the subject-part of the sentence ('*Virgilius scribens floret*') or to agree in an oblique case with the complement attached to the predicate-part ('*video miserantem*').²³

Both structures are interpreted in relation to the predicate-verb (cf. 17,26; GL 3,124,9–10 *loco verborum sumitur et cum verbis adsumitur*). In this connection Priscian uses quite consistently the terms 'person', 'intransitive', and 'transitive' (*persona; compositio intransitiva, compositio transitiva*).²⁴ The terms, which are names for syntactical categories, result from the observation of Greek and Latin morphology (verbs are inflected in person and nouns in case) and from the analysis of the semantic content of expressions (state of affairs, *pragma*, involving the existence of one or more participants).²⁵ The notion of person reflects the concord of the verb with the noun in the subject position, or in Priscian's words, it is the mere demonstration of the existence of the person indicated by the verb (*substantiae demonstratio*).²⁶ Furthermore, it is not only a notion describing the

²² *Et verborum quidem constructionem servant, quando vel absoluta vel transitiva sunt ad alia casualia, quibus ad consequentiam verbi coniunguntur: absoluta, ut ... 'ambulans cogito; ... transitiva ... ut 'laudans te'.*

²³ *Secundum nomen autem participia construuntur, quod, quemadmodum verba vel intransitive cum nominativo vel transitive cum obliquis nominum ponuntur, sic etiam cum participiis intransitive, ut 'Virgilius scribens floret' ..., transitive, ut... 'video miserantem'...*

²⁴ See particularly the passage quoted 11,12; GL 2,554,28 ff. The only exception is 17,93; GL 3,159,17, where he employs the traditional term of verb semantics *absolutum* instead of *intransitivum*.

²⁵ Cf. schol. in Dion. Thr. GG 1:3,255,22–23: τὰ γὰρ ῥήματα τὸ πρῶγμα σημαίνουσι καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον μετεilahφὸς τοῦ πρῶγματος.

²⁶ Prisc. 17,78; GL 3,152,13–14. For him person is not a deictic category, although he uses the word *demonstratio*. Cf. Amacker, op. cit. For the grammarians' hesitation

observable variation in personal endings (e.g. *laudo, laudas, laudat*), but also a notion describing the observable syntactic variation in the sentence with respect to the verb and the 'substances' involved in the state or action:

Ideo autem repertum est participium, quod nomini verbum adiungitur, sed non aliter, nisi sit nominativus casus ei personae adiunctus (11,8; GL 2,552,21 ff.); *Participia inventa sunt, ut quod deest verbis, id est casus, compleant coniuncta nominibus* (11,9; GL 2,553,7 ff.).

Priscian then, following Apollonius' theory of πρόσωπον and μετάβασις, utilizes the formal variation of cases and the syntactic variation to say that constructions are either 'transitive' or 'intransitive', that they show a 'change of person' or not:

Non solum per obliquos casus est utile participium, sed etiam per nominativum. diversa enim verba absque coniunctione adiungere non potes, ut 'lego disco' vel 'doceo discis' non est dicendum, sed 'lego et disco' et 'doceo et discis': nam hoc proprium est tam transitivorum quam intransitivorum; participium autem si proferas pro aliquo verbo et adiungas ei verbum, bene sine coniunctione proferas, ut 'legens disco' pro 'lego et disco' et 'docente me discis' pro 'doceo et discis' (11,9; GL 2,553,12 ff.)²⁷

Priscian makes a good use of the notion of *persona* and of the observation of Latin morphology to maintain the 'raison d'être' of the participle. It is a *pars coniungendi* supplying, as it were, the need for connectives in complex expressions. It must be used when it is necessary to conjoin two statements with the same subject (e.g. '*legens disco*' pro '*lego et disco*'). It must be

between morphological and semantic definitions, see E. Hovdhaugen, "Genera verborum quot sunt? Observations on the Roman Grammatical Tradition", HL 13 (1986) 308–316.

²⁷ Cf. also 11,8; GL 2,553,1 ff. *Cum igitur sunt intransitiva, quia non possunt obliqui casus his adiungi, loco verbi subit participium, ut 'bonus homo loquebatur', 'boni hominis loquentis orationem audivi', 'bono homini loquenti dedi', 'bonum hominem loquentem audivi', 'bono homine loquente delectatus sum'.*

attached to the verb when it is necessary to conjoin two statements with different subjects (e.g. *'docente me discis' pro 'doceo et discis'*).²⁸

Priscian's discussion of the syntax of the participle shows that the concept of *oratio perfecta* (well-formed sentence corresponding to a complete thought) does not mean only simple sentences or statements but it also takes account of complex sentences. Although he paraphrases participial constructions as two clauses, he does not thereby suggest that they have the same meaning. On the contrary, he emphasizes that there are cases where the use of a participle is 'natural', 'useful', and 'necessary'.²⁹ The 'transformation' of the verb into the participle does not follow from the structure where two clauses are connected with a conjunction but the transformation into the participle comes from the verb and from the necessity to express a complex thought. Priscian adapted Apollonius' Greek grammar to Latin; particularly its theory of the complete sentence and of the concord between the main constituents of the sentence seems to have been useful for explaining the syntactic behaviour of participles. But he did not make the adaptation without considering the obvious differences between Greek and Latin. The observation of peculiarities of classical Latin, and also of the Latin grammatical tradition, caused him to lay emphasis on the nature of the participle as a *pars coniungendi*, and on that ground to reserve a special place for the participle in the order of the parts of speech. Later, the commentators of Priscian in the Middle Ages were more interested in explaining semantic qualities of verbs (active, passive, absolute etc.) than syntax. Thus the need for a separate listing of the participle was no longer motivated.

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²⁸ For Priscian's syntax, Baratin, *op. cit.* 471–474.

²⁹ Cf. *schol. in Dion. Thr.*, GG 1:3,77,4 ff. *καλῶς ἡ φύσις ἐπινόησε τοῖς ῥήμασι τὴν μετοχήν.*

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Vir bonus dicendi peritus. Festschrift für Alfons Weische zum 65. Geburtstag, hrsg. von Beate Czapla – Tomas Lehmann – Susanne Liell. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 1997. ISBN 3–88226–894–8. XXI, 429 S. DEM 98.

The Catonian title of this book appropriately characterizes the honorand's scholarly activity as combined with his remarkable ability as a teacher (for that expression, compare the articles by Blume, Oberg and Petersmann; below). Weische is known as a leading expert on the Latin language, especially that of Cicero and the late Republic in general, his studies including first-rate contributions to many lexical issues as well as the history of Latin literature. A scholar who knows what he is doing and also conveys his knowledge to students in an exemplary fashion should serve as a model for anyone.

The beautiful and witty dedication in Latin by M. Alexa is followed by 44 contributions treating manifold themes of the Latin (and Greek, even Russian) language and literature from ancient to modern times. The contents are as follows: H.-D. Blume, *Vir malus dicendi peritus*. Von wortgewandten Komödiensklaven (5); G. Calboli, The Asiatic Style of Antony: some considerations (13); A. Cizek, Quintilians Auffassung von der *vitiosissima humanitas* und die Praxis des Schulvortrags (27); H.G. Coenen, Der Löwe Achilles. Überlegungen anläßlich der Metaphernlehre des Aristoteles (39); B. Czapla, Erkenntnis als sinnliche Erfahrung. Eine Studie zum biblischen und zum paganen Gebrauch von γινώσκειν und *noscere* bzw. *cognoscere* (49); R.G. Czapla, Gebete für den Frieden. Zum Gebrauch von *pax* in den lateinischen Epigrammen Daniel von Czepkos (53); W. Dietrich, Wortschatz im Griechischen und Romanischen. Parallelen und Divergenzen in der Herausbildung seit dem Vulgärgriechischen und Vulgärlateinischen (59); G. Eckert, T-R-Fokus-Verteilung in *quod...id*-Konstruktionen (73); E. Feldmann, Das 'größte Geschenk der Götter'. Beobachtungen zu einer Sentenz Ciceros bei Augustinus (ciu. 22,22) [85]; H. Geckeler, Das Latein, die romanischen Sprachen und der gelehrte Einfluß (97); K.-H. Gerschmann, *Libri loquuntur – Nemo loquitur* (109); H. Götttsche, Ein Computerprogramm in lateinischer Sprache (117); J. Gruber, Typologisches Argumentieren in der lateinischen Panegyrik (129); E. Hachmann, Die Freundschaftsthematik in Senecas *Epistulae morales* (135); R. Harweg, Die Komparativ-Definition des Dionysios Thrax (145); O. Hiltbrunner, Das einfältige Auge (159); A. Hoffmann, "Ich will Dir zeigen, welchen Weg ich genommen habe..." (Aug. util. cred. 20). Zur Funktionalisierung der eigenen Vita in Augustins Schrift *De utilitate credendi* (165); W. Hübner, *Volumen*. Zur Metaphorik der Buchrolle in der Antike und bei Michel Butor (181); F. Hundsnurscher, Rechtfertigungen und Ausreden (193); F. Inciarte, Rhetorische Dekonstruktion des Subjekts (201); H.D. Jocelyn, Plautus, Mil. 195–234: the distribution of the parts (211); G.E.A. Korzeniowski, De vocabulo quasi-caesurae e doctrina metrica expellendo (219); H. Krefeld, *natura* und *educatio*. Bemerkungen zu Seneca, de ira 2,18–21 (227); M.-L. Lakmann, Favorinus von Arelate.

Aulus Gellius über seinen Lehrer (233); D. Lau, Philosophische und rhetorisch-poetologische Exegese homerischer Dionymien (245); S. Liell, Die politischen Ambitionen des älteren Seneca. Überlegungen zu Sen. contr. 2, praef. 4 (261); M.-Th. Liske, Gegenstandsbezug durch Zeichen und unmittelbare Wirklichkeitserfahrung in Augustins *De magistro* (271); A. Lumpe, Zur Entstehung der Kyprianoslegende (287); K. Matthiessen, Überlegungen zur Helenaepisode der Aeneis (291); G. Maurach, Literaturwitze bei Terenz (299); K.A. Neuhausen, Humanistisches und 'modernes' Latein. Notizen zu Hankins' Werk 'Plato in the Italian Renaissance' (307); E. Oberg, *Mulier mala dicendi perita* – Die Frauen bei Phaedrus (311); H. Petersmann, Bild und Gegenbild des *vir bonus dicendi peritus* in der römischen Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis in die frühe Kaiserzeit (321); S. Pinkernell-Kreidt, Das Erkennen des *καίρῳ* in Ciceros dritter Philippischer Rede (331); H.J. Real, "Bacon advanced with a furious Mien": Gulliver's Linguistic Travels (345); G. Ressel, Lexikalische Derivationsprozesse bei russischen Präfixverben (357); N. Sallmann, De larva antiqua saeculo XIX ineunte rediviva (365); C. Schmitt, Vulgärlatein und germanische Superstrat. Erkenntnisse und Lehren aus einem Humanistenstreit über Etymologie (371); M. Sicherl, Zum Text der Invektive gegen Cicero (381); K. Siewert, Neue deutsche Glossen zu lat. *interpres* in der Bibliothèque Nationale/Paris (385); H. Solin, *Homobonus* (389); B. Sträterhoff, Kolometrie und Prosarhythmus bei Sallust am Beispiel der Rede des Caius Aurelius Cotta (399); W. Suerbaum, Fehlende Redner in Ciceros *Brutus*? Nebst Hinweisen auf fehlende Entwicklung, fehlende Belege und fehlende Ernsthaftigkeit in einer Geschichte der römischen Beredsamkeit (407); R. Zimmer, Die dreigliedrige Passivkonstruktion im Lateinischen. Beobachtungen zu Caes. Gall. 1 (421).

Mika Kajava

Die Regierungszeit des Kaisers Claudius (41–54 n. Chr.). Umbruch oder Episode?. Interdisziplinäres Symposium aus Anlaß des hundertjährigen Jubiläums des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg i. Br., hg. von Volker Michael Strocka. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1994. ISBN 3–8053–1503–1. X, 331 S., 48 Farb- und 174 Schwarzweißabbildungen. DEM 180.

"Claudius (...) hätte sicher seine eitle Freude an diesem Band, (...)" schließt V.M. Strocka sein einführendes Vorwort zu dem Buch, der die Vorträge und Diskussionen eines interdisziplinären Symposions in Freiburg zusammen- und damit einem großen Publikum zur Verfügung stellt. Es kann hier nicht zuletzt aus Platzgründen keine ausführliche Besprechung aller zwanzig z.T. recht langen Aufsätze gegeben werden, aber das Buch gibt einen facettenreichen Überblick über Claudius und seine Zeit. Ein Namen-, Orts- und Sachregister erleichtert zudem die Handhabung der reichen Information.

Nach einer Einordnung in den literarischen Kontext (S. Koster), in die gesellschaftliche Lage (S. Demougin) und den administrativen Umbruch (W. Eck) sowie der Behandlung seines Kaisertums unter verschiedenen Perspektiven (D. Timpe, H.-M. v. Kaenel, W. Trillmich und T. Hölscher) wird die Person des Claudius als Schriftsteller (allgemeiner E. Levèvre, spezifisch P.L. Schmidt), als Gelehrter (J. Malitz) und als Richter (J.G. Wolf) beleuchtet. Danach wird die große Frage "Umbruch oder Episode?" unter künstlerischem (A.-K. Massner, M. Torelli, V.M. Strocka und W.-R. Megow) und architektonischem (B. Andreae, H. v. Hesberg und E. La Rocca) Blickwinkel untersucht.

Abgerundet wird das Bild durch die Darstellung des Claudius durch Seneca (S. Döpp) und ganz in der Logik des Themas des Symposions mit einem Beitrag zu seinem Nachleben bis zum Ende seines, also des ersten Jahrhunderts (M. T. Griffin).

Wie nun beantwortet das Symposium die sich gestellte Frage nach der Bewertung der Regierungszeit des Claudius, die viele spürbare, aber nur schwer interpretierbare Veränderungen mit sich gebracht hat? Ist eine solche Frage überhaupt befriedigend zu beantworten? Schon die dankenswerterweise in das Buch aufgenommenen, angeregten Diskussionen über die unterschiedlichen Aspekte und Auffassungen zeigen, daß die umfassende Beantwortung der Frage nicht nur schwierig ist, sondern – so wage ich zu sagen – vielleicht nicht einmal beabsichtigt war. Ganz sicher aber hat das Kolloquium und wohl gerade die Interdisziplinarität desselben auf wirksame Weise einen neuen Ausgangspunkt und Anstoß für die Forschung in der frühen Kaiserzeit gegeben.

Uta-Maria Liertz

MARTIN FERGUSON SMITH: *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oinoanda*. Kleinasiatische Kommission, Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris, Nr. 20. Auch: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 251. Band. Wien 1996. ISBN 3-7001-2596-8. 234 S., 64 Tafeln. ATS 891, DEM 122.

Bekanntlich veröffentlichte M. F. Smith im Jahre 1992 (richtiger: 1993) eine auf intensiven Forschungen beruhende grosse Edition (660 S.) des Diogenes von Oinoanda (s. meine Rezension, *Arctos* 28 (1994) 148–150, auf die ich für Näheres verweise). Darin war enthalten eine ausführliche Einleitung, Text der Fragmente, englische Übersetzung und etwa 170 Seiten Kommentar (Notes) sowie Bibliographie und Index der griechischen Wörter.

Wenige Jahre später erschien das hier zu besprechende Buch, ein Zusatz zur Edition. Es handelt sich um eine im weiten Sinne epigraphische Ergänzung.

Der griechische Text wird gegeben, aber meistens ohne jeden kritischen Apparat, welchen ja die Edition enthält. Die Steine werden ausführlich charakterisiert, nämlich chronologisch (Fundjahr und etwaiges Jahr der Wiederfindung), topographisch (wenn irgend möglich, wird die Fundstelle jedes Steins mit Hilfe von Koordinaten angegeben, die in einem von J. J. Coulton entworfenen Plan über Oinoanda eingezeichnet sind), und deskriptiv (Höhe, Breite, Tiefe jedes Steins, und die durchschnittliche Höhe der Buchstaben; ferner wird jeweils die Inventarnummer angegeben (die sogenannte YF-Zahl).

Am wichtigsten sind aber die zwei Wege, den Text jedes Steins möglichst genau abzubilden. Smith gibt von jedem Fragment (das aus mehr als einem Steine bestehen kann) eine überaus genaue Maßstabzeichnung (der Maßstab ist 12:100); dies hat eine Arbeit bedeutet, von der man sich schwerlich eine Vorstellung machen kann, die aber in gewaltigem Ausmaß zur Anschaulichkeit der Inschriftfragmente mitwirkt. Ich sage "mitwirkt", denn von fast allen Steinen werden schwarzweiße Photographien mitgegeben, genau gesagt 205 Bilder auf 57 Tafelseiten; die ersten 7 Tafelseiten enthalten Landkarten und interessante Bilder der Fundumgebung. Auf diesen zwei Wegen bietet Smith seinen Lesern ausgezeichnete Möglichkeiten, sich über den Textbefund im einzelnen zu orientieren. Hierzu hat ihn die langjährige Autopsie aller Steine befähigt.

Der Text wurde nur wenig erweitert. Fr. 182 = NF 125 wurde 1994 entdeckt, enthält aber nur 2 + 3 Buchstaben; dann war von fr. 129 etwas mehr zu sehen als vorher, nämlich am Anfang von Kol. II etwa 6 oder 7 Buchstaben, nicht nur 2 bis 3. Dazu liest sich einiges auf den Steinen nunmehr anders als bei der Ausarbeitung der Edition: manchmal wurde der Text deutlicher, anderswo sind Buchstaben nicht mehr zu sehen. Alle Abweichungen von der Edition markiert Smith durch kleine kritische Apparate. Wenn ich richtig sehe, gibt es zwischen 50 und 60 mehr oder weniger bedeutungsvolle Abweichungen, während in etwa fünfzig Fällen diese kaum von Belang sind.

Einige interessante Beispiele. Die Fragmentnumerierung ist dieselbe hier wie in der Edition; wer jene vor sich hat, wird leicht sehen, was verbessert worden ist. Punkte unter unsicher gelesenen Buchstaben können nicht gesetzt werden. "Jetzt" = was Smith nach genauer Überprüfung für die richtige Lesung hält. Die Beispiele: fr. 74.1 liest Smith jetzt $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ (und $\pi\eta\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$ ist dabei passiv). Fr. 99.6 nicht $\epsilon\acute{\chi}\chi\epsilon\iota$, sondern $\omicron[\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\epsilon]$. Fr. 116.1 nicht $[\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\mu]\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$, sondern $\acute{\alpha}[\nu]\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$. Fr. 117.7–8 ist $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ jetzt klare Lesung. Fr. 128 II 5 nicht $\delta\eta--$, sondern $\delta\iota\kappa--$. Fr. 163 II 7 $\kappa\omicron\rho\theta[$ statt $\kappa\epsilon\nu$, und zu lesen ist laut Smith $\omicron\upsilon-\kappa\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\theta[\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. Fr. 176 II 18: gelesen wird jetzt $\acute{\iota}\nu[\alpha]\ \Lambda[$.

Auch nach dieser Meisterleistung ist sehr zu hoffen, dass neue Arbeit in Oinoanda weitere Fragmente der grossen Diogenes-Inschrift an den Tag bringen kann.

Rolf Westman

SEXTUS EMPIRICUS: *Outlines of Scepticism*. Translated by Julia Annas and Jonathan Barnes. Cambridge UP 1994. ISBN 0–521–31206–X (P/b), 0–521–30950–6 (H/b). 249 p. GBP 10.95 (P/b), 32.50 (H/b).

The last decades have witnessed a growing interest towards ancient Scepticism. This is partly due to the increase in the studies on Hellenistic philosophy, especially in eudaemonistic ethics as understood by the post-Aristotelians, partly to the renewed recognition that ancient Scepticism may also provide viewpoints to early modern and modern philosophical inquiry into ethics as well as epistemology.

The core of the so-called Pyrrhonian Scepticism is preserved especially by Sextus Empiricus in his two works the *Outlines of Scepticism* and *Against Mathematicians*, of which there are a growing number of translations of both in several languages. The volume at issue here is a new English translation of the first, shorter work, an introductory account of Pyrrhonism. In first of the three books Sextus gives a brief account of Pyrrhonian Scepticism, including the famous Ten and Five Modes through which the Sceptics conclude to *epochê*, suspension of judgment. The following two books display the familiar Sceptic method of philosophizing: the beliefs of the Dogmatists are contested each in turn – which makes the book essential reading for anyone interested in ancient philosophy in general. Perhaps more interesting than the collection of arguments provided by Sextus is the consistent method of using them against each other. No positive account is embraced as the right one, since all (good) arguments have some force, that is, they have the feature of *isostheneia*, equipollence. Sextus is also ready, more often than not, to admit that the arguments, guidelines and modes of the Sceptics may all be susceptible to the same method. Hence ancient Scepticism has a wide scope, reaching from topics about values and metaphysical questions to argumentation itself.

The outstanding translation of Annas and Barnes replaces the dated Loeb translation of R.G. Bury. I wish to indicate only one point of departure concerning the translation: *agôgê* is translated as 'persuasion' whereas the word 'approach' or 'method' would have had fewer connotations for the sophists or dogmatism. The book has useful glossaries, indices, and footnotes with comments on language as well as subject-matter. The introduction as well as the comments are, however, reduced to a minimum. Questions like to what extent the Pyrrhonism outlined by Sextus can be connected with the historical figure Pyrrho, what is the relation between the *Outlines of Scepticism* and *Against Mathematicians*, i.e. whether they present a similar doctrine or not, or what is the scope of the suspension of judgment recommended by Sextus, i.e. whether it contains all judgments including the ones about everyday life or merely scientific judgments, all these are either touched very lightly or not at all. These are not, however, real deficiencies. The admirably achieved aim of the book stated in the introduction is to provide a lucid translation of one of the central treatises on ancient Scepticism. Where necessary, it can be used together with translations accompanied by weightier commentaries, like the other new translation of the same text by Benson Mates (*The Sceptic Way*, Oxford 1996), as well as Sextus' *Against the Ethicists* by Richard Bett (Oxford 1997) and by Emidio Spinelli (*Contro gli Etici*, Roma 1995).

Pauliina Remes

SVEN-TAGE TEODORSSON: *A commentary on Plutarch's Table Talks*, Vol. III (Books 7–9). *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*, LXII. Göteborg 1996. ISBN 91–7346–291–8. 426 p. SEK 250.

Die beiden ersten Teile dieser Arbeit (1989, 1990) wurden vom Rez. in *Arctos* 27, 1993, 156–158 besprochen. Jetzt liegt der Schlußstein des Kommentarbaues vor, übrigens Teodorssons siebentes Buch. Dieser Band erschien im Frühjahr 1996. Im Februar desselben Jahres wurde der dritte Band (Bücher 7–9) der Budé-Edition der *Quaestiones convivales* gedruckt, fertiggestellt von Françoise Frazier (und Jean Sirinelli). Die beiden Arbeiten sind also voneinander unabhängig.

Frazier äußert sich folgendermaßen über die zwei ihr vorliegenden Kommentarbände (207 n. 52): "Le monumental commentaire de S. T. Teodorsson ..., appelé à devenir l'ouvrage de référence pour l'étude des Propos de table ...".

Die drei Bände von T(eodorssons) Kommentar umfassen zusammen 1.121 Seiten, was für 335 BT-Seiten durchschnittlich mehr als 3 Seiten Kommentar je Textseite bedeutet. Qualitativ sind in III dieselben Verdienste hervorzuheben wie in der Besprechung von I und II, auf die ich hiermit verweise. Wohlüberlegte textkritische Erwägungen finden sich auch hier beinahe auf jeder Seite; außer seinen radikaleren Eingriffen (Verzeichnis 10, elegant z.B. 211) nimmt T. oft Stellung zu kritischen Fragen, wobei ihm seine tiefe Kenntnis des ganzen Werkes und des plutarchischen Sprachgebrauchs gute Dienste leistet. Überall trifft man hilfreiche Belege aus der ganzen griechischen (auch christlichen) Literatur, oft auch aus der römischen (z. B. Plinius d.Ä.; beim Senecazitat 277 a. E. soll Ep. XIX 5.9 vielmehr epist. 114.9 heissen). Die Belege sind sehr oft verbatim ausgeschrieben, was heutzutage nicht selbstverständlich ist. Überall auch Verweise auf moderne, meist real erklärende

Literatur, und zwar je nach Bedarf von etwa 1850 bis zu den 1990er Jahren. T.s Gelehrsamkeit erstreckt sich auf die vielfältigsten Gebiete.

Es handelt sich natürlich nicht um einen mechanischen Kommentar Zeile für Zeile, sondern der Leser muß gewiß mitarbeiten. Aber sobald der Text schwierig wird, greift T. ein.

Beim großen Umfang besonders von griechischem Text in dem Buch gibt es eine Anzahl von Druckfehlern. Bisweilen ist im Wortanfang das Spirituszeichen umgekehrt. Auch andere Fehler korrigieren sich leicht. In T.s fettgedruckten Lemmata kann man Fehler einfach durch Nachsehen in Plutarchs Text berichtigen (so z.B. dreimal 15, am Anfang der Lemmata). 39 Z. 7 redimat. 41 Z. 12 v.u. ist zu streichen. 80 Mitte: incontinence. 84 Z. 14 v. u. Audollent. 101 Z. 10 v.u. εἰσηγοῦμαι im Platonzitat. 123 im letzten Lemma nicht τῶν τῶν, sondern τῶν τῶν. 189 im vorletzten Lemma κελεύοντος. 195, letzte Z. ἄρμα. 199 Z. 3 v.u. nicht "nor", sondern "not". 206 Anf. "avoidance": hinzuzufügen wohl "of hiatus". 215 Z. 17 v.u. γυναικῆς εἰσιν. 238 Mitte nicht συνέταιρε, sondern Imperativ συνέπαιρε. 252 Z. 9 zu streichen "a", Z. 11 lies ἀναπνέουσιν. 311 Z. 8 ἀρκεῖ. 330 Z. 12 v.u. statt des zweiten τοῦ lies καὶ τοῦ.

Überaus nützlich und als Sachindex zum ganzem Kommentar brauchbar ist der Index of English words (24 S.). Es folgen 10 Seiten Index of Greek words, ebenso für alle drei Bände. Hier sei auch erinnert an die 8 Seiten "Abbreviations" am Anfang von Band I, wo die wichtigsten bibliographischen Angaben für das ganze Werk verzeichnet sind.

Theodorssons Kommentar wird kommenden Generationen als Standardwerk gelten. Er gereicht der Gothenburger Universität, der klassischen Philologie in Schweden und vor allem dem Verfasser selbst zum Ruhme.

Rolf Westman

GABRIELE BROSZIO: *Genealogia Christi*. Die Stammbäume Jesu in der Auslegung der christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten fünf Jahrhunderte. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium Band 18. Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier 1994. ISBN 3-88476-105-6. 389 p. DEM 58,60.

Gabriele Broszio's *Genealogia Christi* is based on a doctoral dissertation in the Catholic theological faculty of the University of Bochum. Broszio has surveyed how Jesus' genealogies in the gospels of Matthew and Luke have been treated in early Christian literature, from the early Church Fathers until the Council of Chalcedon. B's purpose is not to study these genealogies from a modern exegetical viewpoint or to analyse the infamous differences between the genealogies but to study for what purposes and how Jesus' genealogies were utilised in patristic literature.

The work is divided into two main sections: the discussion, in which Broszio surveys and analyses the use of family trees, and the documentation, in which B. has collected the vast source material concerning Jesus' genealogies for later use.

The genealogies were treated in various contexts, in commentaries to the gospels, homilies, questions and answers, harmonisation of gospels, letters and didactic poems. Broszio shows that genealogies were of crucial importance in christological controversies. Matthew's version of Christ's descent functioned as an evidence of his real birth as a human and of his human essence whereas the family tree presented in the gospel according

to Luke was interpreted as a manifestation of not only of Christ's human nature but also of his being the son of God. E.g. for Origen, the genesis of Christ makes his two natures clear.

For Christian writers such as Origen, Eusebius, Ambrose and Augustine, the incompatibility between the genealogies in Matthew and Luke was not essential because the genealogies were not historical documents of Jesus' noble descent but theological expressions. The genealogies in the two gospels manifested their *kerygma* of Christ's double nature in their own way, Matthew of his human nature and Luke of his divinity.

The church fathers from Origen onwards offered allegorical interpretations in which deeper meanings were sought for Jesus' forefathers. For Eusebius the genealogy in Matthew was an example of the double reality of the Scripture, the "letter", i.e. the historical reality and the "spirit", i.e. the deeper theological reality. The writer of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* saw a deeper reality hidden from humans in Jesus' family tree in Matthew. Thus, Christian writers, e.g. Augustine, tried to find these secret deeper meanings by explaining the generations of Jesus' forefathers by number symbolism and the names of his ancestors by allegorical interpretations.

Maijastina Kahlos

The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature, ed. by Susanna Morton Braund and Christopher Gill. Cambridge University Press, 1997. ISBN 0-521-47391-8. 266 p. GBP 37.50 (H/b).

This book, partly based on a conference held at the University of Exeter in July 1992, consists of an introduction by the editors and eleven papers on different aspects of Roman literary culture. The linking theme between these is the interpretation of the presentations of passions in Roman literary texts from a philosophical point of view and the combination of philosophical and literary approaches of interpretation to obtain a clearer picture of the Roman mind (pp. 2,4). The volume is an indication of, and a natural sequel to, the constantly growing interest in the theories of passion and especially their adaptations to non-philosophical territories. The papers include an analysis of Cicero (A. Erskine), Juvenal (S.M. Braund), Tacitus (D.S. Levene), Catullus (J. Booth), Virgil (M.R. Wright), Statius (E. Fantham), and two analyses of Seneca (M. Wilson and A. Schiesaro). In addition to these, there are also papers on Epicurean anger (D.P. Fowler), on the role of emotions in rhetoric (R. Webb), and on an aspect of passion in Roman poetry (C. Gill).

In general, this volume is a most welcome project because in the classics it often seems that the boundary between philosophical and literary studies is an artificial one, or at least one without clear or well-founded reasons. There are, however, numerous problems in establishing a methodologically valid, intellectual continuum that would give a better understanding of these many-sided phenomena than the traditional division between philosophy and literature has given. The informative introduction by Gill and Braund concentrates on describing the framework for the papers and the unavoidable problems encountered in them. In the latter part of the introduction Gill gives a brief but lucid presentation of the importance of the emotions in Greco-Roman philosophy. In studying Roman thinking he stresses the importance of three Aristotelian approaches: Aristotelian school texts, Peripatetic tradition, and the conventional or 'vernacular' approach being ethically justified by the relevant situation (pp. 6-7). It is claimed that the latter,

especially, mixed with Stoic influence is a good basis for the understanding of the Roman mind (pp. 6–7, 14). Gill and Braund rightly recognize the impossibility of explaining specific literary representations through only one philosophical theory, though the contemporary philosophical influences must always be recognized as culturally relevant (p. 4).

The papers in general give a deceptive impression of inconclusiveness; this only proves the value of cautiousness in such a complicated subject and does not deny the significance of the results achieved. Difficulties in interpretations are evident e.g. in trying to combine two Senecas, the philosopher and the poet (Schiesaro), or in comprehending Cicero simultaneously as a mourning father and as a thinker discussing passions, especially grief (Erskine). In both of these examples the practical side of life forms an essential part in explaining the particularities of the representation of passions. In Seneca this practicality is, among other things, the effect his tragedies had on different audiences, and partly with reference to this, Schiesaro's last paragraph starts with the apparent conclusion that (p. 111): 'What we end up with is the impossibility of Stoic tragedy.' All in all, Schiesaro's contribution offers a fresh reading of Senecan tragedy stressing e.g. the importance of its self-conscious nature (p. 91). He also argues that Stoic theories on poetry do not offer a satisfactory rationalization of Senecan tragedy (e.g. p. 105; cf. Gill on Senecan tragedy and Stoic psychology, pp. 226–227). In Cicero's case Erskine points out how his own experience (Tullia's death) might have influenced Cicero's philosophical interests: in his *Tusculans*, Cicero was collecting arguments about passions but at the same time trying to find a cure for his own grief. Thus the characteristic practicality of later Roman thinkers would seem to have already begun with Cicero (p. 46–47).

Accordingly, the emphasis on the practical or conventional aspect of Roman thinking is apparent in almost all the papers of this volume, whether this practicality is that of the rules of rhetoric, the expectations and preconceptions of Roman readers and audience, or the consolatory tradition. A good example of a Roman literary *genre* is satire: Braund convincingly argues in her contribution that in Juvenal's *Satire* 13 the Roman consolatory tradition and philosophical theories of passion coincide: different ethical discourses, both Greek and Roman, are involved, not all of them necessarily derived from the main philosophical schools. The papers clearly illustrate that in order to reconstruct Roman thinking it is essential to explain it in its own cultural and intellectual context.

Translations of longer Greek and Latin passages are provided throughout the book though one may ask whether the possible readers in question are in need of these. Among the negative technical features of the volume may be mentioned Gill's irritating way of referring to 'text to nn.', already seen in his earlier contributions. Otherwise the indexes and bibliography are conveniently – and practically – drawn up.

Risto Heikkinen

FRÉDÉRIQUE BIVILLE: *Les emprunts du latin au grec. Approche phonétique. Tome II Vocalisme et conclusions*. Bibliothèque de l'information Grammaticale 29. Éditions Peeters Louvain – Paris 1995. ISBN 90–6831–734–2 (Leuven). ISBN 2–87723–267–0 (France). 562 p. FRF 480.

The second part of F. Biville's (B.) *mega biblion* concentrates on vocalism. The vocal system of both Greek and Latin is treated thoroughly in twelve chapters in the third

part of the book (p. 1–374). The fourth part (p. 375–504) is a conclusion with a rich collection of examples. Linguistic change is discussed through several examples of Latin and Greek words. The method used is the traditional comparative methodology which has been applied to this kind of longitudinal linguistic material for almost a century. B. is well aware of the difficulties to which this system leads: "Le vocabulaire latin comporte bien des éléments obscurs qui paraissent avoir été empruntés, sans que nous puissions dire à quelle langue, à quelle région, à quel moment, ni dans quelles circonstances ces termes ont pu être assimilés" (p. 503). She has not, however, tried to discuss this with the more general linguistic research on contact and areal linguistics and on bilingualism. This would have offered some fresh views and theories which usually enrich the traditional methods of comparative historical linguistics.

The book contains a vast collection of examples and linguistic variation. As a reference book it is without any doubts indispensable, and it also is a solid work in comparative historical linguistics. Here it is not possible to go into a deeper and detailed analysis.

Martti Leiwo

Inscriptiones Graecae. Voluminis I editio tertia: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores. Fasciculus III, Indices. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae. Composuerunt David Lewis†, Eberhard Erxleben, Klaus Hallof. Gualterus de Gruyter et socii, Berolini – Novi Eboraci MCMXCVIII. ISBN 3–11–016183–4. 168 p. DEM 228.

Die Redaktion des Berliner Inschriftenwerkes legt hier die Indices von IG I³ vor. So hat die glänzende von David Lewis und seinen Mitarbeitern besorgte dritte Auflage der voreuklidischen Inschriften Attikas einen Index von gleicher Qualität erhalten. Er wurde zu einem guten Teil von Lewis vor seinem Hinscheiden zusammengestellt; den Rest haben E. Erxleben und K. Hallof redigiert.

Der Index ist ein zuverlässiges Instrument für die Benutzer der Edition geworden. Stichproben haben ergeben, daß die Redaktion mustergültig zuverlässig gewesen ist. Nach alter Gewohnheit werden im Index überall η und ω gebraucht (sollte man aber nicht Ξενοκλέης statt Ξενοκλέες schreiben?), wenn langer Vokal gemeint ist (dagegen werden z.B. -νγ- und -χσ- so gelassen). Zur Reihenfolge im onomastischen Index sei notiert, daß während etwa Θεοδόσιος oder Θεόδωρος unter Θεο- stehen, werden z.B. Θεουκλείδης und Θεουκυδίδης unter Θεου- placiert. Warum? – Der Index gibt zuweilen die Namen genauer als Band II des LGPN wieder; ein Beispiel bietet der Name eines Arztes in 1393, den der Index vorsichtig (und richtig) Αἰνεΐας (? Αἴνειος?) wiedergibt, während das LGPN ihn unter Αἰνέας placiert; freilich hat der Stein ein Epsilon, das Metrum fordert aber lange Silbe. Ein paar Einzelbemerkungen: Ist die auch sonst allgemein akzeptierte Ergänzung [Αἶσ]χράϊος in 1041 sicher? (Der Name fehlt bei Bechtel, HPN und in LGPN I.) Ich zweifle stark an der Richtigkeit der Ergänzung [Π]άμιλλος 583i, denn es gibt keine anderen sicheren Belege für einen solchen Namen (Πάμιλλος in Thuc. 6,4,2 ist varia lectio für Πάμμιλος, das z.B. von Dover vorgezogen wird), der außerdem morphologisch undurchsichtig wäre; etwas plausibler wäre Σάμιλλος; Σημο- war eine verbreitete Namensippe, bestens auch in Attika belegt, und die einzelnen Namen werden auch in

attischen Inschriften oft Σαμ- wiedergegeben (die in LGPN II 393 angeführten Belege gehören teilweise hierher, nicht unbedingt zum Namen der Insel, und ich würde erwegen, den von LGPN 5mal verbuchten Namen Σάμος wenigstens teilweise als Σᾶμος zu verstehen). Freilich war Σάμιλλος bisher nicht belegt, aber etwa neben Σαμύλος (Bechtel, HPN 398) gibt es keinerlei Schwierigkeiten, eine solche Bildung anzunehmen.

Bei den Schiffsnamen läßt sich ihre Entwicklung durch die Übersicht in der Dissertation von K. Schmidt, *Die Namen der attischen Kriegsschiffe*, Diss. Leipzig 1931 bis zum Anfang der hellenistischen Zeit beobachten. Leider ist die Zahl der aus dem 5. Jh. bekannten Schiffsnamen nicht sehr hoch. Die überlieferten sind verschiedenster Natur, benannt nach mythologischen Gestalten, Abstrakta usw. Die Ergänzung Ἄντιο[χίς] der Editoren in 498, 15 scheint mir etwas kühn, sicher stehen viele andere Ergänzungen zu Gebote.

Ein treffliches und hochwillkommenes Arbeitsinstrument. Besonders der Namenforscher begrüßt freudig die mustergültige Auslegung des onomastischen Materials. Freilich liegt das Meiste schon im zweiten Band des Lexikon der British Academy bearbeitet vor, doch ist es sehr vorteilhaft, daß der Benutzer einen Überblick über die in IG I³ vorgelegten Inschriften eigens besitzt.

Heikki Solin

Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899. Band VI: *Inschriften von Milet.* Teil 1, A: *Inschriften n. 187–406* (Nachdr. aus den Bänden I 5 – II 3) von *Albert Rehm* mit einem Beitrag von H. Dessau; B: *Nachträge und Übersetzungen zu den Inschriften n. 1–406* von *Peter Herrmann*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. ISBN 3–11–014540–5. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 1997. XI, 231 p., 68 figs, 26 pls. DEM 342.

The high standard of Albert Rehm's (1871–1949) scholarly work can be appreciated in the results of two of his major enterprises, the publication of the inscriptions from Miletus and Didyma, respectively. He began with Miletus in 1914, but did not live to see the Didyma-corpus ready in 1958. That the present volume reprints a lot of Rehm's epigraphic work is in itself a mark of due respect for his basic commentaries. The inscriptions of Miletus were originally included in the German volumes dedicated to the excavations themselves, and they were also numbered right from the beginning so that those published in vol. II 3 (1935) stopped at no. 406. Later, from 1962, following an idea already advanced by Rehm himself, the Milesian epigraphic material began to be arranged and collected more systematically, taking into consideration all the new discoveries as well as those (hundreds of) inscriptions which had been registered in excavation reports but which, in practice, had remained unpublished. The primus motor of this work has been Peter Herrmann with his collaborators.

Since volumes I 2 and I 3 (the texts of the former having been published by C. Fredrich in 1908) corresponding to nos. 1–186 had already been reprinted in 1967 and they are still available, it was decided to reprint only those inscriptions which were included in the later volumes (nos. 187–406). These numbers are preceded by the publication of the inscriptions from the Nymphaeum by H. Dessau (vol. I 5; see now Alföldy's new restoration of no. 1 on p. 196). In the second part of this volume, Herrmann presents a

number of addenda and corrigenda to all the inscriptions published up to 1935. Up-to-date bibliographies have been adduced and the lengthy pieces have also been translated. This part is no less fascinating than the first one, for it testifies to the author's profound knowledge of Milesian epigraphy. The reader will find many new discoveries and interesting proposals (e.g. no. 6 [cf. 7, also 256]: all the fragments probably belong to one and the same text and no. 15 honours the father of no. 6. – no. 190: Alföldy's new interpretation of the text is reported: the man, C. Grattius, may have been an office-holder from Saguntum. – no. 195: a new fragment makes it possible to propose a new restoration. – no. 209: interesting discussion of the meaning of ἱερὸς στόλος. – no. 259: new fragments (probably) of this difficult, partly mysterious document of Antonine date, which surely has something to do with Miletus' relations with Cyzicus; 259 f: the gentile name *Vettius* may point to Cyzicus. – no. 333: the text may refer to Scipio Nasica Serapio who was in Pergamum in the late 130s B.C. and who also died there. – no. 369: Robert's proposal for identifying the honorand is revised.

The indices are compiled and organized in an exemplary fashion and the photographs are of high quality (the one with Rehm himself standing proudly by the side of two lists of stephanephoroi is especially fine: Pl. 7). One cannot but congratulate Peter Herrmann on the first-rate outcome of his (and Rehm's) work. The second volume, *Milet VI 2* (1998), has already appeared and I have consulted it, but since our journal has not yet received it for review, I cannot say a word about it, though I am well aware that it will deserve equal admiration.

Mika Kajava

WERNER ECK: *Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia*. Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati (Vetera 10). Edizioni Quasar, Roma 1996. ISBN 88-7140-087-7. 436 p., 36 ill., ITL 150.000.

Werner Eck is no doubt one of the most eminent ancient historians today, and it is very good to find a number of his papers collected in one volume. (Another collection of Eck's papers was published in Switzerland in 1995.) This most useful collection contains 17 papers which all have something to do with either epigraphy or prosopography or archaeology, this fact emerging from the title of the book. What also emerges from the title is that the papers have been rielaborati and aggiornati. This is explained by Eck himself in the premessa on p. 9f., where he observes that most of the papers, especially the older ones, have been updated in the measure it seemed necessary and possible to the author, and that, especially since the papers were translated into Italian, it was not possible to point out the additions and corrections to the original versions. In practice this means that from now on it will not do to quote just the original versions of the papers, it now being imperative to turn to the version published here. In the case of one paper, the famous *Beförderungskriterien innerhalb der senatorischen Laufbahn* (originally in ANRW II 1, 1974), the additions and corrections are not incorporated in the text, but presented as *Nuove considerazioni* as an appendix of nine pages.

One of the papers included in the collection having been mentioned, let us have a closer look at the contents. Besides the *Beförderungskriterien* we find here (to mention only my favourites) *Sozialstruktur ... und statistische Methode* (from *Chiron* 1973), *Die*

Familie der Volusii Saturnini (a splendid piece from Hermes 1972), Senatoren und ihre Heimatprovinz – das Beispiel der Baetica (unpublished), Inschriften und Grabbauten in der Nekropole unter St. Peter (from *Klassische Sprachen und Literaturen XXV*, perhaps not very accessible in the original edition), Senatorial Self-Representation (a truly magnificent exposition from F. Millar & E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus* (1984)).

I think there exist collections of papers of this type not accompanied by indexes, but of course it is hard to see the use of such collections. No trace of this kind of negligence here: we have an index of sources (pp. 363–87), persons (pp. 388–400), geographical names and cose notevoli (pp. 401–14). Combining the existence of detailed indexes with the quality of the papers one cannot help arriving at the conclusion that what we have here, a true monument of learning, is one of the most useful and most desirable books published in the last years and a must for all serious libraries. There is also the fact that the book has apparently been produced with great care. (On p. 86, one might, however, ask whether instead of the German Prag either the local or the Italian name of the city should not have been used; and on p. 223, n. 40, something seems to be wrong with A.U. Stylow's name).

In addition to the fact that the notes are presented somewhat annoyingly at the end of each paper, the only thing which makes me wonder is the fact that the papers are presented not in the original lucid German (English in the case of Self-Representation) but translated (by A. Marcone, mentioned only on p. 10) into Italian. Of course I know that we are dealing here with an Italian publisher, but Italian publishers are known to have published books in German. I suspect that this has something to do with the fact that knowledge of German is most deplorably on the wane even among classical scholars. However, it is hard to see how a classical scholar without some basic knowledge of both written and spoken German can exist.

Olli Salomies

Opuscula epigraphica dell'Università degli Studi di Roma – La Sapienza. Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche Archeologiche Antropologiche dell'Antichità. 5: *Cecilia Ricci: Soldati delle milizie urbane fuori di Roma. La documentazione epigrafica*. ISBN 88–7140–078–X. 64 p. ITL 30.000. – 6: *Maryline Parca: The Franchetti Collection in Rome. Inscriptions and Sculptural Fragments*. ISBN 88–7140–085–2. 152 p., 58 illus. ITL 45.000. – 7: *Laura Chioffi: Gli elogia augustei del Foro Romano. Aspetti epigrafici e topografici*. ISBN 88–7140–091–7. 112 p., 29 illus. ITL 50.000. Edizioni Quasar di Severino Tognon Srl, Roma 1994, 1995, 1996.

The *Opuscula epigraphica* published by the epigraphists of the University of Rome "La Sapienza" are an ideal forum for studies which are not properly monographs but still important contributions in their own right. Geographically and materially limited themes are particularly suited to this series (e.g. the presentation of individual epigraphic collections or codices). The publication of the series now goes on with three solid contributions.

Cecilia Ricci studies the world and destiny of various groups of soldiers stationed in Rome during and after their stay in the capital. With a material of some 540 extra-urban inscriptions of pretorians, urbanici and equites singulares, she discusses the mobility of soldiers during their tenure as well as the question of where and by whom they were

buried. In the second section, similar questions are asked about veterans and their future after military service. The third main chapter deals with the relations between soldiers/veterans and civilians. Ricci plausibly argues that soldiers were a largely isolated group with little contact with the civil society in Rome and that their heart often belonged to their place of origin, whether elsewhere in Italy or in provincial territory. Not surprisingly, the impression is that the world of the soldier was not particularly rosy in ancient Rome. The study concludes with a small collection of epigraphic "microstorie" of soldiers, which make it possible to follow a short way in their footsteps.

In vol. 6, Maryline Parca presents forty-nine inscriptions and thirteen sculptural and architectural fragments which comprise part of the Franchetti Collection in Rome. Its name commemorates Mrs. Anne Franchetti whose villa (Villa Massenzia) on the Via Appia Pignatelli housed a remarkable collection of marbles until, after 1983, all the pieces were donated to the Italian State. The majority of the stones are now stored in the Museo delle Terme. Though more extensive when it was created in the nineteenth century, the collection is still highly representative, as is shown by the sixty-two pieces included in Parca's edition. Of the inscriptions, forty-eight are in Latin, one in Greek. The majority come from Rome (including several from around the Maxentian estate), some from the vicinity, and a few are of unknown provenance. Apart from some epitaphs (nos. 39 ff., now AE 1995, 1805 ff.), the inscriptions are already included in CIL VI, XIV, and/or other corpora. The material ranges from highly interesting texts (e.g. no. 1, probably referring to a late Republican *statio* in Rome (or in the vicinity) built by a curule aedile for the people of Velitrae, or no. 4, edict of Tarracius Bassus from late Antiquity) to simple epitaphs of common people. – The editorial work is solid and irreproachable, and the comments are lucid (see e.g. no. 19, where a connection with senators is rightly rejected and the contents of the text is wisely left open. On the other hand, the possibility that there was no link with the Imperial House at all should also have been considered). However, in editions of this kind the reader is usually likely to find something that could be interpreted in some other way. So, in no. 31, one finds the nomenclature of the soldier M. Aurelius Culinus (CIL XIV 2428, still incorporated in the wall of Villa Massenzia) whose cognomen is noteworthy (and hapax in the masculine form). Many alternatives to explain it are discussed, but I wonder whether it would be easiest to read, for example, *M. Aur(elio) [Pro]/culino*, etc.? (the existing fragment with ELIO [Pl. XII, 33] in the upper right corner is, of course, a modern restoration; note also that the name *Proculus* with its derivatives was relatively common among the soldiers). The only parallel would be ICUR 3666, *Mercuria Culina*, but this inscription was copied in the seventeenth century and, moreover, a nomenclature composed of two cognomina is somewhat disturbing, though not impossible (Kajanto, *Onom. Stud.* 29 explained the latter name as referring to the woman's occupation). Perhaps two women were meant. – As for no. 15, the possibility exists that *Aur. Sta[---]* was a woman (and there are even other possible explanations, though, admittedly, I cannot see on the photograph what followed VIV on line 4).

With the material discussed by Laura Chioffi, we are not only physically in the very heart of Rome, but also in terms of history, ideology, and mentality. The elogia from the Forum Romanum, preceding those of Augustus' Forum, are an immensely important testimony to how the leading Romans, the first *princeps* in particular, looked at their past and how they utilized Rome's glorious history and illustrious genealogies for their own

purposes. Some of the existing twenty-two pieces had already been published before they were all included in Chioffi's own edition from 1996 (in: *Le iscrizioni greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino*; Tituli 7 [nos. 15–17 were published by others]). However, this book is not mere repetition, for now the series of elogia are put in an historical and topographical context. Throughout her study, Chioffi interestingly follows the story of excavations and discoveries in the Forum area from the sixteenth century to modern times. At the same time, if the reader did not know it before, the (sometimes complete) uncertainty about the original collocation, or even the place of discovery, of individual fragments becomes manifest. Chioffi makes the point of underlining the topographic and the ideological relation between the Augustan fasti and the elogia (pp. 23, 25, 47, 50 ff.), and she finally comes to the conclusion that not only some Augustan elogia and a number of dedications to the princes Gaius and Lucius stood somewhere in the area between the Basilica Aemilia and the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, but also the *fornix Fabianus* and the Augustan fasti should be collocated here. These may have been fixed to the wall of a "giano" (thus called by Ligorio in the sixteenth century) which in turn could be identified as an "avancorpo" or "padiglione" in the eastern corner of the portico of the Basilica Aemilia (for the possibilities of reconstructing such an edifice, see p. 52 f.). As for details, Chioffi's attribution of CIL I² 764 to Fabius Cunctator (p. 29–32; this fragment was already connected with the *fornix Fabianus* by Gatti, followed by Coarelli) is most interesting, though it necessarily remains unprovable. Equally puzzling is the attribution and dating of some other inscriptions, but it should be noted that Chioffi's proposals have been duly considered in recent research. The volume concludes with a selective epigraphic appendix (nos. 1–21) which exhibits inscriptions relevant to the subject, including some discovered outside of the Forum Romanum.

This is not quite easy reading for the inexperienced, and so a concise introduction to all the problems dealt with would have been useful. I also think that many readers would have welcomed a clear and detailed plan of the (eastern) Forum area. Generally, it is an enormous task to define and follow the nexus of history and topography in the Roman Forum, one of the most studied places in the Roman world. On many points, I cannot say whether Chioffi is right or wrong, but her ideas are thought-provoking. Having also worked on inscriptions from the Forum, I would say that Chioffi has an exemplary knowledge of her material. What makes the reading of her book so fascinating is not only the subject itself but also the lucid discussion of it.

Mika Kajava

MAURIZIO FORA: *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'occidente romano IV. Regio Italiae I: Latium. (Vetera 11)*. Ed. Quasar, Roma 1996. ISBN 88–7140–090–7. 164 p., 59 ill. ITL 70.000.

This is now the fourth volume in the series *Epigrafia anfiteatrale*, the publication of which started in 1988 with volume I covering Rome, by Patrizia Sabbatini Tumolesi; this was followed in 1989 by vol. II, by G.L. Gregori, covering the Italian regions VI to XI, and in 1992 by vol. III, by M. Buonocore, covering the regions II to V and moreover Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. It seems, then, that the series is now complete for Italy; whether there is going to be something on the rest of the occident is unclear.

Not being a fancier of gladiatorial games myself, I must say that there have been moments when I have been wondering whether gladiators and gladiatorial games really merit an attention on this scale – republication with commentaries, bibliographies and photos of all the epigraphical texts which deal with, or at least refer to, this subject. My point here is that one could easily think of other subjects for which one would like to have similar corpora. It would, for instance, be nice to have a corpus of this kind of monuments in honour of senators or of municipal decrees. On the other hand, corpora of this kind do not just simply emerge from somewhere when needed; the existence of a collection like this is usually due to the interest and labours of a single scholar, and in this case the initiator of this project was Patrizia Sabbatini Tumolesi, who of course was a scholar known as the author of *Gladiatorum paria* (1980) and for her interest in amphitheatrical matters in general. (It is with sadness that one must register here that Sabbatini Tumolesi died at 49 in early 1995; cf. S. Panciera's commemoration on p. 7–9, with the bibliography of the scholar.) And in any case what we have here is most useful indeed, and not only for those interested in gladiators, for one finds here numerous interesting texts, with full documentation and photos, which deal with gladiators only in passing, for example inscriptions in honour of municipal notables mentioning munera.

As for the contents of this volume, after the usual introductory items there is the catalogue of the material; this is followed by a *Riepilogo e considerazioni generali* at the end, and we have very detailed indices. The catalogue begins (on p. 25–7) with a list, with explanations, of texts which have been excluded from the collection (e.g. CIL XIV 2628 = ILS 6208). Then follow the texts taken into consideration, of which there are altogether 49 (this number includes 12 excerpts from the *Fasti Ostienses*). They are presented under the following headings: I, *L'amministrazione dei munera*; II, *Munera e venationes. Lusus iuvenum*; III, *Gladiatori e scuole gladiatorie* (only one text under this heading); IV, *Anfiteatri e strutture annesse* (mainly texts referring to the building or to the restoration of amphitheatres). As I said, many of the texts presented are of a more general interest (this is reflected by the fact that many of them appear in Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*), and it is good to have them published a new with photographs (whenever available). In some cases the author can improve upon the text in CIL (e.g. no. 28 = CIL XIV 376), and the photographs do advance our understanding of the inscriptions (note how the photo of no. 35 = CIL XIV 2080 = ILS 6186 illustrates the "vulgar" features of the Latin text). The editorial work is of a very high quality, and all in all one can say that this is a very solid and commendable piece of work. (At times, it is true, one has the feeling that the author is perhaps a bit too meticulous in registering all the small mistakes other people – e.g. Russell Meiggs in his monograph on Ostia – have made in copying inscriptions from the CIL; but of course I know how hard it is to decide what to include in, and what to exclude from, an *apparatus criticus*.)

As for the *riepilogo*, this is a useful review of the material presented in the catalogue. The indices are, as mentioned above, quite detailed (there is even an index of *parole notevoli*), and thus most helpful to the scholar who wishes to get acquainted with the material. The *riepilogo* and the indices thus nicely round off an excellent book.

Olli Salomies

Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie. Vols. 13, 14, 15. Unione Accademica Nazionale. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 1996 (vol. 13), ISBN 88-7140-098-4. 336 p., 256 ill.; 1997 (vols. 14, 15), ISBN 88-7140-112-3, ISBN 88-7140-099-2. 237 p., 376 p. ITL 70.000 per volume.

It is with great pleasure that one observes three new volumes being added to the successful series *Supplementa Italica*. There are now altogether 15 volumes in a series which began only in 1981, a pace which I consider very good, although the editor Silvio Panciera has at several times expressed his wish to see two volumes coming out every year. Certainly that would be nice; however, perhaps that wish is a bit overoptimistic – there are problems such as finding suitable collaborators etc. –, and in any case I think that even the progress we have been witnessing up till now will be thought of by most scholars as most remarkable. I must also right at the beginning of this review stress the quality of the volumes – not for the first time. Again, the "revisione" and the "cura redazionale" are (in the case of vols. 13 and 15) due to professor Panciera, who of course is an eminent authority in epigraphical things.

As for the contents of the volumes, vol. 14 consists of the indices to vols. 8–13, following the model of vol. 7 which was reserved for the indices to vols. 1–6. Let us have a look at this volume later and start by a closer look at vols. 13 and 15 which represent the by now classic type of *Supplementum Italicum*, this meaning that the volumes include treatments of various cities (in the case of vol. 15 of only one, Ateste), the treatment consisting in each case roughly of an historical introduction, most useful addenda to the inscriptions from the city published earlier in the CIL or in some other major publication, the publication of the texts not appearing in those collections, and indices to the "new" inscriptions.

Vol. 13 (of 1996) begins, as usual, with a "presentazione" by M. Guarducci and S. Panciera. Here one finds on p. 6 interesting observations on the geographical coverage of the volumes published up till now; it appears that, whereas the *Supplementa Italica* volumes cover quite a few cities in some areas, there are some area/areas from which there is nothing (Sicily) or almost nothing (just one city from e.g. Etruria). There is a useful map illustrating this in the review of some *Suppl. It.* volumes by John Bodel in *JRA* 11 (1998) 486. Of course, this has to do something with the availability of suitable epigraphical women and men to do the job, and it is not a coincidence that Liguria and some parts of central Italy and of Bruttium fare better than other areas in Italy, these being the centres of interest of two of the most productive collaborators of the series, Giovanni Mennella and Marco Buonocore.

Vol. 13 includes the following cities: Nursia in regio IV by R. Cordella and N. Criniti, Septempeda in reg. V (Picenum) by S.M. Marengo, and three Ligurian cities (in reg. IX), Vardacate by G. Mennella and E. Zanda, Forum Germa(-) by E. Culasso Gastaldi and G. Mennella, and Pedona by the same authors. The most important city by far is Nursia covering almost 200 pages and offering 156 "new" texts (including, of course, many small fragments and 11 texts already in CIL), the other places not exceeding 20. (But it is important to remember that it is not simply the number of new texts which is important in these volumes but also the material presented in the addenda to "old" texts.) Most of the inscriptions under Nursia are of course not unknown, for they had been edited earlier by the same authors in the two most useful, but somewhat chaotic volumes *Iscrizioni latine di Norcia e dintorni* (1982) and *Nuove iscrizioni latine di Norcia, Cascia e Valnerina* (1988),

but it is good to find them all collected here and presented in an exemplary fashion. There is much of interest in the material, for example no. 16 (perhaps the father of Vespasian), no. 23 (= CIL IX 4549, the enigmatic text with *Sefitio Socurtali* and other strange things; the authors seem to agree with G. Alföldy, ZPE 77 [1989] 167ff.), and the great number of otherwise absolutely unknown nomina, e.g. *Caesiarus*, *Instadius*, *Pompuedius*, *Pulsinienus*, *Satriarius*, a good reminder for those editors of inscriptions who, facing a nomen which seems to be unattested, get nervous and start to think about possible emendations. Some minor observations: no. 42: in the commentary the authors wonder whether *Audenus* could be related to *Audenius* or whether it should be considered a "forma volgare" of *Audienus*, but in fact we have here three different forms of just one nomen; we have many examples of nomina which we find ending both in *-ienus* and *-enus* (this variation must be due to local or dialectal differences), which ending could be Romanized by adding the *i* before the *u* (for parallels, cf. for instance the series *Passenus* / *Passienus* / *Passenius* / *Passienius* and *Volusenus* / *Volusienus* / *Volusenius* / *Volusienius*). No. 67: Here we have a nomen of which the letters MENTEDIVS are visible. The authors assume that we are dealing with the otherwise unknown nomen *Mentedius*, which is quite possible. But something might be missing in the beginning, and in preparing the first edition of the Repertorium I suggested [Her]mentedius, which, as the authors observe, is also a hapax, but which at least could be regarded as a variant of *Hermentidius* (cf. *Frensedius* / *Frensidius*, *Suetedius* / *Suetidius* etc.), whereas there is no parallel which could be adduced to support the existence of *Mentedius*. No. 91: In this text, one recognizes the upper part of a nomen which is either VAIENUS or VALENUS. The authors prefer *Valenus*, adducing *Varenus* and referring to the "caratteristico interscambio L > R". However, it does not seem very useful to think about *Varenus* here, and although *Valenus* is not impossible I cannot see what could be wrong with *Vaienus* (suggested by me in the Repertorium), which could be compared to *Baienus*, *Caienus*, *Raienus*, *Graienus*, *Staienus* and further similar names; furthermore, there is not very much room for the letter between the a and the e, this, too, pointing to *Vaienus* being preferable to *Valenus*.

As for the other cities, these chapters are much less substantial than the one on Nursia, this fact no doubt in some way reflecting the importance of Nursia in comparison to the other, minor, centres. But of course there are interesting things; under Vardacate no. 1 one finds the "rescritto di Vardacate" (AE 1947, 44; 1949, 24), and as for Forum Germa(-), this place can now be located NW of Cuneo (see p. 258f.), and its name ("Forum Ger(-)" in CIL) has gained two new letters (Germa(norum) is perhaps the most likely, but not certain, restoration: p. 259f.). In no. 14, *filiae* (not *filie*) seems to be the correct reading. In the case of Pedona, one might note that some texts previously attributed to Pollentia have now been assigned to this city on the basis of a new study of the centuriation of its territory.

Vol. 15 (1997) on Ateste, by M.S. Bassignano, is the first of Supplementa Italica series which is devoted to one city only, the reason being that that were 299 texts (including of course small fragments) to be presented, the total number of texts from Ateste now being more than 600. This is a remarkable number, especially if one considers that (as observed by Guarducci and Panciera on p. 7) the inscriptions seem to run out at the turn of the first and the second century (but at least no. 5 is from AD 178 or 182 [cf. below], and no. 27 from the second century). The territory of the city seems to have been redefined at

places, as the list of inscriptions in CIL V now attributed to Ateste on p. 11 includes many numbers not presented under Ateste in CIL V. (For a reconstruction of the borders of the territory see the map on p. 33.) The whole volume is of a very high quality, and the publication of the book is a major event in epigraphical studies, in spite – or perhaps because – of the fact that Ateste is a somewhat peculiar place where one does not find much of the usual type of "interesting" inscriptions (inscriptions honouring senators and knights, municipal decrees etc.), the stress of the epigraphical material being on veterans and people of similar status. And of course there is the early material illustrating the Romanization of the place. On individual texts, I have the following observations. No. 5, with the date --- *et Rufus* *cos.*: from AD 182, according to A. Buonopane, the first editor; however, noting that Rufus was the name of many consuls, Bassignano prefers to leave the date open, although she agrees that the text is from the second century. Now it is true that there were many consuls called Rufus, but when we limit ourselves to ordinary consuls (the only possibility here), to consuls who are named only after their consular colleagues, and finally to the second (and to the early third) century, we find that only the years 178 or 182 can come into question. – No. 63 *M'. Baebius / L. f. Rom. PARENS / M'. Baebius M'. f. / Rom. Celer*: Bassignano argues that *Parens* is a cognomen, but it seems clear to me that we have here a father a his son, and that *parens* means 'father' (thus also J. Zajac and D. Pupillo). This would then be another instance of a family in which only the son has a cognomen, so often attested in the early imperial period in N. Italy. (Note that *Celer* was a common cognomen among those who represent the first generation using a cognomen.) – No. 83 (CIL I² 3406) *M'. Critoni(us) P. f., / Alenia M'. f. Tertia, / M'. Critoni M'. f. / Clementis (uxor), / L. Critoni(us) M'. f. / Secundus* etc.: thus Bassignano, according to whom we have here two Critonii and a woman who was the wife of a third man of the same name. These people could then be a father, his daughter-in-law (married to a son already deceased), and either another son or a grandson, son of the deceased son. But would this interpretation be credible? Now the problem is that inscriptions of this type use a stereotyped structure in which different persons are enumerated according to certain rules, and to someone familiar with the genre there can be no doubt that we have a family here, the father, the mother, and two sons. We have thus another example of a family in which the sons represent the first generation using a cognomen. Note how everything is as expected: the son who is mentioned first, obviously the elder son, has the praenomen of his father, and the other son has another praenomen and the cognomen *Secundus*. Of course, in order to restore to Alenia her status as the mother of the younger Critonii, one has to do something about *Clementis* in line 4. Is this the correct reading at all? Certainly one can see nothing on the photo after the *n* in *Clemen*; but if this is indeed the correct reading I think that one has to assume that this is a mistake of the stonecutter, no doubt influenced by the abbreviated nominative ending in *-i(us)*. – No. 162: the nomen of the mother appears in the transcription as *Querennia*, but the reading of the stone is clearly *Querrenia*.

As mentioned above, vol. 14 (1997), by Claudia Lega, contains, in addition to a section with addenda and corrigenda (there is quite a lot e.g. on Amiternum) and to a section with "conguagli bibliografici", indices to vols. 8–13, thus continuing the tradition established with vol. 7 which covered the first six volumes of the series. The main index is of the type Key word in context, and the references not only give the number of the texts, but also information e.g. on the type of the monument, the material and the date of the

inscriptions in question. Besides the main index, there are other indices, for instance of numerals, of the materials used and of the "tecniche di scrittura". Everything is of a very high quality, and the book should be seen as a model for other index volumes, and not just those to appear in this series.

But what is the use of a good book if only the richest libraries can afford to buy it? There is a tendency nowadays among some editors to ask ridiculously high prices for their books, perhaps in order to exclude, for some reason, the possibility that private customers should want to buy them. However, it is hard to see the use of this policy, and I must say that I personally very much prefer editors who ask reasonable prices. Now the editor of this series, Quasar, certainly belongs to the latter group, and thus deserves sincere thanks for producing not only good books, but also books people can buy. It is also most notable that the price of a *Supplementum Italicum* has been the same for years.

Olli Salomies

Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2: Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani in Vaticano. Materiali e contributi scientifici per una mostra epigrafica, a cura di Ivan Di Stefano Manzella. Città del Vaticano 1997. Distribuzione esclusiva: Edizioni Quasar di Severino Tognon Srl, Roma. 379 p. ITL 150.000.

It was decided many years ago that the Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy of 1997 in Rome should include various collateral manifestations, one of which was to be an exhibition in the Vatican Museums dedicated to Christian epigraphy. This project was completed in September 1997 when the brilliantly organized "mostra epigrafica" was inaugurated.

This volume, the second one of the *Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis*, is based on this exhibition and the huge epigraphic collections of the Vatican Museums in general. The material exhibited is widely commented on in Section 3 where the pieces are classified within fourteen thematic groups (e.g. the first testimonies of Christianity; monuments and toponyms in Rome; writing material, re-use, instrumentum, palaeography; social classes and office-holders; ecclesiastical hierarchy; God, Saints, martyrs and benefactors; decorative elements; style, diction, formulae; the army; crafts and professions; ethnic and religious elements in Rome; linguistic aspects in late Antique inscriptions; onomastics). Even though it is impossible to provide a complete view of the world of Christian epigraphy under such headings, the material discussed is nonetheless well chosen to illustrate what inscriptions can tell about the transformation of Christian society and its relation to the pagan world. The discussion of the epigraphic culture of late Antiquity not only follows the great lines but also focuses on many fascinating details. Some variation of quality can be observed between individual contributions, but the comments are usually written with a professional hand. Every section is preceded by a brief and useful introduction by Ivan Di Stefano Manzella.

The first section of the book discusses the formation and contents of the various epigraphic collections preserved in the Vatican Museums (9–96). Not only the stones themselves, but also archives, manuscripts, inventories and other museological issues are dealt with. Every contribution is important and interesting to read, but for practical purposes (research in the archives, etc.) the most useful are those by G. Spinola (*Nascita e*

sviluppo della sezione epigrafica cristiana dei Musei Vaticani), M.A. De Angelis (L'Archivio Storico dei Musei Vaticani: fonti sull'organizzazione amministrativa nell'Ottocento e documenti per le collezioni epigrafiche cristiane), M. Buonocore (Iter epigraphicum Vaticanum: una guida ai principali testimoni della tradizione manoscritta dell'epigrafia cristiana nei codici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), and C. Lega (Indice delle iscrizioni cristiane del Lapidario ex Lateranense).

The second main section concentrates on history, religion and habits in the light of the inscriptions produced by Christian communities. This may be regarded as the central part of the volume, considering that the majority of the contributions, mostly written by specialists, make a general survey of important issues relating to late Antiquity (I. Kajanto: Roman Nomenclature; P. Colafrancesco: the Latin epigraphic language; V. Flocchi Nicolai: Christian funerary monuments and places of cult from the third to the sixth century (to be consulted together with the topographic map enclosed in the inner back cover of the volume); C. Carletti: the emergence and development of the Christian epigraphic formulary; D. Mazzoleni: the origin and chronology of monograms; F. Bisconti: decorative figures in the Christian inscriptions of Rome; M.L. Costantini: *servus* and *libertus* in the urban epigraphic documentation from the late Antiquity; M.L. Caldelli, *D M* and *D M S* in the Christian inscriptions of Rome; C. Ricci: the presence of Italians and foreigners in Rome between the fourth and sixth century; G. Sacco: the famous blasphemous graffito from the Paedagogium in the Palatine).

Though all that has been printed in this volume will probably not be unanimously accepted by everyone, the result is nonetheless admirable. This is good reading for any epigraphist, and it is also highly recommendable to anyone interested in the world of the early Christians. The printing quality as well as that of the photographs is very good. For the fine result we should be grateful above all to Ivan Di Stefano Manzella, editor of the excellent Galleria Lapidaria volume (ISS 1), who not only undertook the tremendous editorial task but also in various ways has left his personal touch on the whole volume.

Mika Kajava

ALFRED SCHÄFER: *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion: Darbietungen, Spiele und Wettkämpfe von homerischer bis in spätklassische Zeit*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1997. ISBN 3-8053-2336-0. 128 S., 56 Taf. DEM 110.

Alfred Schäfer has taken up an interesting and important subject: entertainment at Greek symposia. It is a generally accepted notion that symposia were central to the ancient Greek societies, at least to some of them. Thus, we find a great number of studies of themes around Greek symposia. What has been lacking, though, is a systematic study of the things which kept the symposiasts happy when taking part in a symposium, things we would call 'entertainment'. This monograph fills in a part of that gap, and provides us a good list and a thorough enough analysis of pictorial source material useful for the studies of Greek symposia.

The study consists of seven chronologically defined chapters: the Homeric period, 7th-6th centuries BC, 580/70-530 BC, 530/20-480/70 BC, 480/70-450 BC, 450-410/400 BC, 5th-4th centuries BC. These chapters are followed by some general conclusions after which comes a catalogue of the images used in the book. The solution of dividing the study

chronologically seems to be very practical. It enables a chronologically systematic treatment of the subject-matter, and is handy for readers who would like to concentrate only on a specific time period. And, for a systematic reader this kind of a division helps to call attention to the changes that happened in symposiastic entertainment over the decades. The division of chapters is based on the pictorial material, mainly vases, which is mentioned only briefly in the introduction. Other kinds of divisions would have been possible too, e.g. a division based on the type of entertainment seen or mentioned in the used source-material.

The source material is handled in detail. This includes a careful description of what happens in the painted image on a particular vase, how it relates to the imagined real-life situations, and also some literary passages which fit the time period in question. Based on this information an idea of what happened in symposia with regard to the entertainment in the period in question is formed. After every main chapter there are some general conclusions. The relevant information on a vase, or for the later periods also on a terracotta-figurine, discussed in the study can be easily found in the list of illustrations at the end of the book. There are also 56 tables of some of this material with black-and-white photographs.

The title of the book promises a lot, while in fact it should be mentioned already in the title itself, that the study is based mainly on images. What we get is an image of symposiastic entertainment based on images with an additional touch from literary passages. Thus, the conclusions are made to a large degree on the basis of the images, and the literary passages are somehow fitted into the ready-made, or at least ready-thought, picture of what happened. In other words, the images seem to be the main ingredient and the texts are used to spice up the picture. This kind of an approach is not uncommon among classical studies – one tends to concentrate mainly on the source material which one has studied more, and uses other kinds of sources, often randomly chosen, to complete the already formed picture of the subject under study. This is very natural and also acceptable as long as one does not promise to do more than one actually does. In this book, it has to be said that all the major literary passages telling about symposiastic entertainment are mentioned, and they are analysed, at least to some degree.

Some major points which I would have expected or hoped to be discussed include the possibilities of drawing conclusions from the pictorial material (e.g. whether they are seen as realistic depictions or as reflecting the painter's imagination), and how can one use and understand terms such as 'Unterhaltung', or 'griechisch' or at least how they are understood in this study. After reading the book, it can be noticed that 'Greek' equals 'Athenian', that is, this study is about the situation in Athens. But can we rightfully pass off 'Athenian' as 'Greek', in a way as to imply that the habits of Athenians would be evidence of the habits of the Greeks in general?

After all this said, I would like to conclude that in spite of some above-mentioned points, this is a very welcome study among the literature on symposia. Too rarely we have the opportunity to read this kind of professional and ambitious study on themes around the field of entertainment in the ancient world.

Manna Vesterinen

Out of Rome. Augusta Raurica/Aquincum. Das Leben in zwei römischen Provinzstädten. Aquincum/Augusta Raurica. Élet a Római Birodalom két városában. Hg. Römerstadt Augusta Raurica/Aquincumi Múzeum Budapest. Zweisprachige Ausgabe: Deutsch/Ungarisch. Verlag Schwabe & Co. AG, Basel 1997. ISBN 3-7965-1040-X. 337 S., 314 Abb. CHF 45. DEM 54. ATS 390.

The exhibition catalogue *Out of Rome* presents two provincial cities in the Roman empire, Augusta Raurica and Aquincum. These two cities are located in two different countries: Augusta Raurica on the northern border of Switzerland, in the canton of Baselland, and Aquincum in Hungary, as it was the Roman forerunner of Budapest. There are, however, several similarities. Both cities stood on a river, Augusta Raurica on the Rhine and Aquincum on the Danube, and both were originally built on the border of the empire. There has been a Roman fort in both.

Augusta Raurica, however, lost its position by the second century AD, when the northern border of the Roman Empire was moved further north. The city became a less important provincial centre, but it kept its importance in the road network and as a centre for provincial trade. In Late Antiquity, when the northern border of the Empire was again moved to the Rhine, Augusta Raurica gained in importance. Augusta Raurica was originally founded as a civil colonial town, but it was not changed before the early fourth century into a military centre, *Castrum Rauracense*. Aquincum was from the beginning a military base, and in AD 106 it became a *municipium*, and received civilian structures. Aquincum continued to flourish until Late Antiquity as the provincial capital of Pannonia Inferior with political importance, and several emperors visited the city. Both cities gradually lost their importance by the Middle Ages, when the ruins of the Roman period were utilized as quarries by the local people.

The exhibition catalogue is divided into six chapters: an introduction, contacts with Rome, description of the two cities, and finally, specially chosen material groups are discussed and compared to the Roman equivalents. The first chapter presents the history of Augusta Raurica and Aquincum. The second chapter discusses architectonic constructions in the Roman cities. The military character of the city had its influence in the architecture of Aquincum. The two amphitheatres that were used for gladiatorial games were popular among soldiers. The worship of Mithras was widely spread in the Roman army, and Aquincum as a military centre has preserved several Mithraea. In comparison, not a single Mithraeum has been found in Augusta Raurica, though some archaeological finds point to the existence of the cult of Mithras in the city. Both cities had, however, typical Roman houses, baths, and workshops that were so important for the inhabitants.

Die Stadt als Lebensraum throws light on the everyday life of the inhabitants in these cities, decoration of the houses, textile industry, fashion, and the uniforms of the soldiers. The fourth chapter, *Markt –Wirtschaft*, presents a bronze workshop in Augusta Raurica, a ceramic workshop in Aquincum, and the monetary system in both cities. An important section is the discussion on the *villae rusticae* and their role in the economy of Augusta Raurica and Aquincum. The chapter *Im Zeichen der Vielfalt: Religion und Kult* shows the rich variety of Roman religious practice, where Roman, local, and Oriental divinities were worshipped side by side. The last chapter is dedicated to cemeteries, burials and grave offerings in these cities.

The two teams, in the Römerstadt Augusta Raurica and in the Aquincumi Múzeum Budapest, have done a great job with the exhibition and the exhibition catalogue. The project took seven years to complete but the result is all the more excellent and very informative for all interested in Roman provincial studies. These two cities, Augusta Raurica and Aquincum, tell us a lot about life in Roman military camps and provincial cities. The results are interesting in showing the similarities as well as differences in the history and archaeological remains of these cities that once lay on the border of the Roman Empire.

Arja Karivieri

The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume XIII. The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425. Edited by Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey. Cambridge University Press, 1998. ISBN 0–521–30200–5. xvi, 889 p. USD 150.

The first edition of *The Cambridge Ancient History* closed with volume XII in A.D. 324. The new edition adds two further volumes to cover the period up to A.D. 600. This has undoubtedly been a very felicitous decision, and the first of the new volumes is an outstanding achievement. Why the boundary mark between it and the last volume has been set at A.D. 425 (rather than, say, the end of the Theodosian dynasty around 450) is nowhere justified, but it is probably as good as anything else. Naturally, the discussion in individual chapters often has to break the precise time limits, especially towards the third century, for which we do not yet have a new edition of volume XII. The balance between the chronological and thematical sections seems optimal to me. The views of individual writers have not been harmonized, again a lucky choice (and it might have been impossible anyway), as a deliberate attempt to create a solid consensus would have been highly misleading in view of the many uncertainties which remain.

A few details appear to have been misleadingly presented or at least should have been argued more convincingly. Here is a brief list of examples: the legend of Map 1 is rather unhelpful and seems to have been taken from some other map (18); the statement that Athens escaped devastation by Alaric is highly questionable in view of recent archaeological evidence (115); I also wonder if we can say that Alaric's sack of Rome was "a final act of rage and despair" (did he know that he would soon die?) (128); I am not convinced that the *Testamentum Porcelli* had anything to do with soldiers (230); the *solidi* and pounds of gold have been confused in Olympiodorus' account of medium-rich senators (300); the extent to which the church attracted to itself "men of the first rank" in the fourth century seems exaggerated: at least it is difficult to see what positive role such a sharp-tongued troublemaker as Jerome could have had in the secular administration (365); the name of A. Enmann, the discoverer of the *Kaisergeschichte*, is twice misspelt, in each case differently (684, 831). However, all these are just marginal points and in no way diminish the great value of the work as a whole.

This volume canonizes the new perception of late antiquity which has been developing over the past decades. The contemporary school of thought refuses to see the Later Roman Empire as a period of decadence and argues that the apparent decline is only an anachronistic teleological interpretation of the facts (because we know that the Empire finally fell). Instead, it maintains that the agricultural production did not diminish, cities

were thriving, the army fought as efficiently as ever, taxation was not immoderate, and cultural life experienced an unprecedented time of vigorous growth. The only significant trouble (apart from the barbarians) were rich landlords who could evade paying their taxes. Many phenomena which previous generations regarded as signs of degeneration, like shameless adulation of the emperor, all-pervasive corruption, or oppression of the farmers, now receive a rationalistic explanation.

The new positive view of late antiquity is certainly refreshing, and should be especially welcomed by many European countries which have lately been taught that an overgrown public sector is leading their economies to an inevitable doom. Whatever implications this may have for the Blair government or the Scandinavian Social Democratic Parties, personally I am puzzled by the notion that the new doctrine (without explicitly saying so) takes us very far from any structural explanations for the Fall of the Roman Empire. In practice we are left with the Assassination Theory. It almost appears that if Valens had not made a few stupid strategic mistakes at Adrianople, or if Theodosius the Great had not died prematurely leaving behind two ungifted sons with a crowd of incompetent advisers, we would still be living in the Roman Empire. As far as I can see there is nothing in the volume to refute this inference which tacitly emerges from the individual sections. Evidently, some of that will be clarified in the next volume, which is already in press. It will doubtless dispel my present uncomfortable feeling that I have been left alone amidst the melancholy ruins of a once powerful empire without being told how and why it all came to pass.

Antti Arjava

ROBERT J. BUCK: *Thrasybulus and the Athenian Democracy. The Life of an Athenian Statesman*. Historia Einzelschriften 120. Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart 1998. ISBN 3-515-07221-7. 139 p. DEM 56.

This handy monograph has been written to fill a gap, to place Thrasybulus, son of Lycus, in relation to his social context. As the author reminds us, the problem is how to put any leader into his proper relationship to his community, since the facts are blurred by our own attitudes, our own culture, restricted sources etc. In spite of these problems historians try to write books about single persons, as Buck (B.) does. He usually faces with style all the problems which he states in chapter 1, Introduction: sources and scholarship.

Thrasybulus was one of the most important Athenians from 411 to 389 BC. when he was murdered in his tent by angry inhabitants of Aspendus in Pamphylia after some Athenian soldiers had made several acts of brigandage in their territory. In his laconic comment on Thrasybulus' death, Xenophon writes that Thrasybulus was μάλα δοκῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι (*Hell.* 4.8.31). This comment seems to be one of the main reasons for B. to write this book. It is a unique comment by Xenophon in *Hellenica*, and it reflects well B's own attitude towards Thrasybulus. He regards Thrasybulus as the ablest commander in all the campaigns in the Hellespont.

B. describes the primary political and military history of the highly discussed period. He does not give much new information or fresh interpretation, but as a concise

history of these events, the book is useful. The style is well balanced, and sources and later studies are discussed to some extent.

The book has seven chapters which are chronologically arranged. Historically important battles play a substantial part in B's description, but his competence in Boeotian history gives most to the reader. The final chapter 7 is a short conclusion with the title Thrasybulus and Athens, 450–389. On the whole, the life of Thrasybulus is registered whenever it has been possible, but the results are what one expected: a competent description of Athenian politics during this period, but the person and role of Thrasybulus still remain rather vague. It would have been interesting, if the meaning of the phrase *aner agathos* were analysed in a deeper way. The epigraphic evidence of this and of a little later period would have yielded interesting examples concerning *andragathia* and its use on inscriptions. That may have thrown light on the social context which Xenophon had in mind when he used that expression.

Martti Leiwo

Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III. Pars VI. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis iteratis curis ediderunt Leiva Petersen†, Klaus Wachtel, adiuvantibus M. Heil, K.-P. Johnne, L. Vidman†. Apud Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berolini – Novi Eboraci MCMXCVIII. DEM 210.

Novum Prosopographiae Imperii Romani volumen in manibus habere maxime est memorabile non solum propter illustrissimam ipsius operis vetustatem, sed etiam ideo, quod fere semper diu exspectandum est, dum novus fasciculus edatur. Iam decem anni transierunt, postquam volumen prius (N–O) publici iuris factum est. Quod tamen temporis spatium longinquius, ut scriptores operis in praefatione narrant, partim eo explicatur, quod Rei publicae Germanicae Democraticae collapsu etiam Academia (nunc Berolinensis-Brandenburgensis nuncupata) denuo constituenda erat. Accedit, quod duo studiosi de Prosopographia edenda optime meriti diem supremum obierunt Ladislaus Vidman a. 1989 et Leiva Petersen a. 1992. Sunt autem aliae quoque res, quae catalogos, qui ex titulis aliisque fontibus componuntur, multum morantur. Nuntii enim ad viros mulieresque honestiores pertinentes novi, tituli praesertim, sine intermissione cumulantur, magis magisque tam de viris ipsis mulieribusque quam de familiis in ephemeridibus aliisque operibus scribitur, et ita editores Prosopographiae saepius periculum adeunt, ne res quaedam omittantur, cum omnia nova non magni tantum sed etiam minoris momenti in Prosopographia includi debeant. Praeterea a scriptoribus id exspectamus, ut voces aequas et libratas iudicio et ratione componerent. Mora illa ex eo quoque facile intellegitur, quod Prosopographia nunc ad litteram P pervenit ideoque hic fasciculus necessario voces paginasque multo plures continet quam ii, qui proxime editi sunt. Multa enim nomina gentilium tam magni momenti quam usitata (*Petronius, Plautius, Pompeius, Pomponius* etc.), plurimi homines nomine Graeco incipiente a P instructi atque alii complures clari nobilesque in tabulas referendi erant (inter scriptores commemorari possunt Papinius ille Staius, Pausanias, Persius, Petronius, Phaedrus, Philo, Plinii maior minorque, Plutarchus, Porphyrius, Sextus denique Propertius). In universum albo alphabetico continentur 1119 voces, 40 stemmata genealogica plurimaeque aliae adnotationes. Voces primo a Vidman et Petersen compositae postea saepius auctae sunt additamentis intra uncas rectangulos positae.

Scriptores omnino opus hoc laudabiliter videntur confecisse. Etsi sunt singula multa, quae denuo tractari aliove quodam modo explicari possint, tamen talia in huius modi operibus vitari non possunt neque propter ea hic fasciculus minus cohaerens fit. Stemmata perspicue impressa, sed interdum iam obsoleta sunt (ut n. 35 ex scripto quodam iam a. 1979 edito sumptum). Mentiones investigationum recentiorum hic illic inveniuntur (e.g. n. 447, 490, 602, 991), locis aliis desiderantur, ea fortasse ex causa, quod scriptores ad eas considerandas tempus non habuerunt (in vocibus ad Pupienos pertinentibus, n. 1084 sqs. [etiam 1074], mentio iam facienda est eorum quae scripsit F. Chausson, Cahiers Glotz 7 [1996] ac nuperrime 9 [1998]). Quod ad genus Latine scribendi attinet, id in singulis vocibus aliquantum mutari facile potest observari, cum scriptor alius alium continuo excipiat. At cum unus elegantius scribat quam alius, tamen verba exceptis quibusdam insolitis numquam parum prospere eveniunt. Errata typographica vel alia minoris momenti perpauca notavi (e.g. p. XI: 'Chastagnol Fastes' suo loco non indicatur. – n. 15: in fine scribe *Medizinalpersonal*. – 17 v. 3: *in* (non *of*). – 21: in fine scribe *Σατορνεΐνης*. – 38: scribe *marmoreae*. – 44: id. – 146 (st. 5): praenomen n. 146 fuit *C*. – p. 61: scribe *Sijpesteijn*. – p. 86 v. 9: [...]PELLA (non [...] PELLA); cognomen ignoratur, sed adici potest etiam cognomen *Hispellae* apud senatorem quendam notum esse (cf. quae scripsi Tyche 3 [1988] 135 sqs., ubi nomina masculina in *-ella* tractavi). – 243: scribe *Portogruaro*. – 466 v. 11: scribe *qua*. – 493: in fine scribe *Vi*. – 500 (p. 215 v. 3 infra): scribe *scripsit*. – 681 v. 6: lege *t. 2... t. 1. 3*. – 979: scribe *stemmata*). Minimum denique ad artem edendi pertinens notandum: unci rectanguli non semper videntur congruenter adhiberi pro punctis multiplicibus (atque ex contrario) ([...]VS / ..VS, etc.). Hoc quoque quaerendum, num quid sibi velit numerus punctorum plerumque mutatus: [...] aut [...] aut [...].

Quae sequuntur observatiunculae sunt ad singulas voces. N. 10: titulus in fine memoratus (qui est AE 1985, 161a) fortasse Ostiensis putandus est eoque Paccium hunc Marcum fuisse conicias. – 13: virum hunc cognomine usum esse probabile est: [---]. – 21: fieri potest, ut Saturnina filiam habuerit cognominem (III 12150), cf. M. Kajava, Roman Female Praenomina ([1995] = FP) 159. – 22: formam *Carpioni* (X 4606) ne reprehenderit. – 41: cognomen fuit potius *Lucilla*. – 121: nomina tractavit Kajava, FP 131 adn. 235. – P. 57: Paullam Aemiliam nobilem non fuisse conieci ibid. 177 sq. – P. 85 (st. 8): consulem a. 177 adoptatum esse probabilius conici potest, sed res non plane certa est. – 241: potuit laudari etiam PFOS 860. – P. 125 (st. 13): coniecturam cognomen *Cratae* et uxori et filiae Frontonis fuisse non est, cur omittas. – 327: est etiam ICUR 10085. – P. 128/9: an consulto omissa sit Petronia Lasciva (Eck, EOS I 219)? – 331: nomen et titulus tractantur a Kajava, FP 146. – 435: melius editus Ausonia 6 (1911) 48 atque amplius tractatus a Kajava, in: Prosopographie u. Sozialgesch. (1993) 166 adn. 2. – 524: nomen integrum fuit potius (*Servilia*) *Plotia Isaurica*. – 534: loco nominis *Pollae Donatae* intellegendum est e.g. *Polla Domatia*, cf. Kajava, FP 54 (iam prius Solin, Epigraphica 51 [1989] 243). – P. 232: cum vox Πῶλλα [---] (IG II² 4246; cf. Kajava, FP 177) non inveniatur, fortasse consulto omissa est? – P. 248 (st. 26): consuli a. 209 fortasse etiam nomen *Claudii* fuit, quod in titulis non indicatum est. – P. 274 n. 31: de consule a. 150, uxore eius posterisque cf. etiam quae scripsit Salomies, Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature (1992) 101 sq. – 675: inquirendum erat, qua ratione cum Pompeio Magno eiusque gente coniuncta fuerit Pompeia illa Cn. Magni f., quam novimus ex titulo VI 9438 = ILS 1940 (comm.). – 677: est etiam ICUR 9431. – 769: nomen uxori Agrippae fuit *Caeciliae Atticae*, non (*Pomponiae*)

Caeciliae Atticae. Recte dicitur *Pomponiae* nomen vulgo ei tribui, sed in ea ipsa re studiosi vehementer errant. – P. 373 v. 10: POS[SESSA] postea fit POSTV[MA] (v. 3. infra). – 897: an potius fuerit *Sulpicius Postumius*? – 902: est etiam ICUR 14016. – P. 388: de nomine Praetextatae (C 1494) corrigendo videas scripta supra laudata Chausson. – 930 (+ 926 + 929): necessitates inter hos homines intercedentes perspicacius enarrari potuerunt. – P. 393: mentionem n. 806 (supra p. 346) exspectaveris. – 954: COS nescio quo modo pars nominis factum sit. – P. 412 (etiam n. 1043a): in titulo VI 1629 nomen feminae corruptum "LEVNIAN (?) MISIA (*sic*) PROCVLA, c. f. (?)" hoc modo emendare velim: L. Fulvia Numisia Procula *c.f.*, vide quae scripsi ZPE (sub prelo). – 984: Proculeia (PFOS 658) includi potuit, cum etiam alia exempla similia in tabulas relata sint. – 1045: cognomen fortasse fuit *Quar[tilla]*, cf. Kajava, FP 131 adn. 231. – 1050: L. PVBLIVS etc. Nomen gentile huius senatoris in titulo IX 688 re vera legitur PVBLILIO, vide G. Albanese – A. Galli, Epigrafi romane a Cerignola (Cerignola, Centro di servizio e programmazione culturale regionale 1986), 42 sqs. (im. phot. p. 42). – 1069: coniectura [*Au*]lus vehementius repudiari debuit.

Mika Kajava

YANN LE BOHEC: *Die römische Armee. Von Augustus zu Konstantin d. Gr.* Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1993. ISBN 3-515-06300-5. 304 S., 40 Foto- und Abbildungstafeln. DEM 78.

In einer handlichen Ausgabe des Steiner Verlages liegt die deutsche, im Vergleich zur französischen leicht veränderte Übersetzung von Yann Le Bohecs "L'armée romaine" vor. Das mit vielen Abbildungen, Karten und Tabellen ausgestattete Buch gibt einen Überblick über organisatorische, praktische und taktisch-strategische Fragen im Zusammenhang mit der Armee in der Kaiserzeit. Ein dritter Abschnitt beschäftigt sich zudem außer mit der Geschichte auch mit der materiellen und kulturellen Rolle derselben. Nach einer allgemeinen Zusammenfassung bietet eine unter Hinweis auf eine in Vorbereitung stehende ausführliche Bibliographie eine thematisch geordnete Kurzfassung den Zugang zu den wichtigsten Werken.

Es ist immer gewagt, ein weitverzweigtes Thema mit so vielen Einzelaspekten auf ein beschränktes Format zwischen die Deckel eines Buches zu bringen, und sicher ist dieser Versuch lobenswert, und selbstverständlich muß auf viele Details verzichtet werden. Im vorliegenden Buch werden jedoch bisweilen notwendige Belege vorenthalten (z.B. S. 9 "Rostovtzeff schrieb, daß ..." ohne Quellenangabe oder S. 289, 2. Abschn. wird eine Inschrift zitiert ohne Angabe der Veröffentlichung). Auch ermöglicht zwar das ausführliche Inhaltsverzeichnis einen relativ gezielten Zugriff auf einzelne Aspekte, aber Indices hätten den Gelehrten, die "voneinander abschreiben" und deshalb bei "natürlich zumeist aber unpassender Gelegenheit lateinische Begriffe, deren Bedeutung sie nicht genau kennen" benutzen (alles S. 9) eine große Hilfe geboten. Im übrigen verfällt der Autor selbst bisweilen diesen Lastern, etwa wenn er über Kulte, Religionen im Heer und Kaiserkult spricht. (Nur ein Beispiel: Die *domus Augusta* wird bereits zu Lebzeiten des Augustus – und nicht erst um 200 n.Chr. wie S. 289 behauptet wird – als *domus divina* bezeichnet CIL XIII 4635, ebenfalls julisch-claudisch ist CIL XIII 4324 + 11353). Was der Verlag sicher hätte

vermeiden können, ist eine große Anzahl von Grammatik- und Druckfehlern (z.B. S. 268–9 wenigstens sieben) und auch z.T. unbeholfene Übersetzungen.

Abgesehen davon ermöglicht das Buch dennoch dem deutschsprachigen Publikum eine willkommene erste Einführung in die Welt der römischen Armee in der hohen Kaiserzeit.

Uta-Maria Liertz

MARCUS JUNKELMANN: *Panis militaris. Die Ernährung des römischen Soldaten oder der Grundstoff der Macht*. Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt. Band 75. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1997. ISBN 3–8053–2332–8. 254 S. DEM 68.

Der deutsche Historiker und Schriftsteller Marcus Junkelmann hat zahlreiche Bände zur römischen Militärgeschichte geschrieben, die einen umfangreichen Leserkreis gefunden haben. Sein brandneues Buch über das Militärbrot, *panis militaris*, behandelt die Ernährung des römischen Soldaten. Der Schwerpunkt der Arbeit ist zeitlich gesehen die frühe und mittlere Kaiserzeit und bezieht sich geographisch auf die Nordwestprovinzen des Imperiums.

Obleich Junkelmans Thema sehr umfassend und schwierig ist, bewältigt er seine Aufgabe ausgezeichnet. Seine vielseitige und langfristige Vertrautheit mit der Geschichte der Kaiserzeit hat bewirkt, daß das Buch sehr kompakt geworden ist. Junkelmann gibt ein klares Gesamtbild über die Kriegsführung und das Leben des römischen Berufssoldaten der Kaiserzeit. Er verknüpft die Militär- und Ernährungsgeschichte mit der allgemeinen Geschichte und dem römischen Alltagsleben.

Der Text des Buches stützt sich auf archäologische Forschungen und eine sehr umfangreiche und durchgreifende Literatur, was aus der Bibliographie und dem Register ersichtlich wird. Die reichliche Bebilderung trägt zur Anschaulichkeit des Buches bei. Ungewöhnlich ist, daß das Buch zahlreiche verschiedenartige Rekonstruktionen von mit dem Thema verknüpften Gegenständen und Gebäuden enthält. Gerade diese Rekonstruktionen, verschiedene Experimente und die Lebendigkeit des Textes überhaupt, haben die Bücher von Junkelmann so beliebt gemacht.

Die Ausführungen über die Ernährung des römischen Soldaten beruhen zum Teil natürlich auf Hypothesen und Folgerungen, weil es keine ausreichenden Erkenntnisse darüber gibt. Junkelmann ist in seinen Folgerungen jedoch bedachtsam. Das Buch bietet für ein breites Leserspektrum – vom sachkundigen Historiker über den Enthusiasten bis zum Laien – eine Fülle hochinteressanten Inhalts. *Panis militaris* richtet sich auch an gastronomisch Interessierte, denn eines der Kapitel enthält 34 antike Rezepte mit Farbabbildungen. *Vobis bene!*

Nina Ylikarjula

STEPHEN SHENNAN: *Quantifying Archaeology*. Second edition. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1997. ISBN 0–7486–0791–9. 434 pp. GBP 18.95 (P/b).

The book is a second extensively revised edition of a book first published in 1988. The author has set out to write a textbook on quantitative methods for students of

archaeology, but actually he achieves much more. He is able to give a clear picture of how mathematics and statistics can be used in archaeology, knowledge which is not only essential in the analysis of excavated objects but also in the planning of a good field-project.

In the introduction the author clearly expresses his position in the current debate between different archaeological schools: the book can be viewed as a prolonged answer to the criticism by the 'post-processual' archaeologists who have tried to undermine the value of statistics in archaeological interpretation. According to the author, the split between field archaeology and high-level theory "will persist until the zone in between is occupied by the rigorous analysis and interpretation of archaeological data patterning" (p. 3).

Even though the book does not require more than a basic knowledge of mathematics and the employed statistical methods are well explained, the pages with complicated formulae will probably drive away the archaeologists who feel they have no mathematical skills. For these readers Clive Orton's *Mathematics in Archaeology* (London 1980) can still be recommended, in spite of the fact that the rapid improvements in computer technology and quantitative methods in the past twenty years have partially rendered the book out of date. I hope someone will take up the challenge and write a new general book on the subject as good as Orton's classic.

The topics covered in the book range from quantitative description and pictorial summaries of single variables to correspondance analysis and probabilistic sampling in archaeology. In addition to the two last mentioned, estimation and testing with normal distribution and randomisation are also mainly new additions to the second edition. As a suggestion for a future third edition, randomisation tests perhaps deserve more detailed coverage, conceivably even their own chapter.

I sincerely hope that this excellent book finds its way not only into university classrooms but also onto field archaeologists' desks.

Jari Pakkanen

Roman Portraits. Artistic and Literary. Acts of the Third International Conference on the Roman Portraits held in Prague and in the Bechyně Castle from 25 to 29 September 1989. Ed. by Jan Bouzek and Iva Ondřejová. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1997. ISBN 3-8053-2335-2. 130 p., 36 pls. DEM 98.

This publication presents the majority of the papers given during the Third International Conference on Roman Portraits in 1989. Unfortunately, the publication of the volume was delayed by the "Velvet Revolution" in Czechoslovakia and the problems in domestic policy after that, but we have to be grateful to have the conference proceedings finally at hand.

The book has been divided into five thematic sections: *Official Portraits from Italy, Roman Provinces, Numismatics and Other Minor Arts, Literary Portraits and Comparisons, and Later Perception*. The title of the first section is, however, misleading, since the papers in this section present a wide variety of themes from the Hermes of Olympia to imperial couples assimilated with divinities in Roman art.

The articles discuss a great many topics, but I comment on those that are close to my own interests. In the first paper (pp. 9-15), Paul Zanker gives some new views on the realistic portraits of the Late Republic. He criticizes R. R. Smith for using a too simple

definition for the portraits of the Late Republic, as examples of a common Roman self-knowledge, and L. Giuliani for his theory of "pathognomische Eintönigkeit" that could express the Roman virtues.

Niels Hannestad (pp. 20–23) puts forth a group of portraits as renderings of the deified Julius, recognizable with a star that has been added to the forehead. He admits that these portraits do not share common features with the traditional portraits of Julius Caesar, rendering a young person with features characteristic of princes from the early Julio-Claudian period. Hannestad explains this with the help of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where Caesar underwent a change to a bright star.

Klaus Fittschen (pp. 32–36) presents a controversial new dating for the two statues of togati in Paris that have generally been identified as representing Emperor Julian. He gives several arguments and comparisons to support his new dating to the second century AD.

The late Elizabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum (pp. 83–87) commented on the imperial portraits and iconography on the contorniates of the fourth and fifth centuries. She had collected the evidence for the reuse of pattern books and earlier coins in the Roman mints. She explained that the use of different portraits could have had many reasons. Nero arranged games and theatrical performances, which could explain his popularity with the Roman people. Trajan was the 'model' emperor, and Antinous was probably regarded as a pagan god. As she pointed out, the non-existent prominence of Augustus among the portraits is a riddle.

Jan Bouzek (pp. 101–103) discusses the development of artistic and literary portraits, and gives a striking comparison for Late Republican portraits: the portraits of American businessmen. Why not German, French or English, if we use these kinds of comparisons? Another peculiar sentence (p. 102) concerns the portraits of Tiberius, Claudius and Nero: "sometimes the negative qualities of their character became more evident through superficial idealisation."

Gunhild Vidén (pp. 106–108) explains in her interesting study the background for the unfavourable portraits of women in Tacitus' *Annals*. Vidén suggests that Tacitus loathed the female greed for power, which resulted in the negative literary portraits of the Julio-Claudian women.

The layout of the volume is clear and the plates of good quality, only some minor errors are left in the text (for example, Livius for Livia in pl. 35, fig. 6). All in all, this selection of papers gives much food for thought, presents new ideas and new material. In the future, it would be fruitful to place more emphasis on the later perception of Roman portraits, from the Renaissance period until the 20th century. Conservators and sculptors usually changed the appearance of the original statue, combined fragments from separate statues and added new pieces to create the desired aesthetic effect. This has resulted in numerous erroneous identifications, which have been and will be tiresome to rectify.

Arja Karivieri

ORHAN BINGÖL: *Malerei und Mosaik der Antike in der Türkei*. Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt, Band 67. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1997. ISBN 3-8053-1880-4. 147 S., 96 Abb., 32 Farbtaf. DEM 58.

Das Buch gibt eine Zusammenstellung von ausgewählten Beispielen der Malerei und Mosaik Alt-Anatoliens, was zu begrüßen ist da diese trotz ihres Reichtums im allgemeinen wenig bekannt sind, wie der Autor in seinem Vorwort (S. 7) hervorhebt. Die Beispiele sind chronologisch in 14 Kapiteln angeordnet, aber ohne eine Entwicklungsgeschichte zu geben, sondern, um das Vorwort zu zitieren: "Es handelt sich vielmehr um eine erste Zusammenstellung, aus der hervorgehen soll, wie sehr die antiken Malereien und Mosaik des Landes unserer Aufmerksamkeit bedürfen." Auf etwa 20 Seiten (S. 9-32) werden sowohl die neolithische (Funde aus Çatalhöyük), chalkolithische, bronzezeitliche und urartäische Malerei behandelt. Es folgen auf weiteren 20 Seiten (S. 33-53) Malerei und Mosaik aus Phrygien, Lykien als auch die lydische und ionische Malerei, während die folgenden ca. 60 Seiten (S. 58-118) für die Malerei der Spätclassik und zum größten Teil des Hellenismus gewidmet sind, und die restlichen ca. 20 Seiten (S. 119-137) der Malerei und Mosaik in der römischen Kaiserzeit.

Willkommen sind die Innendeckkarten, auf denen die rund 90 Fundstätten genannt sind. Ein alphabetischer Index wäre jedoch empfehlenswert gewesen, um leichter einen Überblick über die Menge der verschiedenen Gattungen zu gewinnen. Ein Buch wie dieses, das für ein breiteres Publikum als nur Spezialisten gemeint zu sein scheint, hätte von Indices profitiert, auch wenn die ausgewählten Beispiele ein nicht unüberschaubares Material zusammenstellen. Gerade bei einer Auswahl von zu wenig bekannten Materialgruppen wäre auch ein kurzer Überblick über das gesamte Material hilfreich gewesen. Auf die Kriterien der Auswahl wird nicht näher eingegangen außer daß der Autor im Vorwort auf die Berichte von Vitruvius und Plinius des Älteren über das Vorkommen von qualitativollen Farben aus Anatolien hinweisend bestätigt, daß das vorliegende Buch zeigen möchte, "wie viel uns von jener farbigen Hinterlassenschaft überliefert ist." Ein an sich lohnenswertes Kriterium scheint es gewesen zu sein weniger bekannte Funde und eine Reihe von allerneuesten Funden (z.B. Wandmalereien aus Knidos auf den Seiten 89 ff., Taf. 17,1-21,2) die hier als erstmals publiziert angezeigt werden, den Lesern bekannt zu machen. Dem Autor als auch dem Verlag gilt Dank für die reiche Illustration, bestehend aus 96 Abbildungen (in schwarz-weiß) und besonders für die 32 Farbtafeln mit 59 Abbildungen. Obwohl viele der Abbildungen auch schon früher in verschiedenen Publikationen erschienen sind, ist es höchst lobenswert eine solche Sammlung in einem Band zu haben.

Da es sich um eine chronologisch angeordnete und topographisch kompakt diskutierte Materialauswahl handelt, ist es verständlich, daß der Stand der bisherigen Forschung nicht näher behandelt wird und daß die Hinweise in den insgesamt 158 Anmerkungen (auf den Seiten 138-143) nicht ausführlich sind. Gerade deswegen wäre es nützlich gewesen die wichtigsten Publikationen kurz hervorzuheben, z.B. in Form einer thematisch-topographischen Bibliographie. Es ist ebenso verständlich, daß die notwendigerweise knappen Beschreibungen und Anmerkungen nicht erlauben die teilweise weitgehende Problematik der Deutung oder Datierung einzelner Fälle näher zu diskutieren. Aber wenigstens in den Fällen, wo diese Probleme erwähnt sind hätte man doch klarer die wichtigsten Meinungsverschiedenheiten hervorheben können. Speziell in solchen "Problemfällen" ließen sich

sowohl die Beschreibungen als auch die Anmerkungen mit vielem der jüngeren Forschung ergänzen, so z.B. in der Diskussion des Taubenmosaiks des Sosos aus Pergamon (S. 87–88), das ich hier als einziges Beispiel erwähne wegen der mir nahestehenden Problematik, die ich in meinem Corpus der Vogel motive in den Mosaiken vor unserer Zeitrechnung (A. Tammisto, *Birds in Mosaics* [AIRF XVIII], Rome 1997, Ss. 73–84, 376–385) mit weiteren bibliographischen Hinweisen diskutiert habe.

Antero Tammisto

ALEXANDRE CAMBITOGLU – JACQUES CHAMAY: *Céramique de Grande Grèce. La collection de fragments Herbert A. Cahn*. Volume publié à l'occasion de l'exposition Morceaux choisis – Céramique de Grande Grèce. Musée d'Arts et d'Histoire, Genève, 26 mars – 7 septembre 1997. Hellas et Roma, vol. VIII. Akanthus 1997. ISBN 3–905083–11–6. 356 p.

The "morceaux choisis" of this catalogue consist of some 150 South Italian red figure and Gnathia pottery fragments selected from a large private collection of Attic and Italiote pottery. The exhibition in Geneva and its accompanying catalogue are the first opportunities for a wider public to examine the collection that earlier has only been accessible to a few scholars and only partially exhibited and published.

The study of Italiote pottery, produced between 430–275 in the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia, is only now beginning to catch up with the voluminous research on its Attic counterpart. The fascination and interest in the South Italian pottery is not in the elegance of composition or design, but in the richness of iconographic detail, as has once more been stated by the authors of the book. One of them, Alexandre Cambitoglou, Professor Emeritus of the University of Sydney, has earlier contributed greatly to the systematic publication of South Italian red-figured pottery together with A. D. Trendall, to whose memory the catalogue is dedicated. Cambitoglou is responsible for the attributions of the pieces to various painters and further stylistic comments in the book, while Jacques Chamay, an expert on iconography, has furnished the descriptions of the subject matter of each painting.

The volume is basically a catalogue of pottery and excellent as such: it contains a broad and detailed description as well as large and clear photographs of each of the 150 exhibits. The book is divided in sections according to the production centres of vases and also arranged in a broad chronological order, yet not all groups of Italiote pottery are equally represented. Paestan and Sicilian pottery do not figure at all, and early Lucanian pottery is represented by 12 pieces. Apulian ware is the most voluminous – as also in reality – and Apulian pieces have been divided in three sections, early (Cat. nos. 13–61), middle (62–87) and late (88–110). The Campanian section contains only one piece of uncertain origin 112–129. Late Apulian i.e. Gnathia pottery is separated as the final section of the catalogue (130–148). The separate section of profile drawings at the end deserves a laudatory comment as does the good chronological table of painters. The index of iconographic subjects in a book which is mainly dedicated to details of subject matter could be larger to be truly useful.

The text is restricted to a short and general overview of Italiote pottery and a brief description of the characteristics of each fabric in the beginning of the section.

As noted by the authors, sometimes a sherd of Italiote pottery is more easily accessible than a whole vase which overwhelms the observer by the overt richness of detail. Thus one of the merits of the volume is to draw the attention of the reader to the particularities of iconography and painting technique from a closer distance.

Ria Berg

Akten des Symposiums »125 Jahre Sarkophag-Corpus«, Marburg, 4.–7. Oktober 1995, unter Mitarbeit von Rita Amedick, Doris Bielefeld, Dagmar Grassinger und Claudia Wölfel hrsg. von Guntram Koch. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Sarkophag-Studien, Bd. 1. ISBN 3–8053–2344–1. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rh. 1998. X, 324 p., 37 figs, 128 pls. DEM 198.

This volume presents the results of a Marburg-Colloquium held in 1995 to celebrate 125 years of studies on Roman sarcophagi. It was in 1870 that Friedrich Matz the Elder was given the charge of collecting and listing the innumerable Roman sarcophagi preserved from Imperial times. Ever since then Germany has remained the pioneering country in the study of Roman sarcophagi, the result of which can be seen in a number of excellent corpora published over the past century, and already for some time the city of Marburg has been the centre of the great sarcophagus project. Not only the collaborators of the Corpus were invited, but also many others who work on sarcophagi. The 29 contributions deal with sarcophagi from all over the Roman Empire which means that besides the central places of production (Rome and Athens), many local groups in individual provinces are also dealt with. The great variety of themes represented on the reliefs is naturally reflected by a wide range of iconographic discussions (e.g. children, funeral meals, hunting, office-holders, various mythological items, Christian material, etc.). Some papers concentrate on technical questions and the dating of sarcophagi. Though epitaphs are not the theme of this book, the inscribed pieces discussed are nonetheless numerous. Fortunately, however, apart from some minor misunderstandings, there seem to be no serious flaws in their interpretation. On the whole, the volume is a collection of highly interesting studies in the world of ancient sarcophagi, and it certainly ennobles the long and illustrious history of German studies on the subject.

Mika Kajava

PIETRO TAMBURINI: *Un abitato Villanoviano perilacustre. Il "Gran Carro" sul lago di Bolsena (1959–1985)*. Archaeologica 113. Tyrrhenica 5. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1995. ISBN 88–7689–114–5. 422 p., 25 tav., 94 fig. ITL 1.100.000.

Die Erforschung von Villanova-Kultur hat sich bisher ziemlich einseitig auf die Gräber und ihre Gaben gestützt. Obgleich wir einige Wohnplätze kennen, sind die Kenntnisse über das diesseitige Leben sehr beschränkt, weil die gefundenen Zentren bescheiden oder ihre archäologischen Materialien schlecht erhalten waren. Tamburinis Buch behandelt die ergiebige Ausbeute der Unterseeausgrabungen des in vieler Hinsicht eigenartigen Gran Carro.

In der Nähe des östlichen Ufers des Bolsenasees hat man in der Tiefe von einigen Metern ein aus der Eisenzeit stammendes Villanova-Dorf gefunden. Dieses archäologische Material hat sich wegen der feuchten Umgebungsbedingungen außergewöhnlich gut erhalten. Gran Carro ist in einer günstigen und produktiven Umgebung zu Beginn der 9. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden und hat sich dann besonders schnell fortentwickelt. Die Siedlung scheint aus dem eigentlichen Wohnort und einem steinernen Tumulus zusammengesetzt gewesen zu sein. Die Funktion des Tumulus ist bis auf weiteres unbekannt. Obgleich die Struktur der einzelnen Wohnungen schwierig zu indentifizieren ist, halten es die Forscher für wahrscheinlich, daß man nach der Erhöhung der Wasseroberfläche von ellipsenförmigen Hütten allmählich zu den regelmäßig placierten Pfahlwohnungen übergegangen ist. Die detaillierte dendrologische Pfahlforschung wird vielleicht auch nähere Kenntnisse über die verschiedenen Phasen der Besiedlung ergeben.

Die archäologischen Funde der Gegend erzählen ungewöhnlich viel über die Wirtschaft und das Alltagsleben des kleinen Villanova-Dorfes. In der Keramik sieht man Kontakte nach Nordlatium und Südetrurien, besonders nach Tarquinia und Veji. Der größte Teil der Vasen sind Küchen- und Tischgeräte, die beinahe ganz und gar handgefertigte, matte Impasto-Keramik darstellen. Obgleich die Keramik der Gegend aus einer frühen Epoche stammt, ist die hohe Qualität, die Veränderlichkeit der Formen und die Reichhaltigkeit der Dekoration auffallend. Man gebrauchte Mühlsteine, Öfen und Spindeln in den alltäglichen Beschäftigungen. Ein Beweis für die allmähliche einsetzende Differenzierung der Berufe ist u.a. eine Metallschmelzhütte. Darauf deuten Schmelzreste und manche halbfertige Gegenstände. Der Hauptteil der Metallfunde ist aus Bronze. Eine Besonderheit stellt der Gebrauch von Blei dar, der wahrscheinlich auf die Nutzung der lokalen Silbermittel zurückzuführen ist.

In Mittelitalien hat man wegen der ungünstigen Umstände kaum paleobotanische oder -osteologische Materialien gefunden. Gran Carro, die den nördlichen Pfahlsiedlungen ähnlich war, war auch in dieser Hinsicht außergewöhnlich. Gran Carros Küstenebene hat sich für einen Anbau geeignet, wobei die waldigen Hügel ideal für wilde Pflanzen und Tiere gewesen sind. Die Pflanzfunde bestehen hauptsächlich aus Fruchtkernen und Samen. Besonders sensationell sind die zahlreichen Samenfunde von Weintrauben. Nach traditioneller Auffassung ist der kultivierte Weinstock (*Vitis vinifera L.*) erst im 8. Jh. v. Chr. mit der Phöniziern und Griechen in die Apenninen gekommen. Man hat gesehen, daß der eigentliche Weinbau in Mittelitalien erst ein Jahrhundert später begonnen hat. Die Samen von Gran Carro, die nicht von wilden Weintrauben herrühren, stärken die Theorie, dass die in dieser Gegend gelebten "Voretusker" die kultivierte Anbauart schon während Villanova-Zeit gekannt haben.

Schwein, Schaf / Ziege und Ochse sind wahrscheinlich die üblichsten Haustiere gewesen, mit anderen Worten die Tiere, die Römer später als *suovetaurilia*-Opfern gebrauchten. Der Teil eines hölzernen Joches zeigt, dass Ochsen auch als Zugtiere gebraucht wurden. Es gibt in Gran Carro wie auch in einigen anderen Gemeinschaften der Eisenzeit in den Apenninen Anzeichen über Hundefressen. Weil das Knochenmaterial sehr knapp ist, ist zu bedenken, daß die Ergebnisse nur richtungsgebend sind. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür ist die geringe Menge an Knochen von wilden Tieren, obgleich die Umgebung gewiß sehr günstig für Wild gewesen ist. Angeln und verschiedene Gewichte, die von Netzen stammen, zeigen, daß aus dem Bolsenasee auch Nahrung bezogen wurde.

Gran Carro vertrat im 10. und 9. Jh. wahrscheinlich ein neues Siedlungssystem in Südetrurien. In diesem System geschah ein Übergang von der alten, für die Bronzezeit typischen, Streusiedlung zu Siedlungszentren, die wahrscheinlich auf die Bevölkerungszunahme zurückzuführen ist. Wie manche anderen Kleindörfer verließ man auch Gran Carro ganz schnell, schon im Beginn des 8. Jh. v. Chr. Eine Ursache dafür dürfte einerseits ein erhebliches Ansteigen des Bolsenasees und andererseits ein Erstarren des am südwestlichen Ufer gelegenen Bisenzio gewesen sein.

Der Text in Tamburinis massivem Buch geht auf sehr logische Weise weiter. Mit der Gesamtdarstellung des Themas, der Topographie und der Stratigraphie werden Funde in Übereinstimmung mit den verschiedenen Gegenstandgruppen behandelt. Italienische Experten des Faches analysieren paleobotanische und -osteologische Materialien im Vergleich mit den Ergebnissen aus früheren Funden der Apenninen. Die Zeichnungen, Karten und Bilder am Ende des Buches sind anschaulich, aber einige Tafeln kommen mir unnötig vor. Tamburinis Buch richtet sich vor allem an Interessierte der Eisenzeit Mittelitaliens. Das Werk lohnt sich dennoch auch für diejenigen, die Etruriens spätere soziale und politische Entwicklung verstehen wollen, denn die von den großen Zentren der Etrusker kontrollierten Kleindörfer und die umliegende Provinz haben ihre unbestreitbaren Vorbilder schon in der Villanova-Kultur.

Nina Ylikarjula

ALESSANDRO VISCOGLIOSI: *Il tempio di Apollo 'in circo' e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico augusteo*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1996. ISBN 88-7062-942-2. 241 p., 229 ill. ITL 250.000.

Alessandro Viscogliosi has published a monograph on one of the most important extramural temples in ancient Rome. The author develops and refines in this book many of the ideas which he presented in their initial stages in the catalogue of the Berlin exhibition *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* in 1988.

The cult of Apollo Medicus created in the southern part of the Campus Martius, had originally connections with a sacred spring. The medical aspect seems to have prevailed to the end of the third century, when this area was reorganized and known later as that of the Circus Flaminius. Now the cult of Apollo came to be more intimately connected with the triumphal processions and the triumphs, through which the oracular powers of the deity might have played a part. Apollo's importance in this sense is shown by the inevitable laurel wreath on the triumphators' heads and more splendidly by the many triumphal monuments concentrating in this area.

The cult goes back to the 6th century BC, when it seems to have been brought to Rome via Etruria, and continues, possibly, all the way to the 5th century AD. During this long period amazingly few changes took place in the building itself, which was constructed as a temple building only at the end of the 430s and dedicated by an early member of the *gens Iulia*. The temple is known to have suffered during the Gallic invasion, after which it was restored. The senators used the temple as the site of many extramural meetings, and the area in front of the temple with its stairs was used effectively for the *ludi Apollinares*. It was the theatrical tradition that in the end had its influence on the changes that took place initially through the will of Julius Caesar and then, in his spirit, through C. Sossius and

finally by Augustus. In fact, the temple of Apollo was moved some metres in order to make space for the theatre proper, that is the theatre of Marcellus.

The political tensions and their settlement later between Augustus and C. Sosius, who actually began the rebuilding of the temple in 34 BC, probably had their drastic effect on many features of the building. The Sosian building was meant to be one of travertine covered with stucco, but after the battle of Actium in 31 it turned out to be a building of marble, or rather marbles, reflecting in this way the importance of Augustus' favourite deity. According to the author, it was still C. Sosius, who had the privilege of finishing the building at his own expense, even though the final touch was given in accordance with the ideas of Augustus. The dedication took place before the year 17 BC, and the new *dies natalis* was now the 23rd of September, nothing less than the birthday of Augustus. This building was to be the artistic proclamation and show case of Augustan policy.

After this major reconstruction, the building seems to have remained more or less intact into late antiquity. In the Middle Ages new constructions were built over it and even inside the podium. The architectural decoration and the collapsed columns remained more or less intact waiting for the excavators of the 1920s. The first publication by R. Delbrueck came out in 1903. The podium and the pavement were unearthed in 1937–38, when the material not only from the temple of Apollo but also from the surrounding neighbourhood was deposited in haste with little care for its provenance. It was Eugenio La Rocca's fortunate discovery and reconstruction of the pedimental sculptures in 1985 which led to the new studies on the site. The fruits of these studies are now presented by A. Viscogliosi in his monograph on the development of the architecture and sculptural decoration of the temple.

Of his excellent study I mention as a detail the Corinthian capital, pictured in fig. 64 and presented as a hallmark of the whole building. Its interpretation is full of Augustan political propaganda, providing clues to the divine ancestry and family connections of Augustus. The most challenging tasks for the author must have been, however, the reexamining and summing up the various strata of the podium and the reconstruction of the cella, beautifully supported by many drawings and photographs from old and new excavations. It is obvious that the author has been enjoying doing his research on this rewarding building. At the same time he has also managed splendidly to transmit to the reader a picture of this unique temple which is, despite its many foreign and borrowed aspects, a basically Roman building.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

MARTIN MAISCHBERGER: *Marmor in Rom*. Anlieferung, Lager- und Werkplätze in der Kaiserzeit. Palilia, Bd. 1. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 1997. ISBN 3-89500-014-0. 190 S. DEM 68.

This is the first volume of the new series Palilia of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. In the series monographs on the archaeology of Italy will be published. This publication is based on the writer's dissertation at the Freie Universität Berlin. In recent years a considerable number of studies on marble in antiquity has been published, partly because of the first three congresses of ASMOSIA (Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones Used in Antiquity).

In this book both terms "marble" and "Rome" have been used in a wide sense. All kinds of polishable stones, white and coloured, are discussed. Geographically the study consists of Rome and its harbour towns Ostia and Portus, as well as the banks of the river Tiber between them. The main source material for the study is the different kinds of blocks of marble found in this area which have not been finished or used in antiquity. Many aspects of them are treated in the five chapters of the book but the most important is the topographical one. After the opening chapter on the history of the Roman marble trade, the other chapters are geographically divided between the three main areas where ancient marble blocks have been found. The transportation system is also discussed on the basis of the inscriptions. The first three chapters do not bring much new to the subject and the study relies quite substantially on the recent works of J.C. Fant. Unfortunately the author was not able to use fully the new study of P. Pensabene: *Le vie del marmo. Itinerari ostiensi* 7 (1995). The great contribution of Maischberger's book is the thorough study of the marble blocks found in the Emporium and especially in the northern Campus Martius in their archaeological context, using both the remaining blocks and various archives in Rome. The study is well written and gives new information not only on marble in ancient Rome but also on the topography of imperial Rome.

Risto Valjus

'Roman Ostia' Revisited. Archaeological and Historical Papers in Memory of Russell Meiggs. Edited by Anna Gallina Zevi and Amanda Claridge. British School at Rome, London, in collaboration with The Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia 1996. ISBN 0-904152-29-4. 308 p., including 54 line illustrations and 66 black & white plates. GBP 35.00.

'Roman Ostia' Revisited presents the papers of an international conference held in memory of Russell Meiggs on 3-5 October 1992. The British School at Rome and the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia published the results of the conference as a useful introduction to the present state of Ostian studies. The articles – written in English, Italian, French and Spanish – vary from pottery and architecture to navigation and great port systems; the perspective is mainly archaeological, but epigraphical and historical viewpoints are also represented in this publication.

The first section is dedicated to Russell Meiggs, the legendary author of *Roman Ostia*. H. Bloch, Oswyn Murray and Maria Floriani Squarciapino introduce Meiggs as both an excellent historian and an extraordinary personality. Murray describes him as a practical historian with a positivist approach who wanted to find the past "as it really was" and as it really worked but who still was a much more sympathetic person than most of his positivist colleagues.

The succeeding articles reveal the history of Ostia from the Archaic and Republic period onwards until Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Archer Martin, Benedetta Adembri, Fausto Zevi and Mireille Cébeillac Gervasoni discuss the most ancient phases of Ostia. Martin reports on the excavations of 1991 of the walls of the Ostian *castrum*, suggesting a dating for the *castrum*, at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third century B.C. In his article on the early phases of Ostia, Zevi also discusses the Ostian *castrum*, its dating and purpose. He supports the late dating of the *castrum* to not until the

end of the fourth century B. C. He stresses that a careful topographical and paleo-environmental analysis is in key position in understanding the beginnings of Ostia. The town was situated in a strategically important position for it was not only organically connected with Via Ostiense but was also a link in the navigation line along the Tyrrhenian coastline. Adembri illuminates the importance of the port of Ostia during the Archaic period by surveying the import of the Attican, Etruscan and Faliscan ceramics to Ostia.

The articles of the third section discuss Ostia during the Imperial Period. Filippo Coarelli presents a hypothesis on the location of the *forum vinarium* that is mentioned in inscriptions but its location is not specified in sources. A study by Ricardo Mar analyses the role of sanctuaries in the cityscape of second-century Ostia. He sets the temple of Hercules, the sacral area of Magna Mater and the Serapeum in their urban context. In her innovative article on the economics of construction in Hadrianic Ostia, Janet DeLaine has calculated roughly how much labour, material and time was needed to build an *insula* and widens her assumptions even to the Hadrianic building enterprise in Ostia. The calculations are based on comparison with the construction business in Renaissance Italy and Georgian and Victorian London and on handbooks for building of the nineteenth century. The example used in Roman Ostia is the reconstruction of the *Insula* of the Paintings. On the basis of her estimations, DeLaine suggests that the construction of the second century could have been financed by either the Roman senatorial elite or commercial elites or even Ostian people themselves. The construction in Ostia is also treated by Patrizio Pensabene in an article on public and private building projects. The impact of the imperial construction was significant: roads, ports, canals (Fossa Traiana), bridges (Pons Matidiae), aqueducts (Aqua Traiana), theatres, baths and temples were built and restored. Carlo Pavolini shows how research on pottery found in Ostia can illustrate the relationship between the commerce of Ostia / Portus and the commerce of Rome in a viewpoint of long duration, "lunga durata". He, for example, establishes that there is more oriental material in Ostia and Portus in the fourth and fifth centuries than in Rome in the same period. Maria Letizia Lazzarini presents some examples of the numerous Greek inscriptions found in Ostia, and Lidia Paroli introduces excavations made under the *Casone del Sale* in order to illustrate the situation in late antique Ostia. The late antique layers of a warehouse, "magazzino doliare", found in the excavations, show marks of spoliation and gradual degradation. The degradation of *horrea*, store houses refers to a crisis in the middle of the fifth century and in the sixth century but Paroli insists (as did Meiggs) that in spite of an economic depression Ostia was not totally deserted in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

One of the sections has been dedicated to Portus. Nicholas Purcell discusses Portus and Ostia, the ports of Rome, within the context of the development of the Roman system of coastline, termed in Latin as *ora maritima*. The whole landscape, coastline, islands, rivermouths and harbours, functioned as strategic strongholds and links in this system. Thus, Ostia and Portus cannot be called "the port of Rome" since the whole Mediterranean functioned as the harbour of Rome. Geoffrey E. Rickman and Stefano Coccia introduce new perspectives on Portus. Rickman sets Portus within the wider context of Mediterranean ports and the Roman *annona* system. The grain trade created the essential conditions for the other trade to flourish, too. Coccia reports on archaeological findings in Portus even from the eighth and ninth centuries which attest to the continuity of settlement in spite of

the economic crisis from the mid-fifth and sixth centuries onwards. The city of Rome was still a fairly important consumer centre which depended on import. Portus, however, was no longer used for storage but only for transportation of goods.

Maijastina Kahlos

FABRIZIO PESANDO: *Domus. Edilizia privata e società pompeiana fra III e I secolo a.C.* Monografie S.A.P. 12. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1997. ISBN 88-7062-968-6. 393 p. ITL 330.000. MARIO PAGANO: *I diari di scavo di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabiae di Francesco e Pietro La Vega (1764-1810).* Raccolta e studio di documenti inediti. Monografie S.A.P. 13. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1997. ISBN 88-7062-967-8. 190 p., 11 ill. ITL 200.000.

Gli scavi di Ercolano e Pompei sono di eccezionale importanza anche per la loro relativamente lunga storia, sulla quale giustamente si è riflettuta in occasione del loro 250^o anniversario, festeggiato con due convegni: dieci anni fa, nel 1988, per Ercolano e in quest'anno 1998 per Pompei. È doveroso augurarsi che questi anniversari servano a rinforzare ancora i tentativi di salvaguardare quello che si può. Nonostante – e allo stesso tempo proprio a causa – di tutto il lavoro fatto finora, rimane un'enorme mole di lavoro non soltanto nella salvaguardia, ma anche nel campo degli studi. Ciò è dimostrato tra l'altro dalle intensificate attività degli ultimi decenni, una testimonianza delle quali sono le pubblicazioni della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei. La serie di monografie supera ormai una dozzina di volumi compresi i due volumi nr. 12 e 13 pubblicati l'anno scorso (1997), a cui qui si può soltanto brevemente accennare, senza la discussione più ampia che meriterebbero.

Il libro di Fabrizio Pesando sull'edilizia privata e sul suo ruolo nella società pompeiana tra il III e I secolo a.C. è una benvenuta sintesi di alcuni aspetti di una problematica altrettanto vasta che importante, e perciò molto studiata. La discussione corredata da un abbondante apparato di note, e la conseguente ricca bibliografia dimostrano che l'autore ha fatto un enorme lavoro nel collegare e ordinare tutta la grande massa dei dati dispersi in vari studi. Sia il lodevole tentativo dell'autore di cavarsela coll'alluvione informatica, che l'attualità della tematica, sono evidenziati dall'aggiunta di un "Aggiornamento bibliografico (1995-1996)" (pp. 385-393) con la discussione di alcuni studi pubblicati dopo la consegna del manoscritto (1995). Nella "Premessa" (pp. 5-9) si definisce scopo principale del lavoro riunificare quanto si conosce delle dimore private e "ricostruire quale fosse l'immagine di sé' che i proprietari desideravano proporre attraverso la propria dimora e in che misura questa si accordasse con l'immagine che la città trasmetteva con la propria organizzazione dello spazio e con i propri monumenti." Nell'introduzione (pp. 12-24) è dato un sommario sull'"Organizzazione dello spazio urbano". La maggior parte del libro è costituito dalla conseguente parte prima sulla "Tipologia edilizia e forme abitative" (pp. 27-218), articolata in un catalogo analitico-descrittivo di 32 case (nel "Sommario" a p. 3 le case indicate sono 31) classificate "seguendo un criterio tipologico strettamente collegato alla grandezza, alla forma e alla sontuosità degli edifici" (p. 24) in case ad atrio e peristilio (14 case), case ad atrio e hortus (8 case) e casette (9 case). La parte seconda sugli "Aspetti di *luxuria privata* a Pompei" (pp. 221-266)

discute in due capitoli i pavimenti di lusso e l'inserimento di ambienti di tradizione ellenistica nel settore dell'atrio. Dopo le "Riflessioni conclusive" (pp. 267–274) seguono due appendici non meno importanti sull'immagine di Roma nelle colonie latine (Fregellae, Cosa, Alba Fucens, Paestum, Hatria, Copia, Ariminum, Luna) (pp. 275–320) e sul lusso e l'ostentazione della ricchezza nelle case dei *mercatores Deliaci* (pp. 321–342). Malgrado la descrizione del principale materiale topograficamente per case, e d'altra parte a causa della ricchezza della materia, gli indici – sia topografici che altri – sarebbero stati non soltanto desiderabili, ma veramente necessari, e non troppo laboriosi nella nostra epoca d'informatica. Nonostante la stessa ricchezza della materia che non consente qui di entrare in dettagli, ogni lettore può avere vari desiderata, come p.es. che le pitture, soprattutto quelle del Secondo Stile meritassero una discussione più dettagliata nonostante i libri recenti di Laidlaw (1985) sul Primo Stile e di Tybout (1989) sul Secondo Stile. Per quest'ultimo si rimanda al corpus sotto preparazione di Ernst Heinrich.

M. Pagano, attualmente direttore degli scavi di Ercolano, ha dal 1992 curato il riordino dell'archivio di Francesco Maria Avellino (1788–1850), ora presso la Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, danneggiato e smembrato durante l'ultima guerra, dal quale pubblica nel volume in discussione le minute delle relazioni settimanali relative agli scavi tra il 1763 e il 1810, redatte per la maggior parte da Francesco La Vega, direttore degli scavi dal 1764 fino al 1804. Nell'introduzione (pp. 9–15) il Pagano presenta con riferimenti agli studi precedenti un'utile sintesi delle sorti di questi manoscritti del fondo Avellino, che integrano "in larga misura quelle edite da G. Fiorelli nella *Pompeianum Antiquitatum Historia*". In appendice sono pubblicate due relazioni inedite (di Alcubierre e di P. La Vega), le annotazioni di una pianta del tempio di Iside di La Vega, e nelle tavole (fig. 7 e 8) due inedite piante degli scavi di Pompei. La maggior parte delle relazioni riguardano gli scavi di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia, e isolatamente altre scoperte in altre località. È utile che queste ultime siano indicate in un indice (p. 187), come in un altro indice i nomi di persona notevoli.

Pagano sottolinea giustamente la grande importanza di questi documenti per la storia degli scavi borbonici ed elenca (p. 14) come "le acquisizioni più importanti" dati che meritano di esser riassunti anche qui: il tempio attribuito a Giove Meilichio (a Pompei) sembra con maggiore sicurezza essere attribuibile ad Esculapio; la statua in bronzo di Ercole con il cervo, ora al Museo di Palermo, proviene dall'atrio della Casa di Sallustio di cui si può ricostruire con precisione anche l'altro arredo, e sulla quale Pagano annuncia uno studio specifico. Nuovi dati riguardano lo strumentario trovato nell'officina di scultore nella omonima casa (VIII 7, 24) che non è ancora stato studiato in dettaglio, e ci sono alcune iscrizioni inedite tra le quali le più notevoli sono una targhetta di bronzo di un *M. Betilienus Varus pro(curator) Aug(usti)*, nonché un graffito del sedile funerario di *Mammia* con la data consolare del 29 d.C., un dato nuovo nella cronologia delle tombe a *schola*. Merita attenzione pure il fatto che le osservazioni di La Vega riguardanti il teatro confortano le ipotesi di un recupero sistematico dopo l'eruzione, come indica Pagano (p. 117 n. 100). Questi e altri dati particolarmente interessanti sono discussi dal Pagano in una serie di note critiche (in tutto 153) ridotte all'essenziale per pubblicare uno studio più completo in altra sede. Ci auguriamo che il lavoro futuro possa aiutare ad identificare più ritrovamenti e la loro provenienza, di quanto ora sembra possibile. Dal punto di vista dei mosaici e delle pitture si deve notare che i riferimenti nelle relazioni sono relativamente pochi e soltanto raramente specificabili.

Dal punto di vista per così dire nordico giova trovare in una nota (74 a p. 81) riferimenti riguardanti la visita del re Gustavo III di Svezia a Pompei (il 12.2.1784), in cui vorrei correggere una svista, sebbene di poca importanza, in un titolo svedese ("samlingar" invece di "saulingur"), aggiungendo che sarebbe stato opportuno includere il nome del re insieme con altri personaggi nobili o nell'indice dei nomi di persona notevoli (pp. 189–190) o in un'indice separato. Questo volume di Arctos mi sembra una sede opportuna per aggiungere al riguardo il dettaglio che della compagnia del re Gustavo III faceva parte anche il primo finlandese noto per aver visitato gli scavi di Pompei, un certo Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt (1757–1814), il quale nel suo diario di recente pubblicato (*Resan till Italien – Gustaf Mauritz Armfelts resedagbok 1783–1784*, Atlantis 1997) menziona la sua visita col re a Portici, Ercolano e Pompei il giorno 11.2. 1784 (invece del 12.2. nella relazione di La Vega), giudicando gli affreschi antichi meno eleganti dei disegni grafici fatti di essi!

Dopo della pubblicazione delle relazioni dell'Alcubierre (1738–1756) da U. Pannuti, *"Il Giornale degli Scavi" di Ercolano (1738–1756)*, Roma 1983 il lavoro di Pagano è un benvenuto passo avanti per migliorare le conoscenze sulla storia degli scavi, per cui ci si augura la sua continuazione.

Antero Tammisto

INDEX LIBRORUM IN HOC VOLUMINE RECENSORUM

<i>Akten des Symposiums »125 Jahre Sarkophag-Corpus«.</i> 1998.	309
BINGÖL: <i>Malerei und Mosaik der Antike in der Türkei.</i> 1997.	307
BIVILLE: <i>Les emprunts du latin au grec. Approche phonétique.</i> Tome II <i>Vocalisme et conclusions.</i> 1995.	284
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<i>The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume XIII.</i> Ed. by Averil Cameron and P. Garnsey. 1998.	299
ECK: <i>Tra epigrafia, prosopografia e archeologia.</i> 1996.	287
FORA: <i>Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'occidente romano IV.</i> 1996.	290
<i>Inscriptiones Graecae. Voluminis I editio tertia: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores. Fasciculus III, Indices.</i> 1998.	285
<i>Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2: Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani in Vaticano.</i> 1997.	295
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LE BOHEC: <i>Die römische Armee. Von Augustus zu Konstantin d. Gr.</i> 1993.	303
MAISCHBERGER: <i>Marmor in Rom.</i> 1997.	312
<i>Milet. Bd. VI 1: Inschriften von Milet.</i> 1997.	286
<i>Opuscula epigraphica 5–7.</i> 1994–96.	288
<i>Out of Rome. Augusta Raurica/Aquincum.</i> 1997.	298

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