

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XXX

1996

ARCTOS

VOL. XXX

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ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XXX

HELSINKI 1996 HELSINGFORS

ARCTOS. ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

First series (Acta Historica Philologica Philosophica Fennica), vol. I-II (1930-1931). Out of print.

Nova series, vol. I (1954-), from vol. VIII (1974) appears annually and contains reviews of new books.

Supplementum, vol. I (1968), II (1985).

Publisher:

Klassillis-filologinen yhdistys – Klassisk-filologiska föreningen (The Classical Association of Finland), PL 4, Vuorikatu 3A, FIN-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland.

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Layout by Arto Kivimäki

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HISTORY OF CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN FINLAND: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

ROLF WESTMAN

During the last fifty years, the activity of classical scholars in Finland has become well-known in the international scholarly world. But interest in Classics was by no means absent in Finland earlier; in fact the roots of it go back to the Middle Ages.

Below, I have attempted to create a bibliography of the *history* of classical scholarship in Finland. Works and articles are listed from which it is possible to see what various aspects of this scholarship have been like.

It has seemed desirable to include books and articles in the national languages of Finland, namely Finnish and Swedish. Translations of their titles are added.

References within the bibliography are given by numbers (no.).

Abbreviations for some serial publications (following Aalto, no. 1): AASF = *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*; Å = Årsbok - Vuosikirja (Yearbook) of the *Societas Scientiarum Fennica*; ÅÅÅ = Årsskrift utgiven av Åbo Akademi (Yearbook published by Åbo Akademi University); HA = *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* (Historical Journal, published in Helsinki); Ö = *Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens förhandlingar / Comptes rendus des séances de Societas Scientiarum Fennica*; SLSFS = *Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, Skrifter*; STAEP = *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia esitelmät ja pöytäkirjat* (Lectures and minutes of the Finnish Academy of Sciences).

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a. General.

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2. Heikel, Ivar August, *Filologins studium vid Åbo Universitet* [the study of philology (i.e. mainly the classical languages) at Åbo University, meaning the university that existed in Åbo (Finnish Turku) from 1640 to 1828 and is now Helsinki University]. Helsingfors 1894. (Vol.5 of "Åbo Universitets lärdomshistoria" = SLSFS 26.)
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philosophy and oratory in Finland 1640 - 1713. Helsinki 1990. 214 p. (AASF B 254.)

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47. **Idem**: Sundwall, J., obituary in Swedish, ÅÅÅ 29, 1944-1945 (pr. 1946), 51 - 52.
48. **Henrik Hassel (1700 - 1776)**: Lindberg, Bo, "Henrik Hassel - humanist och utilist", *Lychnos* 1990 (pr. Uppsala 1991), 165 - 218. - Pages 210 - 211 contain a summary: "Henrik Hassel - humanist and utilitarian"; pages 211 - 218 consist of notes.
49. **Idem**: see no. 10 above (Merisalo, O.).
50. **Ivar August Heikel (1861 - 1952)**: Zilliacus, Henrik, obituary in Swedish, Å XXXII C 3. 1955. 14 p.
51. **Idem**: Winkelmann, F., "Ivar August Heikels Korrespondenz mit Hermann Diels, Adolf von Harnack und Ulrich von Wilamowitz-

Moellendorff", *Klio*, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte (Berlin), 67, 1985, 568 - 587.

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55. **Idem**: Oksala, Päivö, obituary in Latin, *Arctos* (acta philologica Fennica) N.S. IV, 1966, 5 - 9.

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See also pp. 114 -116 in the article by R. Westman, no. 30 above.

62. **Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739 - 1804)**: see above, no. 6 (Kajanto, I.). - Because of the existence of this work, I have refrained from listing any of the general treatises on Porthan, e.g. the two-volume work by M.G.Schybergson (1908, 1911).

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64. **Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804 - 1877)**: Zilliacus, Henrik, "Runeberg philologus" (in Swedish), SLSFS 460, 1974, 111 - 131. - At the same time no. 49 in the series *Historiska och litteraturhistoriska studier*.

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Member Johannes Sundwall, Å XLV, A, 22 - 23.

71. **Idem**: Boethius, Axel, obituary in Italian, *Studi Etruschi* 35, 1967, 1 - 2.

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73. **Idem**: Westman, Rolf, obituary in Swedish, Å XLVII C 1, 1970. 23 p.
- The volume number XLV is not correct.

74. **Idem**: Westman, Rolf, obituary in German, *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 219 - 220.

75. **Idem**: Bruun, Patrick, "Antikhistorikern Johannes Sundwall". Pp. 83 - 104 in the book mentioned above, no. 36 (1991). - Concentrates on S.'s participation in an academic competition at Uppsala University 1923-24 (cf. p.84 in no.75).

76. **Idem**: Westman, Rolf, "Johannes Sundwall, suomalainen klassikko ja muinaistutkija" (J.S., a Finnish classicist and investigator of Antiquity). *Helikon* (Helsinki) 1994/ 2, 4 - 5. - Translation from German (no. 74) into Finnish by P.Jyrkänkallio.

77. **Idem**: see no. 26 above (Suolahti, J.), pp. 243 - 245.

78. **Suolahti, Jaakko (1918 - 1987)**: Solin, Heikki, obituary in Finnish, *Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Vuosikirja - Yearbook 1987-1988*, 69 - 73. - With a summary in English.

79. **Idem**: Ylikangas, H., obituary in Finnish, HA 85, 1987, 74 - 76.

80. **Carl Synnerberg (1837 - 1915)**: Gustafsson, F.V., obituary in Swedish, Ö LVIII, 1915-1916, C. 7 p.

81. **Tudeer, Oskar Emil (1850 - 1930)**: Rein, Edv., obituary in German, *Arctos* I, 1930, 247 - 251.

82. **Idem**: Rein, Edv., obituary in Finnish, STAEP 1931 (pr. 1932), 74 - 84.

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89. BIBLIOGRAPHY: Ten years of research at the Institutum Classicum Universitatis Helsingiensis ... 1980 - 1990. Helsinki 1991. 46 p.

90. Pitkäranta, Reijo & Rolf Westman, "Finlandia: Bibliographie abrégée des études classiques en Finlande 1967 - 1976". *Euphrosyne* (revista de filologia clásica, Lisbon) 10, 1980, 252 - 259.

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92. Tuomi, Raimo, *Publications of the department of classical philology of the University of Turku*. A historical report. Turku 1990. Mimeogr., 20 p.

93. Westman, Rolf, "Bibliographie abrégée des études classiques en Finlande 1947 - 1966". *Euphrosyne* N.S. II, 1968, 209 - 214. - For the two following ten-year periods, see above, no. 90 and no. 91.

94. Westman, Rolf & Eva Michelsen, "Bibliographischer Anhang" (sc. to the account of Greek studies in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden in the XX century, see above, no. 17), pp. 726 - 743. - Publications from Finland, pp. 731 - 734.

95. Westman, Rolf, *Classical studies 1980 - 1990 in Turku-Åbo and in Oulu*. A supplementary bibliography from Finland. Åbo-Turku 1991. Mimeogr., 11 p.

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102. Halén, Harry, "Bibliography of Professor Pentti Aalto's publications from 1977 to 1987, with additions to the previous list, published in *Studia Orientalia* 47 (1977)". *Studia Orientalia* 59, 1987, 260 - 265.

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Huttunen, Pertti (b. 1934), personal bibliography 1965-1993: see above, no. 88 (Anonymus), pp. 17 - 18.

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TWO FACETS OF ANCIENT MONETARY ECONOMY: CELTIC IMITATIONS AND ROMAN RIGID FORMALITY.

PATRICK BRUUN

Two books¹ of great general interest to those engaged in the monetary economy and the economic life of the ancient world, have recently been published by the Slovenian economist Ivo Lukanc, who in his retirement has devoted considerable time to numismatic research. The author deals on the one hand with the last centuries of the pre-Christian era on the fringes of the Empire, and, on the other with the dawn of the Late Roman Empire and the reign of the Dalmatian emperor Diocletian. His studies provided him with the opportunity and the means to visit and to avail himself of the collections of certain eastern countries, particularly of Roumania and Bulgaria. One hopes that the doors he has been able to open, will remain so for other scholars also. Formidable treasures may await description and publication.

It is probably correct to start with the earlier book, dealing with the gold coinage of the emperor Diocletian (AD 284-313/6). There the author has limited his task exclusively to the gold coins with an obverse of this emperor.

It is easy to make critical remarks both from the historian's and from the numismatist's point of view. The reign of Diocletian was of focal importance in the history of the Roman empire, yet the two volumes of RIC (the standard work, Roman Imperial Coinage, vols V/II and VI in this case) divide the coin material between them without succeeding in covering

¹ Lukanc, Ivo:

(a) *Diocletianus, der römische Kaiser aus Dalmatien*. Edizioni Cultura, Wetteren 1991, 343 pp.

(b) *Les imitations des monnaies d'Alexandre le Grand et de Thasos*. Thèse de doctorat en histoire. École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, mai 1995, 289 pp., Planches 174.

the entire field. The former concentrates on the early period, when Diocletian, as the sole emperor or the senior of two *augusti*, gave no inkling of the future collegiate rulership of the tetrarchy, whereas the latter volume starts with the monetary reform of AD 294/6, when the tetrarchy was a reality and the new provincial administration had been introduced. Dr Lukanc's book deals with the entire rule of Diocletian and the reviewer cannot escape a feeling of disappointment when he realises that exclusively coins, and more specifically, gold coins with obverses of Diocletian had been catalogued in the book. Yet, the tetrarchic system was created in order to put an end to the rivalries and the fights for the imperial throne. The tetrarchs were supposed to rule by consensus; edicts and laws were issued in the names of all the rulers, and recorded in the preamble in the protocol order. *Mutatis mutandis* this was valid for the production of coins also, although there were not many different ways of publicizing the existence of an Imperial college and even fewer of demonstrating the internal relations between the members of the college (seniority, for instance) without employing a series of coins. Sometimes the solution to this problem appears to have been suggested or ordered by the central (i.e. Diocletian) administration, being valid for the four parts of the empire. In other instances the same effect was achieved in different ways by the four individual imperial administrative organizations. Some instances could be mentioned as illustrations:

(1) The normal procedure seems to have been to connect the obverses of all four rulers with certain (identical) reverses (cf. aurei of Trier, RIC VI, 174, no. 93a-b, 94 a-b to the rev. VOT XX/AVGG NN).

(2) The rev. legend records the existence of a tetrarchy, cf. Trier RIC VI, no. 72a-b, 73, 74a-b (PIETAS AVGG-ET CAESS NN, p. 172).

These solutions are worked out in accordance with the protocol found in official inscriptions, instances of which are happily recorded and illustrated by Dr Lukanc (CIL V, 8010 from Padova, p. 53), an inscription from Castellum Yotvata at the *Limes Palaestinae* (p. 65), and another from the *Limes Arabicus* (p. 66), all three recording the four members of the first tetrarchy. There is also a restored dedication (p. 50) from the baths of Diocletian in Rome recording Diocletian and Maximianus as *seniores augusti*, i.e. retired after May 305, Constantius and Galerius as *augusti* and Severus and Maximinus as *caesares*. The time would be AD 305 or 306, before the death of Constantius.

I have dealt at some length with the collegiality of the tetrarchic system created by Diocletian because it has made its imprint felt on the coinages of its time, both when the colleagues were respected by one or more of them, and when one or more ruler had been ostentatiously ignored by one or more of his colleagues, thus conveying a state of consensus or dissension within the ruling college. By excluding tetrarchic coins of the Diocletian's tetrarchy with obverses other than those of Diocletian, the author has seriously limited the use and the usefulness of the numismatic material of this particular period.

Dr Sutherland in RIC VI carefully recorded the die identities he had found, for instance among the gold coins of Trier (cf. p. 168 f., rev. die-link of no. 39, obv. of Diocletian, with no. 41, obv. of Constantius; the notes to this gold coinage abound with references to die-linkages, which in the end may be able to explain the structure of the coinage and render a key to its interpretation).

In the volume on Diocletian's gold coins we can record

(1) Within the limits noted above, a total view of the Diocletianic gold coining, where the emperor himself is depicted on the obverse, is obtained by bringing together the material of RIC V/II and VI in addition to the coins of the period omitted by both volumes of RIC. Consequently, the author has been able to add considerably to the gold coin material published by RIC.

(2) The entire material from all the collections visited has been accounted for, at times with records of the provenance of the coins, and the number of collections consulted has been increased. The author writes (p.100): "Of 220 museums in 35 countries, 74 museums that keep Diocletian gold coins were found. " There was a total of 528 gold coins with an obv. of Diocletian from his 14 mints.

(3) There is a section with additions to RIC V/II and VI (pp. 109-116). Here the author includes references to specimens recorded in various sale catalogues, although such catalogues otherwise are not quoted as reliable sources. The coins, which are not described in detail, appear normally to represent slight variations of catalogued coins. Attention is drawn to the point of variation. Special attention is paid to the coins not included in either RIC volume, i.e. they were struck in the ten-year period before the monetary reform, the starting point of RIC VI.

The *corpus nummorum* proper (pp. 118-212) is organized in

accordance with the single collections. This section is followed by "Aufstellung aller Goldmünzen Diokletians aus den Museen nach Münzstätten" (pp. 213-235).

Two points should be made in this context:

(I) The author records an addition to the mint of Cyzicus of the reverse VIRTVTI HERCVLIS, depicting Hercules standing, leaning on his club with the lion's skin across his l. arm (p. 109, illustrated). The mint mark is SC, the obv. IMP C C VAL DIOCLETIANVS AVG, laur. bust, draped, seen from the back. RIC V/II, p. 291, no. 605 records three specimens of this type with the obv. IMP C MAXIMIANVS AVG. Dr Lukanc regards the Diocletianic obv. as a technical mistake; during the process of striking the Diocletianic die was presumably put on the anvil instead of the one of Maximianus. He argues that Hercules was the tutelary deity of Maximian, whereas Hercules' father, Jupiter, correspondingly was the protector of Diocletian.

We are familiar with the tetrarchy of rulers protected by a tetrarchy of gods forming two dynastic lines, the Jovian one and the Herculean one, the former for the senior augustus, the latter for the junior one, each with a junior ruler of Caesarian rank at his side. Normally, in the full blown tetrarchy, the emperors on the coins refer to their own tutelary god. On the other hand, at an early stage, Diocletian at Cyzicus invokes Jupiter (RIC V/II, no. 298, IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG, Mars, *ibid.*, no. 300 and Sol, *ibid.* no. 311), and further, at Antioch first (?) IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG (no. 310) and subsequently the same imagery is employed but with the rev. legend ending in AVGG (no. 319). On antoniniani of Antioch and Tripolis we get IOV ET HERCV CONSER AVGG (Antioch no. 323, Tripolis no. 327).

(ii) Obviously, the career of Diocletian should be studied in its historical context. It is clear that the idea of a ruling college of four could not have arisen until the historical and military circumstances so demanded. In AD 284 Diocletian held his first consulship; two years later Maximian appears in the *Fasti* as his colleague - the dyarchy had been created. Later in the same year two younger rulers were added to form a college of four, Constantius and Galerius, with the rank of Caesar.

In the years 284/6 Diocletian may well have invoked the protection of Hercules, although he later refrained from explicitly doing so. In the *corpus nummorum* (p. 110, Alexandria) the author records a coin with a

Diocletianic obverse of the rev. VIRTVTI AVGG, referring to three sale catalogues of the period 1895-1905. The rev. depicts Hercules with club and lion's skin. As the abbreviation AVGG shows, we are now in the dyarchic phase, when Diocletian was ceding the invocations expressly to Hercules to his fellow-ruler Maximian. Dr Lukanc remarks (p. 110) that Karl Pink was uncertain whether the coin should be regarded as genuine or not. If Pink's doubt was evoked solely by the imagery, it is hard to accept his suspicions as justified.

(4) Dr Lukanc has devoted a great deal of labour to the circulation of the gold coins on the numismatic market (pp. 239-279) according to the sale catalogues of the last 250 years (AD 1741-1990). The purpose of this part, it seems, is to provide an insight into the workings of the market and a picture, say, of the frequency of the same coin appearing again and again in the catalogues, and of new specimens entering the market until they rest within the protected ambiance of a public collection.

(5) Within the limits stipulated by the author, Dr Lukanc has produced a remarkable volume with an exceptionally diversified treatment of the coin material. The material as such will certainly serve in drawing a more complete picture of the creator of the tetrarchy, but to succeed in this we would need something similar for the other members of the tetrarchy. Where do we find the enthusiastic idealists prepared to sacrifice years of their lives in order to achieve this goal?

(6) While in possession of the book on Diocletian's gold coins and busily engaged in digesting its contents, I received a short note from Dr Lukanc stating that the following aurei of Cyzicus and Antioch were of identical *dies* (the catalogued numbers are those of RIC V/II):

	<i>Cyzicus</i>	<i>Antioch</i>
no.	285	307
	286	308
	287	310
	288	311
	292	313

If this is correct, a problem which long has awaited solution is about to be solved: When and where did Diocletian initiate his coinage, and what

parts did the mints of Cyzicus and Antioch, respectively, play as coining centres? The reviewer refrains from the arduous task of verifying Dr Lukanc's assertion because (a) the Key to Plates of RIC V/II does not specify the coins illustrated, and (b) Dr Lukanc illustrates the coins in conjunction with the *corpus nummorum* (i.e. along with the lists of the single collections) but does not note in the *Aufstellung* (i.e. the systematic catalogue following the RIC pattern) which coins he has illustrated. One would need the photographs of all the coins to put them alongside one another in order to be able to eliminate poor quality pictures and draw conclusions based on the high quality specimens and photographs. On the other hand, who would like to challenge the testimony of the expert witness, Dr Lukanc?

Tetradrachms and denarii

In May 1995 Ivo Lukanc presented a doctoral thesis in History at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. The thesis dealt with ancient coins classified as Celtic. They appear in the monetary history of the last pre-Christian centuries on the fringes of the Roman republic, and notably at a time characterized by Roman expansion in Europe.

The title of the book indicates that two different coinages will be studied, both comprising series of imitations of Greek coins (of Alexander the Great, and of coins of the island of Thasos). They were current in the Balkan countries including Bulgaria and Roumania, and appear largely to have served the needs of the local population. Dr Lukanc (p. 19) refuses to accept that these populations should be labelled "Celtic" or "East-Celts". He prefers to speak of the *Scordisci* i.e. local Balkan groups which could be identified as Thracians, *Getae*, Dacians and others - although the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* regards the *Scordisci* as a Celtic tribe.

The coins in question play a considerable part in the history or, rather, prehistory, and particularly in the economic history of these regions. Naturally, the major part of the coin material is to be found in private or public collections of the countries concerned. A major feat of Dr Lukanc's research is that he has succeeded in gaining access to the Bulgarian and Roumanian collections and in cataloguing no less than 17 and 14 collections, respectively in these countries, collections previously

jealously guarded by their custodians. Thus the material of known Thasos coins grew from 673 to 1,985, i.e. it has almost trebled. Equally important is the fact that the collections could contribute to the particulars of many hoards, which unquestionably and conclusively, it seems, showed the main areas of coin circulation.

The success of the visits to these countries was, very likely, due to Dr Lukanc's knowledge of the countries, his mastery of the language and his patience while waiting for permission and access to the collections. Thus the entire area, where the Thasian coins, original or imitations, had circulated, and partly at least had been produced, has been surveyed. We can now see that the material earlier analysed by numismatic scholars represented no more than a smattering when compared to the findings now made public by Dr Lukanc (cf. the table on p. 61).

The overview of the collected and analysed material suggested to the author a new classification of the Thasian coins, both genuine and imitation. When effectuating this he has referred to studies by Robert Göbl (1973), I. Prokopov (so far unpublished) and Al. Sasiano (1994; this study does not appear in the bibliography, but there is a reference to it on p. 59, n.44). A brief survey may clarify the issues according to Ivo Lukanc's classification.

Group (i) comprises, in accordance with Prokopov's manuscript, original Thasian tetradrachms until "barbarization" of the execution begins. They are dated to the first half of the second century BC. The coin production moved from the island of their origin to the continent in the north and further on across the Rhodope Mountains to Thrace proper; a small number found their way to the north of Bulgaria. Single specimens have been discovered in present-day Roumania, and even further to the west and the north.

Group (ii) comprises the first imitations, which presumably (Prokopov - Lukanc) were executed in the Rhodope region, which was rich in silver. From the point of view of style and metallurgical workmanship a series of hoards shows these coins to be very close to the Thasian models. They are dated to the second half of the second century.

Group (iii) represents the transition towards a mass-production of Thasian tetradrachms. It was not carried out by Celts or by Thracians but by the administrations of the Roman province of Macedonia. Dr Lukanc speaks of an almost industrialized production during the first century BC,

roughly to the middle of the century. The author refers once more to Prokopov, who suggests that about a half of the coins preserved were struck in Roman mints. This group is defined as coins of Thasian type, and classified as "monnayages militaires et strategiques romains" (p. 62). There are many divergent views on this point among "the old school" of numismatists.

Group (iv) also initiated and comprised the issues of the Roman questors. The point of departure was the fact that the Roman administration of the province reduced the production of tetradrachms of the Thasian type, as it seems, in relation to the production of Roman denarii. The local market, however, was accustomed to the heavier denomination, the production of which was therefore resuscitated. This time there was no ambition to imitate the genuine Thasian coins, but, it appears, to copy coins of the Thasian type from the first stage of barbarization. The hoards of this period did not maintain the homogeneous character of the preceding centuries. For numismatic research, the heterogeneous hoards are easier to date because of the insertion of, for instance, Roman denarii. The Thasian imitations are normally the most recently struck coins of the hoard in question, whereas the denarii had frequently been in circulation for at least 60 to 80 years (p. 64).

For a detailed confirmative analysis of the hoards, which play an important part in this context, we would need to study Prokopov's manuscript to which Dr Lukanc repeatedly refers.

The imitations of the coins of Alexander as well as of Philip II and Philip III Arrhidaios are, when compared with the Thasian imitations, scarce. The material comprises not more than 89 coins, and the otherwise rewarding visits to Bulgaria and Roumania did not yield more than 19 specimens (p. 6) against 1,412 Thasian ones, a surprising fact in view of how common the copies of the Alexander coins otherwise were (p. 9). A survey of the Macedonian coins, and a classification of the imitations is presented on pp. 20-24 (see further the short chapter on the metrology of the tetradrachms and drachms, p. 26 f.). It does not only elucidate the diversity of the coins in circulation, but also the small size of the single groups and the very limited representation of individual groups in the hoards. The span of time covered by these coins is from the turn of the century about 300 BC to, roughly, 70 BC, when the local mints switched to imitating Roman republican denarii (p. 29). The imitations of Alexander

proper, in the light of a very modest material (less than 40 coins, cf. p. 33), cease shortly (?) after 220 BC. The study of the hoards shows that imitations of Alexander do not coexist with tetradrachms of Thasos and other coinages later than the begin of the second century BC. Consequently, the imitations of Alexander are much older than the Thasian imitations. They would thus have been produced within the period 300-220 BC (p. 40).

Without doubt, Dr Lukanc's book opens new vistas in ancient history, in economic history and in numismatics with regard to the last two pre-Christian centuries. The orthodox practitioner of the history of Rome and of Roman numismatics receives a shock when reading that the Romans participated in, or controlled the production of imitations of Greek coins to satisfy the need of the Balkan peoples: "le maintien du poids de référence traduit une volonté de maintenir une stabilité monétaire qui implique une structure sociale utilisant ces espèces comme moyen d'échange, et très vraisemblablement un importance économique voire politique de ces monnaies"(General conclusion, p.138).

The author points out (p. 140) that this was not at all a novelty as far as administrative practices go. We have corresponding series in Gaul which copied both the Roman monetary imagery and weight standards; other Gallic issues survived the conquest of Gaul by Caesar.

Within the larger field of Roman numismatics, the issues of Greek imperials have been a vast but neglected subject. Only bits and pieces have been tackled by serious students until, in 1994, Andrew Burnett, Michel Amandry and Père Ripollès published two volumes of *Roman Provincial Coinage* (the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius, 44 BC - AD 69, xvi + 812 pp., 195 plates and 7 maps). The Introduction by Andrew Burnett presents a survey of past endeavours and present methodological problems. With these volumes the discussion of the Roman monetary economy started anew. In 1995 McMaster University (Hamilton, Ont.) devoted a good deal

of the second E.T. Salmon conference to this and related topics.² The issues of Greek imperials show how the Romans integrated these coinages. The small denominations frequently continued to serve as local currencies without showing any traces of Roman political sovereignty. This conforms to the policy adopted by the Romans with regard to the Celts in Gaul. It may have served as a model for the Balkan area, as Dr Lukanc suggests (p. 140).

Ivo Lukanc's thesis is in many respects a heavyweight volume (289 pages and 174 plates = 3.2 kilograms) because of the printing technique employed, using simply one side of the paper. I counted 2,075 coins illustrated, 88 Alexander tetradrachms and drachms plus imitations, 1,940 Thasian tetradrachms and 47 coins in a supplement, recording coins in the British Museum in accordance with the Derek Allen catalogue I of 1987, published by John Kent and Melinda Mays. In the coin list Lukanc refers to the classification of I. Prokopov (no.1-4) and Göbl (no. 5-47). It is fascinating on the plates to see the coins and the imitations, how the latter with the passing of time from an organic presentation of human or divine heads on the obverses gradually develop into apparent abstractions, and the same goes for the presentation of the reverses, where the legends finally are reduced to a series of dots.

There is a short bibliography (pp. 282-5), recording first the abbreviations and then the most important studies, relevant for the student of today. The historically important reports of the past have not been incorporated with the reading list; they are mentioned in the footnotes of the Introduction and the text. References to journals normally lack page references. This and other minor matters do not essentially detract from

² The general topic was: Roman coins and Roman society during the empire. Richard Duncan-Jones' paper dealt with "Coins and the Roman Imperial Economy", Anthony A. Barret's with "Currency Supply and Imperial Propaganda. A Test Case", largely with reference to his monograph published the preceding year *Money and Government in the Roman Empire*, and the reviewer with "Coins and the Roman Imperial Government". References were made to some earlier studies, which deserve to be mentioned in this context:

Burnett, Andrew: *The Authority to Coin in the Late Republic and Early Empire*, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1977, 37-63.

Harl, Kenneth W.: *Civic Coins and Civic Policies in the Roman East AD 180-275*, Berkeley 1987.

Howgego, C.J.: *Coinage and military finances: The Imperial bronze coinage of the Augustan East*, NC 1982, 1-20.

the value of the presentation. On balance there is a surprisingly impressive quantity of new material of two series of Greek coins and their imitations which seem to have satisfied the needs of the monetary market of the Balkan area. Of particular interest is the way in which the Roman authorities from the creation of the province of Macedonia took an active part in producing the monetary stock demanded not only by the masters of the area, but also by the native population, long accustomed to dealing with coined silver and with Greek currencies.

To conclude this numismatic review of two major studies dealing with two very different subjects and periods, four to five hundred years apart, it seems appropriate to point out an important common denominator - the functioning of the monetary economy on the fringes of the Roman empire.

The expanding empire confronted and conquered areas used to a monetary economy, but the Roman authorities were not constitutionally empowered nor from the administrative point of view permitted to produce a coinage of their own. The last century BC offers, however, many instances of dictators and revolutionary army commanders with *imperium* who struck coins both at home and abroad, mainly to satisfy the needs of the army. In Gaul and in the Balkan area the Romans accepted the means of payment used and produced locally, and Roman questors (Lukanc, *Les Imitations*, pp. 6, 268 f.) obviously in addition to the Roman denarii in *ad hoc* constituted mints, copied and struck imitations of Greek coins. Later Augustus in the urbanized Greek East created a precedent for the Greek imperial coinages, constituting mints in Spain and Gaul. In addition to the imperial series *aes* coins were produced for local circulation.

The end of this development came with Diocletian's reform AD 294/6, when the only surviving regional coinage, the Alexandrian one, was abolished. Thus the imperial administration controlled all Roman coin production; the imperial portrait was the imprint of officialdom. So the two books by Ivo Lukanc mark and elucidate the beginning and the end of an important epoch in the history of the ancient monetary economy.

TRUFFLES IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

ANNE HELTTULA

In the 1470s Bartholomeo Sacchi, better known as Platina, published his dietetic treatise *De obsoniis ac de honesta voluptate ac valetudine*. The information he gives of truffles (*tubera*; 9,348) goes, for the most part, back to Pliny's *Natural History*. There are a couple of new details: for instance, the practice of using pigs (*scrophae*, specified as *Nursinae* 'of Norcia') to locate these hypogeal fungi is mentioned. Another interesting addition is the description of truffles as aphrodisiacs: *Alit hic cibus ac venerem ciet. Hinc est quod crebro utantur venereae delicatorum ac lautorum mensae, quo in venerem promptiores sint*. The same information is given by Andrea Cesalpino the botanist (1583) in *De plantis* (16,38): *vim veneris adaugent*.¹ In the 19th century, when craving for truffles was at its height, Anthelme Brillant-Savarin gave this question serious thought in his *Physiologie du gout* (1847) and concluded that, although not aphrodisiacs as such, these "diamants de la cuisine" could indeed help to create an erotically receptive atmosphere.²

Apart from the etymology suggested by W. Winter for ὕδνον ("food for swine"),³ I have found no reference either to pigs or to the alleged aphrodisiac properties of truffles in any ancient source. The information in general is minimal. We know hardly anything about truffles

¹ Cesalpino (called by Linné "primus verus systematicus") also mentions Norcia as the producer of the best truffles (*optima habentur ex Nursinis montibus*), without, however, any reference to pigs.

² "La truffe n'est point un aphrodisiaque positif; mais elle peut, en certain occasions, rendre les femmes plus tendres et les hommes plus aimables" (6,44).

³ "Two Greek names for the truffle", *AJPh* 72 (1951) 66 sqq. He also explains γεράνειον, perhaps another name for the truffle (Theophr. fr. 167 = Athen. 2,62a; see below) as 'plant of the pig'; cf. χοιρόψωμα ('pig-food'), name of the truffle in Crete (T. von Heldreich, *Die Nutzpflanzen Griechenlands* [1862], 2). R. Strömberg (*Griechische Pflanzennamen* [1940] 79) explains ὕδνον as 'something produced by rain' (from ὕω 'rain').

in the ancient world before they reached the culinary circles of imperial Rome and won a place among luxury foodstuffs.⁴ Some evidence of their use in the earlier centuries has been preserved in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. We learn that Diocles, a physician from Carystus (4th cent. BC), included truffles and mushrooms in his list of edible wild plants (*Athen.* 2,61c), and in the next century another physician, Diphilus from Siphnus, commented on their alimentary value (*Athen.* 2,62c); Lynceus, Theophrastus' pupil, mentioned them as products of the earth. Theophrastus himself had more to say about truffles than about mushrooms, especially in a long passage quoted by Athenaeus, which does not appear in the transmitted text of his *Enquiry into plants* (frg. 167 Wimmer = *Athen.* 2,62b).⁵ Athenaeus also quotes a passage from Matro the satirist (4th cent. BC), who called oysters "truffles of the Nereid Thetis" (frg. 1 Brandt = *Athen.* 2,62c).

In the 1st century AD truffles were discussed by Pliny the Elder (*nat.* 19,33-37), Dioscurides the physician, and Plutarch. Pliny was apparently more interested in the nature and origin of truffles than in their alimentary or any other value. Dioscurides said briefly that they were edible both raw and boiled (*mat. med.* 2,145 ἐδώδιμος δέ ἐστιν ὡμή τε καὶ ἐφθῆ ἐσθιομένη). In the following century the physician Galen, who disapproved of mushroom-eating,⁶ found truffles harmless, though ἄποια, i.e. without any quality of their own. Probably he expected them, like mushrooms, to be well boiled in water, although he does not expressly say so. This could explain his opinion that truffles were watery to the taste (ὕδατώδη κατὰ τὴν γεῦσιν, suitable, among other tasteless foodstuffs, to be served with seasonings (πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ἀρτυμάτων; *alim. fac.* 2,66).

According to the Hippocratic pathological doctrine based on humours (χυμοί), into which theories based on the four primary opposites (hot, cold, dry and wet) and on the four Empedoclean elements (earth, water, air and fire) were merged, all human diseases were caused by bile

⁴ On truffles in the ancient world, cf. A. Steier, "Pilze", *RE* XX.2 (1950), 1381-1383; J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome* (1961) 45-46, 49; G. Maggiulli, *Nomenclatura micologica latina* (1977) 131-140. They are mentioned briefly in A. Dalby's *Siren feasts: a history of food and gastronomy in Greece* (1996).

⁵ Cf. R.W. Sharples & D.W. Minter, "Theophrastus on fungi: inaccurate citations in Athenaeus", *JHS* 103 (1983) 154 sqq.; O. Regenbogen, "Theophrastos", *RE* Suppl. VII [1940] 1443.

⁶ Cf. A. Helttula, "Mushrooms in ancient Greece and Rome", *OpuscIRF* 4 (1989), 26 sq.

(χολή) and phlegm (φλέγμα; aff. 1, p. 208 Littré 6). Apart from the obvious risk caused by the poisonous species, mushrooms in general were considered unwholesome because they were believed to increase the amount of phlegm in the body. In the early 1st century AD Celsus, who remarked of foodstuffs that *aliae res boni suci sunt, aliae mali, quas εὐχύλους vel κακοχύλους Graeci vocant* (2,19), did not mention mushrooms or truffles. By Pliny's and Dioscurides' time certain mushrooms, *boleti* and *suilli*, had won their place at fashionable Roman dinner parties and probably also in dietetic discussions.⁷ Later, Galen presented mushrooms as the worst kind of nourishment (ἔδεσμα χείριστον; puer. epil. 368) since they, being φλεγματοδεις, cold and wet, were κακόχυμοι when eaten in abundance (alim. fac. 2,67,1).⁸

It seems that truffles were considered less harmful than mushrooms, especially if they grew in dry and sandy soil and therefore did not share the injurious effects of the mushrooms, as Galen says (vict. att. 74); the truffle was παχύχυμον, but not κακόχυμον⁹ (bon. suc. 4,16). Diphilus, the physician from Siphnus (3rd cent. BC), had said expressly that truffles were εὐχύλα (i.e. *boni suci*), παραλεαντικά (lenitive) and διαχωρητικά (laxative), though not easy to digest (δύσπεπτα), and yet some of them could cause suffocation in the same way that mushrooms did (Athen. 2,62c).¹⁰

Similar views were expressed in the 6th century AD by Anthimus, King Theoderic's dietitian (ch. 38): *Omne genus boleti*¹¹ *graves sunt et indigesti, mussiriones*¹² *vero et tuferas*¹³ *meliores ab aliis boletis sunt.*

⁷ See Helttula, 20 sqq. The *boletus verus*, the most appreciated mushroom in the ancient world, was *Amanita caesarea*, Caesar's agaric; the (*fungi*) *suilli* were ceps, Italian 'porcini' (cf. Maggiulli, 45 sqq. and 73; J. André, *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique* [1985], 37 and 252; Helttula, 32 and 37).

⁸ Galen's negative opinions of mushrooms are also expressed in simpl. med. 7,12,25; bon. suc. 4,15; vict. att. 72.

⁹ I.e. *grossi suci*, but not *mali suci*; a question of degree?

¹⁰ On fungal poisonings, see Helttula, 24.

¹¹ In later Latin *boletus* became the generic term for 'mushroom', as proved by Anthimus, glosses (e.g. Gloss. III 563,60 *fungus i. omnis boletus*) and, ultimately, by Romance languages (Old French *bolei*, Catalan *bolet*, Rumanian *burete*).

¹² From *mussirio* derives the French *mousseron*, which has given the English *mushroom*.

¹³ Anthimus' word for truffles is a new plural formed on the collective *tufera* (from the dialectal *tufes*); cf. Gloss. II 462, 3 ὕδνα *tubera, singularia non habet. Tufera* is found in Glosses (e.g. III 566). Cf. C. Battisti & G. Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, 3725

Gourmands seldom pay attention to dietitians' opinions. In imperial Rome, both mushrooms and truffles appear as luxury food among exotic delicacies, oysters, rare fruits, birds and fishes. Truffles are not yet mentioned by Seneca, who had a decidedly negative opinion of the *boleti* — he invented a special word, *boletatio*, to describe the habit of devouring them (epist. 77,18). In Martial's poems, too, truffles have a minor rôle compared with mushrooms; in 13,50 they are given a secondary place after the *boleti*: *Rumpimus altricem tenero quae vertice terram tubera, boletis poma secunda sumus*. Juvenal mentions truffles together with *boleti* among the dishes prepared by a pair of gourmands, father and son (14,6): *Nec melius de se cuiquam sperare propinquo concedet iuvenis, qui radere tubera terrae, boletum condire et eodem iure natantis mergere ficedulas didicit nebulone parente et cana monstrante gula*. Truffles from Africa were the favourite dish of a certain Alledius, who was ready to renounce even African corn to have them (Iuv. 5,118): *Tibi habe frumentum, Alledius inquit, o Libye, disiunge boves, dum tubera mittas*.

In Greece, at a dinner party which took place in Elis, giant truffles (ὄδνα παμμεγέθη) were served and duly admired by the guests (Plutarch, quaest. conv. 4,2,1, 664b).

It is interesting to notice that truffles, together with mushrooms, kept their place as appreciated presents and also remained symbols of luxury. In a letter from the year 380,¹⁴ Ambrosius thanks Bishop Felix for a *suave munus* he had received from him: exceptionally large truffles (*tubera ... mirae magnitudinis*) in such quantities that he could in turn give some of them to his friends. Augustinus, criticizing the motives of the Manichaeans for abstaining from eating meat and drinking wine, paints a picture of the vegetarian and teetotal meal of a wealthy Manichaean, in which both *boleti* and *tubera* were included, in sharp contrast to a poor man's frugal daily diet of simple vegetables, lard and unmixed wine (mor. Manich. 2,30).¹⁵

s.v. *tartufo* and 3920 s.v. *truffa*.

¹⁴ Epist. 43,1 (ed. M. Zelzer [1990], CSEL 82). Ambrosius then plays with the different connotations of the word *tuber*: *Et cave posthac, ne maiora invenias doloris tubera ...*

¹⁵ A little later (2,51), he returns to the subject of *piperata tubera*. We cannot exclude a literary reminiscence: it is quite possible that Augustinus' selecting mushrooms and truffles in particular to emphasize his moral resentment was influenced by his readings in earlier Latin literature.

The Emperor Diocletian included truffles (*territubera*)¹⁶ among the foodstuffs of which the price was controlled (edict. Diocl. 6,94). It is worth noticing that their price was nothing comparable to what we have to pay now: 16 *denarii* per pound, the same as the best quality of liver (4,6 *ficati optimi*), salt pork (4,7 *laridi optimi*) or Lucanian-type sausages (4,15 *Lucanicarum*), and twice as much as beef (4,2 *carnis bubulae*). This explains the liberal use of truffles as a separate dish, not in minute quantities to flavour other dishes, as they are generally used today.¹⁷

Truffles were naturally known to Apicius, who gives six recipes for them (7,16). I presume that the truffles are always meant to be boiled, although this is expressly stated only in Nos. 1, 2 and 5.¹⁸ They are served with a sauce based on oil, *liquamen* and wine, sometimes *caroenum* or vinegar, flavoured with pepper, honey, and — in four of the recipes — with herbs (lovage, coriander, rue, mint, cumin, *silphium*, celery). In No. 5 they are boiled together with leeks. The sauce in Nos. 1 and 2 (made without herbs) is brought to boil, then thickened with flour.

The first two recipes are the most complete and give instructions for the preliminary preparation of the truffles: the skin was scraped off (this is expressly mentioned only in recipe No. 1), then the truffles were boiled and sprinkled with salt, fastened on a skewer and roasted lightly (No. 1: *Tubera radis, elixas, sale aspergis et surculo infiges. Subassas ...*). Then a sauce was mixed of oil, *liquamen*, *caroenum*, wine, pepper and honey, brought to the boil and thickened (*mittes in caccabum oleum, liquamen, caroenum, vinum, piper et mel. Cum ferbuerit, amulo obligas*).

The recipe No. 2 is basically similar, except that before pouring the sauce on the truffles holes are pricked in them to make them better absorb

¹⁶ *Territuberum* (from *terrae tuberum*) is the conjecture of W. Heraeus (Kleine Schriften [1937] 5); the existing fragments, both from Caria, read *terracuberum* (frg. IV, Mylasa) and *terriberum* (Stratonikeia). Cf. Petron. 58,4 *terrae tuber* (contemptuously of a human being), Iuv. 14,7 *tubera terrae*, and Gloss. II 202,47 *tubera terrae* ὑδνα; III 315,20 ὑδνα *terrae tubera*).

¹⁷ Cf. the remarks made by L. Friedländer (Sittengeschichte Roms III [1910²], 67) on the enormous growth in the popularity of these "black diamonds" in Europe in the 19th century.

¹⁸ In whichever way the truffles were served, the skin had first to be removed. The young gourmand criticized by Juvenal is learning to do this (14,7 *radere tubera terrae*). On the necessity of boiling the mushrooms, cf. Helittula, 22 and 27. Galen wanted even the βωλίται, which he considered the safest kind, to be well boiled in water — and then condemned them as tasteless food (alim. fac. 2,67,1).

the liquid (*cum ferbuerit, amulo obligas et tubera compunges ut combibant illud*). As an alternative, the truffles (probably after being boiled) could be wrapped in omentum of pork and then roasted (*Si volueris, eadem tubera omento porcino involves et assabis et sic inferes*).

In recipe No. 3, a *condimentum* based on wine and *liquamen* (= *garum*) is prepared. The other ingredients are pepper, lovage, coriander, rue, honey, and oil; the sauce is served hot. In No. 4, mint is substituted for lovage and coriander. In No. 5, the truffles are first boiled with leeks, then seasoned with salt, pepper, coriander, *merum*, and oil. In No. 6, the herbs used for the sauce are cumin, *silphium*, mint, celery and rue.¹⁹

Although Platina's information on truffles is mostly gathered from Pliny, his serving suggestion is obviously from his own time. According to his recipe, the truffles were washed in wine, cooked in hot ashes, sprinkled with salt and pepper, and eaten hot: *Vino lota sub cinere calido coquuntur. Cocta et munda saleque item ac pipere aspersa calida adhuc convivis post esum carniū apponi debent* (9,348). We see that the truffles had found their particular place in the menu: they were served after the meat course.

Aristotle and Theophrastus, who were the first to treat animals and plants as entities, used functional criteria to define the relations between the parts of which these entities were formed. Theophrastus said (hist. plant. 1,6,9) that it is not right to call all that is underground 'root': *δυνάμει γὰρ δεῖ φυσικῆ διαίρειν καὶ οὐ τόπω*; one has to judge by natural function, not by position.²⁰

According to Theophrastus, the classification of plants should be attempted through considering "their parts, their qualities, the ways in which their life originates, and the course which it follows in each case" (*κατὰ τε τὰ μέρη καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τοὺς βίους*; hist. plant.

¹⁹ Truffles could also be preserved — *diu*, says Apicius (1,27) — with alternate levels of dry sawdust, in a jar closed tightly and stored in a cool place. J. André (ed. 1974, comm. p. 140) expresses his doubts about this method.

²⁰ According to Aristotle the root of a plant was analogous to the mouth of an animal, for both take in food (de anima 2,1, 412a): *αἱ δὲ ῥίζαι τῷ στόματι ἀνάλογον, ἄμφω γὰρ ἔλκει τὴν τροφήν*. Cf. also 2,4, 415b28 (the root compared to the head of an animal).

1,1,1).²¹ The most difficult and complex problem for him is to determine what a part (μέρος) of a plant really is, while "the differences in the way in which their life originates, in their qualities and in their life history are comparatively easy to observe and simpler".

In trying to determine what the essential parts are, Theophrastus observes that some, e.g. leaves and fruit, do not appear in all plants (hist. plant. 1,1,6). He defines root, stem, branch and twig (ρίζα, καυλός, ἀκρεμών, κλάδος) as "the primary and more important parts, which are also common to most" (1,1,9). He has to admit, however, that they are not common to all (1,1,11): "For not all plants have root, stem, branch, twig, leaf, flower or fruit, or again bark, core, fibres or veins; for instance, fungi and truffles (μύκης, ὕδνον)." According to Theophrastus, therefore, mushrooms and truffles are in fact plants, but of a peculiar kind, in which some typical characteristics of the plants are absent. The absence of root (ρίζα) in mushrooms and truffles and the like is referred to again in hist. plant. 1,6,5.²²

Athenaeus also quotes the botanist Phaenias, Theophrastus' contemporary, who speaks of plants that do not produce flowers or seeds (τὰ δὲ οὐδὲ φύει τὴν ἀνθήλην οὐδὲ τῆς σπερματικῆς ἴχνης κορυνήσεως οὐδὲ σπερματώσεως) and mentions mushrooms and truffles among them (frg. 25 Müller = p. 19 frg. 37 Wehrli = Athen. 2,61f).²³ In the short treatise on plants by Nicolaus Damascenus, based on Aristoteles and Theophrastus and known only from later translations, mushrooms and truffles are mentioned as plants which have neither branches nor leaves (*et plantae non habentes ramos nec folia sunt, ut fungi et tuberes*; 1,4,83)).²⁴

It seems clear, therefore, that the Greek botanists considered mushrooms and truffles plants, although of a peculiar kind.

²¹ Translation by A. Hort (1916; Loeb CL).

²² Athen. 2,61f seems to refer to hist. plant. 1,6,5, although the quotation is not exact: Λειόφλοια ("smooth-skinned") καθάπερ ὕδνον, μύκης, πέζις, γεράνειον. Cf. Sharples & Minter, 154 sqq.

²³ ... οἶον μύκης, ὕδνον, πτέρις, ἔλιξ, "mushroom, truffle, fern, and helix-ivy" (tr. by C.B. Gulick, 1927; Loeb CL).

²⁴ The translation is that of Alfred of Sareshel (ca. AD 1200), from which the existing Greek version was made in ca. AD 1300 (καὶ πάλιν εἰσὶ φυτὰ μὴ ἔχοντα κλάδους μηδὲ φύλλα, ὡς οἱ μύκητες καὶ τὰ ὅμοια). The work of Nicolaus, as well as the supposed *de plantis* of Aristotle, is lost. Cf. Nicolaus Damascenus *de plantis*: five translations, ed. H.J. Drossaart Lulofs & E.L.J. Poortman (1989), 1 sqq. and passim.

Pliny, who was not a theorist, discusses mushrooms among usable plants, without entering into the theoretical problems of morphology or taxonomy; he does not, for instance, even mention the absence of roots in mushrooms.²⁵ Apparently he found the truffles, which seemed to be part of the earth in which they grew, much more puzzling. He discusses them among *miracula rerum* (nat. 19,33), finding it the greatest of miracles that something could spring up and live without any root (*sine ulla radice*). On the other hand, he seems to doubt whether truffles were living organisms at all (nat. 19,34 *crescant ane vitium id terrae ... ea protinus globetur magnitudine qua futurum est, et vivant necne, non facile arbitror intellegi posse*).

The nature of truffles was certainly more difficult to understand than that of mushrooms, because not only were they rootless, but completely enveloped by the earth, without anything even vaguely comparable to a stem or any other part of normal plants arising above the ground. It is not surprising, therefore, that truffles should be compared to roots of plants rather than to plants as such.

We find, in fact, two different opinions regarding this question. The botanists — Theophrastus and Phaenias, followed by Pliny — agree in considering truffles plants without roots. The truffle is not a root just because it is underground: the criterion for definition should be the natural function, not the position, as Theophrastus said.

On the other hand, such considerations of botanical theory were not relevant in medicine and pharmacology. The physicians Dioscurides and Galen classify truffles as roots (Diosc. mat. med. 2,145: ὕδνον ῥίζα ἐστὶ περιφερής, ἄφυλλος, ἄκαυλος; Gal. alim. fac. 2,66: ἐν ῥίζαις ἢ βολβοῖς ἀριθμεῖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ ταύτα).²⁶

The question of the origin of mushrooms and truffles presented no real difficulty to ancient botanists. According to Theophrastus (hist. plant. 2,1,1-2), plants in general could originate in various ways, either spontaneously (αὐτόματα), from seed, or from roots, branches, trunks, or small pieces of wood. Spontaneous growth is considered the first and the most natural. He concludes that all plants originate in one or other of

²⁵ On Pliny's opinions of mushrooms, see Helttula, 30 sqq.

²⁶ Galen remarks, though, that truffles have no clearly definable nature of their own (μηδεμίαν ἔχοντα σαφῆ ποιότητα). Cf. also Plut. quaest. conv. 4,2,2, 664f: οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε φυτῶ τὸ ὕδνον, the truffle resembles no plant.

these ways, and most of them in more than one way.

Mushrooms were believed to be born spontaneously either out of the soil, or of the fluid exuding from trees.²⁷ The origin of truffles was more difficult to explain. Their connection with trees is less obvious, and it is never suggested in the sources. The only reference to a connection between a truffle and another plant is the obscure passage quoted by Athenaeus (2,62d) from the lexicon of Pamphilus (1st cent. AD), in which ὑδνόφυλλον is explained as the grass that grows over truffles (τὴν φουομένην τῶν ὑδνῶν ὑπερθε πόαν) and helps in detecting them. This may be a reference to a plant with which a truffle lived in symbiosis.²⁸ Athenaeus' own view was that truffles grew in the ground spontaneously (αὐτόματα; 2,62a).

What puzzled Pliny was the relationship of truffles with the surrounding earth, to which they were not fastened by any kind of fibres or filaments (nat. 19,33 *undique terra circumdata nullisque fibris nixa aut saltem capillamentis*) and in which they grew without causing any protuberance or cracks visible on the ground (*nec utique extuberante loco in quo gignuntur aut rimas sentiente*). Yet they did not stick to the earth, but were enclosed in a skin, so that one could not say absolutely that they consisted of earth (*ut plane nec terram esse possimus dicere neque aliud quam terrae callum*). This seems, however, to be what Pliny actually suspects: he calls the truffles *vitium terrae* (19,34) and lumps of earthy substance balled together: *manifestum erit terrae naturam in se globari* (19,35). To prove this he tells the story about Larcus Licinius who hurt his teeth biting into a denarius grown inside a truffle.²⁹ Pliny concludes that truffles belong to those things which spring up spontaneously and cannot be grown from seed (*quae nascantur et seri non possint*).

The direct connection between rain and the appearance of mushrooms had been noticed (*Imbribus proveniunt omnia haec*; Plin. nat.

²⁷ *Origo prima causaque [i.e. of the boleti] e limo et acescente suco madentis terrae aut radicis fere glandiferae* (Plin. nat. 22,94); *Fungorum lentior natura et numerosa genera, sed origo non nisi ex pituita arborum* (nat. 22,96). Cf. Helttula, 30 sqq. and 34.

²⁸ E.g. a species of the *Cistus* family, symbiotic with *Terfezia leonis* Tulasne (see below). On the other hand, it might also be a reference to the thinning of vegetation caused by truffles.

²⁹ Pliny had perhaps heard this story in Spain from Larcus Licinius (PIR² V 95) himself, *legatus pro praetore ad ius dicendum* while Pliny was there. We know from Pliny the Younger that Larcus Licinius had wanted to buy his uncle's note-books (epist. 3,5,17).

22,100), and thunderstorms were considered the best in this respect. The necessity of rain was especially emphasized in the case of truffles which were known to grow in dry places (nat. 19,34 *siccis haec fere et sabulosis locis frutectosisque nascuntur*). They belonged to the vernal delicacies appearing after thunderstorms, as testified by Juvenal (5,116 *Post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua cenas maiores*). In nat. 19,37 Pliny, following closely the text attributed by Athenaeus (2,62b) to Theophrastus (frg. 167 Wimmer), says that truffles spring up after autumnal rains and thunderstorms (*imbres autumnales ac tonitrua crebra*; ὕδατα μετοπωρινὰ καὶ βρονταὶ ... σκληραί), especially after thunderstorms, and are at their best in spring (*tenerrima autem verno esse*; τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἔχει τοῦ ἡρος).³⁰

According to a popular belief, it seems, truffles were actually created by thunder.³¹ This idea was ridiculed by a guest at the dinner party described by Plutarch where giant truffles (ὑδνα παμμεγέθη) were served (quaest. conv. 4,2,1,664b). Several other guests, however, held that thunderstorms do in fact bring the truffles to light: the ground splits open when struck by lightning, and the gatherers are then guided by the cracks (ἦσαν οὖν οἱ φάσκοντες ὑπὸ βροντῆς τὴν γῆν διίστασθαι καθάρην ἢλω τῶ ἀέρι χρωμένης, εἶτα ταῖς ῥωγμαῖς τεκμαίρεσθαι τοὺς τὰ ὑδνα μετιόντας). This fact would explain the origin of the popular belief, they argued, but not justify it: analogously, rain did bring out snails, but certainly did not create them.³²

But Agemachus, the host, reminded his guests of other miraculous effects of thunder, and of the farmers' belief that showers accompanied by lightning enrich the soil (τὰ δ' ἀστραπαῖα τῶν ὑδάτων εὐαλδῆ καλοῦσιν οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ νομίζουσιν; 4,2,1, 664d). The truffle resembled no plant, and yet it did not come into being without water. It appeared without roots or sprouts and unattached because it developed in a way peculiar to itself in soil that was somehow modified and transformed (τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τὴν σύστασιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔχειν παθούσης τι καὶ μεταβαλούσης; 664f).

³⁰ Cf. also Diosc. mat. med. 2,145: ἔαρος ὀρυττομένη.

³¹ F. Wimmer suggested κεράυνιον (from κεραυνός 'thunderbolt') for the MSS reading κράνιον in hist. plant. 1,6,5, where rootless plants are enumerated. The conjecture was rejected by W. Winter (see n. 3 above). Cf. also Sharples & Minter, 155.

³² Perhaps a popular belief too, not only an analogy suited for the occasion; cf. schol. ad Iuv. 5,116 p. 73,14 Wessner: *quia tubera tonitruis dicuntur nasci ut cocleae*.

Frg. 167 of Theophrastus also mentions the theory of the seminal origin of truffles (Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔνιοί γε ὡς σπερματικῆς οὐσης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν), justified by the observation that on the shore of Mytilene truffles grew after heavy rains had, apparently, brought down their seeds from the mountains: οὐ ... πρότερον εἶναι πρὶν ἢ γενομένης ἐπομβρίας τὸ σπέρμα κατενεχθῆ (Plin. nat. 19,37: *nisi exundatione fluminum invecto semine*). This theory is based on an accurate observation of a phenomenon (i.e. rains flooding rivers) with its results (appearance of truffles), to which a wrong explanation is given. On the other hand, Phaenias (Athen. 2,61f) says explicitly that mushrooms and truffles do not produce seeds, and in another passage (nat. 19,35) Pliny agrees (*quod certum est, ex his erunt quae nascantur et seri non possint*).

We have a fair amount of information on the provenance of the best truffles — on the Périgords and Norcias of the ancient world.

Frg. 167 of Theophrastus begins with a reference to τὸ ὕδρον καὶ ὃ καλοῦσι τινες γεράνειον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὑπόγειον.³³ After which, some underground plants growing in different countries and known by different names are mentioned: Ἡ τῶν ἐγγεστοκῶν τούτων γένεσις οἶον τοῦ τε ὕδρου καὶ τοῦ φουμένου περὶ Κυρήνην ὃ καλοῦσι μίσυ. ... Καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ δὲ γενόμενον ἴτον.³⁴ These three names (γεράνειον, μίσυ, ἴτον) are also given in connection with the truffle by Pliny in nat. 19,36: *Simile (sc. tuberis) est et quod in Cyrenaica provincia vocant misy, praecipuum suavitate odoris ac saporis ... et quod in Thracia iton et quod in Graecia geranion*.³⁵ It seems that different kinds of truffles are meant — or, perhaps, names used for the truffle in different parts of the world. In nat. 19,34 Pliny had already mentioned the African truffles as the best (*laudatissima Africae*).

In Greece, the places for truffles were Mytilene and the district of Elis (Plut. quaest. conv. 4,2,1, 664b), in Thrace the town of Alopeconnesos in Chersonnesos, and in Asia Minor the region around Lampsacus in Abarnis on the Hellespont (Theophr. frg. 167 = Athen. 2,62b-c; Plin. nat.

³³ Cf. Theophr. hist. plant. 1,6,9 τὸ ὕδρον δὲ καὶ ὃ καλοῦσι τινες ἀσχίον καὶ τὸ οὐγγον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὑπόγειον ἐστίν. Here Theophrastus enumerates underground plants, or parts of plants, which are not to be considered roots. Cf. Sharples & Minter, 154 sq.

³⁴ ἴτον CB, ἴστον E, οἰτόν Kaibel. Cf. Sharples & Minter, 155.

³⁵ *geranion* Q, *ceranion* dT; other MSS have more corrupt forms. The list of contents in Book 1 also has *geranion*.

19,37).³⁶

Theophrastus says (frg. 167) that truffles grow mostly on riverbanks, and in general where the soil is sandy (γίνεται δὲ ἔν τε τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ὅπου χώρα ὑπαμμος); Athenaeus agrees (2,62a): μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς ἀμμώδεις τόπους. Pliny's information is basically the same. He mentions dry, sandy places covered with shrubs: *siccis ... et sabulosis locis frutectosisque nascuntur* (nat. 19,34). Galen gives the dryness of soil as a criterion for distinguishing the best kind of truffles (vict. atten. 74).

The information on the habitat given by Theophrastus and Pliny fits truffles in general and does not help to suggest any particular species.³⁷ All the varieties of truffles favour loose, pebbly or sandy soil which allows them enough humidity without, however, being continuously wet. Therefore they grow on slopes rather than level land, often along riverbanks, in areas which are seasonally flooded. Since they need the sun to warm the soil, they grow on the fringes of woods, in clearings and copses — Pliny's *frutectosis [locis]* — rather than in the shadow of the woods themselves.

About the season of truffles we learn that they spring up after autumn rains and are ready for use and at their best in spring. This succinct statement probably contains reference to different species which mature at different times of the year. To autumnal and winter truffles belong the two species which are nowadays the most highly appreciated ones, the "white truffle" (*Tuber magnatum* Pico), which has its best season in Italy from October to November, and the "black truffle" (*T. melanosporum* Vittadini), whose season extends from the middle of November till March; also the less valued *T. brumale* Vittadini and *T. mesentericum* Vittadini. The vernal *T. albidum* Pico can also be found in autumn. The season of the *T. aestivum* Vittadini begins in May.

The most important of the vernal species in the ancient world was probably the truffle of the desert, *Terfezia leonis* Tulasne, the African *misy* praised by Pliny (nat. 19,34-36) and Juvenal (5,116-119), imported

³⁶ On the other hand, Hegesander from Delphi says (frg. 35 Müller = Athen. 2,62d) that on the Hellespont no truffles are found.

³⁷ On the species, cf. Steier, 1382; André, commentary on Pliny's Book 19 (1964), p. 109 sq.; Maggiulli, 138 sqq.

to Italy from Libya.³⁸

The few references to the colour are helpful, though not conclusive, in the identification of the species known and used. The yellowish or lightish brown colour (ὑπόξανθος; Diosc. mat. med. 2,145) fits the *Tuber magnatum*. The colour of its skin varies from yellow to hazel, that of the flesh from hazel to dark brown. The adjective also fits the *Terfezia leonis* (light brown with whitish flesh).

In nat. 19,34 (*distinguntur et colore, rufo nigroque et intus candido*) Pliny may have in mind three different kinds of truffles, two distinguishable by the colour of their skin, the third by that of its flesh — this seems to be the general interpretation — or only two, the white flesh being another characteristic of the aforementioned one (or ones). Since *rufus* covers a wide range of shades of red or tawny, the first kind could include the *Tuber magnatum* (ὑπόξανθος in Dioscurides' description) and *T. rufum* Pico suggested by André. *Niger* could refer to *T. melanosporum* (black-skinned with brown or black-violaceous flesh) or *T. brumale* (brown-skinned with flesh that is greyish-black; thus André and Maggiulli).

The reference to the white flesh (*intus candidum*) is difficult to explain. In contrast to *albus*, which denotes a dull, natural colour, *candidus* is a pure, brilliant white.³⁹ This does not fit any of the truffles, not even *T. magnatum*, the species traditionally called "the white truffle".⁴⁰ It is quite possible that Pliny meant the characteristic white veins clearly visible in the darker flesh of many truffles, as Maggiulli suggested (139 n. 60). In this case the white element in the flesh would be a characteristic shared by many different, both light- and dark-skinned species.

It is most probable that *T. magnatum* was one of the species known

³⁸ *Terfezia* derives from *těrfās* (plural), the Berber word for 'truffle' (Arabic *kam'a*); cf. G.S. Colin, "Étymologies Magribines", *Hespéris* 6 (1926) 62.

³⁹ Cf. Serv. ad Verg. georg. 3,82 *aliud est candidum esse, id est quantum nitenti luce perfusum, aliud album, quod pallori constat esse vicinum*. On the colour, cf. also Maggiulli, 67 sq. Cf. André, *Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine* (1949), 25 sqq. (on *albus* and *candidus*). Pliny uses the adjective *candidus* to describe one of the edible mushrooms he knew, but not by name (*candidi, velut apice flaminis insignibus pediculis*; nat. 22,96), identified by me as *Coprinus comatus* (1989, 37), and the *agaricum*, the famous polyporus imported for its medicinal value (*nascitur arboribus circa Bosporum colore candido*; nat. 16,33).

⁴⁰ *Tuber magnatum* is, however, the species suggested by André 1964, 109 and Maggiulli 1977, 138 sq.

in ancient Greece and Rome. Along with the *Terfezia leonis*, it may have been the species described by Theophrastus as ὑπόξανθος and by Pliny as *rufus* in colour. Its normal size extends from that of a small walnut to a big orange, but in exceptional cases it may reach the weight of 600-700 grams; cf. Plin. nat. 19,34 *excedunt saepe magnitudinem mali cotonei, etiam librali pondere*, Plut. quaest. conv. 4,2,1 ὕδνα παμμεγέθη and Ambros. epist. 43,1 *tubera ... mirae magnitudinis*.

Pliny probably did not have much first-hand knowledge of the various kinds of truffles. In two cases I suspect that he has misunderstood the description given by his source.

In nat. 19,34 Pliny distinguishes two kinds of truffle: in one of them something is described as *harenosa dentibus inimica*, while in the other it is *sincera*. If this something really was harmful to teeth, the adjective *harenosa* cannot refer to a sandlike structure, as Maggiulli thinks (139), but to real sand or other hard particles which could injure the teeth. Perhaps Pliny found in his source the adjective 'sand-like' referring to the rough, verrucous skin of certain kinds of truffles (*T. melanosporum* and other dark-skinned species, different from the smooth-skinned *T. magnatum* and *T. albidum*) and, influenced by stories like that of Larcus Licinius, thought that hard, sand-like particles were meant. *Dentibus inimica* would in this case be his own addition. The origin of the mistake could also have been a reference to the sandy soil favoured by truffles.⁴¹

With reference to the truffle in general and to the μίσυ of Cyrene in particular, Theophrastus says that it has a pleasant taste (ἡδὺ σφόδρα) and a smell resembling that of meat (τὴν ὀσμὴν ... κρεώδη; frg. 167 = Athen. 2,62a). Pliny (nat. 19,36) repeats the same information, but he has misunderstood the reference to meat: according to Pliny, the *misy* is *praecipuum suavitate odoris ac saporis, sed carnosius*.⁴²

Pliny the Elder was an authority who continued to be read, copied and believed for centuries. His mistakes, too, were copied and believed. Platina informs his readers that the truffles of Cyrenaica were considered *carnosiora*, while the Thracian ones were *suaviora*, and some truffles were

⁴¹ Cf. the descriptions of mediaeval scientists: Avicenna Lat. 2,696 (*meliora eorum sunt arenosa, alba*) and Albertus Magnus veg. 6,455 (*meliores autem sunt arenosi albi*).

⁴² Cf. also André (ed. 1964), comm. ad. loc. p. 110. *Carnosus* must refer to the consistency, not to the smell. It is so used by Pliny to describe fruit (nat. 15,96), olives (15,15), leaves (16,19), etc.

harenosa dentibus inimica. It is interesting to notice that Galen's opinion of the truffles' lack of flavour has also had a long history. The remark is found in Avicenna (the truffles were *privata sapore*; 2,696)⁴³ and passed from him to Albertus Magnus (*sunt privati sapore omnes tuberes*; veg. 6,255). In this, says Albertus Magnus, truffles differ from mushrooms.

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⁴³ The Latin version of Avicenna's (980-1037) *Canon medicinae* was made by Gerardus Cremonensis (1114-1187).

HOW TO ENJOY A GREEK NOVEL: CHARITON GUIDING HIS AUDIENCE

MAARIT KAIMIO

The great trial at the King's court in Babylon (5,4-8) is one of the most detailed and powerful scenes of Chariton's novel *Callirhoe*. The King is about to judge between Dionysius, Callirhoe's husband, and Mithridates, whom Dionysius accuses of an attempt to seduce his wife, when Mithridates suddenly calls into the courtroom Callirhoe's first husband Chaereas, whom everybody has assumed to be dead. The reaction of the principals and the audience of the court is immensely strong, and the author, who is an attorney's clerk by profession (1,1,1) is very proud of his skill in handling the plot and producing this effect (5,8,2): τίς ἂν φράση κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκεῖνο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ δικαστηρίου; ποῖος ποιητῆς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς παράδοξον μῦθον οὕτως εἰσήγαγεν; ἔδοξας ἂν ἐν θεάτρῳ παρεῖναι μυρίων πάθων πλήρει· πάντα ἦν ὁμοῦ, δάκρυα, χαρά, θάμβος, ἔλεος, ἀπιστία, εὐχαί. Χαιρέαν ἐμακάριζον, Μιθριδάτη συνέχαιρον, συνελυποῦντο Διονυσίῳ, περὶ Καλλιρόης ἠπόρουν. Μάλιστα γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνη τεθορυβημένη---¹

In this scene, we find several features typical of Chariton which are

¹ "Who could fitly describe that scene in the court? What dramatist ever staged such an astonishing story? It was like being at a play packed with passionate scenes, with emotions tumbling over each other - weeping and rejoicing, astonishment and pity, disbelief and prayers. How happy all were for Chaereas! How glad for Mithridates! For Dionysius, how sorrowful! As for Callirhoe, they did not know what to think. She was in total confusion..." (Translations, if not otherwise stated, are from *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, edited by B.P. Reardon, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1989. Chariton's *Callirhoe* is translated by B.P. Reardon.)

relevant for the theme of this paper:² the authorial comments upon the merits of the scene, the emphasis on emotions, especially on simultaneous, conflicting emotions, and the reactions of both the principal characters and the crowd following their actions, the emotions being emphasized by the comparison with a dramatic performance. Such features, I contend, are typical of Chariton and reflect his wish to guide the emotional reactions of his audience.

The audience of Greek novels has lately been the subject of lively discussion. The focus of interest has been on the question of what kind of audience the novels had in antiquity, especially on the educational level and the sex of the readers and on the popularity of the novels.³ Both external information (papyri, mosaics, evidence on literacy, sale of books etc.) and internal evidence (the authors' references to the intended readership) have been used. For many reasons, these two kinds of information do not completely overlap, nor has it been possible for the author to delimit his readership after his work has been released. There is no reason why we should suppose the readership of any one of the novels to be homogeneous, nor should the possible difference between the audiences of the early novels of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus, and the later, sophistic novels be left out of account.⁴ In this paper, I concern myself mainly with

² This paper was first read in the colloquium "Methods and Ways of Communication in Antiquity", organized by the University of Helsinki and the Jagellonian University of Cracow, in Helsinki 5.-6.9.1996. I am grateful for the comments expressed in this connection. Some of my arguments were briefly presented in my paper "Between Drama and History: Some Aspects of Imitation and Influence in Chariton's Romance" given at the Xth International Congress of FIEC, Québec, August 1994.

³ See B. Wesseling, "The Audience of the Ancient Novel" in H. Hofmann (ed.), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, Vol. 1, Groningen 1988, 67-79, K. Treu, "Der antike Roman und sein Publikum", in H. Kuch (ed.), *Der antike Roman. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Kommunikation und Gattungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1989, 178-197, E. Bowie, "The Readership of Greek Novels in the Ancient World" in J. Tatum (ed.), *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, Baltimore and London 1994, 435-459, S.A. Stephens, "Who Read Ancient Novels?", *ibid.*, 405-418, T. Hägg, "Orality, Literacy, and the 'Readership' of the Early Greek Novel" in R. Eriksen (ed.), *Contexts of Pre-novel Narrative: the European Tradition*, Berlin and New York 1994, 47-81 (with a good survey and discussion of the problem).

⁴ See the remarks by Hägg 1994, 52-59.

the implied audience⁵ of the author, examining the phrases that possibly reveal how he expects the audience to react to his story.

Thomas Hägg has called attention to some features in the style and narrative technique of the early novels which may be at least partly explained by the wish of the authors to be easily followed and understood also by inexperienced readers or listeners. Such features could be, according to him, the stereotyped phraseology, especially the frequent use of stereotyped linking phrases between the episodes, stereotyped scenes, motifs and plots, and the frequent use of different kinds of retrospects and recapitulations as well as of different kinds of foreshadowing.⁶ In such contexts, the author - who in the case of Chariton and Xenophon also functions as the narrator - often steps forward and directs the attention of the reader or listener to the point he wishes to emphasize.⁷ The recapitulations serve mainly to keep the previous events in the minds of the audience and thus help them follow the turns of the plot.⁸ The foreshadowings guide the audience more subtly.⁹ In this context, I call attention especially to two types of anticipation of future events frequently found in Chariton.¹⁰

In one type the author (sometimes in the first person singular, but more often without explicit reference to his person) shortly points out what will follow next. That this is a narrative device much favoured by Chariton is seen by its frequency for instance in the opening chapters of the work: 1,1,4 "But Eros likes to win and enjoys succeeding against the odds. He looked for his opportunity and found it as follows." - 1,1,16 (of

⁵ I speak rather of the audience than of the reader (like e.g. W. Iser, *The Implied Reader*, Baltimore 1974), because the former term expresses better the existence of both a listening and a reading public.

⁶ Hägg 1994, 59-65.

⁷ Cf. I. Stark, "Zur Erzählperspektive im griechischen Liebesroman", *Philologus* 128 (1984) 128ff., R. Hunter, "History and Historicity in the Romance of Chariton", *ANRW* 34,2 (1994) 1066.

⁸ They are also useful to remind the audience if the reading aloud is divided into different sessions, and to allow a new listener to enter quickly into the plot of the story. Hägg points to the similarity with the modern TV soap opera in this respect (1994, 65).

⁹ The most thorough discussion of the anticipations and recapitulations found in the novels is still by Thomas Hägg, *Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances: Studies of Chariton, Xenophon Ephesius, and Achilles Tatius*, Stockholm 1971, Part II: The Internal Reference System, chapters 6 and 7, 213-287.

¹⁰ Cf. Hägg 1971, 215ff.

the wedding) "But just as Strife turned up there, according to the story, so did a malicious spirit here." - 1,2,6 "So he embarked on the following scheme." - 1,4,1 "Faced with the failure of his first plot, the man from Acragas now embarked on a more effective plan, thinking up the following trick." - 1,5,4 "And something strange happened, that had never happened before in a trial:" - 1,6,2 "What description could do justice to that funeral?" - 1,6,5 "And what was done in the intention of paying honor to the dead girl started a train of greater events."¹¹ With such expressions, the audience is not only encouraged to be attentive, but very often promised to be soon hearing something strange, unexpected or wonderful. Thus not only is the audience's cognitive capacity roused, so too is their emotive capacity. Most often the emotion called for is suspense, but in some cases, as in 1,6,2 quoted above or in the trial scene (5,8,2) quoted in the opening of this paper, the author requires admiration from the audience - not only of the described event, but of his narrative skill in describing it. This is done by a stereotyped question ("who could describe?") or affirmation ("a wonderful sight was seen") before launching into the description of a remarkable tableau or moment.¹²

The other type of anticipation I wish to call attention to is such where Chariton lets one of his characters utter guesses or forebodings of future happenings.¹³ Such anticipations again stimulate the cognitive capacity of the audience, but in this case, the audience can never¹⁴ be sure whether the subsequent events will take the turn imagined by the character or not. In fact, Chariton often seems to play with the audience, giving them either true or false clues, or clues which prove to be right in another way than is expected by the character. Thus, in 1,8,4 Callirhoe, regaining consciousness alone in her tomb, imagines that Chaereas might already be planning a new marriage. This is a good point to emphasize the utter hopelessness of Callirhoe's situation, but it is a false clue - as the reader will see, Chaereas does not marry again, such a possibility does not even

¹¹ Cf. also 2,2,8; 2,8,3; 3,2,17; 3,3,8; 3,4,10; 3,8,6; 4,1,11; 4,2,5; 4,5,3; 5,1,2; 5,8,2; 6,8,1; 7,2,6; 7,6,6; 8,1,2; 8,1,14; 8,4,1.

¹² So further in 3,8,6, where Chariton points out especially strongly the novelty of his invention of describing Callirhoe as Aphrodite or Artemis with a baby in her arms (like the Virgin Mary!); 4,1,11; 8,1,14; 8,4,1.

¹³ Cf. Hägg 1971, 221ff.

¹⁴ Except when there is an authorial confirmation linked with the expression: see Hägg 1971, 218.

enter his head. Instead, it is Callirhoe herself who will marry again, and thus there is something correct in the clue, but this will be clear to the audience only later. A different interpretation is called from the readers for instance in 5,10,7-9, where Chaereas in his farewell monologue before one of his attempted suicides promises to die, because Callirhoe loves another. This clue is immediately recognizable as false by the audience, who very well know that Callirhoe loves Chaereas, and who by their experiences of the plot of this novel (and probably by their expectations concerning the heroes of this literary genre) can guess that he cannot die in the middle of the novel. However, although this false clue does not greatly stimulate the suspense of the audience, it is effective in that it enhances their emotions, in this case the empathy and pity they feel for the unhappy hero.¹⁵

The capacity for strong emotions is one of the most obvious hallmarks of Chariton's characters. Love and passion rule supreme, and in their wake come fear and jealousy, sorrow and despair, happiness and joy.¹⁶ It is evidently a positive, admirable quality in a person to be capable of intense feeling. Most of the main characters, it is true, are shown as trying to control their feelings: Callirhoe out of her sense of propriety and

¹⁵ The numerous accounts of the feelings and thoughts of the characters make such anticipatory flashes very frequent in Chariton; see Hägg 1971, 224. I give here some examples of true or false clues expressed by the characters: 1,11,3 Callirhoe in the robbers' ship imagines how she shall serve as a slave in a foreign land (right), perhaps to an Athenian master (wrong). She shall in fact be sold as a slave, but not to toil for any Athenian master; 2,11,2 Callirhoe imagines the future of her unborn child, speaking of its two splendid fathers (right); 3,2,7-8 Dionysius imagines how rumour about Callirhoe's true fate will reach Syracuse and Hermocrates will come to claim his daughter back (both right and wrong: it is Chaereas who will come); 3,10,8 Callirhoe imagines how the parents of both wait for the ship which should carry them back home and how they prepare the bedchamber for them, but nobody comes (Callirhoe is in the wrong, as the audience in their expectation of a happy end might well guess - the picture of a happy homecoming is, however, a correct clue, only when it happens the parents are not expecting it at all (8,6,7)); 5,1,7 Callirhoe crossing the River Euphrates has a presentiment that she will have her final home and tomb in Bactra or Susa (false) and fears that even there somebody will fall in love with her (true).

¹⁶ B.P. Reardon, "Theme, Structure and Narrative in Chariton", YClS 27 (1982) 1-27, emphasizes the meaning of events in the form of *agon* and emotions as the poles of the story: "The story is 'about' both; it has a double focus of interest" (11).

prudence in potentially dangerous situations,¹⁷ Dionysius because of his good Greek education with its emphasis on self-control and temperance,¹⁸ Artaxerxes because of his position as the supreme guardian of the law.¹⁹ In their outward appearance, they succeed in the control of their feelings to various degrees, but they cannot control the passion itself. Thus, the efforts of control only underline the force of the emotions. As for Chaereas, he gives free rein to his feelings also in his outward behaviour. This submission to the force of love is, however, never brought forward as a negative feature; it is a sign of the irresistible power of Eros or Aphrodite.²⁰

The emotions of the characters are made clear to the audience either by their own words in their frequent monologues or by the explanations of the omniscient author, of the type "when night came, it brought suffering for both, for the fire was raging in them" (1,1,8); often both methods of expression are combined. As strong feelings as such are nowhere presented by the author in a despicable light, let alone in a condescending or ridiculing tone, it is clear that the audience is meant to feel empathy for the characters during their changes of fortune. Often they know better than the characters, because the author has informed them of the true state of the affairs - for instance when Chaereas in 1,4,6 falls to the ground in the grip

¹⁷ E.g. 6,2,5 "Callirhoe could not show open distress in the royal palace, but secretly she sighed to herself under her breath, cursing the festival"; 6,5,8 "Callirhoe's first impulse was to dig her nails into the eyes of this would-be pimp and tear them out if she could; but being a well-brought-up and sensible woman, she quickly remembered where she was, who she was, and who it was who was talking to her. She controlled her anger---" On Callirhoe's behaviour in this respect, see M. Kaimio, "How to Manage in the Male World: the Strategies of the Heroine in Chariton's Novel", *AAntHung* 36 (1995) 119-132.

¹⁸ E.g. 2,4,4 "There was a visible conflict in him now, between reason and passion; desire was flooding over him, but his noble soul tried to bear up against it---"; 5,9,8 "As for Dionysius, he tried to endure what was happening to him in a spirit of nobility, drawing on his natural stability of character and his disciplined good breeding."

¹⁹ E.g. 6,1,9 "My soul, consider what you should do.---Who are you? Callirhoe's lover or her judge?"

²⁰ Cf. the discussion by D. Konstan, *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*, Princeton 1994, 32f.

of shock and grief²¹ on hearing about Callirhoe's alleged infidelity, the reader knows that this is merely a stratagem and a lie. In such cases, the feelings expected from the audience are apparently empathy and pity for the hero and secret gratification that things are not as bad as they seem; this also gives to the audience a titillating sense of suspense, as they are left waiting for the reactions of the hero when the truth is revealed to him, too.²²

Sometimes the audience is made to share the distress and uncertainty of the hero. This happens especially in the handling of the great moral conflicts of the characters. There are three such great dilemmas in Chariton's novel, which are vital for the development of the plot and thus they are thoroughly described by the author. Dionysius' conflict between reason and passion²³ begins in book 2,3; first it is only a struggle to save appearances among his servants and friends, but it soon acquires serious moral dimensions when Dionysius learns that Callirhoe is a free woman of noble birth, and he is torn between his love and his principle of not forcing her against her wishes. Callirhoe's moral choice is between her fidelity to Chaereas, which to her means chastity, and the life of her unborn child. As she puts it herself, *περὶ τῶν μεγίστων γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ αἴρεσις, ἢ σωφροσύνης ἢ τέκνου* (2,10,7). The third moral dilemma, which has great influence for the plot, is Artaxerxes' moral conflict between his love and his position as the supreme judge: he cannot act against his own laws (6,3ff.).

Such scenes probably partly owe a debt to rhetorical schooling with its speech exercises,²⁴ but their moral seriousness and their use for the development of the plot remind one strongly of the conflicts and fatal decisions of tragic heroes. Drama has clearly been an important source of inspiration for Chariton, as is seen expressly in his references to dramatic

²¹ Emphasized by the author in a most poignant way by quoting from the lines of the Iliad 18,22-24, describing the agony of Achilles at the tidings of Patroclus' death. For Chariton's use of Homeric verses, see C.W. Müller, "Chariton von Aphrodisias und die Theorie des Romans in der Antike", *A&A* 22 (1976) 126-132, M. Fusillo, "Il testo nel testo: la citazione nel romanzo greco", *MD* 25 (1990) 33-43.

²² Cf. Hägg 1971, 118f. This technique is well known from tragedy; cf. B.E. Perry, "Chariton and His Romance from a Literary-Historical Point of View", *AJP* 51 (1930) 125ff., Stark 1984, 260.

²³ 2,4,4 *τότ' ἦν ἰδεῖν ἀγῶνα λογισμοῦ καὶ πάθους.*

²⁴ For a survey of the meaning of rhetoric for Chariton, see C. Ruiz-Montero, "Chariton von Aphrodisias. Ein Überblick", *ANRW* 34,2 (1994) 1022f., 1041ff.

performance at critical moments in his novel, as in 5,8,2 cited at the beginning. But what kind of drama has Chariton in mind? It is natural that Menander is often mentioned as the model for Chariton.²⁵ The type of comedy Menander represents has, of course, as its central story a love intrigue leading to a happy union in marriage, like Chariton has, and it is easy to point out similarities in the construction of plot or presentation of types. But in many ways tragedy, especially Euripidean tragedy, seems to be a more powerful source of inspiration for Chariton.²⁶ For one thing, the main figures created by him are larger than life, as in tragedy.²⁷ They are not next-door members of the city bourgeoisie, as in Menander, but more noble by their birth, more beautiful, and, of course, more prone to accidents. They certainly are *σπουδαῖοι* and "better than we", as Aristotle (Poet.1448a1-18) wants the tragic heroes to be. For another, as we have seen, the main developments of the plot are due to the decisions - or indecisions - of the principals involved, made after great inner conflict and earnest deliberation. There are even clear echoes of tragedy in these scenes. Callirhoe explicitly compares her designs for her child to those of Medea, and abstains from abortion (which she considers equal to murdering her child) partly because she sees that her situation is not identical with the heroine of Euripides, in that she, Callirhoe, loves her husband, while Medea hated hers (2,9,2-5). Like Medea in the famous monologue of Euripides (Med. 1021-1080), she wavers abruptly between the two possibilities.²⁸ In Dionysius' moral conflict, again, there are certain similarities with the description of Phaedra in Euripides' *Hippolytus*. Both are noble and conscious of the illicit nature of their passion, both go through the same three phases: first they try to conceal their emotions, then to suppress them through self-discipline, and finally, they decide to die. Both confide in their servants, refuse at first to follow their advice, but accept their help later. These may be conscious

²⁵ E.g. G.L. Schmeling, *Chariton*, New York 1974, 46ff.

²⁶ A very different characterization of Chariton is given by G. Anderson, *Eros Sophistes: Ancient Novelists at Play*, Chico 1982, where his novel is seen as a new comic melodrama, largely inspired by New Comedy (13-21). For the influence of drama on Chariton, see the surveys by Hunter 1994, 1063f., Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1018ff.

²⁷ Cf. G. Molinié, *Chariton. Le roman de Chairéas et Callirhoé*, Paris 1979, 35.

²⁸ 2,9,3 "And then again she changed her mind, and pity came over her for her unborn child."

reflections.²⁹ Such cases of tragic intertextuality should not be regarded as mere embellishments, but as a means of emphasizing the serious nature of the conflict and thus giving depth to the presentation of the characters' emotions.

The detailed description of such conflicts is also a means of capturing the interest and empathy of the audience. The reader is forced to follow the agonizing arguments before he or she knows which turn the events will take as a result of the deliberation. This is a feature apparently typical of many works of Hellenistic literature. Demetrius, the author of *Peri hermeneias*, who might be nearly contemporary with Chariton, applauds the historiographer Ctesias' vividness of style in that he understands the need to unfold the development of events gradually, thus keeping the hearer in suspense and forcing him to share the distress of the persons he is writing about (συναγωνιᾶν 4,126).

A more temporary excitement of the main character is often described by Chariton by the stereotyped expression of mixed contrary emotions,³⁰ as for instance when Callirhoe in her tomb hears the noise made by the grave-robbers: 1,9,3 τὴν Καλλιρόην κατελάμβανεν ὁμοῦ πάντα, φόβος, χαρά, λύπη, θαυμασμός, ἐλπίς, ἀπιστία. "Callirhoe was gripped by a variety of emotions - fear, joy, grief, surprise, hope, disbelief."³¹ This stereotype does not so much emphasize the strength of the emotions, but the confusion raging in the character's mind. It also activates the reader's mind. Every word prompts the reader to think about the conditions that could evoke such emotional reactions: Callirhoe must be afraid that there is something dangerous coming up; she must be glad because there might be the possibility of a rescuer, etc. Callirhoe's following monologue then explicitly takes up some of these possibilities. The effect of stimulating the audience is even more clear in 8,5,8, where Artaxerxes has learnt everything that has happened from his queen and read the letter sent by Chaereas: "The King was filled with countless

²⁹ Cf. Eur. Hipp. 391-402 vs Char. 2,4,1; 2,4,4; 3,1,1; Hipp. 486-524 vs Char. 2,6.

³⁰ A word combination used by A. Heisermann, *The Novel before the Novel: Essays and Discussions about the Beginnings of Prose Fiction in the West*, Chicago and London 1977, 120. This stereotype is discussed more in detail by M. Fusillo, "Le conflit des émotions: un topos du roman grec érotique", *MH* 47, 1990, 201-221.

³¹ Fusillo (205) points out the characteristic asyndetic co-ordination of abstract nouns and the novelty of thus connecting emotions which in Aristotle's *Rhetorics* (1378a19ff) are discussed as opposites.

emotions as he read it: he was angry³² at the capture of his dear ones, he regretted making Chaereas go over to his enemies, and then again he was grateful to him that he could not see Callirhoe anymore.³³ But above all he was envious." In this context, the King's conflicting emotions are clearly used as a means of recapitulation: the reader is reminded of the previous events through the King's recorded reactions to them. I contend that one reason for the frequency of these expressions of mixed contrary emotions lies in their capacity to stimulate the audience to remember past events or to anticipate the different possibilities of future events.

In some of such enumerations of different feelings, the mixed emotions are not an expression of the confusion felt by one character, but are presented as the emotions of a group of people. This leads us to a characteristic which is very typical of Chariton: again and again, the effect of the events upon the community surrounding the main characters is told,³⁴ as in the example which opened this paper (5,8,2). The climax of the trial with the appearance of Chaereas was there compared with a dramatic performance, where there is a complexity of emotions.³⁵ After the stereotyped enumeration of the emotions (δάκρυα, χαρά, θάμβος, ἔλεος, ἀπιστία, εὐχαί), the author immediately enlarges upon this theme, explaining that "*they* proclaimed Chaereas happy, rejoiced with Mithridates, grieved with Dionysius, were at a loss regarding Callirhoe. For she was quite confused---"³⁶ Who are *they*? They are not the protagonists themselves, but the mass of people who are present at the trial. They share the feelings with which, out of their knowledge of the situation, they credit the protagonists. In point of fact, although some of the nouns used to express emotions probably reflect the feelings of the

³² In this variation, verbs expressing emotions are used instead of abstract nouns.

³³ Reardon (1989) suspects that there may be some words missing in the text, to the effect that the King "was grateful to him that [he had treated the queen well, but sorry that] he could not see Callirhoe anymore" (118 n. 130).

³⁴ This feature is briefly mentioned by E.H. Haight, *Essays on the Greek Romances*, New York 1943, 26f., Hägg 1971, 260, Molinié 1979, 36f., and Hunter 1994, 1061. See also L. Cicu, "La poetica di Aristotele e il romanzo antico", *Sandalion* 5 (1982) 133f.

³⁵ Cicu 1982, 109ff. calls attention to the similarity of these complex emotions to those mentioned in rhetorical treatises on *narratio in personis privatis*, e.g. ad Her. 1,12-13 and Cic. de inv. 1,19; Chariton, as a clerk of the rhetor Athenagoras, was naturally familiar with Hellenistic rhetorical theory.

³⁶ I use here my own, literal paraphrase; cf. the translation by Reardon quoted in n. 1.

main characters themselves (like tears, joy, surprise, disbelief), not all of them do: the onlookers to whom it was apt to feel pity or express prayers are also implied.³⁷ Also the word θέατρον used in the comparison to a dramatic performance alludes more to the auditorium of the theatre and thus to the feelings of the spectators than to the stage and the feelings of the characters of the play.

In this comparison, the crowd surrounding the principals of the novel in the trial come very near to the audience of the novel, and the manifold reactions of the crowd subtly reflect the reactions which the author expects his audience to feel. This impression is strengthened at the continuation of the scene. The author shortly returns to Callirhoe's feelings and behaviour, with a short authorial comment in the first person singular. Then he launches on a remarkable quarrel scene between the two husbands of Callirhoe (5,8,5-6), in the style of tragic *antilabai*,³⁸ and ends the dialogue with a reference to the listeners: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἤκουον οὐκ ἀήδως - "and the audience enjoyed it." Here, for once, the audience of the trial seems to be quite detached from the feelings of the protagonists - the trial audience simply stand back, relax and enjoy the violent altercation. Chariton seems to be inviting the audience of his novel to enjoy it, too, and especially to enjoy his skilful exchange of retorts.

But such detachment of the audience - inside or outside the novel - is exceptional in Chariton. Typically, their emotional reactions closely accompany those of the main characters. Thus we could say that the emotions are felt on three levels, firstly by the characters themselves (expressed by themselves or told by the author), secondly by the people of the story surrounding them, and thirdly by the real audience following the story. Only exceptionally does Chariton refer to the third level of emotions explicitly: it happens, though, in the introduction to the final book, where

³⁷ I take the meaning of εὐχαί in this passage to be nearly equivalent to "congratulations, good wishes", as in 3,5,3 (where the word is used to form a contrasting pair with tears); 8,4,11; 8,8,12. Cf. F. Conca, E. de Carli and G. Zanetto, *Lessico dei romanzieri greci*, vol II 1989 (s.v.) "1. preghiera, voto, augurio", without, however, differentiating these meanings in the passages cited.

³⁸ It is evident that the model for this scene is Eur. *Hel.* 1632ff., namely the altercation between King Theoclymenus and the Servant; in both cases, the subject of the altercation is which of the two rivals has a better claim as a husband. Cf. M.M.J. Laplace, "Les légendes troyennes dans le 'roman' de Chariton, *Chairéas et Callirhoé*", *REG* 93 (1980) 98. I do not, however, agree with Laplace's thesis of Chariton's extensive utilization of a Trojan legend.

he promises that this chapter will be the most agreeable to the readers (8,1,4), and it is very near in the example of the trial scene discussed above (5,8,6). Usually, however, Chariton guides his audience's reactions by showing them the inside environment's reactions and thus inveigling them into sharing it or at least into reacting to it. We can see the method for instance when Chaereas at the beginning of the story is so unhappy that he stays away from his habitual sporting pursuits: "The gymnasium missed Chaereas; it was almost deserted, for he was the idol of the young folk. They asked after him, and when they found out what had made him ill, they all felt pity for a handsome youth who looked as if he would die because his noble heart was broken" (1,1,10). Here, the feelings of Chaereas' friends are caused by the feelings of Chaereas, but they are different - he suffers, they feel pity. In this way, both Chaereas' *pathos* is emphasized and the plot is carried forward as the friends, because of their pity, take the initiative in pressing Chaereas' suit. At the same time, the emotional reaction of the friends serves as a model for the reader. In the example quoted above, the emotional levels of the surrounding community and the reader partly coincide: when the author says ἐπόθει τὸ γυμνάσιον and ἐφίλει ἡ νεολαία, the feelings are so to speak inside the story - the reader is not supposed to miss or love Chaereas. But when he says ἔλεος πάντας εἰσήει μαιρακίου καλοῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἀπολέσθαι διὰ πάθος ψυχῆς εὐφυοῦς, he is involving the outside audience in the group of πάντες, since ἔλεος, pity, is an emotion which can very well be experienced by those outside the story.³⁹ Here, the effect upon the reader is moreover emphasized by the brief recapitulation of the grounds for the emotion.

Chariton uses the vehicle of the emotions of the people surrounding the characters - fellow citizens, townspeople, servants or soldiers - with subtle variations to guide his reader. A stereotype is the wonder and admiration felt by the crowd at the sight of the hero or heroine, as when after the marriage ceremony Chaereas and Callirhoe step out of the house, "the whole crowd was struck with wonder, as when Artemis appears to hunters in lonely places; many of those present actually went down on their knees in worship. They all thought Callirhoe beautiful and Chaereas lucky"

³⁹ Aristotle emphasizes that pity is felt by those who are not too preoccupied with their own emotions, e.g. fear (Rhet. 1385b 29-33). Pity is one of the main points of Aristotle's discussion of the effect peculiar to tragedy on its audience (e.g. Poet.1449b27; 1453b5ff).

(1,1,16). In such cases, the outside audience's emotions are not actually involved; the emphasis on the inside onlookers only hammers home the truth of the overwhelming beauty of the heroine.⁴⁰

Often the reader is apparently expected simply to share the emotional reactions of the people (ὁ δῆμος), the crowd (τὸ πλῆθος), or of everybody (πάντες).⁴¹ After the rejected suitors staged traces of a nightly *komos* around Chaereas' door, in the morning everybody was very curious about it: πᾶς ὁ παριῶν εἰστήκει κοινῶ τινι πολυπραγμοσύνης πάθει (1,3,3). The reader's curiosity, too, is thus ensured, and the author immediately satisfies it by relating what happened. Very commonly the crowd reacts to the main characters' laments or sufferings by bursting into tears or wails themselves, for instance when Chaereas demands the severest possible penalty for himself, "at these words a cry of grief burst forth; everybody abandoned the dead girl in sorrow for the living man" (1,5,6) or when Callirhoe, with tears, refers to her falling into slavery, "Dionysius too was moved to tears, and so were all those present" (2,5,7).⁴² In a way, this technique reminds us of modern comedy programmes on television with the canned laughter of an invisible audience - except that in Chariton's novel, the story usually involves not ready-made laughter, but ready-made tears, in the style θρῆνον τὸ πλῆθος ἐξέρρηξεν ἐπὶ τούτοις, "at this the crowd broke out in lamentation" (3,3,7).

Sometimes the real audience knows better than the people of the story, as when Callirhoe faints when she is told of her impending wedding and "the spectators thought it maidenly modesty" (1,1,14), while the audience knows that she is in love with Chaereas, or when Chaereas has

⁴⁰ Cf. 1,14,1; 2,2,2; 2,5,4; 4,1,9; 4,7,6; 5,3,9. It can be noted that Chariton never actually describes his heroine's looks, but resorts to a comparison with a goddess or to a general impression of radiance. Soft, white skin and an impression of becoming clothes is the most detailed information we get from her outward appearance. In this he differs from the other novelists, who all hasten to describe in detail the looks of their heroines and sometimes heroes (Xen.Eph. 1,2, Ach.Tat. 1,4, Longus 1,13 of Daphnis, 1,17 of Chloe, Heliod. 1,2 and 3, 3-4).

⁴¹ I have examined in detail the use of these terms in Kaimio 1995 (see n.17), 121-123. There are usually no class distinctions visible in the use of these terms. Δῆμος is frequently used of the Syracusans, emphasizing the Greek democracy of this city; of the Persians, it is used in such instances where there is an opposition between the nobility and the ordinary people (5,4,1; 6,2,1; see Kaimio 1995, 122 n. 19).

⁴² Similarly θρῆνος or equivalent in 3,3,7; 4,3,5; 4,3,11; 8,4,9; 8,8,2; ἔλεος or equivalent in 3,4,10; 4,12,14; both emotions in 4,1,12.

kicked Callirhoe unconscious and "wailing was to be heard on all sides" (1,5,1), because the people thought she was dead, while the reader has just been informed that Callirhoe "looked to everyone as if she were dead". Such expressions strengthen the general emotional atmosphere and at the same time give to the outside audience a pleasant sense of superiority.⁴³

Again, especially at climactic points, Chariton paints the crowd in the grip of many conflicting emotions at once. We have already seen an example of this at the climax of the great trial (5,8,2).⁴⁴ Sometimes the same people have good reason to feel conflicting emotions, such as when they hear the truth about Callirhoe's slavery, "joy and grief came over everyone - joy that Callirhoe was alive, grief that she had been sold" (3,4,15). Again a good reminder to the audience how they should feel at this moment of the plot. But more often these crowd scenes contain mixed contrary emotions because there are so many different people who naturally also react differently.⁴⁵ Such is the important event of sending the Syracusan trireme in search of Callirhoe (3,5,3):⁴⁶ "On the appointed day of departure the people all hurried to the harbor, not just men, but women and children too; and prayers were joined with tears, groans of despair, words of consolation, fear, confidence, despair, hope." The model for this emotional scene is clearly Thucydides' description of the departure of the Athenian fleet for Sicily (6,30-31), where different groups of people are mentioned (Athenians and non-Athenians; citizens with their sons and other members of the family) as well as conflicting emotions felt both by one and the same person (fear and confidence) and by different kinds of persons (strong emotions of the citizens, cool curiosity of the strangers). The deeply moving tableau painted by Thucydides at this great moment of Athenian history⁴⁷ has in Chariton's hands turned into a melodrama: the strong emotions are enumerated quickly, and then follow some examples illustrating the more sombre part of the list: the farewell scenes with

⁴³ Other examples in 3,1,3; 3,4,2; 3,4,10. This effect is, however, more often sought simply with the erring character, without the erring crowd, see p. 54f.

⁴⁴ See p. 57f.

⁴⁵ Cf. Fusillo 1990b (see n. 30), 207f.

⁴⁶ Other examples 3,4,1; 7,6,5; 8,4,1; 8,6,5-6.

⁴⁷ Cf. also the Thucydidean descriptions of the sea battle at Syracuse, with the infantry following on the shore (7,71) and of the departure of the Athenians, leaving the sick and wounded behind (7,75).

Chaereas' father and mother and the secret departure of Polycharmus.

In some of Chariton's crowd scenes, the people are differentiated in a way that suggests that the author is thinking of his differentiated readership, as when the reactions of people of different age and sex are specifically mentioned. In some instances, the presence of women (and sometimes children, too) in the gathered crowd or assembly is merely mentioned,⁴⁸ but elsewhere their special interest in Callirhoe is explicitly brought forward. When the people in the assembly have persuaded Hermocrates to give his daughter to Chaereas, the author tells that "the young men went off to find Chaereas, the council and archons escorted Hermocrates, and the Syracusans' wives too went to his house, to attend the bride" (1,1,12-13). In connection with the great trial in Babylon, Chariton twice charts the different opinions of the crowd, giving each time four different argumentations according to the sex of the public and the candidate they are supporting.⁴⁹ At the end of the novel, the participation of the women in the joy of the homecoming of the couple is especially noticeable.⁵⁰ I take this as an indication that Chariton expected his audience to consist of both sexes and, when he hoped that his female readers would feel sympathy for Callirhoe, he anticipated this by describing how the female crowd reacted and behaved.⁵¹

Recapitulating the feelings that Chariton assigns to the crowd surrounding the main characters of his story we can elicit what kind of emotional reactions he hoped and expected from the audience of his novel. Most frequently he describes feelings of pity and sorrow - ἔλεος, θρῆνος, λυπή, κλαίειν, πενθεῖν are the kind of words he uses.⁵² The beauty of the hero and heroine excites feelings of astonishment and wonder (verbs like θαυμάζειν, μακαρίζειν). Sometimes a happy turn of the plot causes the people to feel joy (χαρά), although in the middle of events it may be mixed with sorrow. Sometimes the curiosity (πολυπραγμοσύνη) or surprise

⁴⁸ As in 3,4,4; 3,5,3; 8,7,1.

⁴⁹ 5,4,1-2; 6,1,2-5.

⁵⁰ 8,6,11; 8,7,1-2.

⁵¹ For a more detailed discussion of these scenes, see Kaimio 1995, 122ff. Cf. also Konstan 1994, 77-78.

⁵² Cf. W. Bartsch, *Der Charitonroman und die Historiographie*, Diss. Leipzig 1934, 28ff., who, however, bases his discussion too much upon the comparison between historiography and the novel, to the detriment of the influence of tragedy and rhetoric.

(ἔκπληξις) of the people is emphasized; a similar effect on the reader is achieved with authorial comments promising a wonderful, unbelievable turn of fortune (παράδοξον, ἄπιστον). Thus the reader's emotional pleasure⁵³ is envisaged by Chariton to consist of intense empathy for the various feelings raised in the protagonists by their fortunes, and sometimes of the detachment brought by superior knowledge. Thus far, the enjoyment raised by the novel is not too far removed from the pleasure raised by tragedy. In the end, however, the catharsis offered by Chariton is the sweeping away of all the unpleasant and gloomy things he has been telling about, as he informs us at the beginning of his last book.⁵⁴ The final movement from lamentations, θρῆνοι, to cries of well-wishing, εὐχαί, is essential for Chariton's novel and the greatest pleasure, ἥδιστον, he offers to his audience.

Thus, we have seen that Chariton uses frequently and with considerable variation and skill the emotional reactions of the crowd as a vehicle in his narrative technique, emphasizing the *pathos* experienced by his characters and creating an emotional model for the audience of his novel. Did Chariton imitate a pattern found in earlier literature? We can find some examples resembling his technique in many kinds of narrative. In Homeric epics, we find phrases reflecting traditional mourning rituals, where a relative or a friend of the deceased began the lament, and other mourners answered with wailing cries - ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες (Il.24,722; 746), ἐπὶ δ' ἔστενε δῆμος ἀπείρων (Il.24,776).⁵⁵ We find in Homer also short speeches expressing the emotions and opinions of a crowd, sometimes opposing the chieftains and often referred to as spoken by a nameless somebody, τις; these have been called choric speeches.⁵⁶

⁵³ This is not necessarily the only kind of pleasure Chariton hopes to give to his audience. According to their capacities, they can also derive pleasure from the torrent of events, the characterization of the protagonists, his style, his intertextual references to Homer, tragedy, historiography, etc.

⁵⁴ 8,1,4 νομίζω δὲ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο σύγγραμμα τοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ἥδιστον γενήσεσθαι· καθάρσιον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σκυθρωπῶν. For Chariton and *catharsis*, see the surveys by Hunter 1994, 1070, Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1019.

⁵⁵ See M. Kaimio, *The Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of the Person and Number Used*, Helsinki 1970, 25f.

⁵⁶ E. Hentze, "Die Chorreden in den homerischen Epen", *Philologus* 18, 1905, 254-268; Kaimio 1970, 26f.

Frequently, after a speech the reaction of the listeners is told, as for instance when Agamemnon tests his army with the suggestion of return: Il. 1,142 ὡς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὄρινε / πᾶσι μετὰ πληθὺν, or when Odysseus asks the Phaeacians to carry him home: Od. 7,226 ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνεον ἠδ' ἐκέλευον / πεμπέμεναι τὸν ξεῖνον. Such epic turns of phrase were naturally familiar to Chariton, although one cannot point out clear instances of imitation.⁵⁷

The situation found in the Homeric examples mentioned last is very common in historiography, and here we can find a clear model of narrative pattern. For instance in Xenophon, a speech situation is frequently closed with a sentence like "so they spoke, and the soldiers applauded" (Anab. 1,3,7).⁵⁸ This kind of reaction of the soldiers is used by Chariton in books 7 and 8, in which Chaereas has the role of a military commander.⁵⁹ There are also occasional examples of more emotional reactions, where the crowd echoes the reaction of a protagonist, as in Herodotus 3,14, when he tells how Psammenitus, who had not cried at his daughter's or son's misfortunes, cried for a friend, and when hearing his explanation, both Croesus and the Persians present cried, or in 3,66, where the Persians hearing Cambyses' words and seeing him crying burst into wailing. We have already noted that Chariton occasionally used Thucydides as his model for a highly pathetic scene,⁶⁰ and in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* we find several scenes with a crowd expressing their emotions, which may have directly inspired Chariton. Compare with the farewell scene of Chaereas, with men, women and children crowding into the harbour (3,5,3), the farewell scene of young Cyrus (Xen.Cyr. 1,4,25), where "the whole world poured out to speed him on his journey - little children and lads of his own age, and grown men and greybeards on their steeds, and Astyages the king. And, so says the chronicle, the eyes of none were dry when they turned home again."⁶¹ And the story of Araspas in Cyr. 5,1,2ff.

⁵⁷ Note, however, the similarity between the ritual laments in Homer and the "threnodic" expressions of Chariton (above p. 60f.). For Homeric influence in Chariton in general, see Schmeling 1974, 42ff., Müller 1976, 126ff., Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1017f.

⁵⁸ Further e.g. Xen.Anab. 1,3,2; 1,4,9; 1,4,16; 1,5,11; 1,7,8; 2,1,4; 2,1,9; 5,1,3; 5,1,4; 5,1,14; 5,7,13; 6,4,22.

⁵⁹ Char. 7,3,3; 7,3,4; 7,3,10; 7,3,11; 8,2,11; 8,2,13.

⁶⁰ See p. 61.

⁶¹ Translation by H.G. Dakyns (first published 1914) from Xenophon: The Education of Cyrus, Everyman's Library, London and Rutland, Vermont 1992.

very much resembles Chariton's description of the events on Arados island 7,6,6ff. - a soldier comforting a beautiful captive woman that she will have the commander-in-chief as her man, the woman protesting in despair, as she loves her lost husband. Both women cry out and rend their hair or veil, while Xenophon adds that "her maidens lifted up their voice and wept with their mistress" (5,1,6).

It is difficult to say whether the Hellenistic historiographers⁶² like Ctesias, Duris or Phylarchus, who were known for their use of pathetic scenes, developed the use of these expressions in the manner seen in Chariton, since even if they did use them, such expressions were very likely to be dropped out of the quotations from which we mainly know their works.⁶³ It seems likely that such expressions emphasizing the emotional impact of the scene, already occasionally used by the classical historiographers, were increasingly favoured by them. In a historical narrative, though, however pathetic in style, the reactions of an emphatic crowd, who are not too much involved in the fortunes themselves, are probably not a very consistent feature, partly because there is no central hero in the narrative,⁶⁴ partly because it is more moving to emphasize the feelings of a suffering mass of people themselves, e.g. in connection with a captured city.⁶⁵ The consistent use of a loyal admiring, fearing, crying and pitying crowd accompanying the much more piercing emotions of the heroes and heroines is a development apparently peculiar to the early novel as we know it from Chariton. Especially in the scenes taking place in Syracuse, this device is also apt to emphasize the Greek democracy of the community, as is seen in its frequent use in different kinds of assembly

⁶² For the influence of historiography, especially of the so-called "tragic" history, on Chariton see Bartsch 1934, Schmeling 1974, 51ff., A.D. Papanikolaou, Chariton-Studien. Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Chronologie der griechischen Romane, Göttingen 1975, 16ff., E. Gabba, "True History and False History in Classical Antiquity", JRS 71 (1981) 52ff., Hunter 1994, 1058ff., Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1013ff.

⁶³ The only slightly similar passages that I have found are Ctes.688 F 1b = Diod.2,4,5 and F 1 q = Athen. 12,8 529c-d, where people are said to be wondering (θαυμάζειν) at some strange happenings around them.

⁶⁴ Except in biographies, where the vicissitudes of the political hero may have been greatly emphasized emotionally, cf. the conditions placed by Cicero on his friend Lucceius, ad fam. 5,12,4-6. Cf. Schmeling 1974, 54f.

⁶⁵ Polybius when criticizing Phylarchus gives an example of such a description (2,56,6-8) and sums up: ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν, πειρώμενος ἐν ἐκάστοις ἀεὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι τὰ δεινὰ.

scenes. But also in the autocratic Persian environment, Chariton presents the people as endlessly interested in the fortunes of the noble and beautiful.

Hellenistic historiography was much influenced by tragedy, but Chariton also shows the direct influence of tragedy, as we have seen.⁶⁶ It is possible that the emotional crowd as a device of narrative technique owes partly to tragedy, because it is in tragedy that we find the use of a similar body of people surrounding the main heroes and reacting constantly to their sayings, doings and feelings - the chorus, who express their reaction either in the short couplets of verse after the speeches of the actors or in their own choric songs. I think that Chariton has consciously imitated this feature of the tragedy, since he has found it a very suitable vehicle for guiding his audience in the new form of narrative he is writing.⁶⁷ The use of crowd scenes is also apt to appeal to a listening public, making it easy for them to identify with the emotions described.⁶⁸

Since the other specimens of early Greek novel are mostly lost, apart from meagre fragments, we cannot know how commonly and in what way other early authors used these expressions so typical of Chariton. A comparison with the extant novels, however, shows that although many of them had clearly become stock expressions, Chariton's way of using them is his own. A comparison with Xenophon of Ephesus is particularly illustrative, since his novel is the only other one among the extant Greek novels which does not show the stylistic ideals of the second sophistic movement. Xenophon has quite a number of expressions which on the surface level are used similarly by Chariton. Thomas Hägg has called attention to them,⁶⁹ characterizing the reactions and interpretations of an observing and commenting collective as "a kind of intermediary between the individual characters and the reader." He notes the similarity of such

⁶⁶ Cf. p. 55f.

⁶⁷ Cf. Cicu 1982, 134: "Dal prologo all'"esodo" del romanzo di Caritone dunque il "coro" si rivela elemento non secondario della struttura narrativa."

⁶⁸ There may have been similar elements in the oral traditions of story-telling through the centuries; cf. the frequent reactions of the students of Xanthus, the professor, to Aesopus' witticisms in *Vita Aesopi*, and the sympathizing women around Thecla in *Paul and Thecla*. See T. Hägg, "Den opopulära populärlitteraturen - romantiserad biografi och historisk roman", in Ø. Andersen and T. Hägg (eds.), *I skyggen av Akropolis*, Bergen 1994, 312, 332.

⁶⁹ Hägg 1971, 123 (without, however, a comparison with Chariton's usage).

passages and those with an impersonal phrase (ἦν δὲ τὸ θέαμα ἐλλεινόν) and concludes that "obviously, there is only a slight difference in effect between the usual undisguised author's point of view and the occasional introduction of a passive witness who reflects the happenings." This may be true of Xenophon, but could not be said of Chariton.

In fact, when we take a closer look at these passages of Xenophon, we note that one characteristic of Chariton is almost non-existent in Xenophon: the sympathetic crowd entering helplessly and whole-heartedly into the feelings of the protagonists. The only crowd scenes which are frequent in Xenophon are those where the people admire the beauty of the protagonists, often worshipping them as if they were gods.⁷⁰ A rejoicing crowd is naturally present at their wedding and their final reunion.⁷¹ When they start for a sea-journey, the people follow them to the harbour,⁷² but this is usually mentioned merely as a stereotypic addition, without reference to the people's feelings.⁷³ There is a highly emotional farewell scene in 1,10,9-10, but here the shouts, tears and lamentations heard from the ship and the shore are explicitly those of the parents and children, not of those sympathizing with them. Similarly, in one of the instances of θέαμα ἐλλεινόν, pitiful sight (1,14,2), there are no outsiders pitying the passengers of the ship in the hands of the pirates, because in addition to the victims, only the pirates are present, and of course they do not feel pity. As Hägg suggests,⁷⁴ the expression is very near to an authorial comment. Of course, the captured and the burning victims can also call each other a pitiful sight, as they exchange remarks over each other's fate. The authorial tone is even more clear in the other instance of "a pitiful sight" (2,6,3), when Habrocomes is tortured: there is no pitying crowd, and all the people present (Apsyrtus, Manto, Moeris, slaves) except Anthia have good reason not to feel pity at the sight.

The only scenes where a crowd expresses empathy for the distress of

⁷⁰ Xen.Eph.1,1,3; 1,1,6; 1,2,5; 1,2,7 (in these instances, the reactions of the crowd are mentioned as being habitual, and so the formulaic use of the expression is emphasized); 1,2,7-8; 1,12,1; 2,2,4; 5,7,3.

⁷¹ 1,7,3; 5,13,1; 5,13,3.

⁷² 1,10,5-6; 1,12,3; 5,15,1.

⁷³ Only in 1,10,5 are prayers and tears mentioned; the tears emphasize their affection for the young couple, not the feelings of the young couple themselves.

⁷⁴ Hägg 1971, 123.

the characters are 3,7,1, where Perilaus cries out at the apparent death of Anthia and the whole household feel grief, fear and terror,⁷⁵ and 5,6,2, with a short mention that "the couple's parents and all Ephesus were in great distress, since no messenger and no letters had come from them."⁷⁶ In fact, more often the crowd's reaction forms a contrast to the character's feelings or actions. In 2,10,3, when Habrocomes is offered a wife for recompense, "the whole household was glad for Habrocomes and thanked the master on his behalf. But he himself was very distressed over Anthia." And in some instances, at a character's distress the crowd tries to console and hearten him (with the stereotypic expression *θαρρεῖν παρεκάλουν* or sim.).⁷⁷ Thus, while Xenophon of Ephesus certainly often uses similar expressions for the behaviour of the crowd as Chariton and thus shows them to be part of the stock-in-trade of the early novelists, he uses them much more casually and superficially, without creating the vibrating emotional background which consistently guides the audience in Chariton.

In the three extant sophistic novels, such straightforward methods of ensuring the sympathy of the audience do not play any remarkable role. In Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, the focus of the story is on the inner feelings of the youngsters, which develop in lonely pastures, reflecting the nature surrounding them; crowds of people are irrelevant to this story. In the rare occasions when one or the other of the pair does encounter other people than their nearest, individually named neighbours, we can detect a skilful adaptation of the old clichés: Daphnis, accused by the Methymneans, after his defence "burst into tears and made the villagers feel very sorry for him"⁷⁸ (2,17,1), after which they "got excited and swooped down on them like starlings or jackdaws."⁷⁹ When the couple at last make their appearance in town, there is the usual astonishment at the beauty of the

⁷⁵ This scene is rather richly painted with the stereotype of "mixed contrary feelings": *θόρυβός τε πολὺς τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἦν καὶ πάθη συμμιγῆ, οἰμωγή, φόβος, ἔκπληξις. οἱ μὲν ὄκτειρον τὴν δοκοῦσαν τεθνηκένας, οἱ δὲ συνήχθοντο Περιλάω, πάντες δὲ ἐθρήνουν τὸ γεγονός.* The reader knows that Anthia is not dead.

⁷⁶ Translations of Xenophon of Ephesus are by G. Anderson, from Reardon (ed.) 1989.

⁷⁷ 1,11,1; 3,10,3. This expression is also used of a named consoling friend, as in 5,2,1; 5,10,12. In Chariton, this function is most often played by Polycharmus, never by the crowd. In Xenophon 5,7,4, the crowd (this time customers of a brothel), after their initial shock, even give a helping hand to Anthia, who is feigning an attack of epilepsy.

⁷⁸ Translation by C. Gill in Reardon (ed.) 1989.

⁷⁹ A Homeric simile (Il. 17,755), as Gill points out *ad loc.*

pair, the men sympathizing with Daphnis' father, the women with his mother (4,33,3) - but the author adds the novelty that many rich ladies prayed that they should be believed to be the mother of Chloe. And of course "everybody" (their families and the villagers) accompanies them singing to the bedchamber after the wedding (4,40,1-2), but then the singing is, appropriately to this milieu, described as harsh and rough.

Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* is, after the opening scene, told by the hero in the first person singular, and this of course affects the narrative technique deeply. There are, however, a couple of references to the pity and fear felt by bystanders at a horrendous spectacle, but these feelings are aroused directly by the spectacle itself, not by the hero's feelings (1,13; 3,15). More interesting is the hero's description of how his story affects his listener (one person, this time): 3,14 "...he listened sympathetically. Compassion is a natural human response to a recital of wretched reversals, and pity is prompt to promote rapport. Feelings of sorrow soften the soul while troubles are being told, and by gradual degrees the auditor's pity mellows to amity, his grief to compassion. He was so moved by my story that he wept..."⁸⁰ Here, the author, through the mouth of his hero, nicely analyses how the mentioning of the weeping bystanders, which became a cliché after Chariton, works.

Achilles Tatius has his trial scene, too, with some natural references to the reactions of the different parties concerned.⁸¹ When the court is adjourned and the hero temporarily released from torture, he describes - with quite plausible realism - how "a crowd gathered around me, a confused mixture of sympathizers, miracle mongers, and the merely curious" (7,14). This crowd later intervene and defend the hero against the guards (7,16).⁸² This is an example of how a stereotype is integrated into the action of the story. The stereotype of a crowd reacting to a procession or other spectacle is used by Achilles Tatius to heighten the effect of the virginity test of Leucippe (8,13-14). Achilles Tatius thus shows his awareness of such traditional features of narrative, but considering the bulk of his novel, they play a very minor part in it.

The same can be said of Heliodorus. Both these authors have other

⁸⁰ Translation by J.J. Winkler in Reardon (ed.) 1989.

⁸¹ Ach.Tat.7,8; 7,9; 7,10.

⁸² Similarly a crowd gather and later act in 8,3.

and more subtle ways of activating the audience.⁸³ However, when Heliodorus does use such stereotypes, he often enlarges and enlivens them magnificently. An example is the opening of the novel, the disturbing scene seen through the eyes of the bandits. There are the traditional elements of a crowd amazed at the beauty of the heroine and supposing her to be a god, but these are nearly submerged by the description of the appearance and behaviour of the hero and heroine and of the strangeness of the whole situation. The goddess-cliché is developed ingeniously when the bandits begin to wonder: "How could a god behave like that?" they said. "How could a divine being kiss a corpse with such passion?"⁸⁴ Again, the stereotype that a character bursts into tears after telling his or her sad story and the listeners start weeping out of sympathy is used almost in its bare traditional form in 5,33, but Heliodorus adds a touch suggesting the detachment of the audience - both inside and outside the story: "His story concluded, he began to weep, and the entire company wept with him. The festivities had turned to sadness, not unmixed with a kind of pleasure; for wine disposes men to tears." Another variation upon the same stereotype is found in 1,18, when Cnemon, after finishing his long story, wept, and "the strangers wept too, ostensibly at his story but in fact in remembrance of their own. They would not have ceased from sorrowing, had not sleep, drawn by the pleasure they took in weeping, come fluttering down to staunch their tears." Here, the reacting audience consists not of a crowd, but of the hero and heroine themselves. Their reaction is described with a Homeric remembrance of the captive women weeping ostensibly for Patroclus, but in truth for their own fate (Il. 19,301f.). Heliodorus also uses lavishly the stereotype of the crowd following in admiration or excitement a spectacle, especially when Calasiris describes the procession at Delphi, where the hero and heroine meet each other for the first time

⁸³ On this topic, see J.J. Winkler, "The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the Narrative Strategy of Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*", *YCIS* 27 (1982) 93-158, S. Bartsch, *Decoding the Ancient Novel: The Reader and the Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, Princeton 1989, T. Paulsen, "Die 'Aithiopika' als Roman für alle. Zur Kommunikation Heliodors mit Lesern unterschiedlicher Bildungsniveaus", G. Binder & K. Ehlich (eds.), *Kommunikation durch Zeichen und Wort*, Trier 1995, 351-364.

⁸⁴ Translation by J.R. Morgan in Reardon (ed.) 1989.

(3,1ff.),⁸⁵ or when the people of Memphis follow the duel between the rivals for priesthood (7,5ff.),⁸⁶ or at the end of the novel, where Charicleia is to be sacrificed in the festival in honour of the Sun and the Moon (10,4ff.).⁸⁷ In the last instance, the reactions of the Ethiopian crowd prove to be decisive for the fate of the protagonists, because it is they who prevent the King from going on with the sacrifice of his daughter (10,17,1). The crowd's excited reactions accompany Theagenes' exploits⁸⁸ and reach a climax in the final scenes, where "a perfect harmony of diametric opposites" reigns (10,38).⁸⁹

Thus, we have seen that in the sophistic novels, the stereotyped phrases describing the reactions of the surrounding crowd are but a minor part of the complex narrative, but even so, each of the novelists has his own way of using (or avoiding) these expressions. Of the earlier novelists, we have noted how Chariton uses such phrases as a continuous emotional reflection of the protagonists' feelings and thus gives guidance to his own audience as to the reception of his work. I conclude with a remark concerning the fragments of the novel called *Chione*⁹⁰ and those of an unknown novel sometimes connected with *Chione*.⁹¹ *Chione* was written in the same codex as Chariton's *Callirhoe*, and it has been conjectured to have been written by Chariton, too, although "there is really nothing to sustain the conjecture".⁹² The fragments of the unknown novel might be part of

⁸⁵ Phrases describing the onlookers' reactions occur among the description of the pageant itself in 3,3,1; 3,3,4; 3,3,8; 3,4,1; 3,4,8. A nice touch is that the most important thing remains unnoticed by everyone save Calasiris: the moment of the couple's falling in love (3,5,7).

⁸⁶ 7,5,1; 7,6,4; 7,7,1; 7,7,4; 7,8,2; 7,8,3; 7,8,5; 7,9,1.

⁸⁷ 10,4,6; 10,7,1; 10,9,1; 10,9,4; 10,9,5.

⁸⁸ 10,30,5; 10,32,3.

⁸⁹ 10,38,3-4; 10,41,1; 10,41,3. The passage 10,38,4 is well characterized by Fusillo 1990b, 220f.

⁹⁰ Codex Thebanus deperditus = Pack² 244.

⁹¹ P.Berol. 10535 = Pack² 2631 and P.Berol. 21234, labelled as *Chione?* in S.A. Stephens and J.J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments*, Princeton 1995.

⁹² Stephens and Winkler 1995, 289. Cf. Reardon 1989, 19, 824; N. Marini, "Osservazioni sul 'Romanzo di Chione'", *Athenaeum* 80 (1993) 592 n. 25; Ruiz-Montero 1994, 1008; N. Holzberg, *The Ancient Novel: An Introduction*, London and New York 1995, 50.

Chione, too, as has been (very tentatively) suggested by Gronewald.⁹³ Gronewald in his commentary points out many similarities with Chariton, and among them are noted the references to the behaviour of a crowd.⁹⁴ Stephens and Winkler remark that "this may be insignificant, because the topic of crowd behavior may be quite standardized."⁹⁵ We have seen that it is, indeed, standardized, but certain differences can be seen in the use of such expressions even between Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus. The wording of the phrases in the fragments is very similar to Chariton, and the frequency of such expressions points equally to him - indeed, it is remarkable that in such short fragments there happen to be several expressions describing crowd behaviour. Naturally, this is not nearly enough to show that these fragments *are* by Chariton; however, it shows that the fragments belong to novels in which such references to crowd reactions were used quite frequently, and in the same way as in Chariton. Either the fragments are, then, by Chariton, or they show that these kinds of expressions were even more generally and uniformly used by the early novelists than we can conclude from the extant novels.

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⁹³ M. Gronewald, "Ein neues Fragment zu einem Roman", ZPE 35 (1979) 19-20. The identification is held possible by Stephens and Winkler 1995, 304; cf. Marini 1993, 596 n. 37; Holzberg 1995, 51 is more cautious. For the arrangement of the fragments, see C. Lucke, "Bemerkungen zu zwei Romanfragmenten", ZPE 54 (1984) 40-47.

⁹⁴ *Chione* col. II l. 3ff. ταχέως δὲ διεφοίτησε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν [---]φας φήμ[η καὶ] οὐθε[ῖς] ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐλάλει [ἦ] περὶ τοῦ γάμου. πάντες δὲ ἤχθοντο λογιζόμενοι τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς αὐτῶν ἀπαίδευτον, P.Berol. 10535 col. II l. 7ff. προύπεμπον δὲ[αὐτ- . . . οἱ μ]ὲν ἄλλοι θαυμά[ζον]τε[ς κ]αὶ ἐκπεπληγμέν[οι. . .], l. 16 ἀνῆλθ[ον. . .] σκεψόμενοι τὴν .υ[. . .] καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπελείφθη. κα[ὶ] ἦν] ὠθισμός περὶ τὸ δωμά[τι]ον πάντων εἰστρεχόντω[ν.] Text from Stephens and Winkler 1995.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 303 n. 1.

NEW POEMS ON STONE

MIKA KAJAVA

In recent times a number of interesting carmina epigraphica have been unearthed in the territory of Artena, a mediaeval town along the Via Latina some 45 km south of Rome. As in the Middle Ages, Artena would have been part (probably a *vicus*) of Signia (modern Segni) already in Roman times.¹ The name Artena was given to the town only in 1873 after some scholars had argued that the ancient site immediately south of the mediaeval town, which appears to have been deserted as early as the third century B.C., was identical with Artena, a Volscan town recorded by Livy 4,61.² Nowadays, however, when nobody seems to give credit to this proposal, there are those who prefer to locate Ectra, another Volscan town (Liv. 2,26,4; Dion. Hal. 4,49; 10,20-21), in the place of the ruined

* I wish to thank Olli Salomies and Heikki Solin for some useful suggestions concerning the restoration of the first inscription. Furthermore, my thanks are due to Jaakko Frösén and Tiina Purola for their contribution to the deciphering of the Greek poem published below.

¹ Th. Mommsen, CIL X (ed. 1883) already published the inscriptions from Artena with those of Signia (cf. p. 591); see also the topographical map enclosed in *Rationes decimarum Italiae nei secoli XIII e XIV. Latium, a cura di G. Battelli* (Studi e testi 128), Città del Vaticano 1946.

² W. Gell, *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity I*, London 1846², 110; A. Nibby, *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta de' dintorni di Roma I*, Roma 1837, 271 (ed. 1848², 262). For the site, the Civita, cf. Th. Ashby - G.J. Pfeiffer, in: *Suppl. Papers Amer. School Class. Studies Rome 1* (1905) 87-107; L. Quilici, *N.Sc.* 1968, 30-74; Id., *La Civita di Artena (Latium vetus 4)*, Rome 1982, passim; R. Lambrechts - P. Fontaine, *N.Sc.* 1983, 183-213; *Artena I-II (Et. philol. arch. hist. anc. Inst. hist. Belge de Rome 23, 26)*, Bruxelles 1983, 1989; R. Lambrechts, *Arch. Laz.* 7 (1985) 119-126; L. Quilici, in: *Autostrade 27* (1985) 85-87; Id., in: *Mura poligonali. 1° Seminario nazionale di studi, Alatri 1988*, 38-44; Id., in: *EAA Suppl. (1971-1994) 1*, 1994, 456-457.

city.³ Still others maintain that the old name of the site was Fortinum (Dion. Hal. 5,61; cf. Plin. nat. 3,69, referring to Foreti among the *populi Latini*), especially because the mediaeval town bore the name Montefortino at least from the twelfth century down to the year 1873.⁴ Obviously, on the present evidence one cannot be fully assured of the name of the ancient site.

All the epigraphic documents here discussed have been found in Colle Maiorana, a locality between the municipalities of Artena and Colleferro.⁵ The site now belongs to Artena, but in ancient times, together with Artena and Colleferro, it was part of the relatively large territory of Signia (see maps 150 II S.E and 151 III S.O of the Istituto Geografico Militare).⁶

1. This is a slab of limestone, well dressed in front, fragmentary on each side except the top which is slightly curved. On the upper edge two holes still contain remains of the nails that fixed the stone to a wall or some sort of support. The lettering, *libraria*, is fine-drawn and elegant; no interpuncts are discernible. The slab measures 51 x 34 x 25 cm, the height of the letters varying between 1,2-1,5 cm. Discovered in the early 1980s in Colle dell'Imperatore (which is a part of the above-mentioned Colle Maiorana) in the ruins of a Roman villa, it was later transferred to a

³ Quilici, Civita di Artena (cit. n. 2), 168-171, with many references to earlier research; Id., in: Mura poligonali (cit. n. 2), 44 (cf. already Ashby - Pfeiffer [cit. n. 2], 88-89, who did not exclude this possibility). See, however, F. Coarelli, in: Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au V^e siècle av. J.-C. (Coll. EFR 137), Rome 1990, 135-136, who prefers to locate Ecetra in the territory of Morolo and Supino, two small localities in the vicinity of Ferentino.

⁴ M.-R. de la Blanchère, MEFR 1 (1881) 171-176; G. De Sanctis, Storia dei Romani II, Firenze 1960², 368; B. Navarra, in: Il Lazio nell'antichità romana (Lunario romano 12), Roma 1982, 423; F. Coarelli, Lazio (Guide archeologiche Laterza), Roma 1993³, 172. For the name cf. also Ashby - Pfeiffer (cit. n. 2), 89; A. Cadderi, Artena (già Montefortino) dalle origini alla fine del secolo XIX (Collana di studi storici-religiosi-letterari 2), Roma 1973, 19-24; R. Lambrechts, in: La civita di Artena, Scavi belgi 1979-1989, Roma 1990, 13-16. For the status of Montefortino in the Middle Ages cf. P. Toubert, Les structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IX^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle (BEFAR 221), Rome 1973, II 1075 n. 6, 1129 n. 2.

⁵ CIL X 5962, a simple dedication to Silvanus from the second or third century A.D. (*Silvano sacr. M. Iulius Martialis d. d.*), is reported to have been discovered in the same place together with numerous brick stamps.

⁶ For the territory of Signia cf. M. Kajava, CIL X ed. 2: Signia (forthcoming).

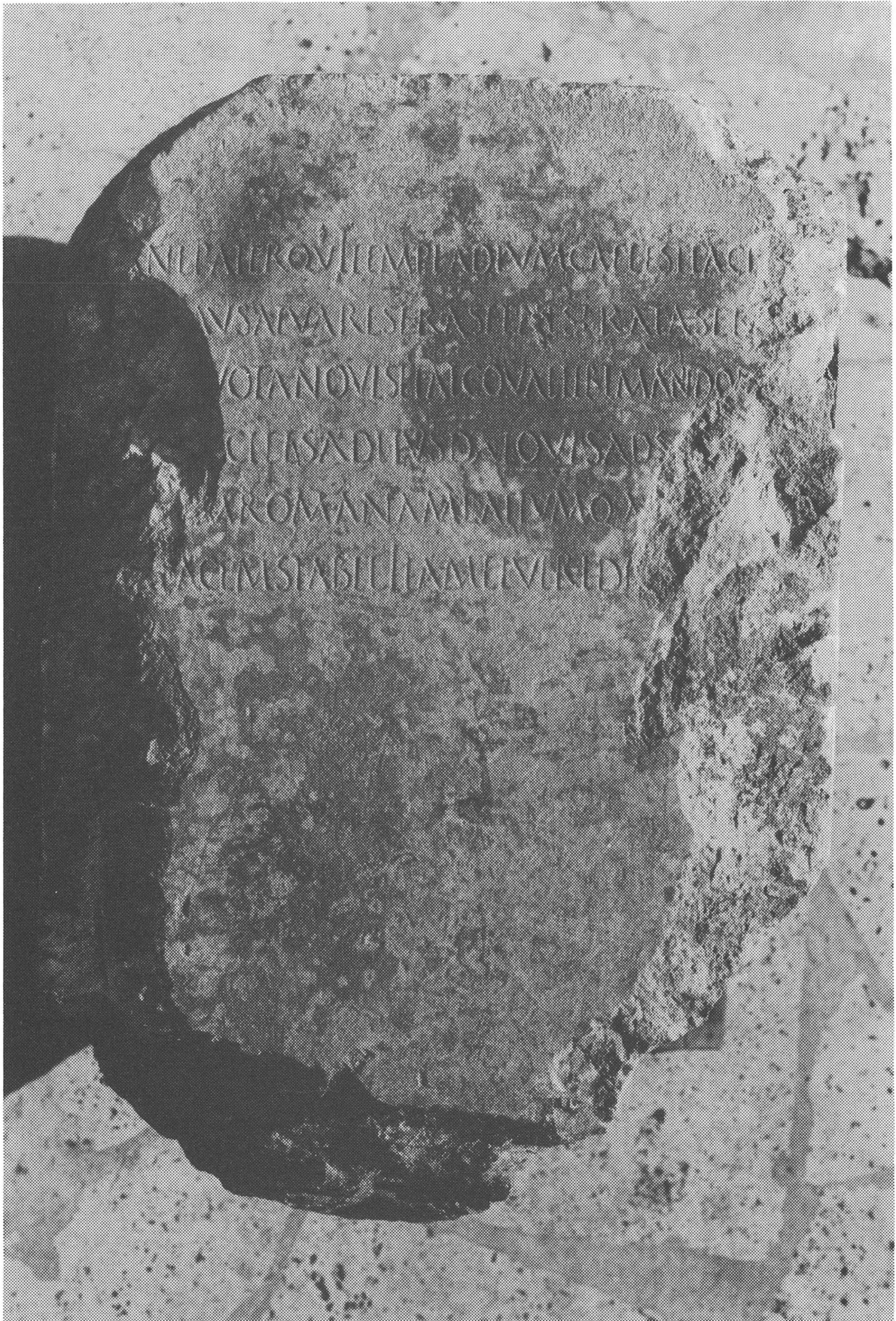


Fig. 1a

former Franciscan convent, where I saw it with Heikki Solin in 1983. For some time now it has been preserved in the Antiquarium of Artena (figs. 1a [Quilici], 1b [neg. DAI 84.387]).

The text has already been treated by Lorenzo Quilici in his rich and well-organized book on "La Civita" near Artena from 1982 (cit. n. 2), pp. 173-180 (fig. in table CVI, 3), where he gives the following reading (which, unfortunately, was never recorded in *L'Année épigraphique*):

*[I]ane Pater qui templa deum caelestia cl[audis]
[cl]ausa tua reseras et reserata ser[as]
[accipe] vota novis haec quae tibi mando ! [ibis]
[et fa]ciles aditus da Iovis ad s[.....]
[gente]m Romanam Latiumq(ue) ay[.....]
[ad] pacem stabilitam et viride[m]*

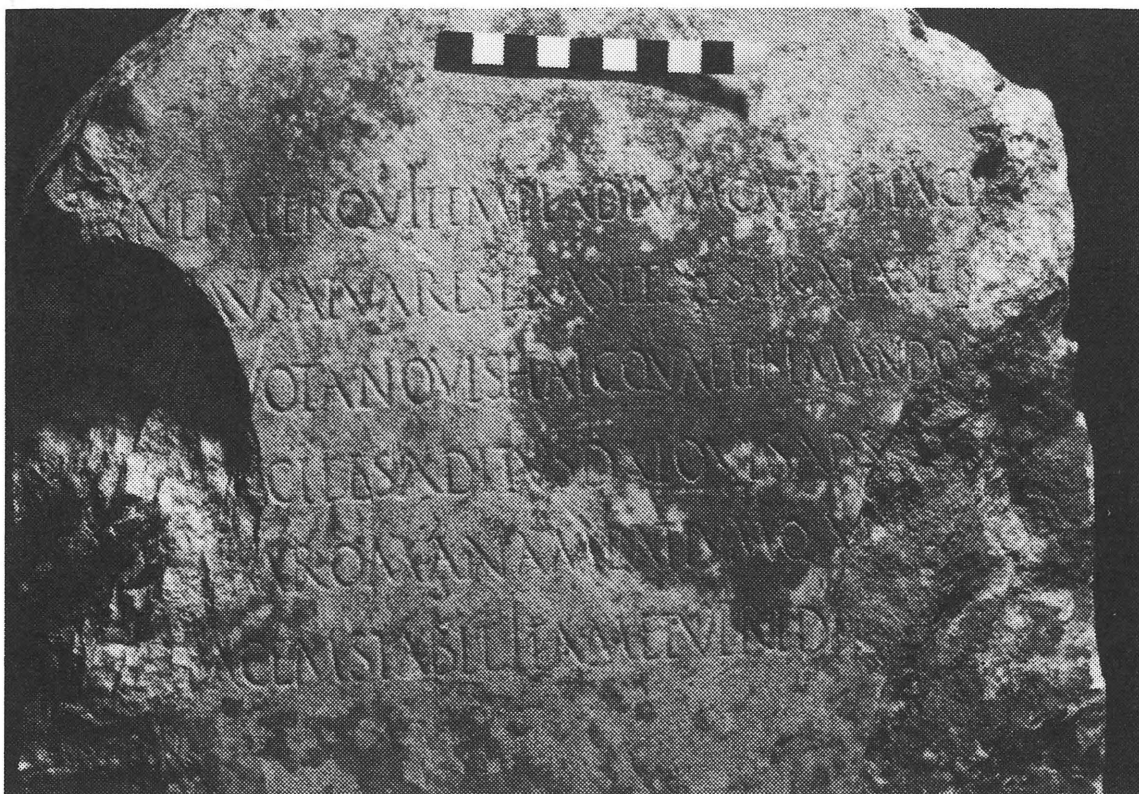


Fig. 1b

As may be immediately seen, this is a prayer composed of three elegiac couplets addressed to *Ianus pater*. Since, however, similar epigraphic poems are a rare occurrence and also because the contents of this singular piece and the restoration of its missing parts may be less evident for the reader, these matters do, I think, deserve further consideration. I shall begin with some lexical and contextual notes; stylistic questions, the genre in which the author wrote, the date as well as the historical context of the poem will be dealt with later on.

Lines 1-2: The habit of beginning a prayer by invoking Janus or *Ianus pater* (this is the most popular epithet of the god⁷) is seemingly very old. In the rituals performed during the *lustratio agri*, for example, Janus was first asked for benevolence and then he was given various offerings followed by those to Jupiter and Ceres (Cato agr. 134: *Thure, vino Iano Iovi Iunoni praefato, prius quam porcum feminam immolabis. Iano struem [c]ommoveto sic: 'Iane pater, te hac strue ommovenda bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi liberisque meis domo familiaeque meae' ... postea Iano vinum dato sic: 'Iane pater, uti te strue [c]ommovenda bonas preces bene precatus sum, eiusdem rei ergo macte vino inferio[ri] esto' ... ubi exta prosecta erunt, Iano struem [c]ommoveto mactatoque item, uti prius obmoveris ... item Iano vinum dato et Iovi vinum dato, item uti prius datum ob struem obmovendam et fertum libandum ...* [ed. A. Mazzarino, Teubner 1982]). Likewise, since Janus was the god of every beginning (for instance, the first month, *Ianuarius*, and the first day of each month were from ancient times consecrated to the god),⁸ he was not only invoked at the opening of prayers to different deities but was also the first among the gods to be referred to in public religious ceremonies. The praxis is

⁷ Cf. Macr. Sat. 1,9,16: (*invocemus*) '*Patrem*' quasi *deorum deum*; see also G. Giannelli, *Diz. epigr.* IV,1 (1941-46), 6. For Janus in general, see the following reference works: W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1890-94, II,1, 15-55; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (HbAW V,4), München 1902², 91-100; W. Otto, in: *RE Suppl.* III (1918), 1175-1191; G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens*, Münster 1965, 147-149.

⁸ Cf. e.g. Varro ling. 7,9: *penes Ianum prima*; Mart. 8,8,1: *principium des, Iane ... velocibus annis*; Auson. 377,1 p. 98: *Iane nove, primo qui das tua nomina mensi, / Iane bifrons, spectas tempora bina simul*; Id. 332,1 p. 24: *Iane, veni: novus anne, veni: renovate veni, Sol* (*precatio consulis designati pridie Kalendas Ianuarias fascibus sumptis*); Aug. civ. 4,11 p. 160,22: *in Iano initiator*; *ibid.* 7,3 p. 276,4-5: *omnium initiorum potestatem habere Ianum*; *ibid.* 7,9 p. 285,12-13: *penes Ianum ... sunt prima, penes Iovem summa* (cf. *ibid.* p. 285,25-26: *ad Ianum pertinent initia factorum*).

documented for instance in the preserved Acts of the Arval Brethren,⁹ and it is probable that Janus, *duonus cerus* and *divom deus*, was the first among the gods whom the Salii recorded in the very ancient litanies of their *carmen* (Varro ling. 7,26-27; Macr. Sat. 1,9,14.16; cf. also Liv. 8,9,6, preserving a prayer uttered in the year 340 B.C., where Janus is named first among numerous deities: '*Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi, quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, dique Manes, vos precor veneror, veniam peto oroque, uti ...*').¹⁰

In this poem Janus is the one who opens and closes the doors of the celestial temple. The idea of Janus being a door-keeper appears to be of archaic origin. In fact, the two-headed appearance of Janus (*Ianus Geminus*) probably has to be interpreted in reference to his role as a *custos* standing at the door and keeping watch over various gateways and entrances (e.g. Verg. Aen. 7,610: *nec custos absistit limine Ianus*),¹¹ whence the old epithets *Patulcius* and *Clusius*. Naturally, also, being the *numen* of house doors, Janus will have played an important role in the Roman domestic cult.¹² But over the course of time, Janus also began to be regarded as the janitor of the House of the Gods, as is clearly testified by Roman poets from Augustus' time and later. Thus Ov. fast. 1,139 says that

⁹ Acta fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt, rest. et illustr. G. Henzen, Berolini 1874, 144, 147 (cf. CIL VI 2099,I,24 from A.D. 183 and CIL VI 2107,8 from A.D. 224).

¹⁰ Cf. also Cic. nat. deor. 2,27: *principem in sacrificando Ianum esse voluerunt*; Mart. 8,8,3: *te primum pia tura rogent, te vota salutent*; Arnob. nat. 3,29: *quem in cunctis anteponitis precibus*; Macr. Sat. 1,9,3: *Xenon quoque primo Italicon tradit Ianum in Italia primum dis templa fecisse et ritus instituisse sacrorum. Ideo eum in sacrificiis praefationem meruisse perpetuam* (cf. FGrHist III/C no. 824); *ibid.* 1,9,9: *invocarique primum, cum alicui deo res divina celebratur*; Serv. Aen. 1,292: *ipsa (scil. Vesta) et Ianus in omnibus sacrificiis invocantur*. The role of Janus as the deity invoked very early in the morning before the daily routines is also implied by the epithet *Matutinus* (Hor. sat. 2,6,20-22: *Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis, / unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores / instituunt, etc.*).

¹¹ Cf. now E. Simon, in: LIMC V,1 (1990), 618, with references to her own research on the subject. See further E. Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern*, Lund - Leipzig 1939, 153; P. Grimal, *Le dieu Janus et les origines de Rome* (Lettres d'humanité 4), Paris 1945, 31 ff.

¹² D.G. Orr, in: ANRW II: 16,2 (1978), 1562.

Janus was *caelestis ianitor aulae*.¹³ But Janus' role as a door-keeper also reminds one of the way in which the doors of his own temple in Rome were opened at the declaration of war and remained firmly closed in time of peace. This practice was, however, largely canonized only in consequence of the Augustan propaganda, where Janus adopted the role of the initiator of war and peace¹⁴ (the Emperor himself was proud of having closed the Ianus Geminus three times during his reign¹⁵). Earlier, according to the extant sources, such a measure had been taken only once (omitting what is related about the opening on King Numa's order), i.e. after the first Punic war in 235 B.C.¹⁶

templa deum caelestia: the author's mention of 'the sacred shrines of the gods' brings to mind, more than anything else, the verses of Lucretius: cf. *Lucr.* 5,490: *altaque caeli ... fulgentia templa*; 5,1188: *in caeloque deum sedis et templa locarunt*; 5,1204-05: *magni caelestia mundi / templa*; 6,387-388: *fulgentia... / terrifico quatiunt sonitu caelestia templa* (cf. *Ter. Eun.* 590: *at quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit*); 6,670: *caelestia templa*; 6,1274: *cuncta...caelestia templa*.¹⁷ It is true that in

¹³ Cf. *ibid.* 1,125: *praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis: / it redit officio Iuppiter ipse meo* (note, by the way, that *Ov. fast.* 1,89-288 is also otherwise important for the explanation of various features of Janus). The same idea, though with a Christian tone, still endured in mediaeval poetry, see e.g. *Ianitor aetheriae commissis clavibus aulae* (MGH Poet. V 428,2,3,1), or *Ianitor o caeli, decus et lux aurea mundi* (*ibid.* 426,1,6,1), both from the early tenth century. Occasionally early Christian inscriptions name St. Peter as the door-keeper of the Kingdom of Heaven, thus ICVR 4786a = Diehl, ILCV 1761c: *Ianitor hic caeli est fidei petra culmen honoris* (A.D. 440/461). In ICI 6: Umbria no. 46 from Spolegium (cf. E. Bormann, CIL XI p. 699), Petrus is *arbiter in terris, ianitor in superis*; cf. also Diehl, ILCV 2349 (Bononia): *claviger Petrus*. Finally, a verse preserved in mediaeval codices, once 'supra portam S. Petri' in the Vatican, is reported to have read as follows: *Ianitor ante fores fixit sacraria Petrus*, etc. (De Rossi, ICVR II p. 458 no. 3; cf. p. 99 no. 7).

¹⁴ This is again clearly depicted by *Ov. fast.* 1,279-281: *ut populo reditus pateant ad bella profecto, tota patet dempta ianua nostra sera. Pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit*. Another famous passage relating to the temple's doors is in *Verg. Aen.* 7,607-610: *Sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt) / religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis; / centum aerei claudunt vectes aeternaque ferri / robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus*.

¹⁵ *R. Gest. div. Aug.* 13,42-45.

¹⁶ *Liv.* 1,19. Wissowa (cit. n. 7), 92; Simon (cit. n. 11), 618. For the temple of Ianus Geminus, see H. Bauer, *RM* 84 (1977) 301-329 and especially F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano. Periodo arcaico*, Roma 1983, 89-97.

¹⁷ For *templa* in Lucretius' work, cf. especially the comments of C. Bailey in: *Titi Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex*, vol. II, Oxford 1947, 620.

Roman poetry *templa* sometimes occurs in conjunction with *deum/deorum* (cf. also *infera templa*, etc.), but since the above-mentioned expressions, especially the connection between *templa* and *caelestia/caeli*, are hard to find in the work of other poets, it does not seem impossible that the phrase *templa deum caelestia* in fact goes back to Lucretius, perhaps through some intermediate source.

tua (scil. *manu*): Quilici (p. 175) did not exclude the possibility that instead of *tua* (which he believed referred to *templa*) one could interpret *lua* (the first letter in effect very much resembles an L), though the first alternative seemed preferable, "data la rarità, nell'uso comune, del sostantivo *lua*" (but I am able to trace only *Lua*, the name of a cult-partner of Saturn, mentioned a couple of times by Roman writers). In the present context I cannot think of any other possibility than *tua* (ablative) with *manu* omitted, despite the fact that this expression seems to be most rare: a look at ThLL reveals in effect that there is not a single example of *mea* being used alone in the place of *mea manus*.¹⁸

reseras/reserata - *seras*: whilst *reserare* 'to open' (from *sera*, -ae 'bolt, bar') frequently occurs in the jargon of Roman poets from the earliest Empire (but earlier, too: for an Ennian passage cf. below), with clear connotations of high style rather than prose,¹⁹ *serare* 'to bar, to bolt, to lock' appears to be very rarely attested in Roman literature. According to the standard manuals of etymology,²⁰ it does not occur before the sixth century (cf. Ps. Ven. Fort. vita Med. 6,17: *obstaculo nullo serata ipsa dedit praeda tinnitum*), and it is true that this verb, *ser(r)are*, begins to be more frequently found only in mediaeval sources, being used later in almost all

¹⁸ Cf., however, *tuas* (= *tuas litteras*), *mea* (= *mea era*, *coniunx*, etc.): J.B. Hofmann - A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (HbAW II,2,2), München 1965, 823.

¹⁹ Cf. Ov. fast. 1,70: *et resera nutu candida templa tuo*; also, referring to Janus, who inaugurates every new year, Ov. Pont. 4,4,23: *ergo ubi, Iane biceps, longum reseraveris annum*, and Plin. paneg. 58,3: *aperire annum fastosque reserare*; see also M. Helzle, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Epistularum ex Ponto liber IV. A Commentary on Poems 1 to 7 and 16* (Spudasmata 43), Hildesheim - Zürich - New York 1989, 113, commenting on Pont. 4,4,23.

²⁰ A. Walde - J.B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1954³, 520; A. Ernout - A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris 1959⁴, 616.

Romance languages.²¹ There is, however, some evidence from earlier times: Varro ling. 7,108: *sardare ab serare dictum, id est aperire; hinc etiam 'sera', qua remota fores panduntur*, though making a mistake in his etymological explanation for *sardare* ("fantaisie étymologique pour expliquer *sardare*", Ernout - Meillet, cit. n. 20), at least testifies to the existence of the verb *serare* in his time. But why he should have said that *serare* is equivalent to *aperire*, is not quite clear (though, of course, '*aperire*' would in a way explain '*sardare*', i.e. '*intelligere*'), or is it that in early times *serare* was also used to denote the act of opening? Be that as it may, the same relation between *serare* and *aperire* was put forward by the author of the Brev. Expos. Verg. georg. 1,393: *serenitas ... eo, quod seret caelum, idest aperiat. Eleganter id epitheton nominis etymologiam ostendit; serenum enim dictum est a serando idest aperiendo*. Who knows whether this evidence was taken from Varro? There is, however, a third passage from the fifth century where the significance of *serare* is correctly understood. So the commentator of Vergil's Aeneid says: *insertas aut 'clatratas' aut 'non seratas', ut sit quasi 'inseratas', id est, non clausas* (Serv. Aen. 3,152). Here *serare* is manifestly taken to mean 'to close'. The verb is similarly explained by Serg. gramm. IV 543,1 (not before Servius): *item sero quod est claudio, unde sera dicta est*, and Prisc. gramm. II 532,6 (early sixth century): '*sero saras', a sera obdita natum* (cf. Id. II 443,19-20). Other mentions of the verb include Prob. inst. gramm. IV 186,23 (third century): *sero seras, sero seris*; Consent. gramm. V 384,25-26 (fifth century): *pando et sero ... panti et pandavi, serui et seravi*; Eutyech. gramm. V 486,13 (sixth century): *sero ... seras a nomine quod est haec sera*.

Line 3: In the beginning one probably has to supplement [*accipe*], which often opens a phrase, being attested in this function not only in Roman poetry (especially Propertius) but also in mediaeval.²² For some examples see Plaut. Amph. 1101: *haec quae dicam accipe*; Lucil. 1032: *hoc etiam accipe quod dico*; Ov. Pont. 2,8,44: *accipe non dura supplicis aure preces*; Lucan. 8,142-3: *Accipe, numen, / ... votorum extrema meorum*.

²¹ D. Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis, ed. nova a L. Favre, VII, Niort 1886, 434-435; W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1935³, no. 7867; J.F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus, Leiden 1976, 961.

²² D. Schaller - E. Könngen, Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum, Göttingen 1977, 5-6. *Accipe* is also otherwise attested in the extant carmina epigraphica.

At the end Quilici (p. 177) suggested *l[ibis]* (cf. ThLL VII,2, coll. 1353-54),²³ which, however, is not good for metrical reasons. There are two alternative ways to proceed: 1) a trisyllable beginning with a consonant with a long middle syllable. In that case the final *o* of *mando* would be short (as was common in 'silver Latin' poetry and later²⁴); 2) a quadrisyllable beginning with a vowel with a long third syllable. If so, the *o* of *mando* would be elided (cf. the other cases of elision in lines 5 and 6). In the first case, assuming that the word really begins with an L (as was already suggested by Quilici), I cannot think of any other word than *libellus* which was also used of a single poem or verse (examples are cited in ThLL VII,2, coll. 1268-69). Note further that *libellus* also means 'petition' (equivalent to *supplicatio* or *preces*, according to ThLL); accordingly, although a *libellus* was always addressed to a ruler or to a magistrate, it may be that the notion of 'petition' is also inherent in the poem (for *libellus* with the verb *mando* cf. Ov. epist. 17,145: *tacito mando mea verba libello*). Admittedly, however, since the first letter remains uncertain, one could also propose some other reading, e.g. *p[iaclis]* or the like. If, then, the latter alternative is preferred (i.e. a word beginning with a vowel), there are only two possibilities to be considered, either I or E. Consequently, since what is needed here is a dactyl followed by a spondee, the possibility cannot be excluded that the word juxtaposed with *novis* is *e[legeis]*. Though rarely attested in literature (ThLL V,2, coll. 339-340), *elegia/elezea* would nonetheless fit the present context perfectly, being also attested in an encomiastic verse from the time of Constantine the Great: *Accipe picta novis elegis, lux aurea mundi, / clementis pia signa dei votumque perenne* (Opt. Porf. carm. 8,1-2; the lexical similarities to our poem are underlined).

²³ On *libum* 'sacrificial cake', a habitual offering to Liber Pater, see J. Linderski, *Latomus* 34 (1975) 209-210 = *Roman Questions. Selected Papers* (HABES 20), Stuttgart 1995, 366-367.

²⁴ The earliest known occurrence of a similar scansion of the first person singular is in Prop. 3,9,35: *non ego velifera tumidum mare findo carina*, for which see Properzio. Il Libro Terzo delle Elegie. Introduzione, testo e commento di Paolo Fedeli, Bari 1985, 321-322; cf. Ov. am. 3,2,26 (*tollo*); Ov. Pont. 1,7,56 (*caedo*). See also R. Kühner - Fr. Holzweissig, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache I*, Hannover 1912², 113; Fr. Vollmer, *Römische Metrik*, in: A. Gercke - E. Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft I*, Leipzig - Berlin 1927³, 8, 20; M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (HbAW II,2,1), München 1977², 110; E. Panichi, *Grammatica storica della lingua latina. Il vocalismo*, Roma 1977, 219.

Line 4: The line refers to the idea that Janus, being the janitor of the heavenly shrines (cf. above), is the one to whom offerings should be brought in order to gain admission to other gods. This is explicitly illustrated by Ov. fast. 1,171-174, where the poet inquires the reason for such a practice: '*cur, quamvis aliorum numina placem, / Iane, tibi primum tura merumque fero?*' (the god replies) '*ut possis aditum per me, qui limina servo, / ad quoscumque voles ... habere deos*'. Cf. also Arnob. nat. 3,29: *quem* (scil. *Ianum*) ... *viam vobis pandere deorum ad audientiam creditis*, and Macr. Sat. 1,9,9: *invocarique primum, cum alicui deo res divina celebratur, ut per eum pateat ad illum cui immolatur accessus, quasi preces supplicum per portas suas ad deos ipse transmittat*.

faciles aditus: cf. ThLL I coll. 694 ff. A common expression, as opposed to *angusti aditus* (Verg. georg. 4,35), *aditus maligni* (Verg. Aen. 11,525) and, naturally, *difficiles aditus* (e.g. Hor. serm. 1,9,56). For some examples cf. the following: *faciles aditus ad eum privatorum* (Cic. Manil. 41); *ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero* (Tib. 2,4,19); *dum faciles aditus praebet venerabile templum* (Ov. Pont. 3,3,91); *haud facili aditu ad moenia* (Liv. 32,23,6); *quo ... non facilis nostris aditus dabatur* (Bell. Alex. 17,4); ... *ut facilisque tuis aditus sit et arduus hosti* (Paneg. in Mess. 87); *nobis ianuae faciles praestaret aditus* (Apul. met. 4,14,8). For *faciles aditus ad homines* etc., cf. ThLL I col. 699. *Aditum dare*: e.g. Nep. Paus. 3,3; Val. Max. 6,2,7; Sen. nat. 7,30,4; Cic. de orat. 3,7; Dessau, ILS 6245 (Tibur).

Regarding the end of line 4, at first sight the most obvious restoration would be *s[tatuam]*, but this word was very rarely used of the statues of gods.²⁵ Perhaps one should consider *s[peciem]* with the significance 'figure, image' (cf. Cic. div. 1,20: *sancta Iovis species*), unless it was used metaphorically of Jupiter; or perhaps *species* refers to a vision, a supernatural appearance of the god (cf. OLD p. 1799).²⁶

Line 5: Here Quilici (p. 176 f.) had proposed either *[--- re]m Romanam* or *[gente]m Romanam*, at the beginning, and *av[itum]* or *av[ortum]*, at the end, noting, however, that these supplements are not

²⁵ For Cato orat. 72, see the comments of M.T. Sblendorio Cugusi, in: M. Porci Catonis Orationum reliquiae (Historica, politica, philosophica. Il pensiero antico - Studi e testi 12), Torino 1982, 250. Cf. also Sen. nat. 2,42,1: *statuas suas* (scil. *Iovis*).

²⁶ The other alternatives put forward by Quilici (p. 176: "per provare delle ipotesi") do not recommend themselves (*seculum, solacium, sodalicium, spiritum*). The possibility of *s[ociam]*, i.e. Juno, seems to me too complicated in the present context.

metrically apposite (p. 177 n. 13). Furthermore, he argued that the whole verse would end with a desiderative verb, "che finalizzi tutto *ad] pacem* della riga seguente." It seems to me, however, that one has to find another solution. Since the last visible trace of line 5 cannot belong to any other letter than a V, I first thought of a phrase like *[ut re]m Romanam Latiumq(ue) a v[ertice servet]*, which in fact sounds good metrically, but then I noticed that this verse is nothing but a reproduction of a phrase in Ennius' *Annals*: *audirest operae pretium, procedere recte / qui rem Romanam Latiumque augecere vultis* (Enn. ann. 465-466).²⁷ The passage must have been well known in antiquity since the first verse of the Ennian couplet was directly borrowed by Horace in his sat. 1,2,37, and it was also used by Varro Men. 542 as well as some grammarians (Victorin. gramm. VI 67,7; Mart. Cap. 3,272). The occasion when the Ennian words were first spoken cannot, of course, be known;²⁸ what is more interesting from our point of view is the fact that a verse from Ennius has found its way to a poem inscribed on stone some 350 or 400 years later in the Roman country-side (cf. below). The author of it need not, of course, have known that the phrase goes back as far as Ennius, but he probably learned it from some secondary source. Another famous example of the juxtaposition of *res Romana* and *Latium* is found in the *carmen saeculare* of Horace, lines 65-68: *si Palatinas videt aequus arces, / remque Romanam Latiumque felix / alterum in lustrum meliusque semper / prorogat aevum*. Here the reference is to gods protecting Rome (or all that belongs to the *res Romana*) and Latium so that the future era will be better and more stable (cf. line 6 in our poem).²⁹

As to the restoration of the line, it would seem that there is a final clause containing the request addressed to Jupiter. It would be natural if it began with an *ut*-clause (or perhaps rather with a final relative clause, i.e. *[qui r]em*, so as to preserve the Ennian diction). The end is, however,

²⁷ Cf. also Cato orig. 20: *eo res eorum auxit* (from *augescere*).

²⁸ Some (though rather hopeless) suggestions concerning the historical context have been collected by O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Q. Ennius*, Oxford 1985, 653.

²⁹ Note further an old formula preserved in the commentarium of the seventh Secular Games of A.D. 204: [... *te* (scil. *Apollinem*) *quaeso pr]ecorque uti tu [imperium maiestat]emque p. R. Q. duelli domique auxis utiqu{a}e semper Latinus obtemperassit* (V^a 56; G.B. Pighi, *De ludis saecularibus populi Romani Quiritium libri sex*, Amsterdam 1965², 164). The same formula will have been pronounced also during the fifth Games in 17 B.C. (Pighi, cit., 114 l. 94, 116 l. 127).

more difficult. If *augescere* is correct, as I think it is, we could restore, for instance, *au[ugescere curet]*, the verb *curare* which, by the way, appears a few times in the Annals of Ennius being here construed with Accusativus cum infinitivo (*vellet*, on the model of *vultis* in Enn. ann. 466, does not sound good in the present context). For the common idea that Jupiter, the supreme god, was responsible for expanding the Roman rule and for maintaining Rome's greatness, cf. below.

Line 6: It would be natural that the request expressed in the previous line continued here, so the restoration [*et*] seems to me apposite. At the end one could propose the verb *revocare* which sometimes has *pax* as its object (cf. Vell. 2,89,3: *revocata pax*; Sen. Thy. 576: *alta pax urbi revocata laetae est*). *Reparet*, *referat* (or *redigat*) seem to me less plausible. As for *viridis* 'fresh, vigorous, retaining one's vigour', I cannot find any cases of it occurring with *pax*, but no doubt *pax* could be given the epithet *viridis*. For the idea of *pax stabilis*, cf. e.g. Ps. Sall. rep. 1,6,5: *pacem et concordiam stabilivisse*; Flor. epit. 4,9,1: *ad pacis stabilitatem*.

On the other hand, one could also restore [*ad*] at the beginning. In that case, however, one should need a suitable word after *viridem* (or *virides*). One solution that comes to mind is *viride[m aetatem]*, though in that case the final dactyl would be replaced by a spondee but this is somewhat disturbing, considering the comparative rarity of a spondaic fifth foot in pentametric verses. One could also argue that such a metrical solution was intentional, considering that this is the closing verse of the poem, obviously the most momentous and, let it be noted, the most "peaceful" part of it (note also that at the beginning of the verse there is a spondaic metre, whilst in lines 2 and 4 the same position is occupied by a dactyl). If, then, *aetatem* is accepted, which, however, I do not recommend, one should note that it occurs in conjunction with *viridis* in a funerary poem from the late Republic: *heic viridis aetas cum floreret artibus* (CIL I² 1214, l. 7 = VI 10096 = Bücheler, CE 55 = Dessau, ILS 5213), and the expression is also found in some literary sources, as in Plin. epist. 1,12,5; Amm. 31,9,5: *aetatis viriditatem*; cf. also Colum. 1, praef. 12: *cum istud opus ... viridem aetatem cum robore corporis ... desideret*.

But there is, of course, still another possible way to interpret the construction of the final verses: in line 5 there could be a simple affirmation that Jupiter has created the greatness of Rome (e.g. *qui rem Romanam Latiumq(ue) augescere fecit*) and so the sixth line would begin with a final *ut*-clause. Also, one could suppose that the proper prayer

followed in line 6: *Da pacem stabilitam*, etc. Such a prayer could be addressed either to Janus or to Jupiter (cf. the imperatives [*accipe*] and *da* in lines 3-4). For *dare*, cf. Plaut. Merc. 678: *Apollo, quaeso te, ut des pacem propitius*; Gell. hist. 15: *Neria Martis, te obsecro, pacem dato*, etc.).

In any case, even if the request for peace was formally directed to Jupiter, it seems to me that Janus, too, is here regarded as a deity who is able to bring peace to human beings. He was, in effect, the god who had control over war and peace and, moreover, being the ancient king of Latium, he was also regarded as the saviour of its people.³⁰ The extant sources show that this is one of the characteristic features of Janus during the Imperial period, going back to the above-mentioned idea of the doors of Ianus Geminus being opened and closed according to the alternation of war and peace, cf. Hor. epist. 2,1,255: *custodem pacis ... Ianum*; Ov. fast. 1,253: *nil mihi cum bello: pacem postesque tuebar*; Mart. 8,66,11-12: *pacificus Ianus*; Plut. quaest. Rom. 19: τὸν Ἴανὸν ... πολιτικὸν καὶ γεωργικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμικὸν γενόμενον.

After these remarks, it is time to propose a new reading for the poem. Needless to say, the conjectural supplements in lines 3-6 remain partly hypothetical. Note that the suggested words on the right-hand side would not mean crowding the letters, since the margin is slightly broken.

[I]ane Pater, quì templa deum caelestia cl[audis],
 [cl]ausa tua reseras et reserata ser[as],
 [accipe] vota novis haec quae tibi mando ![ibellis]
 [et fa]ciles aditus da Iovis ad s[peciem],
 5 [qui re]m Romanam Latiumq(ue) au[gescere curet]
 [et] pacem stabilitam et viride[m revocet].

Regarding the poem's date, the lettering seems to suggest roughly a period between c. A.D. 150-225. Now, what is interesting is that we happen to know another literary invocation to Janus from around the same

³⁰ For some Hadrianic coins depicting Janus as the primal protector of Latium, cf. BMC Emp. III 254 no. 100 (aureus), *ibid.* 437 no. 1335 (as; Janus quadrifrons), with the comments of Simon (*cit. n.* 11), 621-622. Note also BMC Emp. IV 210 no. 1317, an Antonine coin (A.D. 140/144), where the figure of Janus has been taken to represent the god as the patron of Latium (thus P.V. Hill, *The Dating and Arrangement of the Undated Coins of Rome A.D. 98-148*, London 1970, 91, 184 no. 263), but see R. Turcan, in: ANRW II:17,1 (1981), 389-390.

period, viz. the longest preserved fragment of the *novellus* Septimius Serenus (whose *floruit* is likely to be located in the second half of the second century A.D.): *Iane pater, Iane tuens, dive biceps biformis, / o cate rerum sator, o principium deorum, / stridula cui limina, cui cardinei tumultus, / cui reserata mugiunt aurea claustra mundi. / Tibi vetus ara caluit aborigineo sacello* (Sept. Ser. carm. frg. 23).³¹ There are some common features in both poems, especially at the beginning: repetition and alliteration (*claudis - clausa - reseras - reserata - seras; Iane pater - Iane tuens - biceps - biformis - cui* [three times]) and chiasm (*clausa reseras - reserata seras; rerum sator - principium deorum*), all typical elements of the neoteric poetry. As is well known, the *novelli* had a liking for various sorts of archaisms, lexical as well as stylistic. It seems to me that in our poem also there is something archaic in the invocation of lines 1-2, the repetition being an old characteristic of various prayers and magic formulae. And perhaps the rare verb *serare*, which is attested by Varro (cf. above), is also more usual in the archaic style (note also, by the way, that *catus* in Serenus' fragment is an Ennian archaism). Moreover, one should pay attention to the use of *reserata claustra* in Septimius Serenus (also in his frg. 22), an expression (*claustra reserare*) that is also otherwise attested in post-classical literature (e.g. Sil. 7,334; 13,843; Amm. 23,4,6; Sulp. Sev. dial. 3,4,3), but which, remarkably, may be known also from Enn. ann. 7,210, where perhaps *reserare* has *claustra (Musarum)* as its object.³² Be that as it may, both poems have something in common thematically, e.g. the reference to Janus' role as a door-keeper.

In brief, it seems to me that this new epigraphic invocation to Janus is best regarded as an amalgamation of a number of diverse elements: Ennian and perhaps Lucretian reminiscences mixed with some stylistic aspects of neoteric poetry and a few glimpses of old ritual language.

As has been noted above, the inscription was found in the ruins of a Roman villa in Colle dell'Imperatore (part of Colle Maiorana), situated very near to the Roman *statio* at the *bivium* of the Via Labicana and the Via Latina, and thus in the borderland between Latium vetus and Latium

³¹ See especially I frammenti dei "poetae novelli". Introduzione, testo critico e commento a cura di Silvia Mattiacci (Testi e commenti 7), Roma 1982, 195-201.

³² Skutsch (cit. n. 28), 375 argued that "*reserare* already at the time of Ennius had become wholly abstract and divorced from its basic concrete situation".

adiectum.³³ At the same place there was also a mid-Republican period sanctuary which perhaps functioned as a territorial landmark.³⁴ The villa itself, probably the nucleus of a large *fundus*, will have belonged to big landowners who had their own baths, edifices for spectacles and various shrines (the invocation itself does not, of course, imply a cult of Janus at the site³⁵). This is the environment where this epigraphic poem was originally exposed. Whether it was also composed there or whether some literate man from outside was commissioned to write it is a different matter. In any case, the owners of the villa or perhaps simply the literary atmosphere of the place were of such a nature that they produced a good piece of erudite poetry.

There is something more, however. At the same site was found a remarkable poem in Greek that was already known in the eighteenth century and which has now turned out to be a Stoic hymn telling the story of creation.³⁶ The creator is probably Zeus, as in the famous hymn of Cleanthes, and there is some evidence to suggest that the author of the hymn was no less a person than the sophist and writer Claudius Aelianus who lived in nearby Praeneste around the Severan period. Such a discovery gives further reason to believe that at the villa there was indeed some sort of cultural activity and that it was visited by persons with literary interests. Here is the hymn as it was restored by Luigi Moretti (for later modifications and new proposals for restoration, especially those by W. Luppe, see the references cited in n. 36):

³³ The *statio ad bivium* at the thirtieth mile of the Via Latina is to be identified with the later S. Ilario, cf. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt*, Stuttgart 1916, col. 328; Th. Ashby, *PBSR* 1 (1902) 279-280; 4 (1907) 6-8, 11; 5 (1910) 422-423; Quilici, *Civita di Ardena* (cit. n. 2), 123 n. 160; V. Flocchi Nicolai, *Rend.Pontif.Acc.Arch.* 61 (1988-89) 73.

³⁴ Cf. Quilici, *Civita di Ardena* (cit. n. 2), 162 and the map at the end of the volume (tav. CIX: site n. 271).

³⁵ The cult of Janus in the proper sense of the word is very rarely attested and almost non-existent in Italy (cf. *CIL* XI 5374 from Asisium; there is more evidence in Dalmatia and Africa), see G. Giannelli, *Diz. epigr.* IV,1 (1941-46), 11. Janus was mostly recorded in various ritual formulae, the images of the god being rare in any context.

³⁶ L. Moretti, in: *Scritti storico-epigrafici in memoria di Marcello Zambelli* (Pubbl.Fac.Lett.Univ. Macerata 5), Roma 1978, 251-256, fig. tab. XXIV (= *SEG* XXVIII 793). Cf. also W. Peek, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 168-169; W. Luppe, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 163-166 (= *SEG* XXXII 1020); R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 204.

- []νος ἄμφω
 [ἡέλιον πλά]νητα σελήνην
 [οὐρανῶ ἐ]νκατένασσε καὶ ἀστέρας αἰγλήεντας·
 [καὶ κύκλο]ν ὠράων ἀπὸ χίματος ἐς φίλον εἶαρ
 5 [θῆκε, καὶ] ἐξ ἕαρος θέρεος δ' ἐπὶ τέκμαρ ὀπώρης·
 [αἰθέρ]α κοσμήσας χρυσίζοον, ἐξετέλεσεν
 [καὶ νέ]φεα σκίοεντα καὶ ὠκυπετήνας ἀήτας
 [καὶ βότανα] χλοάοντα καὶ οὔρεα δενδρήεντα
 [καὶ πέδι' ἀ]νθεμόεντα καὶ ἰχθυόεντας ἀναύρους·
 10 [φῦλον δ' ἐβλάστ]ησε θεοῖς ἄγγιστα ἐοικός
 [ἀνθρώπων, κραδί]ην τε καὶ ἥπιον ἔνδοθι θυμόν,
 [θηρῶν εἶδεα πάντα] καὶ οἰωνῶν πτεροέντω[ν].

Regarding the contents of this cosmogony, we may note that Janus, too, continuously adopted new features which was typical of the syncretistic thinking of the first Imperial centuries. In later Imperial times he was regarded not only as the god who opened mundane doors and kept watch over gateways, but Janus gradually became the key of the universe, some sort of demiurge. But this idea had appeared already in earlier times, as may be seen in a fragment of the augur M. Messalla from Cicero's time, preserved in Macr. Sat. 1,9,14: *qui cuncta fingit eademque regit, aquae terraeque vim ac naturam gravem atque pronam in profundum dilabentem, ignis atque animae levem in immensum sublime fugientem, copulavit circumdato caelo: quae vis caeli maxima duas vis dispares colligavit.*³⁷ In Ov. fast. 1,103 Janus is identified with Chaos (*me Chaos antiqui ... vocabant*), in Aug. civ. 7,7,8 ff. p. 282-284, passim, and Serv. Aen. 7,610 he is equivalent to *mundus* (cf. Macr. Sat. 1,9,11). Lyd. mens. 4,2 (sixth century A.D.) refers to the following characterizations of Janus: δαίμονα αὐτὸν εἶναι ... τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχὰς ἀναφέρεσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι (cf. Macr. Sat. 1,9,13) and, later on, δύναμιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τινα ... ἐφ' ἑκατέρας Ἄρκτου τεταγμένην καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς θειοτέρας ἐπὶ τὸν σεληνιακὸν χορὸν ἀποπέμπειν. Finally, according to Proclus, in a hymn to Hecate and Janus (Procl. H. VI 2-3, 14-15), the god is προπάτωρ, being placed on a par with Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος or

³⁷ Cf. also Mart. 10,28,1: *Annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi*. Macrobius, when explaining the epithet *Consivius*, affirms that Janus was thus called *a conserendo, id est a propagine generis humani, quae Iano auctore conseritur* (Sat. 1,9,16).

ὑπατος.³⁸ Although these characterizations of Janus somehow remind one of the contents of the Stoic hymn on the creation, one has to remember that similar, syncretistic ideas of a universal spirit were quite popular in the philosophical or quasi-philosophical thinking of the time.

Finally, I shall make some observations on the historical context in which the new poem from Colle Maiorana was produced. The last verse, evidently a request for peace and external tranquility, seems to suggest that it was composed at a difficult moment, perhaps during or after a war (unless it was an imaginary request written on the model of the firmly-rooted topos of the contrast of war and peace, golden era and chaos, etc.). The above considerations (lettering and style) would seem to suggest a date in the latter part of the second century A.D., perhaps its last decades, though the Severan period cannot be excluded. A look at what we know about the crises in the Roman world in these times would probably allow a dating anywhere within this period. Yet the era that first comes to one's mind is the reign of Commodus (though, if one wishes to go forward in time, critical situations and difficult moments are easily found elsewhere, too).³⁹ After the year 180 and the difficult wars under Marcus, this emperor, apparently at least, had brought new prospects for peace to the Roman citizens, for which the Senate later called him εἰρηνοποιός.⁴⁰ In 184 there had been a splendid celebration of the bicentennial of the Augustan *ludi saeculares*. In the next year Commodus adopted the title

³⁸ Procli hymni, ed. E. Vogt (Klass.-philol. Studien, Heft 18), Wiesbaden 1957, 31, 72-74. Cf. also Arnob. nat. 3,29: *Incipiamus ergo sollemniter ab Iano et nos patre, quem quidam ex vobis mundum, annum alii, solem esse prodidere nonnulli*. Some of these ideas seem to go back to Cornelius Labeo, a Roman antiquarian from the third century A.D. (H. Kusch, Reallexikon f. Antike und Christentum III 429-437); for Janus in his theology cf. P. Mastandrea, Un neoplatonico latino: Cornelio Labeone (EPRO 77), Leiden 1978, 21-43; Turcan (cit. n. 30), 399.

³⁹ One may think of the proscriptions under Commodus and his successors, now conveniently listed by P.M.M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180-235 n. Chr.)*, Amsterdam 1989, 399-403.

⁴⁰ Dio 72,15,5. For Commodus' peace with the Germans, cf. G. Alföldy, *Historia* 20 (1971) 84-109 = *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches (HABES 5)*, Stuttgart 1989, 25-68. Note also that Commodus was represented as a peacemaker on coins and medallions even before his reign, cf. M. Gherardini, *Studien zur Geschichte des Kaisers Commodus (Diss. Univ. Graz 27)*, Wien 1974, 45-46.

Felix.⁴¹ Around the same period, the god Janus appears to have become a tool of the official propaganda, as is clearly shown by the coinage and medallions of the time.⁴² And it is hardly a coincidence that in 186 precisely 900 years had passed from the time when King Numa founded the cult of Janus in Rome. The coins manifestly propagate a *renovatio temporum* which is occasionally underlined by the legend TELLVS STABIL(ita) (note the *pax stabilita* in our poem).⁴³ Note, also, that a denarius from A.D. 193, representing the figure of a standing Janus, bears the legend IANO CONSERVAT(ori).⁴⁴ The issue was planned for 1 January 193, too late for Commodus, since he was assassinated on the last day of 192. In general terms, then, the prevailing themes on Commodus' coins were the perpetual felicity of the Emperor as well as the salvation of the human race (though, of course, this being mere propaganda, the reality of the situation in Rome will have looked very different⁴⁵). Finally, let it be noted that in a dedication from around Mustis in Northern Africa, Commodus was honoured along with *Ianus pater*.⁴⁶

Jupiter, to whom the author of the poem addresses his request, was generally held as a deity that intervened as a saviour both privately and in state affairs. This is clearly visible throughout the Antonine period, but the role of Jupiter in Imperial ideology was probably more conspicuous under

⁴¹ See J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, I. La politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192), Paris 1955, 395-396; F. Grosso, *La lotta politica al tempo di Commodo*, Torino 1964, 185-186.

⁴² RIC III 419 no. 460 (sesterce), *ibid.* 421 no. 479 (as), BMC Emp. IV 803 nos. 568-571 (sesterces), RIC III 381 no. 141 (aureus); F. Gnechi, *I medaglioni romani II*, Milano 1912, 62; A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten*, in: *Festschr. d. ungar. numism. Gesellschaft*, Budapest 1943, 39 f. For the mint of Rome issuing Imperial coinage under Commodus, see H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, RIC III 356-365. Janus and Commodus: Turcan (cit. n. 30), 390-395, also from the numismatic point of view.

⁴³ Gnechi (cit. n. 42), 66 no. 131, with a double portrait of Commodus. The same legend occurs also under Hadrian (cf. BMC Emp. III 332-334, 362, 477, 486) as well as in the Severan period.

⁴⁴ BMC Emp. V 1 no. 2.

⁴⁵ Ancient writers already pointed out that conditions did not improve at all under Commodus; thus e.g. Dio 71,36,4 (and *passim*), affirming that with this emperor the previous golden era had become one of iron and rust (ἀπὸ χρυσοῦς τε βασιλείας ἐς σιδηρᾶν καὶ κατιωμένην), for which see F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford 1964, 122-123.

⁴⁶ CIL VIII 16417 = AE 1968,609, dedication of an *arcus* together with a statue of Janus: [--- *adiecta a*] *mplius statua Iano patri* (note, by the way, the use of the term *statua*).

Commodus than in any other time in Roman history. Numerous issues portraying Jupiter and celebrating the *renovatio temporum* are known from his reign.⁴⁷

But one should also note that the connection of Jupiter with Latium goes far back into the archaic period, the cult of the god, *Iuppiter Latiaris*, being one of the oldest in Latium. After the fall of Alba Longa, site of the old sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris, the Romans gradually took over the cult, so as to provide a sacral justification for their leading position in Latium. This, in turn, would bring peace and tranquility to the people of the region: it was, in fact, observed that peace should reign in Latium during the annual festivities of the cult, usually for four days.⁴⁸ The idea of Jupiter protecting the people of Latium seems to have endured also in the Imperial period, as is concretely illustrated by an Antonine emission where Jupiter bears the title *Latius*.⁴⁹

2. The second text is engraved on a slab of limestone, badly eroded on the front, measuring 33 x 33 cm; the height of the letters is 1,5-1,8 cm (line 1); 1,2-2 (l. 2); 1,2-1,8 (l. 3); 1,2-1,5 (l. 4). The slab was discovered in Colle Maiorana and is now incorporated into the wall of the farmhouse of Mr. Filippo Mastrangeli which lies some 3 km from Artena, south of the main road towards Colleferro. I saw the inscription with Karl Holm and Simo Örmä in the Spring of 1994 and later in the same year with Heikki Solin, who took the photograph published here (fig. 2 [neg. DAI 94.788]).

As far as I know, there is only one brief mention of the inscription by Lorenzo Quilici,⁵⁰ who gave the following preliminary reading: *qui putet adsiduus inter florere prunu(m) / (.....) e tuas nives Getarum (.....) / (.....) i aprica (.....) ia (..) is (.....) / (.....) citavi (.....)*. He immediately recognized that this is an epigraphic poem with a hexameter in the first line and, as he suggested, a pentameter in the second. Because of the badly preserved surface, the text is indeed

⁴⁷ Evidence in J.R. Fears, ANRW II:17,1 (1981), 109-114.

⁴⁸ Macr. Sat. 1,16,16: *nam cum Latiar, hoc est Latinarum sollemne concipitur, item diebus Saturnaliorum, sed et cum mundus patet, nefas est proelium sumere.*

⁴⁹ BMC Emp. IV 262 no. 1632.

⁵⁰ In: *Comunità indigene e problemi della romanizzazione nell'Italia centro-meridionale (IV°-III° sec. av. C.)*. Actes du Colloque international (ed. J. Mertens - R. Lambrechts), Bruxelles - Rome 1991, 215 n. 26, fig. 15a (= AE 1991,408).

most difficult to read. In spite of the difficulties, however, I think that the first two lines are still largely decipherable. As it sometimes happens, the study of the stone in situ turned out to be less profitable than the evidence of the first-rate photographs. Here is the reading that I propose:

*Quis putet adsiduam inter florere pru[inas]
[poma et] perpetuas nives Getarum
[---]+ aprica [-11?]-
[---]++ITAV+[---]*

The poem thus appears to be a polymetricum with a hendecasyllabic verse in line 2. According to the lettering it would seem that this poem can be dated roughly to the same period as the preceding one. The polymetric nature is not astonishing, considering that poems with a similar rhythm are quite common in Imperial epigraphy (as is easily substantiated by a look at F. Bücheler's CE).



Fig. 2

Lines 1-2: it seems to me that one should read *quis* instead of *qui*.⁵¹ As for the last word of the first line, it cannot be anything else than *pruinās* going together with *adsiduās*. *Pruina* 'hoar-frost, rime' (mostly in plural) is frequently attested in Roman poetry of higher style from Augustus' time and later (especially in Ovid), being sometimes combined with geographical names and terms, e.g. *Hyperboreas ... pruinas* (Val. Fl. 8,210); *Eoas ... pruinas* (Stat. Theb. 8,359); *Arctois ... pruinis* (Lucan. 8,363); *Scythicas ... pruinas* (Flor. carm. 4),⁵² sometimes with other adjectives.⁵³ However, as far as I know, *adsidua* is hitherto not attested as an epithet of *pruina*, though it sometimes underlines the persistence of the cold season (cf. Ov. trist. 3,2,8: *ustus ab adsiduo frigore Pontus*). This adjective often characterizes various natural phenomena, being frequently combined with water and rain, e.g. *adsiduos imbris* (Cic. Att. 13,16,1); *illam orationem similem nivibus hibernis, id est crebram et adsiduam sed et largam*, etc. (Plin. epist. 1,20,22); *adsiduae tempestates et crebra diluvia* (ibid. 8,17,1); *adsiduis pluviis nocturnisque rorationibus* (Apul. met. 9,32; cf. Iavol. dig. 19,2,57); *flumen ... adsiduis flexibus tortuosum* (Amm. 24,1,4); *tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant* (Verg. Aen. 5,866); *assiduo detritis aequore conchis* (Ov. met. 13,792); *adsiduis maris adluentibus* (Dessau, ILS 489, Ardea); *adsiduis imbribus* (ibid. 5513, Castulo, Baetica).⁵⁴

Nives, mostly in plural, also appears in the company of *pruināe*, in both prose and poetry, e.g. Cic. Catil. 2,23: *quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas pruinas ac nivis perferent?*; Lucr. 6,529-530: *nix venti grando gelidaeque pruinae / et vis magna geli*; Prop. 1,8,7-8: *tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas, / tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives?* Note also Flor. epit. 4,12,20, where the severe land of the Sarmatians is described as follows: *nihil praeter nives pruinasque et silvas habent*. As in the case of *pruināe*, *nives* was also sometimes accompanied by a geographical epithet, e.g. *Sithoniasque nives* (Verg. ecl. 10,66; cf.

⁵¹ For the variation *quis/qui* in Roman poetry (where *quis* is clearly favoured), see Hofmann - Szantyr (cit. n. 18), 540-541.

⁵² As for Florus' verse, *Scythicas ... pruinas* is probably a learned insert in a *sermo cotidianus* which was typical of the neoteric poetry, cf. Mattiacci (cit. n. 31), 63.

⁵³ E.g. Verg. georg. 2,376: *frigora ... cana concreta pruina* (cf. Lucr. 3,20-21; Hor. carm. 1,4,4).

⁵⁴ Cf. CIL XIV 88 (Ostia) = ILS 5797a: *inun[datationes Tiberis a]dsidue u[rbem vexantes...]* (suppl. Mommsen).

dura nives et frigora Rheni, *ibid.* 10,47), or *Arctos nives* (Sen. Oed. 606). The idea of *nix perpetua* is vividly introduced by Ov. trist. 3,10,13-14: *nix iacet, et iactam ne sol pluviaeque resolvant, / indurat Boreas perpetuamque facit* (cf. also Ov. Pont. 1,3,50: *perpetuas ... nives*; Manil. 3,358: *aeternas ... nives*; Sen. nat. 4b,11,5: *vertices aeterna nive obsessi*); note further that the adjective *perpetua* is sometimes associated with *hiems* (Lucan. 4,107: *perpetuaeque premunt hiemes*; cf. Sen. Med. 708).

Roman poets sometimes took the land of the Getae, a Thracian tribe on the Lower Danube, as an example of a cold and desolate place, thus Hor. *carm.* 3,24,11: *vivunt et rigidi Getae*; Verg. *georg.* 3,462: *in deserta Getarum*; Prop. 4,3,9: *hibernique Getae*; cf. also Ov. trist. 3,10,5.12. Moreover, in the epigrams of Martial the adjective *Getica* is firmly combined with both *nix* and *pruina*, thus 9,101,18: *sudantem Getica ter nive lavit equum*, and 11,3,3: *in Geticis ... pruinis*. Likewise, Juvenal refers to a special drink (*decocta*, scil. *aqua*) which is *frigidior Geticis pruinis* (5,50). The cold of Thrace in general was a common theme in ancient literature from the time of Homer (Il. 14,227), being, however, especially typical of Latin elegiac poetry.⁵⁵

Line 3: the adjective *apricus* 'sunny, basking' evidently creates an antithesis of the "frozen" atmosphere of lines 1-2. Cf. e.g. Tib. 1,4,19: *annus in apricis maturat collibus uvas* (the same expression occurs in Verg. *ecl.* 9,49: *apricis in collibus*). Unfortunately, however, we cannot determine the grammatical form of APRICA (either nominative / accusative neuter plural or nominative / ablative feminine singular, unless it is *apricam*, *apricae*, *apricas* or *apricarum*).

In the beginning of the second line I have conjecturally restored [*poma et*] (cf. Ov. *met.* 14,764: *poma nec excutiant rapidi florentia venti*).⁵⁶ If this is correct, the contents would be roughly as follows: "Who would believe that fruit-trees are in blossom in the middle of unremitting rime and the permanent snow of the Getic land, (when the hills are not yet warmed by the sunshine?) ...?". Such a question brings to my mind the first time I saw the inscription, a rather cold morning in early March (cf.

⁵⁵ Examples in P.-J. Dehon, *Hiems latina. Études sur l'hiver dans la poésie latine, des origines à l'époque de Néron* (Coll. Latomus 219), Bruxelles 1993, 48 n. 89. For the Getic land, cf. *ibid.* p. 114.

⁵⁶ A further instance of *poma florentia* may be found in Palladius' treatise on agriculture, in the section devoted to the farm work of March (Pallad. 4,10,16).

n. 56), with the hills around Artena and Colleferro temporarily covered by snow and rime, but the plum trees and some other *poma* already in blossom.

As far as I can see, in these verses there are no clear reminiscences of earlier poets, yet the language and style seem to represent a model that firmly links them with the long elegiac tradition of Roman poetry. The question of who wrote the verses cannot, of course, be answered.

Since this piece of poetry also comes from Colle Maiorana (which was confirmed by the owner of the stone), perhaps even from the above-mentioned Roman villa, this is again further evidence to suggest that this locality was prosperous not only in terms of business and economy (large *fundi*, brick production, important archaeological remains from archaic times down to the Middle Ages⁵⁷) but it also flourished culturally, at least in the latter half of the second century A.D.

3. Finally, I would like to take the opportunity of mentioning a new fragment that I saw with Kalle Korhonen on the 14th of June 1996 in the Antiquarium of Colleferro.⁵⁸ The fragmentary stone is reported to have been discovered in the early 1980s, once again, in Colle Maiorana. It measures (35) x (40) x 14,5 cm, the height of the letters varying approximately between 1,7 and 2,0 cm. At least nine lines are visible, but it may be that the inscription continued both above and below. The text itself is in Greek, but since the surface of the stone is very badly preserved only some individual letters or perhaps parts of a few words can be deciphered. Judging from the scanty remains, however, this text also seems to be a dactylic poem (fig. 3 [Kajava]):

⁵⁷ Quilici, Civita di Artena (cit. n. 2), 126-134. For the nearby Catacomb (and the Basilica) of S. Ilario, cf. the work of V. Fiocchi Nicolai in RAC 62 (1986) 249-257, 358; Rend.Pontif.Acc.Arch. 61 (1988-89) 71-102; in: Quaeritur, inventus colitur (Misc. in onore di padre U.M. Fasola), Città del Vaticano 1989, 307-328; Arch.Laz. 10 (1990) 275-286 (with A. Luttazzi and L. De Maria); RAC 67 (1991) 167-168. Furthermore, not long ago a fragment of bucchero inscribed *axipri* in Etruscan lettering was found in the same place: N. Cassieri, SE 58 (1992) 512, pl. 89 b-c; cf. now G. Colonna, SE 60 (1995) 300-301 and CIE 8623. The piece could have been imported from the Etruscan region in the sixth century B.C. (Colonna, *ibid.* 298-300 also published a most interesting inscription from Muracci di Creposso, some 1,5 km south of Colle Maiorana: *morai esq[m]* (c. 450-350 B.C.). If the reading is correct, the inscription would provide a new and invaluable piece of evidence for the development of the Latin language.)

⁵⁸ We were kindly assisted by Angelo Luttazzi, Director of the municipal Antiquarium.

 [---].[-----]
 ΟΙΟC..[-----]..N.[--].[---]..
 ΑΥ..[-----]ΛΙ.ΝΙΜ.....
 [-----]ΝΙCΑΟΙΚΟCΙΝ....CΑΙΚ.[-----]
 5 [- ̄̄].IANHN ἦνυσάμ[ῆν ̄̄ -]
 [- ̄̄ - ̄̄]Cω καὶ ἀμυνομ[εν - ̄̄ -]
 CΩΑΛ..ΙΟΙC[---]ΝΟ[-----]
 ΑCΚΩ.Α.CΝΕΝΙCΑΙ..[-----]
 [-----]ΙΟC.C.[-----]

From the fifth (and sixth) line it seems to appear that the poem is written in elegiac distichs. In these lines there seem to be two verbal forms, ἦνυσάμην (aorist first person singular from ἀνύομαι 'to accomplish, finish') and a present participle from ἀμύνομαι 'to defend oneself, revenge, requite, repay' (i.e. ἀμυνόμενος, -μένη, or the like), though the latter could also be a finite form, i.e. ἀμύνομεν. However, regarding the fifth line, the third letter of the verb could also be an epsilon; in that case we would have the corresponding aorist form of αἰνέομαι (from αἰνέω 'to praise, approve'), that is, ἦνεσάμην (Att. for ἦνησάμην), though one should note that the middle voice is rarely attested. A further possibility is that the verb is in the active voice, either ἦνυσα or ἦνεσα (unless it is in the first person plural). If so, it would be followed by a word beginning with an M. Either way, the metre of the line is easily adapted to both alternatives.⁵⁹

As for the rest, one can only propose some suggestions, these also being most uncertain because only few individual letters can be safely deciphered. So line 2 perhaps begins with οἶος 'such as' (unless it is οἶος

⁵⁹ Both ἀνύω / ἀνύομαι and αἰνέω frequently occur in the Anthologia Graeca. Among the aorist forms (more than twenty instances) there are seven cases of ἦνυσα and one of ἦνυσάμην (AP 7,506,2 [with the variant ἦνύσατο], for which see A.S.F. Gow - D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965, 128 l. 2360 with comments on the verbal form in vol. II p. 371). As for αἰνέω, some ten aorist forms are attested in the Anthologia (ἦνεσα, ἦνεσε and once, respectively, ἦνεσας and ἦνέσαμεν). For the verbal form of the sixth line (assuming that it is not ἀμύνομεν), cf. e.g. AP 3,12,2 (ἀμυνόμενος), 7,726,2 (-μένη), 16,251,2 (-μένα), 6,207,4 (-μέναν).

'alone, lonely'). In line 4 there is perhaps οἶκος 'house, family, etc.' (unless one prefers to read ᾄοικος 'homeless'). In the next line what precedes the verb is perhaps a noun in the accusative. Then, in the sixth line, before the conjunctive, there may be a future first person singular. In the seventh line it might be better to take the first three letters as one word, i.e. σωα 'safe, sound, alive'. In the next line the letters as they are printed above do not make very much sense and I must admit that the reading is better taken as an impression based on what the characters look like.⁶⁰ What, then, all this means is quite another matter. Too little is now decipherable to allow a more precise analysis of the contents and purpose of the text. As for the dating, the lettering (C, ω) would seem to suggest that the stone was inscribed in the second or third century A.D.

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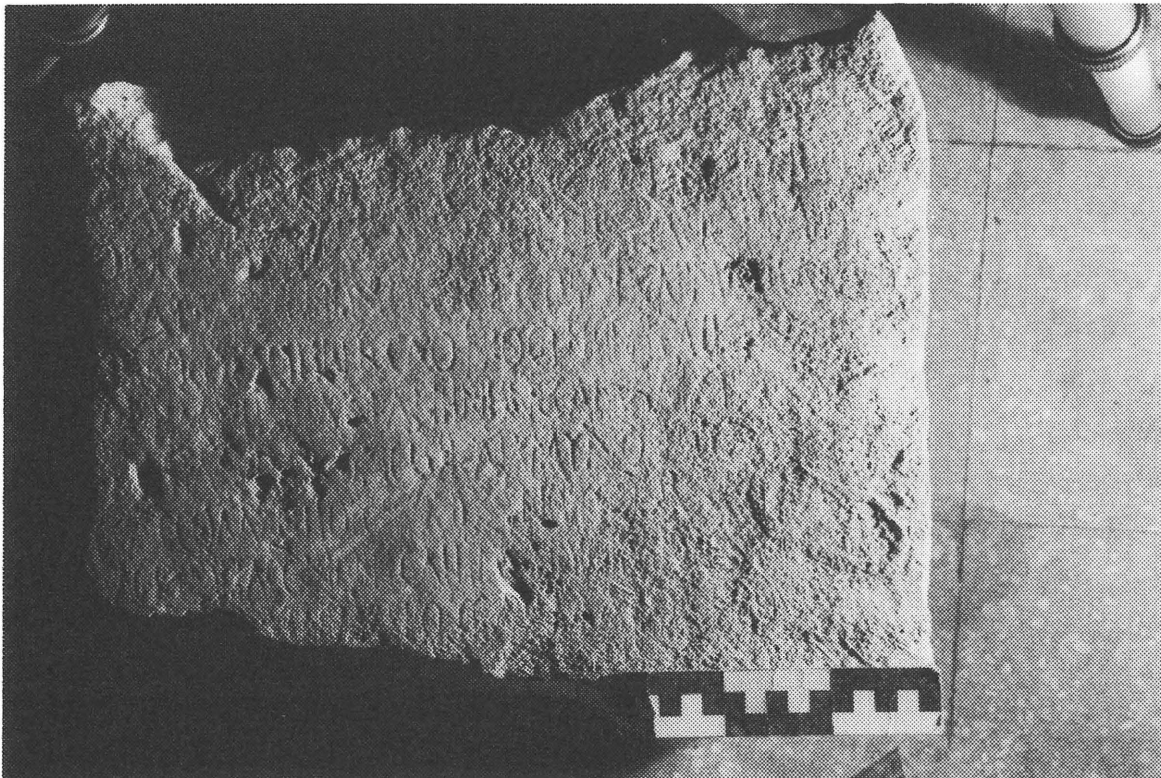


Fig. 3

⁶⁰ One possibility to go on is to assume that the opening word is in fact acephalous; so one could think about words such as φάσκω 'to say, allege, etc.', χάσκω 'to yawn, gape, utter', λάσκω 'to ring, shout, etc.', though, naturally, this remains pure guess-work.

ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE *HERMENEUMATA* LANGUAGE MANUALS*

KALLE KORHONEN

1. Introduction

The bilingual Greek-Latin language teaching material, known as *Hermeneumata* or *Interpretamenta Pseudodositheana*, is a peculiar chapter in the history of ancient erudition. Published in the third volume of the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* (= CGL) in 1892, they have received little attention in the scientific literature of this century.¹ Still, they give us plenty of information about language learning and teaching in antiquity, about ancient everyday life, and about the study of Greek in the Medieval West.² In this article, my aim is to discuss some central problems of this material: why do the texts seem to have two target groups; what do the three books mentioned

* I am grateful to Carlotta Dionisotti, Maarit Kaimio, Kaspar Kolk, Martti Leiwo, Roger Wright and many other friends and colleagues for comments and help.

¹ For the essential discussion see: G. Goetz, CGL III (1892) vii-xxxi, xxxiv-xxxvi; Id., CGL I (1923) 12-23, 284; A.C. Dionisotti, "From Ausonius' Schooldays? A Schoolbook and Its Relatives", JRS 72 (1982) 83-125 [= Dionisotti, Schoolbook], especially 86-94. The article contains the edition of a previously unknown *Hermeneumata* text. – For an overview, see H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité*⁷ (= Marrou, *Histoire*) II (1975) 59 and 193-94 note 20; J. Début, "Les *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*. Une méthode d'apprentissage des langues pour grands débutants", *Koinonia* 8 (1984) 61-85; A.C. Dionisotti, in: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (1996) 690. I will call the material simply *Hermeneumata* because there is no reason to connect them with the grammarian Dositheus, see H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* VII (1880) 369 ff. and G. Flammini, "Prolegomeni alla recensio plenior degli 'Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana'", GIF 42 (1990) 3-43 (= Flammini, *Prolegomeni*), esp. 3-5.

² On the last subject, see especially B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* II (1967) 260-61; A.C. Dionisotti, "Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe", in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages* (ed. by M. W. Herren) (1988) 1-56 (= Dionisotti, *Grammars & Dictionaries*), esp. 26-31, and B.M. Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age. The St. Gall Manuscripts* (1988).

in the prefaces contain; and finally, problems of the dating and the original context of the collections.

I will restate briefly the basic facts of the *Hermeneumata*. More or less complete collections have survived in ca. 50 Western manuscripts and early printed books. The material contains the following bilingual parts:

- a) words, mostly verbs, in alphabetical order (Greek-Latin)
- b) noun lists arranged by topic (κεφάλαια – *capitula*) (Greek-Latin)
- c) texts for language practice.

In the collections, the most characteristic parts of the text material often have the title Περὶ καθημερινῆς ὁμιλίας or συναναστροφῆς – *De sermone cotidiano* or *de conversatione cotidiana*. These texts have not survived elsewhere, and they may contain the description of a single day from dawn to dusk. The whole description consists of scenes: morning, school (and possibly lunch), official and social routines, bathing, dinner and the preparations for night. The texts are traditionally called *colloquia*, and I will use this plural term in this article, even though it has some disadvantages. In some versions other texts are included, such as fables of Aesop, rudiments of Roman law, mythology etc.

The editor of the CGL, G. Goetz, suggested that the parts originally formed a language teaching material in 12 books, and that one surviving version (*Hermeneumata Leidensia*) was close to the original.³ The first proposition has been convincingly refuted, because 1) it is unlikely that all the 12 texts put together by Goetz belonged to the same collection, 2) the mention of 12 books, which appears only once, is clearly an addition by a later systematizer, and 3) the informative, though somewhat chaotic, prefaces of the texts emphasize that the collection is in three books.⁴ Because of the consular date of the year 207 in his "original" version, Goetz believed that the manual was created at this time, and imitated by various schoolmasters throughout the remainder of antiquity.⁵ The description of the 207 version as being the original one has been strongly criticized by A.C. Dionisotti.⁶

³ G. Goetz, CGL I (1923) 17-19 following on the lines of H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* VII (1880) 374, note.

⁴ Dionisotti, *Schoolbook* 90 (supported by Flammini, *Prolegomeni* 42 n. 83). The number of books: see CGL III 7,70-8,15; 30,21-42; 119,24-26; 120,5-6; 166,10-19; 283,15-16; 289,22. About the four-book collections see below, n. 41 p. 110.

⁵ G. Goetz, *RE* VII (1912) 1438; CGL I (1923) 17-19. He uses the term *enchiridion*.

⁶ Dionisotti, *Schoolbook* 86-92.

The *Hermeneumata*, in their current form, are not a single manual. On the basis of the manuscript tradition, the versions can be grouped as follows. Their contents are also listed (ABC = alphabetical glossary, cap. = *capitula* glossary, coll. = *colloquia*, texts = other texts). I also list the conventional abbreviations of the versions.

B = *Hermeneumata Bruxellensia* (CGL III 393-98, 398-421)

ABC, cap.

C = *Hermeneumata Celtis* (Dionisotti, Schoolbook 97-106 + Wien, ÖNB Suppl. gr. 43, ff. 18 - 45v)

cap., coll.

E = *Hermeneumata Einsidlensia* (CGL III 221-79)

cap., coll.

H = *Hygini Hermeneumata* (CGL III 72-94)

ABC, cap.

L = *Hermeneumata Leidensia* (CGL III 1-72 [coll. 637-38]; 94-108)

ABC, cap., coll., texts

M = *Hermeneumata Monacensia* (CGL III 117-220 [coll. 644-54])⁷

ABC, cap., coll.

Mp = *Hermeneumata Montepessulana* (281-343 [coll. 654-59]; 487-506; 506-31)

ABC, cap., coll.

S = *Hermeneumata Stephani* (CGL III 345-90, 438-74, 474-87);

ABC, cap., 2 coll. (S₁ = coll. I, 376-79,⁸ S₂ = coll. II, 379-84)

V = *Hermeneumata Vaticana* (CGL III 421-38).

cap.

The textual history of the different versions is quite complicated,⁹ e. g., the relations between *Hermeneumata Leidensia*, *Hygini H.*, and *H. Stephani* are

⁷ M and E are so close to each other that they clearly have a common origin. E, in which the Greek text is written in the Greek alphabet, is not based on M, which has only the Latin alphabet. See Goetz, CGL III, xxii. The M and E colloquia will be quoted together.

⁸ The beginning of the S₁ *colloquia* is similar to the one in L, but S₁ continues after L finishes. I will cite these *colloquia* together.

⁹ It has been studied by K. Krumbacher (*De codicibus quibus Interpretamenta Pseudodositheana nobis tradita sunt*, Diss. Munich 1883 and RhM 39 [1884] 348-58), G. Goetz [see n. 1], and A.C. Dionisotti (Schoolbook 86-90; "From Stephanus to Du Cange: Glossary Stories", RHT 14-15 [1984-85] 303-36 [= Dionisotti, Glossary Stories]; *Grammars & Dictionaries* 26-31). As to the L version, see also Flammini, *Prolegomeni* 9-43. For a list of the versions and manuscripts see Dionisotti, Schoolbook 87 and *Grammars & Dictionaries* 27-28.

extremely difficult. The position of the *Colloquium Harleianum* (CGL III 108-116 = 638-44), which belongs to the *Hermeneumata* material on the basis of its title and contents, is unclear. I will cite it separately as *Coll. Harl.*¹⁰ I would also point out that the order of the three basic elements is variable in the manuscripts. Two papyrus fragments of *colloquia* have survived, P. Prag. II 118 (5th c.),¹¹ and P. Berol. inv. 10582 (5th or 6th c.).¹² The first one contains fragments of the Coll. Harl. (6; 8-9 = 109,73-110,2; 110,29-42); the second has two *colloquia* which do not directly belong to any of the manuscript versions, but have some similarities with Mp.¹³

Before proceeding, some points must be made about the language of the *Hermeneumata*. The language in the *colloquia* is very close to spoken language.¹⁴ There is no tendency to teach "correct" forms of language in the manner of grammarians.¹⁵ On the other hand, the syntax and vocabulary, especially in the Greek part, show a strong interference of the other language.¹⁶ "Spoken language" always has a certain context, but in this case finding out when and where this kind of language was taught is extremely difficult because first one should make a clear distinction between the features of spoken language and those produced by interference.¹⁷ Another problem is that since all the surviving manuscripts are western, the Greek

¹⁰ The L, H, M, and Mp colloquia, edited by Goetz in CGL III 637-59, will be quoted by his chapters, all the other parts of CGL III with page and line numbers, and C colloquium by the chapter numbers given by Dionisotti. The letters (except C) thus always refer to the version in CGL III; the single manuscripts will be indicated when quoted exclusively.

¹¹ Ed. pr. J. Kramer, in: *Papyri Graecae Wessely-Pragenses II* (1995) 3-5.

¹² W. Schubart, *Klio* 13 (1913) 27-33; CPL 281; J. Kramer, *Glossaria bilingua in papyris et membranis reperta* (1983) (= Kramer, *Glossaria*) 99-103 n. 15.

¹³ The bilingual papyrus PSI VII 848 = CPL 39 contains L 45,42-48 and 46,9-17 (fables of Aesop).

¹⁴ Cf. L. Zgusta, in: *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* (1980) 124-25.

¹⁵ In fact, the author of the *Appendix Probi* was using *Hermeneumata* noun lists to find unsuitable and incorrectly written words, as C.A. Robson has shown (MA 69 [1963] 37-54). To his examples may be added four words belonging to the category *de cognatione* (Prob. app. gramm. IV 198,35 - 199,1); two or three of them are in M (*nurus* 181,57; *socra* 181,55; *ancula* (?) 181,37). However, the "incorrect" forms in *Appendix Probi* usually deviate much from the forms in the *Hermeneumata* manuscripts printed in CGL.

¹⁶ Cf. Dionisotti, *Schoolbook* 92.

¹⁷ There is one approach which could also be used to analyse the texts, namely that of pragmatics (a field of modern linguistics), because we know little about ordinary conversations in antiquity. I am planning a study on the linguistic aspects of the texts.

texts have sometimes suffered badly; in M, the Greek has been written in the Latin alphabet. However, it is important not to date them a priori to Late Antiquity. I will cite both the Greek and the Latin versions without any syntactical emendations (except when the C version is concerned).

2. A phrase book as a schoolbook

When looking at the contents of the *Περὶ καθημερινῆς ὁμιλίας* – *De sermone cotidiano* parts,¹⁸ one has the impression that the texts have not originally had a single target group, but two: children and adults. Compare, e.g., the two passages from M: Προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος σὺν τῷ παιδαγωγῷ καὶ σὺν τῇ τροφῷ ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα – *Processi de cubiculo cum paedagogo et cum nutrice salutare patrem et matrem* (M 2), and Κύριε, τί ἐπιτάσσεις; Μήτι ἔχεις χρήματα εὐκαιροῦντα; Τί χρεῖαν ἔχεις δανείσασθαι; Εἰ ἔχεις, χρῆσόν μοι πέντε δηνάρια. – *Domine, quid imperasti? Numquid habes pecunia<m> vacua<m>? Quid opus habes mutuari? Si habes, commoda mihi quinque sestertia{s}* (M 5 = 212,46-54), or from C: Λεαίνω καὶ παραγράφω πρὸς τὸν ἐπίγραμμαμον ... καὶ δεικνύω τῷ διδάσκοντί με. Καὶ ἐπαίνησέν με ὅτι καλῶς ἔγραψα. – *Deleo et prae-
duco ad superpostum ... et ostendo doctori meo. Et laudavit me quod bene scripsi.* (C 27), and Τίς οὕτως ποιεῖ ὡς σύ, ἵνα τοσοῦτον πίης; Τί εἰρήκασι οἱ ἴδοντές σε τοιοῦτον ... Τοῦτο δὲ πρέπει φρόνιμον οἰκοδεσπότην ἰδιοπράγμονα ... ἑαυτὸν εὐθύνειν; – *Quis sic facit dominus quomodo tu, in tantum bibis? Quid dicent qui te viderunt talem ... Ita hoc decet sapientem patrem familias sui negotii ... semet ipsum regere?* (C 66). In the *colloquia*, the protagonist in the morning and at school is a schoolboy.¹⁹ The persons who participate in private and public affairs are adults, which is also the case in the dinner descriptions and in the bathing sequence.²⁰ Another feature that seems to separate these parts from each other is the manner of narration. In the schoolbook parts, the schoolboy acts as the narrator, he keeps telling what he does as the story proceeds; naturally, there is also some dialogue. In the phrase book there is no such narrator, only dialogue. In fact, the name

¹⁸ For an overview of the contents, see also Dionisotti, *Schoolbook* 93-94.

¹⁹ The only morning scene with an adult man is in Mp 4.

²⁰ The difference in the protagonists has also been noted by Dionisotti, *Schoolbook* 93-94, but she prefers to divide the material into scenes.

colloquia better suits these sequences.

If we go through the versions one by one, we can distinguish the two types of material and see if all the *colloquia* conform to these rules. The L/S₁ *colloquia* cause problems. L finishes in ch. 8, in which the boy arrives at the baths. S₁ which, as I noted above, is a longer version of the same text, continues with bathing, oaths and dinner (mostly names of foods and types of wine) (378,32 - 379,66), and the age of the protagonist is not clear. The first-person narration continues through the *colloquia*. Anyway, it seems to show some editorial effort (by the publisher Estienne?) to even out the differences between the two distinct parts. Coll. Harl. has both the schoolbook (3-10) and the phrase book elements (11-28). It also has a preface, a dialogue between the boy and his father (1-2). The schoolbook part is followed by a title which well suits a phrase book.²¹ Here the problem is that it has, in the school part, mostly dialogue. The only exception is c. 9, in which events of adult life are described, but in third-person narration. Fortunately, the chapters 8 and 9 can be connected with the aid of the papyrus P. Prag. II 118, the last sentence of which supplements the London ms. of Coll. Harl.: ἦρεν γάρ με ὁ πατήρ μου εἰς τὸ [π]ραιτώ[ριον] μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ (ll. 17-20).²² This short description is clearly a part of the school text, but as I said, Coll. Harl. has mostly dialogue.

The order of M is interesting: the schoolbook sequence (2) is followed in the manuscripts by the two glossaries, and then come the beginning of the same schoolbook sequence (3) and a phrase book part (4-12). This time, the type of narration is first-person and dialogue, respectively.²³ Mp has a preface, a dialogue of a pupil and his teacher (Mp 2) which is followed by a dialogue sequence with adults (3-20). S₂ only has the schoolbook sequence (379-384,29); it begins with: *Lege bene. Hodie quid fecisti?* – Ἀνάγνωθι καλῶς. Σήμερον τί ἐποίησας; (379,68-70), and continues with first-person

²¹ H 11: Πάλιν ἐρῶ συμμικτὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα. Ἔστιν δὲ ταῦτα ἀσπασμὸς λόγων, ἐπερωτήσεις, λοιδορίαὶ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ. – *Iterum dicam commixta et necessaria. Est autem haec salutatio sermonum, interrogationes, maledicta et alia multa.*

²² It must be noted that excerpts from Coll. Harl. can also be found in Leiden, UB Voss. lat. 24, Bern, ms. 236 (see Goetz, CGL III xxxi; CGL I 22-23), and in Paris, BN lat. 7683, of which at least the Paris ms. is an independent witness (see Dionisotti, Glossary Stories 329-30).

²³ In M 4, the phrase book sequence begins with some third-person narration, which ends after few lines.

narration. C, which, as Dionisotti says,²⁴ has been put together from two or more different sources, has both parts (1-46; 47-69); the narration follows the usual manner. The titled sequence 70-77 is like an expanded version of Coll. Harl. 9. The chapters have a didactic tone, and the main character is the father of the person to whom the story is told (C 71). I believe that the sequence belongs to the schoolbook part. The Berlin papyrus shows no traces of a schoolbook part, but has, in the middle, a title *σερμῶ κω[τιδία]-
νους – ὁμ[ι]λία καθημερινή* (ll. 42-43). Therefore, it probably is part of a larger phrase book which has contained many *colloquia*.²⁵

To conclude, it seems that it is useful to distinguish two different kinds of material in the *colloquia*. I will call these different parts "schoolbook" and "phrase book". The schoolbook parts have to do with the early stages of literary education, and they give us much information about ancient schools. Such narrations may have been used as translation practice. (I hope to analyze the school parts further in another study.) The literary genre of phrase books has not been studied extensively. To use a definition proposed by N. Haastrup, they represent "idealized dialogues that are meant to be used as models for verbal conversation in specific situations".²⁶ It seems clear that these parts are meant to be an aid in the acquisition of a foreign colloquial language. They would not exist in unilingual form. They also demonstrate in which situations to use the expressions, as the title *Περὶ καθημερινῆς ὁμιλίας – De sermone cotidiano* indicates.

It is, of course, possible to say that even though the protagonist changes, the material may still have been written for children in order to teach them both language and everyday affairs. After all, there are dialogues in grammars, too. It is true that the surviving versions seem to have been used by schoolchildren, as they have been transmitted among grammatical material. But writing bathing and dinner descriptions that are meant to be used at school before the children start with Homer and Vergil does not seem reasonable. What if the material has been written for both adults and children because foreign language acquisition was necessary for both? Should we rather divide the material only into scenes – traces of such a division have survived in C,²⁷ or into different *colloquia* or *fabulae cottidia-*

²⁴ Dionisotti, *Schoolbook* 94, 120.

²⁵ Cf. W. Schubart, *Klio* 13 (1913) 34.

²⁶ N. Haastrup, in: *Symposium on Lexicography III* (1988) 390.

²⁷ C, title: *κεφαλα νονη περι καθημερινη<ς> αναστροφης*; C 70: *de lucubris et negotiis*

nae?²⁸ In my opinion, however, the clear differences in the contents of the texts show that the division proposed here is useful.

In CGL I, G. Goetz made an important distinction, when he divided the early bilingual glossaries (*glossaria vetustiora*) in two groups: those based on the studies of the Roman grammarians, and those on the communication of Romans and Greeks. To the first group belong the etymologies (*etyma*), significations and *idiomata*; to the second *hermeneumata*, which, as I said earlier, Goetz saw as a manual created in the third century.²⁹ He noted that the glossaries are only loosely, if at all, related to the other extant Greek-Latin or Latin-Greek vocabularies. He added that they had been composed using material collected by lexicographers;³⁰ it is true that the arrangement of the *capitula* titles belongs to the ὀνομαστικόν tradition.³¹ I think we can agree with Goetz here and see the *Hermeneumata* mostly as something that does not belong to the grammatical tradition. But what about the school parts? After all, they contain explicit references to the study of grammar, grammatical terms, etc. (M 2; S₂ 381,28 - 382,73; C 18-42). There are also, in the *capitula* glossaries, sections called *de studiis* (L 24-25; S 351; title in H 82,40), *de ludo litterario* (M 198-199 [E 277-278]; Mp 327; S 351-352; C f. 34r-34v) or *de instructione artis grammaticae* (Mp 327-328; S 375-376).³²

In all, it seems that the *Hermeneumata* contain at least two kinds of originally separate material. The parts must have been put together already in antiquity because most of the extant versions now have both elements, the only exceptions being S₂ *colloquia* and the Berlin papyrus.³³ All the

forensibus. See Dionisotti, Schoolbook 94.

²⁸ The discontinuity between the scenes was noticed by K. Krumbacher, in: *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*. W. von Christ zum 60. Geburtstag (1891) 309. He suggested that the different *colloquia* be numbered separately, a principle that Goetz partly followed in CGL III 637-659, although he used names like "Colloquium Leidense" etc.

²⁹ CGL I 13: *Aut e studiis succreverunt grammaticorum Romanorum, qui ... latina vocabula cum graecis diligenter contulerunt, aut e commercio Romanorum et Graecorum, quod Romanos litteras graecas, Graecos latinas discere coegit*. Cf. op. cit., 13-22, 284.

³⁰ Goetz, CGL I 22.

³¹ C. Wendel, RE XVIII (1939) 515-16. On the *capitula* glossaries, see also I. Schoenemann, *De lexicographis antiquis qui rerum ordinem secuti sunt*, Diss. Hannover 1886.

³² C also has Περὶ ἀγωγῆς καὶ ἀμφιβάσεως (f. 31v-32r).

³³ The text of the recently published P. Prag. II 118 entirely belongs to the school part as

versions we have were used as schooltexts, which is shown also by the references to *Hermeneumata* in the school scenes.³⁴ This has granted the survival of the adult material. The distinction *hermeneumata* vs. material based on grammarians' work is useful, but needs to be applied carefully. The prefaces of the texts can tell us more about the original purposes of the different parts.

3. The three books and their prefaces

As I stated before, the repeated references to three books in the prefaces make it clear that at one stage this was the form of the material. I think those of the books I and II indicate that three-book collections existed for practical purposes.

The prefaces of the alphabetical glossary (the first book) and the *capitula* glossary (the second book) are quite similar in the different versions, and they all seem to be based on the same model. The preface of the first book, which also is the preface of the whole collection, survives in its original place in the London manuscript BL Harl. 5642,³⁵ and in two manuscripts of the B group.³⁶ We have it also in M 1³⁷ and in Mp 1. In the two

defined by me.

³⁴ M 2: ἐκμανθάνω ἐρμηνεύματα – *edisco interpretamenta*; C 34; compare S₂ 381,59-60: ἔγραψα καθημερινά – *scripsi cotidiana*. There is one rather unknown reference to *hermeneumata* in ancient literature which may be relevant here. Seneca the Elder seems to talk about this kind of material in *contr.* 9,3,14 (cf. 9,3 exc.). He mentions an orator who gave speeches in both Latin and Greek, and when some people complained that he was being paid too little, Q. Haterius Agrippa (cos. suff. 5 BC) said: *numquam magnas mercedes accepisse eos, qui hermeneumata docerent*. This immediately brings to mind the poorly-paid primary teachers. However, the significance of the word *hermeneumata* remains unclear; we are dealing with a very early period, and it may refer to translation practices mentioned by Suetonius (*gramm.* 4).

³⁵ Goetz prints the preface in CGL III ix. It is not so clear as the prefaces in M and Mp, and has elements not found in B, M, or Mp. The same ms. also contains the Coll. Harl. See K. Krumbacher, *RhM* 39 (1884) 348-50.

³⁶ They are Leiden, UB Voss. lat. F 26 (the so called *Glossarium Leidense*, CGL III 398-421) and Angers, mss. 477, omitted by Goetz and published by H. Omont, *BECh* 59 (1898) 671-88; the preface: 675. The composition of the Leiden manuscript has been disentangled by Dionisotti, *Glossary Stories* [see n. 9] 305-12. In it, the lines of a *Hermeneumata* collection have been turned from Greek-Latin to Latin-Greek and arranged

last cases, it is no longer the preface of the alphabetical glossary,³⁸ but the preface of the *colloquia*. I quote the Mp version here:

Ἐπειδὴ ὀρώ πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας Ἑλληνιστὶ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ Ῥωμαῖστὶ μῆτε εὐχερῶς δύνασθαι ... οὐκ ἐφεισάμην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἵνα ἐν τρισὶν βιβλίοις ἐρμηνευματικοῖς πάντα τὰ ῥήματα συγγράψωμαι.

Quoniam video multos cupientes Graece disputare et Latine neque facile posse ... non peperi hoc facere ut in tribus libris interpretatoriis omnia verba conscribam.

The first book will contain the letters from A to Ω. The preface in M (and E) is longer than in the other versions, but the essential contents are the same. Some more information about the contents of book I can be obtained from the prefaces of the second.³⁹ In them, the author states having given ῥήματα καὶ τούτων ἐκ μέρους ἀναγκαῖα εἰς κλίσιν ῥημάτων – *verba et eorum ex parte necessaria in declinatione verborum* (L, H)⁴⁰ in the first book.

According to the prefaces of book II (see n. 39), the author will write in it περὶ πάντων (λοιπῶν Mp) πραγμάτων καὶ τὰ κεφάλαια αὐτῶν – *de omnibus rebus et capitula eorum* (M, cf. Mp and L 30,55 - 31,2). Some of these prefaces also contain a table of contents of the *capitula* (H 82; M 166-167 [E 235-236]; C 18r-18v [p. 92-93 Dionisotti]). In the prefaces of books

alphabetically. The list of words belonging to the preface can be found in op. cit. 307.

³⁷ E has basically the same preface (223 - 224,39), but the order of the books has been modified in it.

³⁸ M has an addition which joins the preface to the colloquium (the last ten lines in M 1 = 120,17-37). In the other versions, the alphabetical glossary begins with some introductory lines (L 3,26-29: ἀποδώσω οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ κατὰ στοιχείον; Mp 337,7,9: Ἄρξασθε ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς, cfr. H 72,1, M 122,60-61).

³⁹ L 7,65 - 8,19 and, strangely, 30,55 - 31,2 (preface of the "third" book), cf. also 47,58 - 48,7; H 81 - 82,7; M 166,10-29; Mp 289,21-43; fragments in *Glossarium Leidense*: 402,81, 405,76-78, 407,42, 408,44-45, 415,64-65, 418,6 (cf. Dionisotti, *Glossary Stories* [see n. 9] 307 n. 6).

⁴⁰ The ῥήματα – *verba* really seem to mean here "verbs", as the glossaries mainly contain verbs in their different forms. The not so numerous words from other parts of speech have only one form. The *verba quae pertinent ad artem grammaticam* in the confused preface of the ms. Harl. 5642 (CGL III ix) is not consistent with the contents of the ABC glossaries in general, but seems to be an addition, cf. also the contents of the same ms. as listed in CGL III ix.

I and II, the authors do not specify for whom the bilingual word-lists have been written; the words used are ἄνθρωποι – *homines* (L 8,7-10 [book II]: οὕτως εὐκόλως τῆς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχρησία ἔσται – *uti facilius sermoni hominum proderit*, cf. H), or πολλοί – *multi* (M + E, Mp, book I). This means, in my opinion, that the original target group has been adults rather than children. It is remarkable that the languages mentioned in these prefaces are always both Greek and Latin; the alphabetical and *capitula* glossaries have been far more useful for Greeks who have wanted to use Latin.

Could it then be that in an "original" form, a *Hermeneumata* collection would have contained three books with an alphabetical glossary in the first, and the *capitula* glossary divided into the two last books? After all, the prefaces use the expression "all the words", so where do the texts come in? Such is the arrangement of the three books in the fragmentary B version. In this group of manuscripts we have *explicit*s in the middle of a *capitula* glossary.⁴¹ Otherwise, they always come in the end.⁴² Therefore, it seems that in a typical version book II was sufficient for the *capitula* glossary.⁴³ An alternative solution would be that book III contained an alphabetical Latin-Greek glossary, in which case the three-book collection would really have been useful to the students of both languages, as the prefaces promise. But then we should have to conclude that these dictionaries would have disappeared without leaving a trace in the surviving manuscripts, which seems unlikely to me.

At this point, it seems safe to suppose that the three-book collections to which the prefaces refer had texts in the mysterious third book. But what

⁴¹ Dionisotti, *Glossary Stories* 307 n. 1. Book III in *Glossarium Leidense* 409,72; three books in the *capitula* glossary of the Angers ms. 477 published by H. Omont, *BECh* 59 (1898), 679, 682, 685. B 395,63-65 may indicate two glossaries arranged in four books. However, one ms. of the B group also had the *S*₁ *colloquia*, see Dionisotti, *op. cit.* 315. – The four-book *Hermeneumata Vaticana* is the product of a later reworking (on it, see I. David, in: *Commentationes philologiae Ienenses* 5 [1894] 199-202; L. Traube, *ByzZ* 3 [1894] 604-06; G. Baesecke, *Der Vocabularius Sti. Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission* [1933] 80-81; B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* II [1967] 267).

⁴² Book I: L 7,61-63; H 81,50; M 166,9; book II: M 210,43 (possibly also the sign with an uncertain meaning in Mp 337 after line 6, see Goetz in *app. crit.*).

⁴³ The extent of the glossaries in the manuscripts does not help us to solve the question, as the longest glossaries in CGL III are in M, both a little more than 40 CGL pages long (122,62 - 166,8 and 166,30 - 210,43). The prose parts are in no way as extensive.

texts? Can we connect the extant prefaces of book III with those of books I and II? The only preface of book III that mentions the preceding books is the one in L (30,14 - 31,23). It is a strange mixture. Its first part seems to be written for a single person, possibly an adult – because the children of the student are mentioned – who "loves to speak Latin".⁴⁴ The contents are defined only as "something with which to practise". Then follows a fragment of the preface of book II (30,55 - 31,2).⁴⁵ It seems that the author has at first thought to list here the titles of the texts to follow, and used an expression from the preface of book II. However, we here have only the prologue of the text *Hadriani sententiae* (31,3-23). It is completely uncertain whether the first part belongs to the series of the first two prefaces or to the collection that follows.

In the preface of the *colloquia* in M (M 1 = 120,17-39, cfr. E 224,18-39), the author specifies the purpose of the book: ἐπειδὴ νηπίοις παισὶν ἀρχομένοις παιδεύεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἡδύρον ἀκρόασιν ἐρμηνευμάτων ὁμιλίας καθημερινῆς – *quoniam parvulis pueris incipienti<bu>s erudiri necessarium videbam auditionem interpretamentorum sermonis cottidiani*. This will help children to learn to speak Latin and Greek. In Mp, the preface of the *colloquia* (Mp 2) is a teacher-pupil dialogue; Latin seems to be the more foreign language. Coll. Harl. has been used by Greek-speaking schoolchildren (1; 3-4). These prefaces, both of which follow the preface which actually belongs to the first book, clearly reflect the school use of the material.

The prose parts in the other *Hermeneumata* versions have neither prefaces nor book III incipits (in spite of the book II explicits), only the title Περὶ ὁμιλίας καθημερινῆς – *De sermone cotidiano*, or something similar.⁴⁶ This is even mentioned in the table of contents of M *capitula*

⁴⁴ I need to cite it at length: (in the two books) συνέγραψα πάντα τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ ἡδυνήθην τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐρμηνείᾳ, ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ ὅλως ὅσα ὠφελεῖ ἀνθρώποις φιληταῖς τῆς λαλίας ῥωμαϊκῆς. Οὐκ ἐδίστασα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ προσθεῖναι, ἵνα ἔχῃς ὅπως ἑαυτὸν γυμνάσῃς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐτυχῶς τέκνοις σοῖς καταλίπῃς μνημόσυνον καὶ ὑπόδειγμα φιλοπονιῶν σῶν – *conscripsi omnia verba, quae potui nostra interpretatione, quae necessaria arbitror et omnino quae prosunt omnibus amatoribus loquellae Latinae. Non dubitavi et in hoc libro adicere, ut habeas, ubi te ipsum exerceas, sed et feliciter liberis tuis relinquo memoriam et exemplum studiorum tuorum* (30,23-48). This is the only place in the prefaces in which only Latin is mentioned.

⁴⁵ It is very similar to M 166,24-27 and Mp 289,32-36.

⁴⁶ L, title = 69,41-43; Coll. Harl., title = 108,1-2; M, title p. 647 = 210,44-45; S₁ 376,47;

(167,24), where it comes last, and C,⁴⁷ where it is in the middle of the index (it may well have been book III even if it is in the table of contents of book II). At this point we can conclude that book III has in some *Hermeneumata* versions begun simply with the title. It is better to discuss the L version separately. It also takes us to more general problems of context.

4. Problems of dating and context

The L version has an intriguing consular dating which has been used to date all the *Hermeneumata*.⁴⁸ In all, L contains, after the preface that starts book III (see above), a collection of bilingual texts with abundant prefaces in some of them (31,3 - 69,38): *Hadriani sententiae et epistulae*, fables of Aesop, the so called *Dositheanum fragmentum de manumissione*,⁴⁹ *Hygini Genealogia*, and an *Iliad* paraphrase. The L *colloquia* which, as I mentioned before, are a shorter version of S₁, follow abruptly after the last of these texts, the *Iliad* paraphrase, which lacks the beginning and the end. We find no traces of a collection of texts of this kind in groups B, C, and M. As I said, Goetz considered the L version original; Dionisotti alternatively suggested that it would be "a late gathering of originally separate material of this kind"; according to her, the dating in the Hyginus preface may have come from the colophon or title of an original work by Hyginus.⁵⁰ *Hadriani sententiae* survive in S without the preface (387-390); a more complete version of *Hygini Genealogia* has also been combined with the glossaries of the *Hygini Hermeneumata* (H 72-94), as the excerpts in some manuscripts show.⁵¹

C, title p. 97.

⁴⁷ C f. 18r; see Dionisotti, Schoolbook 93 and pl. III.

⁴⁸ I cite the date as printed in CGL III 56,30-34: Μαξιμω · και · απρω / ύπατοις / προ · γ̄ · ιδων · σεπτ̄εβριων / ύγινου · γενε · αλογιαν / πασιν · γνωστην · μετεγραφα – *Maximo · etapro / consulibus / tertio id̄ septēber / yginigenealogiam / omnibus notam descripsi*. Note that μετέγραψα (cod. μετεγραφα) – *descripsi* here means "I copied", Dionisotti, Schoolbook 89. The absolute dative in the Greek is a common phenomenon in the consular dates of documents and indicates a translation from Latin. The only consuls that match are those of 207, Anniius Maximus and Septimius Aper.

⁴⁹ The beginning of a Roman law primer of the same type as Gaius' *Institutiones*.

⁵⁰ Dionisotti, Schoolbook 90.

⁵¹ See Dionisotti, Glossary Stories 327-30. These *Hermeneumata* also had the Coll.

The first problem here is that these five texts may well have existed in 207. The two datable texts in the collection, the Law fragment and *Hadriani sententiae* have both been dated – by their contents, not the consular dating – to the late 2nd century.⁵² The dating of the other texts is more difficult. Babrius wrote, at the latest, in the 2nd century, as P. Oxy. 1249 shows.⁵³ The other fables of Aesop and the *Genealogia* of Hyginus are almost undatable.⁵⁴ Nor is it easy to date the translations.

But let us turn to the prefaces of these texts.⁵⁵ According to Dionisotti,⁵⁶ the similarities in them are due to the formulaic nature of such prefaces. In my opinion, they rather seem to form a coherent whole. All the prefaces of the first three texts – leaving aside the first book III preface discussed earlier – emphasize that they help learning both Latin and Greek; the languages are always mentioned in this order.⁵⁷ Another interesting feature of the prefaces are the references to three-book material. A piece of the preface of book II comes up in a surprising place (47,58 - 48,7, preface of the law primer). As Dionisotti has noted,⁵⁸ the Hyginus preface also has a reference to book II (*capitula* glossary): the author says that in the book that follows there will be many translated stories about gods and goddesses, whereas in

Harl. The Hyginus seems to have had no preface (op. cit. 330).

⁵² The law primer: see A.M. Honoré, RIDA, 3^e sér. 12 (1965) 306-11, 323; H.L.W. Nelson, Überlieferung, Aufbau und Stil von Gai Institutiones (1981) 368-70. *Hadriani sententiae*: A.A. Schiller, in: Atti del secondo Congresso internazionale della Società italiana di storia del Diritto II (1971) 720-24 (note that the linguistic analysis of the text announced by Schiller was never fully accomplished, cf. P. Stein, in Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller (1986) xvii); on the text, see also F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World (1977) 532.

⁵³ See also M.J. Luzzatto & A. La Penna (ed.), Babrii mythiambi Aesopei (1986) x-xi.

⁵⁴ In my opinion, this Hyginus fragment should have been treated more thoroughly in the new Teubner edition by P.K. Marshall (Hygini Fabulae, 1993); the text is not even published in it, cf. Marshall, op. cit., p. x. For a more valid evaluation of the fragment, see L.D. Reynolds, in: Texts and Transmission (1983) 190. On the fables, see M. Nøjgaard, La fable antique II (1967) 398-403.

⁵⁵ The prefaces: *Hadriani sententiae*: 31,3-23; fables: 38,30 - 41,5 (and 94,1 - 95,39 from a Paris mss. with some differences); the law primer: 47,58 - 48,45 (the first 8 lines seem to come from the preface of book II); *Hygini Genealogia*: 56,27 - 57,42. See also Dionisotti, Schoolbook 89 and Flammini, Prolegomeni 14, 18, 21-26.

⁵⁶ Schoolbook 90.

⁵⁷ L 31,20-21; 38,52-53; 48,19-24.

⁵⁸ Dionisotti, Schoolbook 89.

book II he has only listed their names (56,35-43).⁵⁹ He also says that pictures illustrate them (56,47-50), as in the preface of Aesop (L 39,55). If the dating of the collection to 207 is correct, it would mean that the three-book form existed already, say, in the 2nd century. In any case, the three-book collections seem to antedate the prefaces of the L version.⁶⁰ But in the L version, the phrasebook proper would have disappeared.

There is another common feature which separates these prefaces from those of books I and II: the prefaces of Aesop, the law fragment and Hyginus mention γραμμάτων τέχνη, τέχνη γραμματική or γραμματικοί (38,43; 48,8-10, 56,51-52), and translations from Greek to Latin and vice versa (48,16-24). It is clear that we are dealing with grammarian's teaching. Now, what languages can be studied with the help of these texts? The version in the most important Leiden manuscript really seems to be suited for bilingual education: the *Hadriani sententiae* and the fragment of the primer of Roman law are suited for the study of Latin, but it would be natural to study Greek with the fables and the mythological texts. Dionisotti saw the whole *Hermeneumata* material as a largely western phenomenon, suited for the simultaneous education of both languages,⁶¹ and it is an incontestable fact that Latin was studied by very few, if any children in Greek grammarians' schools in this period.⁶² The school scenes in the *colloquia* are a similar case: Greek children learning Latin at school would be an oddity before Late Antiquity. If this collection of texts existed in bilingual form already in 207, the material would have had to belong to the Western school.

However, the utility of the "law" texts is a problem. Would Latin-speaking children study Greek with the help of such texts? We should explain this by saying that their purpose has been to teach how to translate laws and other legal documents into Greek, which was a normal practice in governing the eastern parts of the Empire.⁶³ But the material seems ideal for the eastern schools of Late Antiquity, where such jurisprudential texts, also

⁵⁹ The words ἐξεπλέξαμεν – *explicuimus* (actually "unfolded") must here mean "list", because the author emphasizes the distinction between book II and the one he is writing, in which ἱστορίαι – *historiae* or ἐξηγήσεις – *enarrationes* can be found.

⁶⁰ This was also the view of A.A. Schiller, op. cit. in n. 52, 719.

⁶¹ Dionisotti, Schoolbook 91; see also ead., Grammars & Dictionaries 29.

⁶² See, e.g., A. Bataille, in: *Recherches de Papyrologie* IV (1967) 162-68; H. Maehler, in *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie* II (1979) 18-19.

⁶³ J. Kaimio, *The Romans and the Greek Language* (1979) 75-80, 109-10.

Gaius, who is fairly contemporary with the law primer in L,⁶⁴ were studied intensively, to judge from the papyri.⁶⁵ Instead, the study of a foreign language with the aid of bilingual Hyginus or fables seems natural for both Roman and Greek children. In my opinion, it is possible that the collection of texts has been compiled, translated and the prefaces written about a century later than 207. Thus, we still have no *terminus ante quem* for the three-book collections.

In the glossaries, elements datable to the Late Antiquity are few.⁶⁶ S₁, the continuation of the L *colloquia*, has no criteria for dating. As to the official or military terminology in L, the two glossaries (27,36 - 28,8 and 28,9-23) contain only words that were already in use in the first century AD. This is the case in the other versions as well: in the single *capitula* glossaries with the title *περὶ ἀρχόντων* – *de magistratibus* or similar (L 28,9-23; M 182,22-60; E 275-276; Mp 297,33 - 298,15; S 362; C f. 30v-31v), the bulk of official terminology always belongs to the early imperial period; late antique terms are very rare. Constantinian terminology is lacking in the glossaries.⁶⁷

In addition, we know that Greek-speaking persons were using bilingual *capitula* glossaries already in the 2nd century to study Latin, as the papyri show. P. Oxy. 2660 (1st / 2nd century) lists vegetables and fishes with a heading between the lists.⁶⁸ The order in the *Hermeneumata* is the same. P. Oxy. 3315 (1st / 2nd c.) contains signs of the zodiac followed by names of winds with their heading.⁶⁹ In this case, the order of the words is

⁶⁴ See H.L.W. Nelson, op. cit. in n. 52, 364-70.

⁶⁵ See R.A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*² (1965) nos. 2953-2993.

⁶⁶ *Dux* – ἡγεμόν at 27,39 is a general term, cf. H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (1974) 146; *mulomedicus* in another glossary (25,56) seems a late word, but it is probably a gloss which has come to the text at a later stage. A certain later addition is *salomonis* at 9,38, probably a reference to Salomo III, abbot of St. Gall (fl. ca. 900), compare *Glossarium Salomonis*. The problem here is that words are hard to date, and when glossaries are copied, words can be changed.

⁶⁷ E.g. *comes* appears only once in CGL III, namely in the alphabetical dictionary of M, at 159,38; it is translated by συνοδοίτορος.

⁶⁸ It has been republished by Kramer, *Glossaria* 63-64 no. 6. Parts of the same two glossaries are also in the later P. Oxy. 2660a (3rd cen.; Kramer, *Glossaria* 67 no. 7). All the papyrus datings used here are by the editors. My thanks are due to Jaakko Frösén for help in evaluating the correctness of the datings.

⁶⁹ Kramer, *Glossaria* 69 no. 8.

not the same in any of the *Hermeneumata* versions. I also mention P. Mich. inv. 2458 (2nd / 3rd c.) with the end of a list of gods, the beginning of another with goddesses, and the heading of the second list in between.⁷⁰ It is like a fragment from the beginning of a *capitula* glossary. Fragments of single *capitula* glossaries have survived in P. Laur. inv. III/418 (late 2nd c.),⁷¹ and P. Lund 5 (2nd c.).⁷² In all of these five papyri, the Latin part has been written with Greek letters. It has long since been noted that these papyri do not seem to belong to the school sphere, if this means "children's school", but have instead been written by skilled writers. Thus they are considered as predecessors of the topical dictionaries of the modern travellers' vocabularies, written for adults.⁷³ This matter needs further study, as it is difficult to say who would have needed such vocabularies. Even if the word order is in no case so similar between the papyri and *Hermeneumata* that we could say that a papyrus belongs to a certain version,⁷⁴ it is certain that one source material of the *Hermeneumata* were glossaries similar to these. We do not know if these glossaries belonged to or were copied from the three-book collections.

The prose parts in the other *Hermeneumata* versions have elements that cannot be earlier than the 3rd century, but their use may have continued for some time. The expression *domini mei imperatores* in Coll. Harl. 9 and the name *Aurelius* (Coll. Harl. 19) date the full Coll. Harl. to the third or fourth century.⁷⁵ In M, the key term is *praeses provinciae* (διέπων τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, M 4), which dates the text to probably the late 3rd century or

⁷⁰ N.E. Priest, ZPE 27 (1977) 193-200; Kramer, Glossaria 79-81 no. 12.

⁷¹ R. Pintaudi, ZPE 27 (1977) 115-117; J. Rea, ZPE 29 (1978) 240; Kramer, Glossaria 61-62 no. 5.

⁷² Also published by Kramer, Glossaria 71 no. 9. A later *capitula* glossary fragment is in P. Vindob. L 150 (5th c.; J. Kramer, Tyche 5, 1990, 37-39).

⁷³ W. Brashear, in: Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology (1981) 33-34; Kramer, Glossaria 10. See also A. Bataille, op. cit. in n. 62, 161-69; J. Kramer, in: Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia (1984) III 1379-80, 1384.

⁷⁴ The nearest affinities are provided by the late P. Vindob. L 150 mentioned in n. 72. But glossaries, when copied, tend to change much more than prose texts (essential points about the transmission of glossaries have been made by A.C. Dionisotti, in the new volume *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge* (1996) 205-25).

⁷⁵ See K.J. Neumann, RE V (1905) 1305-09; G. Lugli, in: Dizionario epigrafico delle antichità romane II.3 (1922) 1954-55. On Coll. Harl. 9, see above, p. 106.

later.⁷⁶ However, in the passage M 5 cited above (p. 105), in the Latin version *sestertii* are mentioned (M 5 = 212,54 = E 228,50), but not in the Greek. The use of *sestertii* ceased in the Diocletianic period;⁷⁷ here the Greek term has been changed to correspond to reality, but not the Latin one. The prices elsewhere in the *colloquia* do not help us much; but at least Constantinian *solidi* are not used as currency. It is clear that money terms and official terminology may have been updated in language manuals that were meant for the study of everyday language. The context of the *colloquia* in Mp is Rome; it is harder to date because it has no official terminology. The *balneum Tigillinum* (Mp 14) gives it a *terminus a quo*, the Neronian period.⁷⁸ C, on the other hand, has more clues for dating; Dionisotti dates it to the late 3rd or more probably 4th century.⁷⁹ Dionisotti has plausibly suggested that we have one testimony of such manuals in the literature, Ausonius' partly preserved poem *Ephemeris, id est totius diei negotium*.⁸⁰ This indicates that the *colloquia* were used in the 4th-century West; Ausonius may have used them at school. The original capitula glossaries and the texts show no certain signs of Christianity,⁸¹ but the phrase book material was still in use in 5th-6th century Egypt, as the two papyri mentioned above (p. 104) show. Together, these instances bear witness to a long period of use of the *Hermeneumata* material.

The traditional interpretation has been that the *Hermeneumata* were created for Greeks who wanted to learn Latin; later, they were also used by Romans to learn Greek.⁸² The scholars have been puzzled by the fact that the prefaces seldom speak of only one language, and normally both the languages are named. As a consequence, it has also been proposed that they

⁷⁶ See W. Enßlin, RE Suppl. VIII (1956) 602.

⁷⁷ K. Regling, RE IIA (1923) 1882.

⁷⁸ The name probably refers to Ofonius Tigellinus (PIR² O 91); the *balneum* is attested in other sources, too, see E. Rodríguez Almeida, in: *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae I* (a cura di E. M. Steinby) (1993) 165.

⁷⁹ Dionisotti, Schoolbook 122-23; see also A. Giardina, RFIC 113 (1985) 316-20. The most clearly datable part in the C text is, however, the schoolbook sequence C 70-77 (see above, p. 107).

⁸⁰ Dionisotti, Schoolbook 123-25. Cf. R.P.H. Green, *The Works of Ausonius* (1991) 246.

⁸¹ Dionisotti, Schoolbook 91.

⁸² Goetz, CGL I (1923) 18; J. Tolkieln, RE XII (1925) 2468; Marrou, *Histoire* (see n. 1) II 59, n. 20 p. 194.

were designed for the needs of both groups.⁸³ Dionisotti's criticism against the first theory is justified. I think that the problem needs to be clarified further, but I consider possible that the authors of the phrase book and glossary material really would have had in mind the speakers of both languages.

5. Conclusions

I propose that the *Hermeneumata* we have in the manuscripts have been put together from two different kinds of material: 1) everyday conversations and vocabularies for practical use by adults; 2) school texts more adapted for translation practice. I think this is the only way to explain the differences in the characters and in the manner of narration. The distinction between the glossaries based on the studies of grammarians and on the needs of everyday communication is useful, but the *Hermeneumata* we have now contain both types of material. The prefaces of the alphabetical and *capitula* glossaries we have seem to belong to the practical material. The context of this material, which has already been known from the papyri, needs to be studied further.

I have also discussed the problematic Leiden collection. In my opinion, the prefaces of the bilingual texts form a coherent whole. They indicate that the compiler of the bilingual version has used an existing three-book *Hermeneumata* collection. It would seem that the collection belongs to the study of Latin as a foreign language in Late Antiquity. However, the rest of the *Hermeneumata* material shows signs of a long period of use. It is also probable that the compilers of the three-book *Hermeneumata* collections had in mind both the learners of Greek and the learners of Latin.

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⁸³ J. Kaimio, *The Romans and the Greek Language* (1979) 203-04; see also Marrou, *Histoire II* n. 20 p. 194. It is improbable that they would have been written for an audience that knew neither Greek nor Latin.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND PATRIOTISM. Cases from Greek History*

MARTTI LEIWO

Introduction

The focus of my paper is on language attitude in the ancient Greek world. Language is constantly used as a pawn in the power game associated with various human relationships. These power games may consist of one and the same language, or, perhaps more often, of different languages. In one situation we could think about authority in using one particular language in various speech communities, for example, the use of language in the army, in a hospital, in a kindergarten, etc.¹ In another we might consider situations where one language has more social prestige than another.

One sometimes tends to forget that a person usually has equal intellectual abilities with another even if he or she cannot speak the language another speaks well, or has a less than perfect command of the language which has the higher prestige in a given situation. If one is halting in one's speech, one is simply not taken seriously, and lacks authority in a given situation.

The question of language is, I think, consistently one of the most serious problems among people, as we can see from the negative attitudes of various individuals towards foreigners, refugees and immigrants. In a linguistic situation between different groups it is possible to see an apparent them and us opposition. But how was the situation in the Ancient

* The first draft of this paper was read in a colloquium Methods and Ways of Communication in Antiquity, organized by the University of Helsinki and the Jagellonian University of Cracow, Helsinki, September 5–6, 1996.

¹ A speech community is a group of people who share certain norms and rules in their use of language. However, they do not necessarily speak the same language, see S. Romaine, *Socio-Historical Linguistics. Its Status and Methodology*, 1982, 3 ff.

world: did linguistic communication have any role in the power game? Was language used for nationalistic or patriotic aims?² I shall offer here only a few aspects on this subject, and a more thorough analysis still needs to be done. I shall take examples from Greek and Latin literature to show some examples of language choice and language attitude in Greek history.

The Right Genealogy

What does it mean when a group or a nation claims or is assigned descent from a past community? Very often it has primarily been a matter of glorifying one's own group attaching it to some prestigious name or dominant tradition from the past as opposed to others. In a modern multicultural society it may be an assertion that one's particular ancestors were the most important element in the social mix. We can clearly see in these kinds of claims that statements about the past are really claims about the present.

The early Greeks produced a simple genealogical account of their connection with the past. They supposed that they were descended from a man called Hellen, the separate branches of the Greek people deriving from his sons and grandsons: Doros for the Dorians, Ion for the Ionians, Aiolos for the Aiolians, and so on. The parents of Hellen were simply declared to have been Deucalion and Pyrrha, the only suitable couple, since only they survived the Flood. The assertion here is that all those who were called *Hellenes* were in fact related to each other, and formed one people.³ Others had no part in their family tree. Some Greeks seemed to think that barbarians were of no significance until they gained some importance in Greek eyes. Diogenes Laertius was definitely a nationalist as he wrote that 'these authors (i.e. barbarian authors) forget that the achievements which they attribute to the barbarians belong to the Greeks, with whom not merely philosophy but the human race itself began.' He then continues some chapters later that the very name *philosophia* cannot be translated

² The terms 'nationalistic, nationalism, nationalist, patriotism, patriotic and patriot' are used in this paper. They should not be mixed with modern connotations. 'Nationalism' etc. refers to the idea that '*Hellenes*' are of one and the same origin and generally better than other people. 'Patriotism' etc. refers in the same way to one's native land or polis.

³ On the Greek's attitudes towards myths, see P. Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths?* 1988 (transl. P. Wissing), and P. Georges, *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience*, 1994, 2–12.

into foreign tongues.⁴

Sometimes if a foreign people became significant or interesting to the Greeks, it could be attached to the Greek genealogy.⁵ Thus at a certain point of time the Latins were said to have descended from Latinus, son Odysseus supposedly had with the enchantress Circe.⁶ It was thus recognised that the Latins had some tinge of Greek culture.

The royal house of Macedonia, Argeads, traced their descent to Heracles and their origin to Argos. Therefore, they were admitted to the Olympic Games during the reign of Alexander I, early in the fifth century.⁷ This admission gave the royal house irrefutable proof of its partnership in the family of Hellen. Frequently it was just Heracles who with his numerous amorous adventures greatly increased the number of the Greek race.⁸ Heracles' loves marked out areas of early and successful Greek infiltration. The Greeks of Pontus, for example, explained the origin of the native peoples by coupling Heracles with the cave-dwelling Echidna. She was part-woman part-snake and forced herself on Heracles by taking his horses ransom. Afterwards she conceived the eponymous ancestors of three native peoples of the region, who were monstrous even at birth.⁹

Some nations who were not Greek but who had some claim to be civilised, at least in the minds of the ancient mythographers, were connected with Troy. The Romans thus gained entry into the prestigious world of Homer and Greek mythology. In the late second century, when the Romans were eager to hold their Greek allies in Magna Graecia against Hannibal, the Fabii claimed descent from Heracles for purely political

⁴ DL 1,3: Λανθάνουσι δ' αὐτοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατορθώματα, ἀφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἦρξε, βαρβάροις προσάπτοντες. DL 1,5: καὶ ὧδε μὲν ἀφ' Ἑλλήνων ἦρξε φιλοσοφία, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τὴν βάρβαρον ἀπέστραπται προσηγορίαν.

⁵ Close parallels to this system can be recognised in historical India as well, where genealogies were of the utmost importance.

⁶ Hes. Th. 1011–16.

⁷ Hdt. 5,22; 8,137–9; Arr. An. 2,5,9; 4,11,6. See also R. Katičić, *Ancient Languages of the Balkans*. *Trends in Linguistics* 4, 1976, 104.

⁸ Georges 3.

⁹ Hdt. 4,8. Georges 3–4. Apollonius of Rhodes was fascinated by the mythical genealogy of the Greeks in his *Argonautica*, as the poem unites the Greek world from Italy to Persia by a single web of blood kinship.

reasons.¹⁰ Even the Latin language was deemed a mixture of barbarian language and the Aeolic Greek dialect by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.¹¹

The same kind of genealogical procedure was followed in connection with other important nations, usually with the help of other mythological persons such as, for example, Io or Cadmus, but I shall not dwell on those connections here. I shall, however, provide some examples of the situations where the choice of language was important in the relationships of the Greeks, and later, perhaps surprisingly, of the Macedonians, with other nations, and with each other, too. The examples show that there were persons who considered the choice of language to be very important indeed, and their attitude towards language had nationalistic or patriotic roots.

Language Attitude and Language Choice

In bi- or multilingual societies speech or linguistic communication has to be directed either to our own group or to others. Theoretically, we can call this kind of communication *in-group* and *out-group* communication.¹² The in-group language is the one used in any society for the basic face-to-face relationships with other speakers with whom the individual in question fully identifies. Almost all people living in a speech community have some need for contacting people or groups outside their own community. This language can be called out-group language. In out-group situations the choice of language sometimes reflects the speaker's attitude towards other groups. The wrong choice of language can today, and could also in the ancient world, lead to the speaker's death.

The Greeks and the Persian Command

My first example is from Plutarch's *Themistocles*. The passage refers to the messengers of Xerxes, who were sent to all Greek cities except Athens

¹⁰ See F. Münzer, Fabius, RE VI, 1909, 1740. T.P. Wiseman, *Roman Studies*, 1987, 208, and id. 212 'the number of genealogies that depend on Greek etymologies is striking.'

¹¹ Dion. Hal. 1,90,1; see also 1,89,4: the Greeks are in many ways better than barbarians.

¹² This very appropriate division was first made by A. Nida and W. Wunderley, *Communication Roles of Languages in Multilingual Societies*, in *Language Use and Social Change*, ed. W. Whiteley, 1971, 57–59.

to demand submission to his power. One of those messengers is in question here:¹³ ‘Praise was also given to his (Themistocles’) treatment of the interpreter in the company of those who were sent by the King to demand earth and water: this interpreter he arrested, and put to death by special decree, because he dared to adopt the speech of Hellas for Barbarian orders.’

The word Plutarch uses for the interpreter is a noun ὁ δίγλωσσος, which here means ‘a man who speaks two languages’.¹⁴ Plutarch states that Themistocles was praised because he put to death an interpreter who adopted the Greek language (κίχρημι) to give Persian orders to the Greeks.¹⁵ The interpreter obviously used the in-group language of the Greeks, and this was not tolerated by Themistocles in that political situation.¹⁶ Plutarch encourages his hearers and readers to believe that it was a crime towards the *Hellenes* as a nation if a member of a Persian occupation army dared to speak words of command in Greek. To use Greek was to prostitute it.

What, then, was the nationality of this interpreter who was killed because of his choice of language? It is very probable that the man was a Ionian Greek who was used as a messenger, and thus he was considered a traitor from the Greek point of view, although he was a subject of the Great King.¹⁷ We know that Darius III Codomannus could speak Greek and that he used Greeks in his service, and it is probable that was true of

¹³ Plut. Them. 6,2–3: ἐπαινείται δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωσσον ἔργον ἐν τοῖς πεμφοθεῖσιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος αἴτησιν. ἐρμηνέα γὰρ ὄντα συλλαβὼν διὰ ψηφίσματος ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅτι φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα βαρβάροις προστάγμασιν ἐτόλμησε χρῆσαι. The translations are generally those of the Loeb Classical Library, but I have sometimes made revisions of my own.

¹⁴ Cf. Arr. An. 3,6,6: (κατέστησεν) Λαομέδοντα δὲ τὸν τούτου (Ἐριγυίου) ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δίγλωσσος ἦν ἐς τὰ βαρβαρικὰ γράμματα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις βαρβάροις, ...

¹⁵ In some speech communities there is also the need for a language of specialised communication. This is often the language or dialect of higher education or of specialised formal training, see Nida-Wonderley, 59. The story of Plutarch, however, reflects more in-group out-group communication.

¹⁶ We must keep in mind that Themistocles himself learned Persian when he was in exile, see Thuc. 1, 138,1.

¹⁷ See Hdt. 6, 48–49. D.J. Mosley, *Greeks, Barbarians, Language and Contact*, Ancient Society 2, 1971, 5.

his predecessors as well.¹⁸ Of course we do not know whether Plutarch tells a fact or just a story, but at least we know that he himself thought this to be something worth writing about. Plutarch had an unambiguous attitude towards the choice of language and towards enemies of the Hellenes. According to him, for example, Hippocrates declared that he would never put his skill at the service of barbarians who were enemies of Greece.¹⁹ This suggests that he would put his skill at the service of barbarians who were *not* enemies of Greece. It seems that Plutarch's attitude towards language choice was rigid, and for this we have further evidence.

In his treatise *De defectu oraculorum* he recalls an incident which happened at the oracle of Ptoan Apollo in Boeotia during the Persian wars. Mardonius, the nephew and son-in-law of Darius I, who headed the Persian troops in Greece after the battle of Salamis, sent a Carian messenger to consult this oracle of Apollo. Plutarch's treatise is derived from damaged manuscripts which are very difficult to restore, but I shall follow the text of R. Flacelière.²⁰

According to Plutarch, the prophet of Apollo at that time, who previously had always used the Aiolian (i.e. Greek) dialect, now gave his response in a barbarian language, so that nobody but the Carian messenger

¹⁸ Curt. 5,11,4–5: *Patron se vero, sed remotis arbitris loqui velle cum eo (Dareo) respondit iussusque propius accedere sine interprete – nam haud rudis Graecae linguae Dareus erat –*.

¹⁹ Plut. Cato Maior 23,3.

²⁰ Plut., *De def. orac.* 412A in R. Flacelière, *Plut. Mor. VI*, Coll. Budé: ὡς (δηλον ἐκ) τοῦ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ (τοῦ προφητοῦ ὅ)τι τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέποτε φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα λαβεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπηρετοῦσαν. A. Rescigno, 1995, has compiled the most recent edition. His text runs as follows: ... ὡς (δηλον ἐκ) τοῦ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ (τοῦ προφητοῦ ὅ)τι τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐκ ἔστιν οὐ(δὲ) δέδοται φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα λαβεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπηρετοῦσαν. Although Rescigno has made a comprehensive analysis of the earlier textual tradition, he fails to demonstrate plausibly the existence of δέδοται, 274–277.

could understand the answer.²¹ Plutarch then states that ‘from the divine enthusiasm of the prophet it was clear that it is impossible for barbarians ever to receive a word in the Greek language subservient to their commands.’ Here Plutarch expresses the view that it was Apollo's order that Greek was not to be used for barbarian commands.

Herodotus describes the same event, but the content is different. It seems that Plutarch consciously offers another version, as he was perhaps unsympathetic towards Herodotus (cf. his *De Herodoti malignitate*). Herodotus for his part may have heard the story from a Theban friend of his, and the main difference with Plutarch's narration lies in the nationalistic point of view, which does not exist in Herodotus' account at all. Herodotus tells the story as follows:²² ‘(the Thebans said that) when the man called Mys entered into this temple (of Ptoan Apollo), three men of the town following him that were chosen on the state's behalf to write down the oracles that should be given, immediately the prophet spoke in a foreign language. The Thebans that followed him stood astounded to hear a foreign language instead of Greek, and knew not what this present matter might be; but Mys of Europus snatched from them the tablet that they carried and wrote on it that which was spoken by the prophet, saying that the words of the oracle were Carian; and having written everything down

²¹ Compare also Plut. Arist. 19,1–2. Barbarian language was used together with Greek in the oracle of Apollo at Didyma near Miletos in Caria, see Clem. Alex. Strom. 5,8,48. The priest-family of Branchidae who presided over the temple descended from a Delphian Machaereus, Str. 9,3,9. When the temple was set on fire by Xerxes the Branchidae gave over the treasures of Apollo to him and accompanied him to escape punishment for the robbing and betrayal of the temple, Str. 14,1,5; Hdt. 6,19–20. They went to Bactria, where their descendants were later executed by Alexander because of the previous crimes, Diod. 17 (res. of the second book); Str. 11,11,4; Curt. 7,5,28–35. See also H.W. Parke, The Massacre of the Branchidae, JHS 105, 1985, 59–68; I.R. Pichikyan, Gorod Branhidov, VDI 1991:2, 168–181 (English Summary).

²² Hdt. 8,135: ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπεῖτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἔπεσθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἰρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραφομένους τὰ θεσπιέειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσση χρᾶν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὅ τι χρήσονται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φάναι δὲ Καρίη μιν γλώσση χρᾶν, συγγραψάμενον δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

he went away back to Thessaly.’²³

Here we find no hint of the nationalistic attitude, but instead Mys, who was of Carian origin, wrote down the prophesy, and went away quite content. The same story emerges once again, and this time it is told by Pausanias who wrote his description of Greece some decades after Plutarch's death. When speaking of the sanctuary of the Ptoan Apollo, he tells that ‘Once too a man of Europus, of the name of Mys, who was sent by Mardonius, inquired of the god in his own language, and the god too gave a response, not in Greek but in the Carian speech.’²⁴ It seems evident that Pausanias recalls the version of Herodotus, but somehow believes, or had heard from somebody, that the language used in the original inquiry was also Carian. In their commentary on this particular section of Herodotus, W. How and S. Wells (Oxford 1928) wrote that ‘Pausanias spoils the story by making Mys inquire of the god in Carian.’ Herodotus does not say which language Mys used when he uttered his inquiry. He only states that an extraordinary thing happened which was told by the Thebans (τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, Hdt. 8,133). The use of Greek is, however, implicit in the description, because the Thebans are with Mys, and they are supposed to have understood the question, but not the answer. But when Mys wrote down the answer, we do not know whether he used Carian or Greek. If we consider historical linguistic facts, it seems apparent that a Carian person could usually speak some Greek. Many of them as well as many other peoples in the south-western corner of Asia Minor were bilingual.²⁵

Plutarch is the only one of these three ancient authors who has a nationalistic attitude towards the Greek language. To me this seems a little strange, but Plutarch was a priest of Apollo at Delphi, and that may have had some influence on his conception about oracles and the Greek language as an in-group language. His attitude is, however, interesting, and needs further research.

²³ On Mys, see J. and L. Robert, *Le carien Mys et l'oracle du Ptôon*, *Hellenica* 8, 1950, 23 ff.

²⁴ Paus. 9,23,6: καί ποτε ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα - ὄνομα δέ οἱ εἶναι Μῦν - τοῦτον ἀποσταλέντα ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου τὸν Μῦν ἐπερέσθαι τε φωνῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ καί οἱ χρῆσαι τὸν θεόν, οὐχ ἑλληνίσαντα οὐδὲ αὐτόν, διαλέκτῳ τῇ Καρικῇ.

²⁵ Georges 13–17; Many inhabitants of Asia Minor knew Greek, and some even consulted the oracle at Delphi, see Mosley, 2–3. *Thuc.* 8,85,2.

Macedonia, *sermo patrius* and δίγλωττοι

My second example comes some hundred and fifty years later. When Strabo, who wrote approximately in the Augustan period, describes Macedonia in the seventh book of his *Geography*, he makes some interesting comments. First, he writes that the geographical area as a whole, which he calls Epeiros and in part Macedonia, is composed of many different peoples, of which he has a long list. He also adds: 'But the Illyrian tribes which are near the southern part of the mountainous country and those which are above the Ionic Gulf are intermingled with these peoples' (Str. 7,7,8).²⁶

According to Strabo some of these peoples were ruled by men of native stock but the others were not. Finally, he states that 'because one tribe or another was always getting the mastery over others, they all ended in the Macedonian dominion, except a few who dwelt above the Ionic Gulf. And in fact the regions about Lynceus, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimeia used to be called Upper Macedonia, though later on some also called them Free Macedonia' (Str. 7,7,8). After that comes the most interesting passage, as Strabo says that 'some go so far as to call the whole of the country Macedonia, as far as Corcyra, at the same time stating as their reason that in tonsure, language, short cloak, and other things of this kind they are similar. But some of them speak two languages as well.'²⁷

The passage stimulates several questions. Who are the 'some' mentioned by Strabo? Does he refer to his own time, as he often does, or to his sources? It seems that there were sources which called the whole geographical area Macedonia, and these same sources claimed that the spoken dialect as well as the hair-fashion and clothes of this area, which contained many different peoples, were very similar. This remark of Strabo seems to refer to the Macedonia of the Antigonids,²⁸ and in that case the common language cannot be anything else but a dialect of Illyrian or Greek, because otherwise there would have been some traces of another shared language. Nevertheless, many of the small tribes in that region were

²⁶ Cf. Str. 7 F 11 and Thuc. 2,99.

²⁷ Str. 7,7,8: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν μέχρι Κορκύρας Μακεδονίαν προσαγορεύουσιν, αἰτιολογοῦντες ἅμα, ὅτι καὶ κουρᾶ καὶ διαλέκτῳ καὶ χλαμύδι καὶ ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις χρῶνται παραπλησίως· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ δίγλωττοὶ εἰσι.

²⁸ See Arr. An. 7,2–5.

Greek-speaking.²⁹

It does not appear from the text that Strabo had any personal connection with the area, and he clearly borrows from others. He knew Italy, parts of Asia Minor, and especially Egypt well, but his knowledge of Greece was vague. Nevertheless, he claims that some of the inhabitants of Macedonia were δίγλωττοι. Is the word supposed to mean that they spoke two languages? It would appear so, as before the Christian era the word is connected with persons who know Greek and some other language, and it seems that especially the barbarians who knew Greek were generally so called, though on one occasion a Greek (Laomedon, see above) is said to be bilingual, δίγλωσσος ἦν ἐς τὰ βαρβαρικὰ γράμματα (Arr. An. 3,6,6).³⁰ So in Macedonia one language was Greek, but what was the other? I shall return to this question, but first Strabo's other point. Should we rely on Strabo's assertion that the hair (κουρά) and way of dressing of the various peoples inhabiting the area were similar? Concerning hair, or perhaps Strabo thinks about a hair-dress, there is an interesting Persian inscription where king Darius I records peoples who at that time paid taxes to him, and among them a distinction is made between Ionians, *Yauna*, and Ionians 'wearing a *petasos* or a shield', *Yauna takabara*.³¹ These peoples are listed in geographical order, and, as Persians used to call all Greeks Ionians,³² and as some Macedonian coins reveal a hair-dress just like a shield, some scholars connect these sources and think that *Yauna takabara* meant the Macedonians.³³ The word *takabara*, however, does not refer to hair but to a broad-brimmed *petasos* hat, or a broad-brimmed helmet like a *petasos*, which was general in Thessaly, central and northern parts of the Balkan

²⁹ See N.G.L. Hammond, CAH III² 3, 1982, 284–285.

³⁰ See Diod. 11,60,4; 12,68,5; 17,68,5; DL 1, 101 (a Greek mother); Dion. Hal. 1,25,3; Plut. Alex. 37,1; Polyain. 3,11,7; 7,14,4 (probably barbarian interpreters); Thuc. 4,109,4; 8,85,2. The Christian writers usually use the word to mean 'deceitful'. It then derives its meaning from the tongue of snakes, 'he who speaks with forked tongue', e.g. LXX Prov. 11,13; Sir. 5,9; 5,14; 28, 13. Dio Chrys. still has the earlier meaning, Or. 10, 24 (about Homer); 53,6.

³¹ R. Kent, Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon, rev. 2nd. ed. 1953, DNa 28–29. *Yauna takabara* also DSm 10–11 (D=Darius I), and A?P26 which is a relief from Persepolis (A?=unknown Artaxerxes. Perhaps he was Artaxerxes III, see Walser, Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis, 1966, 34).

³² This was the habit among other eastern people as well.

³³ E.g. M. Sakellariou, in Macedonia, 4000 years of Greek History and Civilization, ed. M. Sakellariou, Athens 1993, 49.

peninsula and Thracia, as well as on Macedonian coins.³⁴ Nevertheless, the *Yauna takabara* are interpreted to mean the Macedonians, since Persian domination did not include Thessaly.³⁵ If Strabo writes of the Macedonia of the Antigonids, this Persian evidence, however, provides no support to his views. Naturally, Strabo may have composed his narration from different chronological sources, as he did, for example, in his description of Naples, which, however, is based on solid personal knowledge.³⁶

Be that as it may, the question of language is more interesting. We may tackle this problem by recalling a very cruel episode from the time of Alexander the Great. It is the famous description of the fall of Philotas, the cavalry commander in Alexander's army. The version of the story which is of interest here, is told by the Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus.³⁷ At this point it is not important whether we consider Curtius a good and reliable historian or not; the essential thing is what he writes, and by that I mean what is his own attitude towards the story he describes.³⁸ Curtius' story in short is as follows: Philotas is accused of a conspiracy, Alexander interrogates him and then leaves him to the Macedonians. Philotas speaks to the Macedonian soldiers, and is finally condemned and tortured to death.

Some points are of interest here. Alexander comes to Philotas: 'And now the king, looking intently at him, said: "The Macedonians are about to pass a judgement upon you; I ask whether you will use their native tongue in addressing them. Then Philotas replied: "Besides the Macedonians there are many present who, I think, will more easily use the same language which you have employed, for no other reason, I suppose, than that your speech might be understood by the greater number." Then the king said: "Do you not see how Philotas detests even his mother tongue. For he alone scorns to learn it. But let him by all means speak in whatever way he desires, provided that you remember that he dislikes our customs as much

³⁴ See C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, *Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume*, JHS 113, 1993, 128–130. On Macedonian coins, see G. Le Rider, *Le monnayage d'argent et d'or de Philippe IIe*, 1977, 5, figs. 1–2.

³⁵ See Walser 47; Cf. Hdt. 3,90.

³⁶ See Leiwo, *Neapolitana*, *Comm. Hum. Litt.* 102, 1994, 16 ff.; Str. 5.4.7.

³⁷ On the different versions, see P.A. Brunt, *Arrian*, Loeb Classical Library, 1976, Appendix XI, p. 517

³⁸ Curtius seems to have been interested in linguistic communication, and he sometimes mentioned languages, e.g.; 4,9,16; 5,11,7; 7,5,29; 9,1,5.

as our tongue." After this comment Alexander leaves the place.³⁹

Philotas then speaks to the soldiers, and among other things he says 'It is even charged against me that I scorn association with my mother tongue, that I disdain the customs of the Macedonians. So then I aspire to the rule of something which I hold in contempt. The native tongue has gone out of use long ago through communication with other nations; a foreign language has to be learned as well by the victors as by the subjugated.'⁴⁰ After Philotas' speech the soldiers stood still, and everything was about to go well for him, when a commander in the army – I quote directly from Curtius (6,11,1) – *manu strenuus Bolon quidam, pacis artium et civilis habitus rudis, vetus miles, ab humili ordine ad eum gradum in quo tunc erat promotus* – starts to speak. He says among other things that 'He (i.e. Philotas)' has always made fun of rustic men, and called them Phrygians and Paphlagonians – he who, though born a Macedonian, did not feel shame to hear men of his own language through an interpreter.'⁴¹

As we can observe, Curtius makes much of the distinction between the *sermo patrius* or *nativus*, the in-group language, and the out-group language, *lingua*, which, of course, is Greek. To him the choice of language is a question of patriotism. In addition, he does not always seem to make a clear distinction between *sermo* and *lingua*, so that the meaning

³⁹ Curt. 6,9,34–36: *Iamque rex intuens eum: "Macedones," inquit, "de te iudicaturi sunt; quaero, an patrio sermone sis apud eos usus." Tum Philotas: "Praeter Macedonas", inquit, "plerique adsunt, quos facilius quae dicam percepturos arbitror, si eadem lingua fuero usus qua tu egisti, non ob aliud, credo, quam ut oratio tua intellegi posset a pluribus." Tum rex: "Ecquid videtis adeo etiam sermonis patrii Philotan taedere? Solus quippe fastidit eum discere. Sed dicat sane utcumque ei cordi est, dum memineritis aequae illum a nostro more quam sermone abhorrere." Atque ita contione excessit.*

⁴⁰ Curt. 6,10,23–24: *Mihi quidem obicitur quod societatem patrii sermonis asperner, quod Macedonum mores fastidiam. Sic ergo imperio quod dedignor, immineo! Iam pridem nativus ille sermo commercio aliarum gentium exolevit; tam victoribus, quam victis peregrina lingua discenda est.*

⁴¹ Curt. 6,11,4: *Ludibrio ei fuisse rusticos homines, Phrygasque et Paphlagonas appellatos, qui non erubesceret, Macedo natus, homines linguae suae per interpretem audire.* The translation in LCL is as follows: '...by one who, though born a Macedonian, did not blush that men of his own language heard his words through an interpreter.' There seem to be no good grounds to translate in this way but rather 'to hear men of his own language through an interpreter'. This interpretation is accepted in French (Coll. Budé, H. Bardon 1947) and German translations (Tusculum, H. Schönfeld 1954) as well.

can be either 'regional dialect' or 'language'.⁴² According to Curtius' account Alexander used Greek, probably the Attic dialect when addressing Philotas. Curtius does not say whether Alexander knew the *sermo patrius*, but at least he makes its use a patriotic act. Some other sources do mention that Alexander was capable to speak μακεδονιστί when he became angry and swore.⁴³ In similar situations – swearing or praying – speakers of certain (dialects or) languages usually choose their native language if they want to add emphasis to their speech. It also seems that Philotas could not, or did not want to, speak it. He even used an interpreter, if we believe Bolon, the angry commander and a man of humble origin. Curtius puts great weight on this fact, which finally turns all the soldiers against Philotas: he did not speak the language of his forefathers, he considered his native land and compatriots so inferior to other nations that he claimed that everybody, even the conquerors, had to learn a foreign language. In addition, he assured his listeners that the Macedonian language was long ago forgotten. The soldiers could not approve of this, and the whole assembly was inflamed, and the bodyguards shouted that the traitor should be torn pieces with their own bare hands.

This story is definitely patriotic. It seems that in Alexander's time the Macedonians themselves did not wish to be regarded as Greeks. Arrian, following his main sources, who were Macedonians by birth (Ptolemy) or by a kind of adoption (Aristobulus, Nearchus), is normally careful in distinguishing and even in contrasting Macedonians and Greeks.⁴⁴ But if we reconsider historical facts, what can we say of that? Nothing much, I think. The question of the origin and language of Macedonia still divides scholars into three main groups. The first recognises the Macedonians as Greeks, the second denies that they were Greek, and the third is somewhere in the middle. The same views have been proposed with reference to the Macedonian language. It is impossible for me to give a full account of the discussion here, but I shall try to show how complicated the subject is.⁴⁵

⁴² *sermo*: 5,11,7–8; 6; 6,9,34; 6,9,36; 6,10,23; 7,5,29; 9,1,5; *lingua*: 3,12,6; 5,4,4; 5,11,5; 6,9,35; 6,10,24; 6,11,4.

⁴³ Hist. Alex. A 3,32,14; Plut. Alex. 51,4.

⁴⁴ Arr. An. 2,7,4; 2,10,7; 4,11,8; 5,26,6; 5,27,4–9.

⁴⁵ On Macedonia, its geography and languages, see R.A. Crossland in CAH III² 1, 1982, 845 ff.; Katičić 100–116.

First mythology and the right genealogy which I mentioned at the beginning of this paper: Hellanicus, who wrote in the fifth century BC, connects the Macedonians with the Hellenes by making them children of Macedon, son of Aiolos, son of Hellen,⁴⁶ whereas Hesiod does not include them in the stemma of Hellen, but makes them instead offspring of Zeus and Thyia, daughter of Deucalion in the Hesiod fragment, and one of the less-known women of Zeus.⁴⁷

The official view of the royal house can be seen in a letter of Alexander to Darius after the battle of Issus. According to Arrian he begins the letter: ‘Your ancestors came to Macedonia and the rest of Greece and did us much harm, though we had done them no prior injury’.⁴⁸ Alexander led the army in Asia as Hellen, as leader of the Hellenic army to revenge the injustice done to his Greek forefathers by the Persian king. This much is clear. The same formula ‘Macedonia and the rest of Greece’ also occurs in the treaty between Philip V and Hannibal, described for us by Polybius.⁴⁹ Livy also puts words into the mouth of a Macedonian representative of the same episode which clearly show the official view of Macedonians as Hellenes.⁵⁰

Thucydides considered Macedonians barbarians,⁵¹ and Isocrates stated that while he considered Philip Greek the Macedonians were to him not of the same ethnic group. Isocrates also makes a distinction between Greeks, Macedonians and barbarians which seems to mean that he did not consider them to be barbarians either.⁵² Demosthenes' view was, of course, full of propaganda, and he considered all Macedonians

⁴⁶ F. Jacoby, FGrHist 4 F 74

⁴⁷ Hes. Ἡοῖαι Fr. 7. Thyia was a nymph whose descent is not definable, as she has various father-candidates in Greek mythology, see K. Preisendanz, Thyia, RE VI A, 1936, 679–680.

⁴⁸ Arr. An. 2,14,4.

⁴⁹ Polyb. 7,9,5 and 7.

⁵⁰ Liv. 31,29,15: *Aetolos Acarnas Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines, leves ad tempus ortae causae diiungunt coniunguntque: cum alienigenis, cum barbaris aeternum omnibus Graecis bellum est eritque.*

⁵¹ Thuc. 2.80.

⁵² Isoc. Philip. (Or. 5) 108 μόνος γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐχ ὁμόφυλον γένος ἄρχειν ἀξιόσας; 122.

barbarians.⁵³ But Macedonia is also accounted part of Greece by Polybios and Strabo, whereas Appian seems to adopt the idea that Macedonians were not Greek, but not barbarians either.⁵⁴ A short rhetorical speech attributed to Herodes Atticus called *περὶ πολιτείας* which is addressed to Thessalians at the end of the fifth century presents king Archelaus of Macedonia († 399) as a barbarian. The speaker tries to raise a great Greek expedition against him.⁵⁵ This speech is very difficult to date, so that the propaganda it contains remains without a proper historical context. None of these testimonies can be considered outside of their chronological or political context, and therefore it is not possible to decide from this evidence whether the Macedonians were originally ethnically Hellenes or not.

Linguistically, the question is no less problematic. Above I quoted Strabo who wrote that some of the Macedonians were bilingual. Did he intend that those who were not bilingual spoke only Greek, or that they did not speak Greek but Illyrian?⁵⁶ Or was there a distinction between the Attic dialect and some regional Greek dialect called Macedonian? The earliest Macedonian written documents contain only names, and when writing becomes more frequent, the Macedonians used the Attic dialect.⁵⁷ When Greek writers refer to the language of the Macedonians they usually use the words *μακεδονιστί*, *μακεδονίζειν* or similar, for example, *μακεδονιστὶ τῆ φωνῆ* (Plut. Eum. 14,5) and *μακεδονίζοντας τ'οἶδα πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀττικῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν* (Athen. 3,122A). But it is not at all apparent what this really means. It may mean that the language differed from Greek or it could mean simply that Macedonian was just another Greek dialect when compared with expressions like *αἰολίζειν*, *αἰολιστί*, *ἀττικιστί*, *δωριστί*, *πελοποννασιστί* etc.⁵⁸ On the other hand, Ctesias used the word *Ἰνδιστί* of a totally different language to *ἑλληνιστί*.⁵⁹ Dio

⁵³ For example, Dem. 3,16–17 and 24, and several times in his speeches against Philippos, e.g., 9,31.

⁵⁴ Polyb. 7,9,1; 9,37,7–10; Str. 7 F 9; Appian in, for example, 9,9,1–2 and 4. Usually Appian tries to express the speaker's attitude.

⁵⁵ See U. Albini, <Erode Attico>, *περὶ πολιτείας*, 21–23; 34–37. Cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. 6,2,17, where Clemens writes that Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, in the second half of the fifth century, called king Archelaus a barbarian as opposed to Thessalian Hellenes.

⁵⁶ See N. Hammond, CAH VI², 1994, 423.

⁵⁷ Katičić 108; cf. IG IX2 517.

⁵⁸ Cf. Katičić 106.

⁵⁹ Ctesias, FGrH 688, F 45,4 and 28.

Chrysostomus follows the same usage, when he states ... οὐ περσίζων, οὐ μηδίζων τῇ φωνῇ, καθάπερ οἶμαι Δαρείος, ἀλλὰ μακεδονίζων τε καὶ ἑλληνίζων (Or. 4,55). Here a distinction is made between different languages in the same way.⁶⁰

The Attic comedians generally made their non-Greeks speak bad Greek with a mixture of barbarian words (of which some were invented some real), while the Greek tribes usually spoke their own dialect, for example, Boiotic, Laconic, and so on.⁶¹ Strattis, an Attic comedy writer, wrote in the year 402 BC a play called *Μακεδόνες*. A couple of fragments from this play have fortunately been transmitted to us, and one of them is especially interesting. An Athenian says: ἡ σφύραινα δ' ἔστι τίς ; and a Macedonian replies: κέστραν μὲν ὕμμες ὠττικοὶ κικλήσκετε.⁶² The idea is that the Athenian does not know what is a *sphyraina*, and the Macedonian says that 'you Attics call it *kestra*'. The word means a kind of fish.⁶³ The Macedonian's answer is written with a perfectly (to us) understandable and correct Greek dialect, which is perhaps a little old-fashioned but contains no barbarisms.

It is possible and even probable that uneducated Macedonians were unable to follow fluently spoken Attic with its phonetic and lexical differences, neologisms, etc. On the other hand, there were Thracians, Illyrians, Phoenicians and many other peoples in the Macedonian army who were able to understand Attic, but who were not so fluent in Greek that they would have been able to follow certain Greek, for instance Macedonian, dialects.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, we do not have more fragments from this play, so that it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions.

⁶⁰ The distinction between language and dialect is complex, and it is not analysed in this paper.

⁶¹ Cf. Schol. Ar. Ran. 681 (Plato Comicus, PCG F 61) where the mother of the politician Cleophon, who was a Thracian, speaks broken Greek.

⁶² Strattis, PCG F 29.

⁶³ The word *sphyraina* is used as a scientific name of a species of fish called *sphyrænidae* of which Barracuda is perhaps the most well-known. It is interesting that *kestra* has vanished without a trace.

⁶⁴ Modern societies abound in regional dialects which are not understandable to out-group speakers. Dialect speakers, however, are normally able to understand the standard language of their country because of the school system (cf. Schwyzer Dutch vs German, some Italian dialects, standard English vs regional dialects). For example, the famous film *L' Albero degli zoccoli* by Eduardo Gualino had Italian subtitles in Italy, since the old northern Italian dialect was incomprehensible to the average modern Italian.

Finally, several Macedonian words are listed in different contexts.⁶⁵ The majority of these words are Greek, but there are several which are not. I am afraid, however, that this does not prove anything either. The Greek words could be loan-words, so too could the non-Greek words. In almost every occasion an alternative explanation is possible.

Nevertheless, I believe that it is conceivable to find a plausible answer to this question, but it requires a scholar who is familiar with modern historical linguistics, and who has a good knowledge of ancient history and philology as well as modern anthropology. Archaeological skills would be of use, too. But above all this scholar or group of scholars must be without modern nationalistic *a priori* presumptions.

To conclude, I shall answer the questions which I posed at the beginning of this paper. The questions were: did linguistic communication play any role in the power game in the ancient Greek world and was language used for nationalistic or patriotic aims? The answer to both is affirmative.

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⁶⁵ A collection of 154 Macedonian words is listed by Kalléris, *Les anciens macédoniens I*, Athens 1954, 66 ff. which, however, has been severely criticised because of its methodology, see Crossland 845 ff. Crossland states that Macedonian appears to have one phonological feature which tells against regarding it as a Greek dialect (the variation of the letter β in Macedonian with φ in Greek), 846. He does not, however, discuss the distinction between graphemes and phonemes which can be significant; see also Katičić 108 ff.; Sakellariou 54–59.

THE HEIGHT AND RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE INTERIOR CORINTHIAN COLUMNS IN GREEK CLASSICAL BUILDINGS*

JARI PAKKANEN

The late fifth century temple of Apollo at Bassai with its single Corinthian column in the cella started a revolution in the interior design of

* I wish to thank Richard Anderson, architect of the Athenian Agora, for reading a manuscript of this paper and a thorough discussion: his comments have greatly enhanced the legibility of this text. I am also grateful for Prof. Erik Østby, Dr. Petra Pakkanen, Prof. Olga Palagia, Dr. Blanche Menadier, Docent Leena Pietilä-Castrén, Mr. Kalle Korhonen, and Ms. Annie Hooton for their comments on my work. In addition to the abbreviations in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991) 4–16, the following short titles are used in this article:

Amandry & Bousquet 1940–41 = P. Amandry & J. Bousquet, "La colonne dorique de la Tholos de Marmaria", *BCH* 64–65, 121–127.

Bauer 1973 = H. Bauer, *Korintische Kapitelle des 4. und 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, AM-BH 3.

Büsing 1987 = H. Büsing, "Zur Bauplanung der Tholos von Epidauros", *AM* 102, 225–257.

Charbonneaux 1925 = J. Charbonneaux, *La Tholos du sanctuaire d'Athèna Pronaia à Delphes*, FdD II.

Cooper 1970 = F. A. Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo at Bassai. A Preliminary Study*, 1978; this is an unaltered publication of his 1970 dissertation.

Cooper 1992 = F. A. Cooper, *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas IV*.

Dugas 1924 = Ch. Dugas, J. Berchmans & M. Clemmensen, *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au IV^e siècle*.

Gottlob 1925 = K. Gottlob, *Relevés et restaurations*, FdD II.

Hill 1966 = B. H. Hill, *The Temple of Zeus at Nemea*. Rev. and suppl. by C. K. Williams, II.

Norman 1984 = N. J. Norman, "The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea", *AJA* 88, 169–194.

Roux 1961 = G. Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolide aux IV^e et III^e siècles avant J.-C.*, BEFAR 199.

Seiler 1986 = F. Seiler, *Die Griechische Tholos*.

Schleif 1944 = H. Schleif, "Das Philippeion. Baubeschreibung", *OIForsch* I, 3–24.

Greek buildings.¹ During the fourth century Corinthian order became very widely used in the Peloponnesian and mainland buildings: it was certainly used in the tholoi at Delphi and Epidauros, the large peripteral temples of Athena Alea at Tegea and of Zeus at Nemea, and the Philippeion at Olympia.² In this paper I will study the interior Corinthian columns at Bassai, Delphi, Epidauros and Tegea, mainly concentrating on issues regarding their height and shaft reconstructions. The temple of Zeus at Nemea and the Philippeion are used as reference material.³

The temple of Apollo at Bassai (last quarter of 5th cent. BC)⁴

F. A. Cooper presents a new reconstruction of the interior Corinthian column with measurements in volume IV of the series *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas*.⁵ The height of the column is certainly known: it is directly

¹ For a reconstruction of the cella with Ionic half-columns and one Corinthian column, see Cooper 1992, pls. 9 and 34b. W. B. Dinsmoor argues for three Corinthian capitals at the back (see W. B. Dinsmoor, *MMS* 4 (1932–33) 209–212), but this is rejected by Cooper 1970, 151–153.

² On the interior Corinthian orders, see the following publications: Charbonneaux 1925, 20–22 (the Tholos at Delphi); Roux 1961, 153–158 (the Tholos at Epidauros); Dugas 1924, 47–51 (the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea); Hill 1966, 30–34 (the temple of Zeus at Nemea); Schleif 1944, 16–19 (the Philippeion at Olympia). At Nemea an Ionic upper colonnade was used above the Corinthian order (Hill 1966, 34–36); N. J. Norman suggests an Ionic upper storey for Tegea as well (Norman 1984, 179f.), but I do not find her reconstruction tenable (see pp. 154–157 below). It is possible that Corinthian became actually the dominant order in the interiors: Ionic order has been suggested for a number of fourth century buildings in the Peloponnese and mainland, but for none of them there exists any archaeological evidence to support it (Roux 1961, 356).

³ These two buildings are not discussed in separate chapters, since there is very little I have to add to Hill's reconstruction of the temple of Zeus (Hill 1966, 34–36; see also Norman 1984, 180 n. 71) or to Schleif's reconstruction of the Philippeion (Schleif 1944, 16–19).

⁴ For the date, see Cooper 1970, 165–167. The sculptural decoration is dated to the last decade of the 5th cent. BC; see B. C. Madigan and F. A. Cooper, *The Sculpture. The Temple of Apollo Bassitas II*, 1992, 99.

⁵ Cooper 1992, pl. 40d. The figure 5.481 m given in the plate refers incorrectly to the total height of the column, not to offset from the 0.00 level (bottom of the shaft) as the other measurements do.

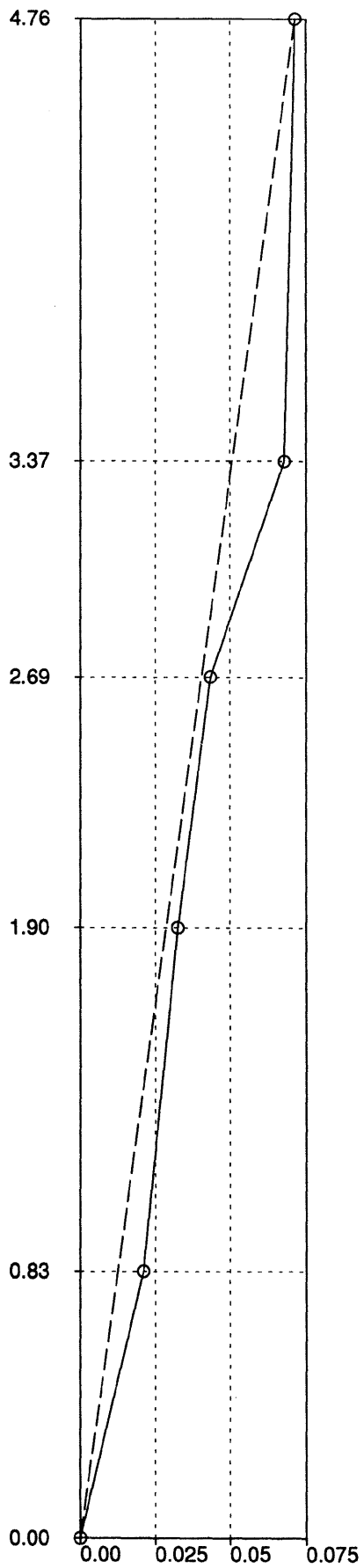


Fig. 1.

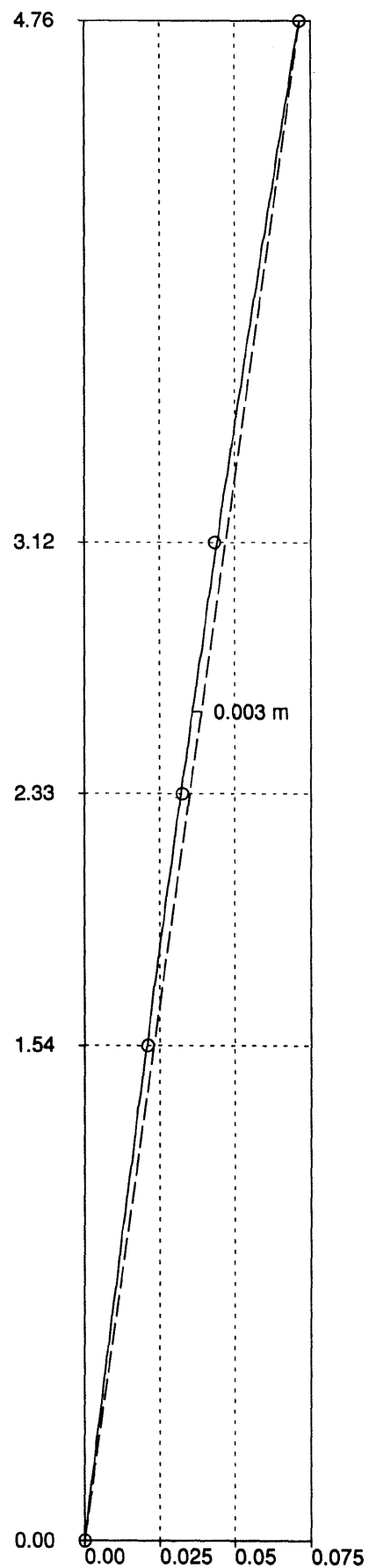


Fig. 2.

linked to the height of the adjacent Ionic half-columns by the epistyle.⁶ Cooper places the single completely preserved drum and the four fragmentary drums in the lower part of the shaft. In figure 1 the shaft profile is based on Cooper's data.⁷ The scale for x axis is ten times greater than for y axis in order to make it easier to distinguish features of the shaft profile. The straight dashed line connects the bottom and top of the shaft, and Cooper's actual data is given as small circles. All the intermediate data points fall to the right of the straight line producing an unthinkable zigzagging shaft profile. If the measurements given in the plate are correct, the basic error in Cooper's reconstruction is to connect the preserved top part of a drum (CL1b in fig. 3) to the bottom drum (CL1a):⁸ the difference in the bottom and top diameters of 42 mm is not possible in a single drum when the total taper of the shaft is only 143 mm.⁹

Figure 2 presents the shaft profile with the drums lifted to a higher position in the shaft. I have omitted Cooper's second highest diameter measurement (broken drum, CL3 in fig. 3): its reliability is questionable because once more it introduces too large a taper for a single drum (49 mm). To the data I have fitted a parabola which is drawn as a solid line.¹⁰ Figure 3 is a reconstruction of the column with the shaft fragments restored to position. The placement of the blocks in figures 2 and 3 is based on the presumption that the shaft consisted of six roughly equally high drums.¹¹ I have restored the fragment CL1b as the top of the second drum and pre-

⁶ Cooper 1992, pl. 34b.

⁷ I have used the diameters measured at the bottoms of two opposite flutes, because these measurements are usually more accurate than the diameters measured at the possibly broken fillets. The height of the shaft, 4.762 m, is calculated by subtracting the capital height (0.677 m) and base height (0.402 m) from the total height (5.841 m); for the figures, see Cooper 1992, pls. 20.9 and 50c.

⁸ The fragments cannot be directly joined to each other according to Cooper 1992, pl. 40d. I use the same names for the fragments as given in the plate.

⁹ Subtracting the top diameter of the shaft (0.499 m) from the bottom diameter (0.642 m) we get 0.143 m.

¹⁰ I have used least squares approximation as the curve fitting method: see J. Pakkanen, "The *Entasis* of Greek Doric Columns and Curve Fitting. A Case Study Based on the Peristyle Column of the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea", forthcoming in *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 7.

¹¹ Dividing the shaft height of 4.76 m by six we get ca. 0.79 m as the average drum height – the two drums with their full height preserved are 0.79 and 0.68 m.

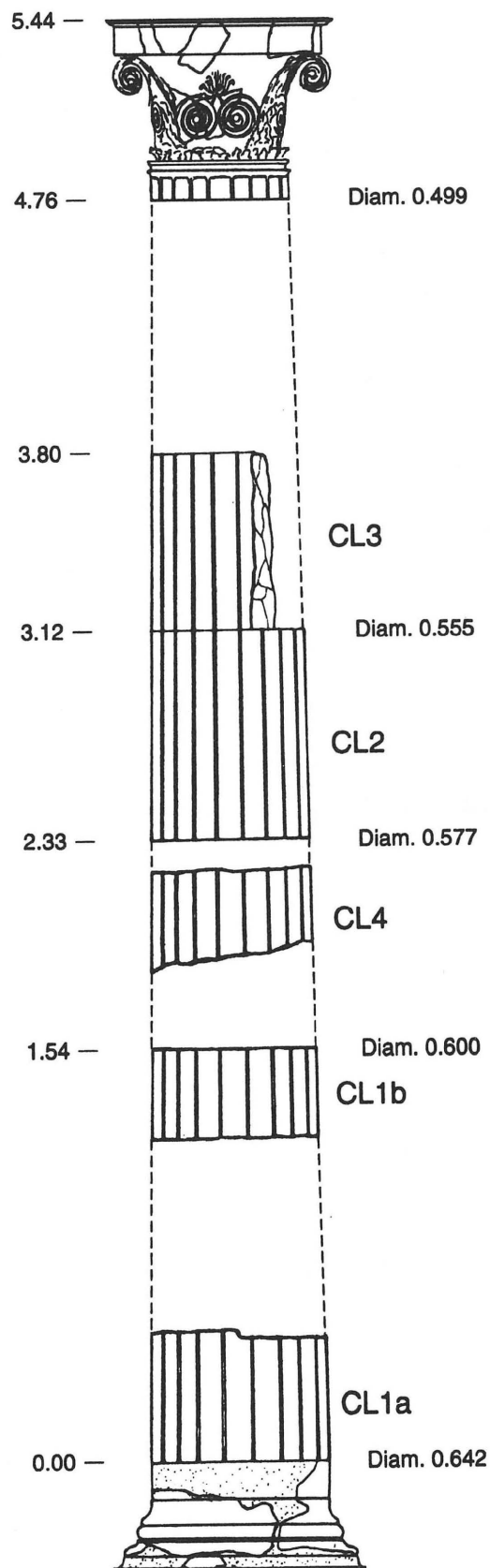


Fig. 3.

sumed the combined height of the two lowest drums, 1.54 m, to be slightly lower than the height of two average drums, 1.58 m, because this brings also the position of maximum entasis lower. Restoring CL4 as part of a 0.79 m high drum we get 2.33 m as the bottom level of drum CL2. The next two height levels are given by the known drum heights.

The shaft profile in figure 2 presents a very slight entasis. The existence of entasis depends on the correctness of the argument above. If it were reasonable to restore the middle drums 0.14–0.22 m lower,¹² the entasis would disappear, and correspondingly, if the blocks were restored higher, the entasis would become more emphasized. The first alternative is conceivable: lowering the drums would create a gap of 1.18 m between CL3 and the capital, and this could be filled with one very tall or two short drums of 0.59 m. The latter alternative can definitely be ruled out, because lifting the blocks means also that the position of maximum entasis is moved higher: for such an entasis curve I know no parallels.

The entasis profile in figure 2 has a fairly close parallel in the fifth century Ionic columns discovered among the reused material of the Post Herulian fortification at the Athenian Agora: the proportional emphasis of the maximum entasis (the maximum projection between the shaft profile and the straight line connecting the bottom and the top divided by the shaft height) is at Bassai 0.06% and in the Ionic column 0.05%, but the placement of the maximum entasis is much lower in the Agora column.¹³ Positioning the maximum entasis approximately at the center of the shaft as in figure 2 is on the other hand very common in fourth century Peloponnesian architecture.¹⁴ It would seem that even though the existence of entasis in

¹² Bringing CL1b 0.14 m and CL2 0.22 m lower would align their tops on the straight line between the bottom and top of the shaft.

¹³ Proportional emphasis: temple of Apollo 0.003 m / 4.76 m, Agora column 0.003 m / 5.18 m; proportional position of the maximum entasis in the shaft (height of the maximum entasis divided by shaft height) is in the first one 0.544 (= 2.59 m / 4.76 m) and the latter 0.299 (= 1.55 m / 5.18 m). The figures given above are for the short column which currently stands re-assembled in the Stoa of Attalos. The columns are dated to the third quarter of the 5th century; see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 351–356.

¹⁴ See J. Pakkanen, "Entasis in the Fourth Century BC Doric Buildings in the Peloponnese and Delphi", forthcoming.

the exterior Doric columns at Bassai is controversial,¹⁵ the interior Corinthian column quite likely had a very delicate entasis.

The Tholos at Delphi (ca. 380–370 BC)¹⁶

The results of the co-operative study on the Tholos by J. Charbonneaux and K. Gottlob were published as two separate volumes in the series *Fouilles de Delphes* in 1925.¹⁷ Their reconstruction of the interior Corinthian column is certain in many respects: The columns were standing on a podium, the column shaft penetrates very slightly – 2 mm – into the wall, and at the back of the shaft there is no fluting so that of the 20 flutes only 17 are actually carved. The base profile, lower diameter and height of the bottom drum as well as the main features of the capital are known from preserved fragments. The height of the column is uncertain: taking as the starting point the height of the preserved bottom drum (0.490 m) Charbonneaux and Gottlob reconstruct seven equally high drums on top of it. This brings the column height with the capital to 4.60 m, slightly over the joint of the frieze course and epikranitis course of the cella wall.¹⁸

¹⁵ Most often the columns are reported to have no entasis; see Cooper 1970, 103f. Cooper himself found no entasis with an optical instrument. On the other hand, W. B. Dinsmoor was certain that the columns do have entasis: "the swelling outline of the shaft known as the entasis is certainly present, and is quite apparent as sighted from pavement or capital." (W. B. Dinsmoor (n. 1) 207).

¹⁶ The date is not certainly known, but the building and especially the carved metopes are usually dated to ca. 380–370 BC: see e.g. P. Amandry, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 272 n. 94: ca. 380 BC; Roux 1961, 413, 415 and 418: ca. 370 BC; P. Bernard and J. Marcadé, *BCH* 85 (1961) 469–473: ca. 375 BC. F. Seiler suggests that the building was probably built in two phases: the main part of the building would have been finished at the beginning of the 4th cent., and only the roof elements would belong to the second phase (Seiler 1986, 65–67). The suggestion explains part of the contradictory dates given for the building, but I do not find Seiler's argumentation conclusive.

¹⁷ Charbonneaux 1925 and Gottlob 1925.

¹⁸ Charbonneaux 1925, 20–23; Gottlob 1925, pls. 21–26. In this paper I follow the convention used in architectural literature and use the term 'cella' also for the inner room of a tholos, even though the function of the circular buildings discussed in this paper is not necessarily religious; see G. Roux, "Trésors, temples, tholos", in G. Roux (ed.), *Temples et Sanctuaires*, 1984, 153–171.

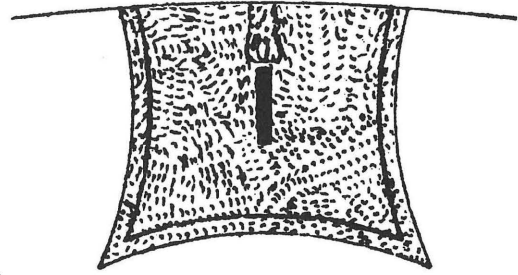


Fig. 4.

The three standing Doric columns of the Tholos were re-erected in 1938. Before this took place, P. Amandry and J. Bousquet conducted a thorough study on the existing column drums: they were able to show that the column shaft consisted of five and not four drums as had been previously thought.¹⁹ H. Ducoux's section drawing presented in the publication omits the interior Corinthian order,²⁰ and therefore in studies and general works discussing the Tholos the old reconstruction drawing by K. Gottlob has usually been reproduced.²¹

Recently, F. Seiler has made a new drawing of the Tholos section: it takes as its starting point Gottlob's drawing, but he introduces into the drawing the higher Doric column, cella wall, and Corinthian column.²² The only clear inaccuracy in the drawing is the ca. 0.85 m high bottom drum of the Corinthian column; on the basis of the preserved fragment its height is known to be 0.49 m.²³ Charbonneaux and Gottlob wished to reconstruct the shaft with eight equal drums and this aligns the top surface of the abacus 0.03 m above the top of the frieze course.²⁴ There is no reason to repeat this feature in a new reconstruction drawing with a different shaft height. Actually, the top of the abacus was more likely to have been level with the top of one of the blocks in the wall: The top surface of the abacus has a large 'dowel hole' in the center and also another cutting at the back edge (fig. 4).

¹⁹ Amandry & Bousquet 1940–41, 121–127.

²⁰ Amandry & Bousquet 1940–41, pl. 7.

²¹ Gottlob 1925, pl. 26. For reproductions, see e.g. H. H. Büsing, *Die Griechische Halbsäule*, 1970, fig. 47; A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture, The Pelican History of Art*. (Revised with additions by R.A. Tomlinson), 1983⁴, fig. 212; G. Gruben, *Die Tempel der Griechen*, 1986⁴, fig. 94.

²² Seiler 1986, fig. 28.

²³ Charbonneaux 1925, 22, fig. 28.

²⁴ Charbonneaux 1925, 22; Gottlob 1925, pl. 26. H. H. Büsing (n. 21) 31 accepts this reconstruction as likely on the basis of comparative material.

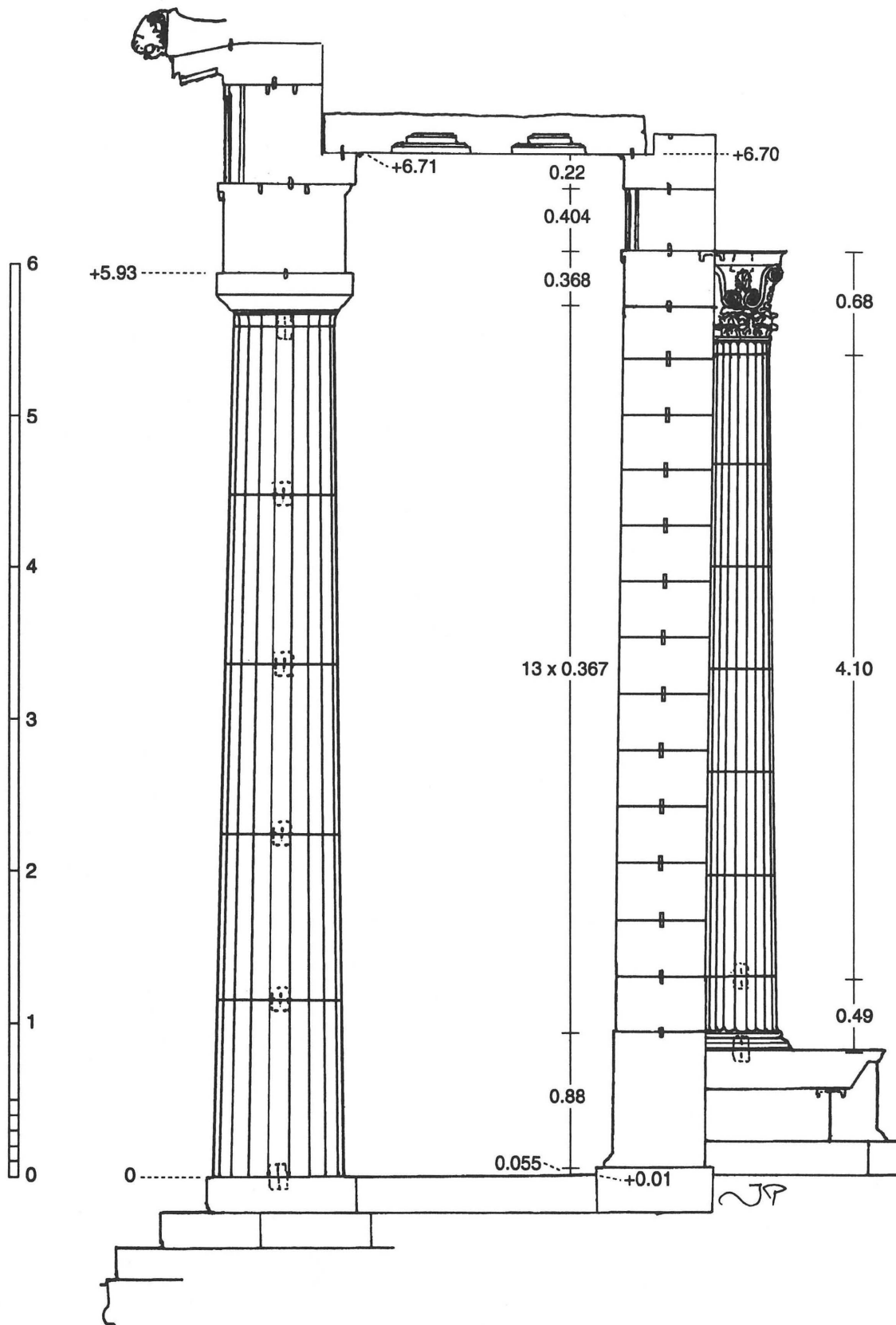


Fig. 5.

In the appendix on the Corinthian column Gottlob explains that these cuttings probably connected the epistyle to the top of the capital,²⁵ but I am quite sure that the second cutting was used to connect the capital to the cella wall with a Π -shaped clamp (fig. 5).²⁶ I can think of three possible ways to align the top of the capital with the cella wall: it could have been level with the top of the highest wall block, the architrave, or the frieze block. Unfortunately the backs of the existing wall-architrave and frieze blocks are missing, so no traces of possible clamp cuttings remain.²⁷ Charbonneaux and Gottlob report no clamp cuttings that could have connected any wall block to the abacus, although several fragments show traces of the hollow cutting for the column shaft.²⁸ The other fourth century tholoi have the top of the interior capital slightly higher than or level with the top of the exterior capital.²⁹ Therefore, I think it is reasonable to reconstruct the abacus of the Corinthian order level with the top of the cella wall architrave (fig. 5).³⁰ For the shaft between the surviving bottom drum and the capital I have hypothetically reconstructed six drums of ca. 0.68 m.

All the reconstruction alternatives produce a very slender column: the Corinthian column presented in figure 5 has a height of 11.7 lower diameters, and the lower and higher alternatives respectively 10.9 and 12.6 lower diameters.³¹ The corresponding figure for the Corinthian column at Bassai

²⁵ Charbonneaux 1925, 35. Depths of the cuttings are not given, so their profile in fig. 5 is hypothetical. Richard Anderson has noted to me that the 'dowel hole' is more likely a lewis cutting used to lift the capital: this is indicated by the direction and position of the cutting.

²⁶ See also Schleif 1944, fig. 3 for a similar cutting for a clamp on the abacus top surface.

²⁷ Charbonneaux 1925, 12; Gottlob 1925, pl. 18.

²⁸ Charbonneaux 1925, 11, 20; Gottlob 1925, pls. 16–17.

²⁹ For Epidaurus, see fig. 6; for Philippeion, Schleif 1944, atlas pl. 2. Also in the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea the interior capital is at a slightly higher level than the exterior capital (fig. 8).

³⁰ The slight height discrepancy between the exterior order and the cella wall in fig. 5 is due to the curving krepidoma of the building: according to H. Ducoux's drawing the cella wall starts from a level ca. 0.01 m higher than the exterior column (Amandry & Bousquet 1940–41, pl. 7).

³¹ Since the bottom drum of the interior column has its top aligned with the bottom cella wall block (see Gottlob 1925, pl. 26), the height of the column can be calculated as following:

is considerably less, 8.65, which is almost the same as the proportional height of the Ionic column, 8.85 lower diameters.³² Also the position of the Corinthian column – alone at the back of the cella – favors a robust one. In the Tholos the circumstances are very different: the columns stand relatively close together next to the wall. If the architect³³ wished to create more space between the columns and to emphasize the verticality of the inner space, very slender Corinthian columns were a perfect choice.³⁴ The Tholos is so early in the evolution of the Corinthian order that no canons could have existed. Breaking the proportional rules for the Ionic column is perhaps one of the first indications of regarding the Corinthian as an order in its own right, not just a variant of the Ionic order.³⁵ It should also be kept in mind that the architect of the building did not hesitate to break the proportional rules for the height of the exterior Doric columns when it was needed: the columns are much more slender than usual in order to compensate for the proportionally greater width of the tholos compared to rectangular buildings.³⁶ One possible explanation for the height of the Corinthian columns is that the architect wished to echo in the interior the exceptional proportions of the exterior.

1) Top of the capital aligned with architrave course: 0.49 m (height of bottom drum) + 12×0.367 m (average wall block height) + 0.368 m (height of the architrave) = 5.262 m. 2) Capital aligned with the top of the highest regular wall block: 5.262 m – 0.368 m = 4.894 m. 3) Capital aligned with the frieze course: 5.262 m + 0.404 m (height of the frieze block) = 5.666 m. The proportional heights are calculated by dividing the column height by the lower diameter of 0.499 m (for the diameter, see Gottlob 1925, pls. 24, 26).

³² Corinthian column: 5.841 m / 0.675 m; Ionic: 5.841 m / 0.660 m (Cooper 1992, pls. 20.9 and 40d).

³³ According to Vitruvius Theodorus of Phocaea wrote a book on the building, so he was likely the architect as well; Vit. 7, praef. 12.

³⁴ For an analysis of the inner room, see also Seiler 1986, 63–65.

³⁵ Cf. J. J. Coulton, *Greek Architects at Work*, 1977, 128f.

³⁶ Roux 1961, 321; R. A. Tomlinson, *Epidauros*, 1983, 64.

The Tholos at Epidauros (360–330 BC)³⁷

In his very thorough work on the fourth and third century architecture in the Argolis, G. Roux discusses also the Tholos at Epidauros at length. His reconstruction of the Corinthian inner order is well argued. The base and the capital of the Corinthian order have been preserved in very good condition, but the drums of the shaft have been reduced to small pieces: G. Roux's measurements on the 150 fragments gave no positive results, and he was forced to calculate the column height on the basis of the exterior order. The tallest drum fragment has a preserved height of 0.90 m.³⁸

G. Roux reconstructs the exterior Doric column with eleven drums,³⁹ but as I have elsewhere demonstrated, the column may as well be reconstructed with twelve drums. The latter reconstruction is possible because the top three (or four) drums are missing and the diameter of the capital is not accurately known.⁴⁰ Increasing the height of the exterior column will effect also the Corinthian column, because the height of the interior order is directly linked to that of the exterior order by the ceilings.

In Roux's reconstruction the ca. 6.10 m high shaft of the Corinthian column is hypothetically divided into six drums of ca. 1.02 m.⁴¹ In figure 6 I present the alternative twelve drum reconstruction.⁴² The ca. 6.69 m high Corinthian shaft has – also hypothetical – seven drums of ca. 0.96 m. I have reconstructed the height of the orthostate course as 1.31 m; the cella wall consists of eleven courses of 0.413 m and two courses of 0.46 m high blocks.⁴³ The Corinthian column of the first reconstruction alternative is

³⁷ For the date, see A. Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, 1969, 63f.; R. A. Tomlinson (n. 36) 29. Seiler suggests a longer building period and the date as ca. 370–320 BC (Seiler 1986, 80–84).

³⁸ Roux 1961, 153–156.

³⁹ Roux 1961, 138–140, figs. 30–31.

⁴⁰ For reference, see n. 14.

⁴¹ Roux 1961, 153.

⁴² I wish to emphasize that Roux's reconstruction with eleven drums for the Doric column is equally likely as the twelve drum reconstruction.

⁴³ The height of the orthostate course is not preserved, but the height was at least 1.07 m. The height of the normal wall blocks varies between 0.405 and 0.42 m; the two top courses are known to be 0.46 m; see Roux 1961, 147–149.

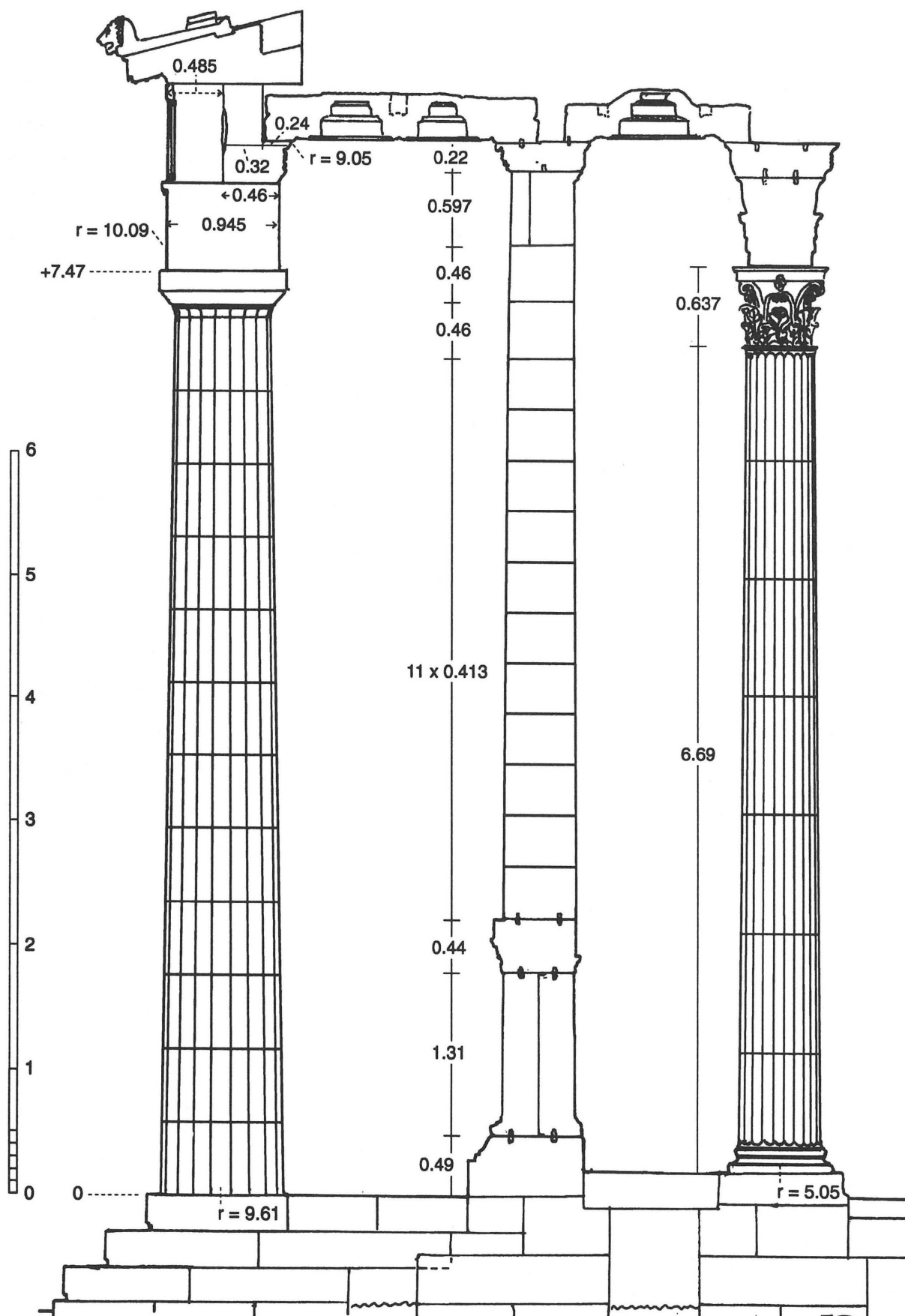


Fig. 6.

J.P.

10.3 lower diameters high, and the second one 11.2 lower diameters.⁴⁴ The latter is close to the most likely column height proportion of the Tholos at Delphi, 11.7 lower diameters.

H. Büsing has recently studied the building: in figure 6 the krepidoma blocks and the position of the exterior colonnade have been revised according to his results⁴⁵ but I do not agree with his reasoning regarding the inclination of the exterior columns. Büsing has calculated the radius of the building at the exterior face of the architrave as ca. 10.03 m, and based on the other known radii of the building he suggests two alternative architrave and column inclination reconstructions. He concludes that the inclination of the columns toward the interior of the building can neither be ruled out nor verified on the basis of the preserved material.⁴⁶ The weakness of this argumentation is that the hypothetical radius calculation is not necessary: even though none of the architrave blocks survive, the radius of the architrave face can be derived from the frieze elements.⁴⁷ Büsing gives 9.046 m as the radius at the junction of the coffered ceiling and the frieze backer (fig. 6).⁴⁸ The width of the frieze backer from this point to the frieze block is 0.56 m and the width of the frieze block itself is 0.485 m.⁴⁹ Roux does not specify where width of the frieze is measured, but I suspect it is either done over the frieze taenia or the triglyph. Since they both are more or less flush with the architrave face and the width of the frieze backer directly above the architrave is 0.46 m,⁵⁰ the width of the architrave without taenia can be calculated as 0.945 m simply by adding the two widths together.

⁴⁴ The first figure: 6.74 m / 0.657 m (Roux 1961, fig. 31); the height of the latter column is calculated by adding the height of one exterior drum, 0.59 m, to Roux's reconstruction: 7.33 m / 0.657 m.

⁴⁵ Büsing 1987, 225–257.

⁴⁶ Büsing 1987, 249f. and fig. 6; in 249 n. 73 he gives the radius as 546 dactyls of 18.37 mm. Roux 1961, 138 argues that the Tholos columns were vertical, but his argumentation is not conclusive: tilting the columns toward the interior can be done by only cutting the lowest drums so that their bottom and top surfaces are not parallel (see e.g. J. A. Bundgaard, *Mnesicles. A Greek Architect at Work*, 1957, 134–136, fig. 47), and since none of the bottom drums of the Tholos preserve any substantial amount of their bottom surface (Roux 1961, fig. 30), the verticality of the columns cannot be verified.

⁴⁷ Roux 1961, 140 estimates the architrave width as 0.922 m from the abacus.

⁴⁸ Büsing 1987, 257.

⁴⁹ Roux 1961, 142.

⁵⁰ Roux 1961, 142.

Thus, by this calculation, the building radius at the exterior face of the architrave is ca. 10.09 m⁵¹ and the horizontal distance between the midpoint of the architrave and the center of the building is ca. 9.62 m.⁵² Büsing has calculated the radius of the circle of exterior column centers as ca. 9.61 m⁵³ which, being virtually the same, gives proof that the columns were not inclined toward the interior.

The Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (ca. 345–335 BC)⁵⁴

During the years 1910–1913 the French archaeologist Ch. Dugas worked at the temple site in order to study and publish the material discovered in the earlier excavations and to continue with additional archaeological work. Dugas' chief collaborators were architect M. Clemmensen and sculptor J. Berchmans.⁵⁵ The result of their work was the lavishly illustrated publication of the Classical temple published in 1924. Dugas and Clemmensen proposed their reconstruction of the interior with engaged Corinthian columns based on their interpretation of the existing elements of the cella wall and column fragments.⁵⁶ B. H. Hill has revised the French re-

⁵¹ 9.046 m + 0.56 m (frieze backer) + 0.485 m (frieze) = 10.091 m.

⁵² 10.091 m – 0.945 m / 2 = 9.619 m.

⁵³ Büsing 1987, 249f. gives the radius as 523 dactyls. The small discrepancy of the two dimensions demonstrates how accurate Büsing's radii actually are.

⁵⁴ For this date, see Norman 1984, 191–193; dating the building to the second half of the fourth century is supported also by the pottery discovered to the north of the temple in the Norwegian excavations carried out between the years 1990–1994. Since 1993 the study of the building blocks at Tegea has been carried out by the author of this paper as part of the excavations in the sanctuary; the excavation project has been conducted by the Norwegian Institute at Athens as an international cooperation under the direction of Prof. Erik Østby. During the 1995 and 1996 seasons I have been greatly assisted in the study by Dr. Petra Pakkanen, and in 1996 by architect Tuula Pöyhiä; her comments on the different reconstructions of the building have been of especial value. I also wish to thank Anne-Claire Chauveau, Øystein Ekroll, Christina M. Joslin, Marianne Knutsen, Tom Pfauth, and Heather Russell; without their help the building block study would not have been possible.

⁵⁵ Ch. Dugas, CRAI 1911, 257–258; Dugas 1924, X–XII.

⁵⁶ Dugas 1924, 37–42, 45–51. Large part of the material, such as most of the capital fragments and all the pieces of the engaged column shafts, has since been lost.

construction of the Corinthian capital, and H. Bauer subsequently has suggested a slightly higher capital.⁵⁷

Recently, N. J. Norman has proposed a reconstruction of Ionic half-columns above the Corinthian order. She argues that the Corinthian column could be lower and therefore there is room for the Ionic order in the cella.⁵⁸ Her argumentation gives rise to many points on which I wish to comment on.

First of all, the figure for proportional height of the column, 11.20 lower diameters, which Norman uses to condemn the Dugas & Clemmensen reconstruction as "rather tall and slender even for a fourth century column"⁵⁹ is incorrect. She counts into the height of the column also the height of toichobate course below the column base and gives as the lower diameter the smaller dimension measured between the bottoms of the flutes. In the height comparanda she cites,⁶⁰ the column height never includes the height of any course below the base, and the diameter is in all except one case measured at the fillets.⁶¹ By this unorthodox measurement Norman renders her proportional height comparisons meaningless. The correct figures derived from the Tegea publication are 7.438 m for the height, 0.770 m for the diameter and 9.65 for the proportion of height to lower diameter.⁶² The corresponding figures for Nemea are 7.488 m, 0.84 m and 8.9 lower diame-

⁵⁷ Hill 1966, pl. 29B; on Hill's reconstruction, see also Norman 1984, 177f.; Bauer 1973, 65–71, 142.

⁵⁸ Norman 1984, 176–180.

⁵⁹ Norman 1984, 176.

⁶⁰ Norman 1984, 176 n. 45.

⁶¹ This applies to the Philippeion at Olympia (10 l.d., Schleif 1944, 19) and all the proportion figures cited from Roux: temple of Artemis at Epidauros: appr. 10 lower diameters (Roux 1961, 214); Bassai: ca. 9.28 l.d. (Roux 1961, 36; for the correct figure on the Ionic column, 8.85 l.d., see pp. 148–149 above); and the Tholos at Delphi: ca. 10 l.d. (Roux 1961, 335, which actually reads "10 au moins"; see pp. 148–149 above). The only exception is the Choregic Monument of Lysikrates: Norman has calculated the proportion herself as 11.85 lower diameters (contrary to H. Bauer, who gives correctly the figure as 10.6; see H. Bauer, *AM* 92 (1977) 204).

⁶² Dugas 1924, 47, 50, pls. 21–26, 75. Bauer 1973, 69 suggests a lower diameter of 0.740 m, but the only reasoning he gives for this measure is that it is 2½ units of the foot-length 0.296 m. The other foot-units suggested for the building have been 0.294, 0.2985, and 0.326 m; see H. Bankel, *AA* 1984, 413–417.

ters,⁶³ which in fourth century context makes the height of the Corinthian column in the temple of Zeus the exception, not the French reconstruction of the Tegean Corinthian column.⁶⁴

I find Norman's rearrangement of the cella wall blocks unsatisfactory as well. She is obliged to make this rearrangement in order to accommodate the Ionic half-columns of her cella interior,⁶⁵ but her solution is inconceivable because the link between the exterior order and the cella wall is ignored. The 0.402 high epikranitis course with a hawksbeak-moulding which carries the coffered ceiling has a corresponding course of equal height on the other side of the pteroma as the frieze backer.⁶⁶ In Norman's cella wall the top of the epikranitis course is at the height of 10.465 m,⁶⁷ while the top of the frieze backer of the exterior order is at 10.844 m.⁶⁸ Also, at the site there are two 0.368 m high preserved anta-blocks which correspond to wall blocks of equal height.⁶⁹ These wall blocks are placed in Norman's wall scheme as the second highest course, but the anta-blocks cannot be placed in this same course, *above* the anta capital.

The only additional evidence Norman provides for the Ionic columns is far from conclusive: the small fragment which Norman claims is from an upper half-column shaft does not necessarily have to be from the temple.⁷⁰ Norman's reconstruction also requires emending Pausanias' passage on the temple. Describing the orders all the manuscripts read ἐκτός in connection

⁶³ Hill 1966, 30, pl. 23.

⁶⁴ I would suggest that the Corinthian columns at Nemea were made proportionally lower in order to accommodate the unique upper colonnade.

⁶⁵ Norman 1984, 174, 178–180.

⁶⁶ See fig. 8 for illustration.

⁶⁷ 0.077 (height of the toichobate course from the pteron floor) + 0.295 + 1.278 + 14×0.385 + 0.402 + 0.376 + 0.370 + 0.440 + 0.442 + 0.495 + 0.498 + 0.402 = 10.465 m.

⁶⁸ Dugas 1924, pls. 21–26.

⁶⁹ Dugas 1924, 38, fig. 14, pls. 21–26.

⁷⁰ Norman 1984, 180, fig. 10. The temple site has a very long history of use: it was cleared of private houses only in 1900–02 and 1909; see G. Mendel, BCH 25 (1901) 241–256; K. A. Rhomaios, Prakt 1909, 303–316; Dugas 1924, X. A large number blocks retain traces of later use, and even though most physical remains other than from the Archaic or Classical temples have been removed from the site, there still remain some blocks which cannot be connected with these buildings, most noticeable a starting line block from the stadium and a few Byzantine double column and capital fragments.

with the Ionic columns,⁷¹ and now for more than a century it has been debated whether the word should be emended to ἐντός or not.⁷² In light of the previous argument perhaps the manuscript readings should be kept, and the passage in Pausanias applied to two possible dedicatory Ionic columns on the foundations in the north-east and south-east corners of the temple⁷³ or to some other undiscovered Ionic monument in the sanctuary.

Norman wishes to see Skopas, the architect of the Tegea temple,⁷⁴ as the inventor of the scheme which superimposes the Ionic order above the Corinthian. She contends that at Nemea this design was only repeated and that from these two temples the idea of two superimposed colonnades of different orders was then adapted to Hellenistic stoas.⁷⁵ This hypothesis should be considered in the light of what we know of the inner arrangement of the cella in the temple of Zeus at Nemea. The two storeys at Nemea break the tradition governing the proportion of the two superimposed orders. In Classical mainland temples the height of the upper columns is well over half of the lower one,⁷⁶ but at Nemea it is only ca. 37%.⁷⁷ The experiment is not a very successful one: the Ionic colonnade is too low compared to the Corinthian one and produces an unbalanced vertical division within the cella.⁷⁸ The effect is enhanced from the perspective viewpoint of a visitor at

⁷¹ ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ κόσμος τῶν κιόνων Δώριος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κορίνθιος· ἐστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες ἐργασίας τῆς Ἴωνων. Paus. 8,45,5.

⁷² For recent general discussion of the problem, see Norman 1984, 179.

⁷³ This was first suggested by H. Thiersch, *JdI* 28 (1913) 266–272, and followed by Ch. Dugas 1924, 65. A. F. Stewart mentions that the so-called Hygieia head was discovered – apparently *in situ* – by the south-east corner of the temple (A. F. Stewart, *Skopas of Paros*, 1977, 83). From this Norman argues that the foundations supported statue bases (Norman 1984, 179 n. 66), but I find no reason why there could not have been statues standing on the dedicatory Ionic columns.

⁷⁴ Paus. 8,45,5.

⁷⁵ Norman 1984, 194.

⁷⁶ The temple of Zeus at Olympia: ca. 63% (height of the upper order uncertain, *Olympia II* (1892) pl. 11); the Parthenon: 57.8% (A. K. Orlandos, *Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος I* (1976) pl. 53); Hephaisteion at Athens: 57.0% (B. H. Hill, *Hesperia Suppl.* 8 (1949) fig. 10).

⁷⁷ The height of the lower columns is 7.488 m, and the upper ones ca. 2.8 m; Hill 1966, 30, pl. 10.

⁷⁸ For a section of the temple cella, see Hill 1966, pl. 8.

ground level, a phenomenon which can be missed by the modern scholar examining the building in elevation. If this arrangement had already been tested at Tegea, would it have been repeated as such at Nemea? The idea of having two superimposed storeys of different orders certainly became popular in Hellenistic stoas, but for functional reasons the second storey could not be as low as at Nemea:⁷⁹ already in the first known case of upper Ionic colonnade, the Stoa at Perachora, the heights of the two superimposed orders are in balance.⁸⁰

Contrary to Norman's reconstruction, Dugas' and Clemmensen's wall scheme does seem very logical: every different block height has a reason for its position. Above the regular height wall blocks are two courses that correspond to the top anta block and capital, the next two to the porch architrave, and the two blocks corresponding to the frieze course carry the epikranitis block. But there are problems with this reconstruction as well. The "sub-toichobate block" showing the tooling for the semicircular course below the half-column base which it once carried has its front part apparently deliberately hacked away for about a height of 0.12 m: this has most likely been done during some later stage of reuse, and implies that it possibly originally had an extruding moulding.⁸¹ Such a moulding would make it impossible to fit the block where it has been placed in the French reconstruction. There is also a slight height discrepancy between this block and two other sub-toichobate blocks: its height is 0.372 m, and the others are 0.375 and 0.377 m.⁸²

The second problem is the 0.368 m high wall course placed below the anta capital. Five anta-blocks are preserved with the height of three of them being 0.385 m and two being 0.368 m. With only a single course of 0.368 m there would have been originally only four anta blocks of this height in the

⁷⁹ J. J. Coulton suggests that the idea to use Ionic order in the upper storey may be traced to the temple of Zeus at Nemea; see J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, 1976, 106.

⁸⁰ The reconstruction of the column heights is not certain, but it is well argued for: the height of the upper order was very likely ca. 71% of the lower one. The stoa was built toward the end of the 4th cent. BC; on the building, see J. J. Coulton, *BSA* 59 (1964) 100–131, esp. fig. 11 (elevation of the façade).

⁸¹ From most of the architrave blocks the taenia, regula and guttae have been cut almost totally away in order to make their reuse easier.

⁸² Dugas 1924, pls. 60A, 61A, 62B. Cf. Norman 1984, 174f.

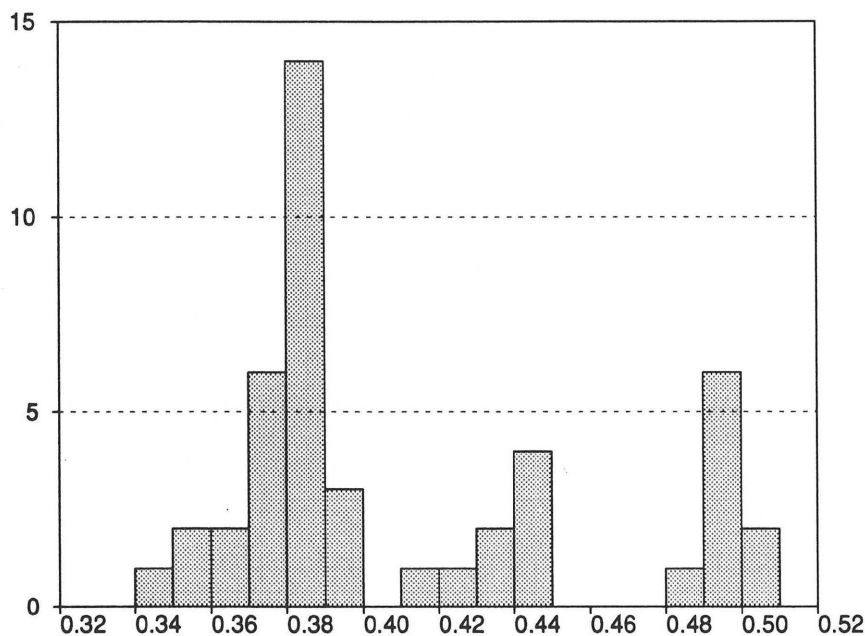


Fig. 7.

building and it would be quite a coincidence if two were preserved.⁸³ Probably, there should be more wall-courses composed of 0.368 m high blocks. A preliminary survey of the cella wall blocks at the site supports this conclusion: In figure 7 the results of the survey are presented as a histogram. There actually seems to be much less consistency in the height of the wall blocks than the French publication suggests.⁸⁴ There are eleven blocks in the range 0.331–0.380 m (mean 0.367 m) and seventeen in the range 0.381–0.400 m (mean 0.386 m). These shorter wall blocks are very frequent and it is unlikely that they could all be from the two courses corresponding to the top part of the anta or the hypothetical blocks from the top of the wall as is suggested in the French reconstruction.

The most serious problem with Dugas' and Clemmensen's reconstruction is that they do not have any suggestion for the design of the upper part of the cella wall. Since there is no room for an upper order, raising the half-columns on a podium is an obvious answer to the problem. This has been suggested by H. H. Büsing, but he has not presented a solution which

⁸³ Dugas 1924, 38, pls. 21–26. The general level of preservation of the wall blocks is less than 10%.

⁸⁴ The sample size in fig. 7 is 45 blocks. Dugas and Clemmensen were able to measure 78 blocks: the fewer number of blocks is partly explained by the disappearance of building material from the site and partly by the wall blocks Dugas and Clemmensen found in Episkopi, ca. one kilometer north from the temple (Dugas 1924, 38f., esp. 38 n. 2).

takes into consideration the material discovered at Tegea.⁸⁵ There is comparative material for the use of podium in the Tholos at Delphi (fig. 5), and also the half-columns of the Philippeion at Olympia are considerably raised from the floor level.⁸⁶

Figure 8 presents a reconstruction of the section of the exterior and interior orders of the temple. For the toichobate course of the cella wall I have assigned a 0.41 m high block with a cyma reversa moulding at the bottom (α in fig. 8).⁸⁷ At the same level I have placed a block with a rectangular cutting at the top corner (β in fig. 8).⁸⁸ This reconstruction brings the cella floor level 0.45 m above the pteroma floor. The blocks Dugas and Clemmensen thought to be exterior toichobate blocks I have moved to the interior as the podium base course (γ in fig. 8).⁸⁹ For the 0.835 m high block forming the center part of the podium (δ in fig. 8) there is no position

⁸⁵ H. H. Büsing (n. 21) 31f., pls. 45–46. E.g. the cella wall epikranitis block cannot be placed as the podium cornice because of the treatment of the upper surface and the cuttings which connect it to the adjoining blocks (see Dugas 1924, pls. 79–80).

⁸⁶ Schleif 1944, atlas pl. 2.

⁸⁷ At the site there are three fragmentarily preserved blocks: all of the blocks have ca. 0.12 m wide and 2–5 mm high relief band below the profile, which fits very well a block that has to carry the whole weight of the cella wall. The greatest preserved thickness is 0.375 m. Dugas and Clemmensen assigned these blocks to the pronaos epikranitis course (Dugas 1924, 42f., fig. 15) and Norman to the eastern threshold (Norman 1984, 187f., figs. 11–14). A corresponding cyma reversa moulding is used at the bottom of the wall in the Tholos at Delphi (fig. 5).

⁸⁸ The block was obviously thought to be *in situ* on the eastern ramp (Dugas 1924, pls. 3–5, 29A), but unless the ramp foundations have settled more than the east foundations of the temple, a reconstruction of the ramp with the block would require ca. 0.03 lower euthynteria blocks for the center part of the front of the temple: no such blocks exist at the site, and besides, these blocks would greatly cancel the carefully laid out curvature of the foundations (on the western short side of the temple the center is ca. 0.05 m higher than the corners). Therefore, I have tentatively assigned the block into the wall reconstruction: the dowel hole and pry marks on top of the block are actually very well suited for the position I am proposing.

⁸⁹ The preserved height of the largest fragment is 0.293 m (Dugas 1924, fig. 13B), so the French reconstruction of the height as 0.295 m is quite unlikely: I have reconstructed them as 0.443 m (the height is calculated by subtracting the height of the podium dado, 0.835 m, from the orthostate height, 1.278 m). The corner fragment (Dugas 1924, fig. 13A) could be from the break in the podium by the north door of the cella or a possible rectangular extrusion of the podium at the corners of the cella corresponding to the rectangular pillars.

in the French reconstruction.⁹⁰ The width of the podium is not certain, but it can be calculated as following (fig. 8): the wall above the orthostate is set back by 0.017 m,⁹¹ the regular wall block width is ca. 0.90 m,⁹² the distance between the center of the half-column and the interior wall plane is ca. 0.07 m,⁹³ and the semi-circular moulding course projects ca. 0.77 m from the center of the column.⁹⁴ Allowing ca. 0.04 m for the distance of the moulding from the edge of the block below, we get the width of the podium as ca. 1.80 m. The width of the podium block facing the cella interior (β in fig. 8) is 0.63 m: if it was recessed by 0.02 m, there is 1.15 m for the orthostate blocks. The orthostate course can be either reconstructed as massive single blocks or made of two separate blocks with the widths of ca. 0.68 and 0.47 m; evidence for both possibilities exists.⁹⁵

In figure 8 the two courses above the orthostate are the ones Dugas and Clemmensen regarded as the sub-toichobate and toichobate courses. For the front part of the first course I reconstruct a cyma recta moulding corresponding to the cyma reversa at the bottom of the podium.⁹⁶ The

⁹⁰ The block lies on the southern edge of the foundations ca. 7 m west of the south-east corner of the temple.

⁹¹ For the groove at the top of the orthostate, see Dugas 1924, pls. 66–67.

⁹² The width of the preserved wall blocks varies from 0.892 to 0.895 m, but since the wall tapers slightly, the exact width is not known. The orthostate width of 0.925 m in the French reconstruction is only estimated; see Dugas 1924, 38–41, pls. 67, 70–71.

⁹³ On the basis of lost fragments Dugas argues that the half-columns had eleven flutes, and therefore the distance of the center from the wall is half of the flute width; see Dugas 1924, 48, pls. 21–26.

⁹⁴ See Dugas 1924, 46, pls. 21–26, 62B. On the basis of a fragment in the Tegea museum Norman 1984, 176 argues that the projection is only 0.70 m, but the projection can be directly measured on the block as ca. 0.77 m; see Dugas 1924, 62B.

⁹⁵ The very large orthostate block fragment with a preserved width of more than 1.20 m can be placed at the junction of the long walls and pronaos or opisthodomos cross wall: this is supported by the distance between the preserved parts of the anathyrosis rims, 0.92 m – reconstructing rims of normal width ca. 0.10–0.11 m, the width of the block between the exterior edges of the rims could have well been 1.15 m. The extra width of the block is explained by the fact that it tied the cross-wall to the side wall (see fig. 8 and Dugas 1924, pl. 67A). The only block preserving the full width, 0.683 m (Dugas 1924, pl. 66), could be paired with a ca. 0.47 m wide block. The third preserved block with a reconstructed width of 0.925 m is most likely from the pronaos or opisthodomos side walls (Dugas 1924, pl. 67B).

⁹⁶ For the block, see above p. 157.

elaborately moulded block of the second course I have moved slightly toward the exterior so that it is flush with the course below it.⁹⁷ For the exterior face of the wall at this level I have hypothetically reconstructed a ca. 0.29 m wide and 0.667 m high block.

For the lowest regular wall course I have placed a 0.508 m high wall block.⁹⁸ The height corresponds fairly closely to the combined height of the Corinthian base of 0.12 m and a normal wall block of 0.38 m;⁹⁹ therefore, I reconstruct the bottom half-column drum as the same height as the wall block next to it.

Next come fourteen courses of regular wall blocks: as we saw above,¹⁰⁰ the range of wall block heights is fairly large. I have used the average height of all the blocks less than 0.40 m high (0.38 m), to reconstruct the cella wall. The height of the half-column drums is tentatively here the same as two wall blocks, 0.76 m.¹⁰¹ The topmost half-column drum covers the height of the anta capital course and the block corresponding to the lower half of the porch architrave, bringing it to 0.81 m. Contrary to Dugas and Clemmensen the wall thickness at this level should be reconstructed as ca. 0.90 m.¹⁰²

In figure 8 the total height of the Corinthian capital block is 0.845 m, following H. Bauer's reconstruction.¹⁰³ The epistyle profile is reconstructed

⁹⁷ See Dugas 1924, 37f., pls. 21–26, 64–65.

⁹⁸ One wall block with the height of 0.508 m lies at the edge of the excavated area directly south of the temple south-east corner. Placing this block into the wall scheme at this level is not certain, but quite likely. Reconstructing a 0.48 m high block as its pair would make it possible to place the two (combined height 0.99 m) to the frieze level, but no such block exists at the site.

⁹⁹ On the base, see Dugas 1924, 47, pl. 75.

¹⁰⁰ See p. 158 and fig. 7.

¹⁰¹ On the half-columns, see Dugas 1924, 47–49.

¹⁰² In Dugas 1924, pls. 21–26 a narrower wall is suggested to accommodate a 0.636 m wide epistyle block (on the block, see n. 104), but the wall block illustrated in Dugas 1924, pl. 72 shows that at the level of the 0.442 m high blocks (the porch architrave level) the width should be reconstructed as ca. $2 \times 0.448 \text{ m} = 0.896 \text{ m}$.

¹⁰³ The French reconstruction of the capital block as 0.770 m high was based on the preserved fragments and the height of two wall blocks of 0.385 m (the height includes also the astragal and the top of the fluting); Dugas 1924, 49–51; Hill 1966, pl. 29B, accepts this height reconstruction. In H. Bauer's reconstruction the capital height is not connected to the wall blocks; see Bauer 1973, 70f., 142. He gives as the total height of the capital

on the basis of a fragment N. J. Norman reassigns to the epistyle:¹⁰⁴ the crowning moulding height is 0.097 m, and the fascia below is preserved (0.085 m), as is the top of the lower fascia. On the basis of the cella epistyle of the Philippeion at Olympia I reconstruct only two fasciae: in order to bring the height of the epistyle to meet the level of the next wall course I reconstruct the lowest one as 0.405 m and the total height as ca. 0.59 m.¹⁰⁵ The height of the frieze course, 0.402 m, equals the height of the top-most exterior cella wall block. The epikranitis course crowning the interior wall is 0.375 m high.¹⁰⁶

The total height of the wall above the pteroma floor facing the exterior is ca. 10.90 m; taking into consideration the curvature of the foundations, the cella wall probably starts from a level ca. 0.03 m higher than the stylobate course.¹⁰⁷ When this is added to the wall height we get ca. 10.93 m.

Independently of the previous argumentation, I have proposed that the correct height range for the exterior Doric column is 8.96–9.06 m instead of Dugas' and Clemmensen's 8.885 m.¹⁰⁸ With the varying height of the capitals (0.588–0.609 m) this shaft height raises the height of the exte-

ca. 0.74 m, and with the 0.105 m high top of the shaft (see Hill 1966, pl. 29B) the height of the capital block is 0.845 m.

¹⁰⁴ Norman 1984, 178f., ill. 6; Dugas 1924, fig. 16A (the fragment cannot be found at the site or in the museum). The block placed as the epistyle course by Dugas and Clemmensen (Dugas 1924, 52f., pl. 78B–D) is from the door lintel, as suggested by Hill and Norman (1984, 178): this was confirmed by a very large lintel fragment with a similar profile discovered in the Norwegian excavations (the block lies in sector D5; for a plan of the area, see E. Østby, J.-M. Luce, G. C. Nordquist, C. Tarditi & M. E. Voyatzis, *OpAth* 20 (1994) fig. 20).

¹⁰⁵ The bottom fascia of the Philippeion epistyle is 0.184 m high, the second 0.027 m, and the crowning moulding 0.077 m; Schleif 1944, 49, pl. 14, atlas pl. 6.

¹⁰⁶ On the cella wall epikranitis blocks, see Dugas 1924, 53f., pls. 79–80.

¹⁰⁷ The curvature measured on the euthynteria blocks *in situ* is ca. 1% (ca. 0.02 m in 2 m; the measurement was done with a theodolite and electronic distance meter) and the distance between the center of the column and the wall is 3.22 m (the distance is shorter by ca. 0.07 m from the French reconstruction due to vertically standing exterior columns; see fig. 8): because the curvature decreases slightly toward the center of the building, the height difference may be estimated as 0.03 m or a little less. The curvature of the krepidoma seems to be laid out already in the foundations: the heights of the euthynteria blocks *in situ* vary between 0.292–0.298 m, but there is no pattern in the variation.

¹⁰⁸ The range is based on a study of the preserved column drums and analysis of the entasis curve; for reference, see n. 10.

rior order at ceiling level to 10.92–11.04 m. My previous analysis of the cella wall imposes a limit narrowing the range of exterior order heights: I would propose a height range of 8.96–8.98 m for the shaft, 9.56–9.58 for the total height of the column, and 10.92–10.94 for the height of the exterior order at ceiling level.

In figure 8 the columns of the exterior order are standing straight: the height difference of the bottom drums on different sides of the drum cancels the effect of the curving krepidoma, but it is not enough to tilt the columns inward as Dugas and Clemmensen suggest.¹⁰⁹ Since the length of the coffered ceiling is known,¹¹⁰ vertical columns bring the cella wall closer to the stylobate edge by the amount of the tilt in the French reconstruction, 0.069 m: the distance between the cella wall and the stylobate edge is ca. 4.11 m.

The height of the interior Corinthian column at Tegea in figure 8 is ca. 7.48 m, which equals 9.71 lower diameters of 0.770 m. The column is proportionately lower than in the two tholoi discussed above, but it should be kept in mind that the rectangular cella proposes a very different aesthetic problem from the intensive interiors of the tholoi. The high podium and the entablature with the richly decorated epikranitis course give emphasis to the horizontal lines; if the elongated proportions used in the tholoi would have been applied for the Corinthian columns at Tegea, the vertical lines in the interior could not have matched the strong horizontals.

Conclusions

In this paper I have suggested small corrections for the Corinthian column shaft reconstruction of the temple of Apollo at Bassai and for the interior of the Tholos at Delphi. For the Tholos at Epidauros I have provided an alternative height reconstruction and affirmed that the exterior columns were vertical. The only major modification on Corinthian interiors suggested in this paper is the rejection of the upper Ionic colonnade at

¹⁰⁹ The height difference of the drums varies between 6–10 mm, and none of the bottom drums have a constant height as is suggested in Dugas 1924, 19, 131. The curvature measured on the euthyteria blocks (see n. 107) *in situ* is ca. 1%, corresponding fairly well to the drums (0.01 m / 1.46 m (lower diameter at flutes) = 0.7%).

¹¹⁰ Dugas 1924, 30–32.

Tegea and reconstructing instead a podium below the Corinthian half-columns.

The proportional height of the Corinthian columns in Classical Greek buildings does not fall into a single category. In the earliest example, the temple of Apollo at Bassai, the proportion of the single Corinthian column, 8.65 lower diameters, is derived from the Ionic engaged columns standing next to it. The fourth century tholoi have relatively slender columns: in the Tholos at Delphi the column is 11.7 lower diameters, in the Tholos at Epidauros 10.3 or 11.2 lower diameters, and in the Philippeion 10 lower diameters. The two peripteral temples, the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea and the temple of Zeus at Nemea have column heights of 9.71 and 8.9 lower diameters: the exceptionally low Corinthian colonnade at Nemea is due to the need to provide more space for the upper colonnade.

One general trend in the fourth century buildings with Corinthian columns in the interior may be observed: the level of the capital is fairly closely aligned with the capital of the exterior order. The only exception is the temple at Nemea, and once again the reason is the scheme of superimposed colonnades.

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OBSERVATIONS ON SOME NAMES OF SAILORS SERVING IN THE FLEETS AT MISENUM AND RAVENNA

OLLI SALOMIES

During the principate, the Roman navy, in addition to smaller fleets stationed in naval ports all around the empire, consisted mainly of the two *classes praetoriae*, of which one was stationed in Misenum, the other at Ravenna on the Adriatic.¹ The internal organisation of the two fleets is known mainly from inscriptions, usually funerary inscriptions of sailors. Most of them have been found in and around the two naval bases, although there are also quite a few inscriptions from elsewhere because detachments from the two fleets, especially from that based at Misenum, were stationed, sometimes for lengthy periods, outside the bases. In addition to texts from Misenum and Ravenna one thus finds inscriptions referring to the two fleets mostly from Rome, but also from Centumcellae in Etruria, Piraeus, Seleucia in Pieria, etc.²

Besides giving information on various aspects of the navy, inscriptions of sailors of course also offer information on the sailors themselves, for instance on their names. Since hundreds of sailors are known by name - besides normal inscriptions, sailors also appear in some military diplomas issued to them - we are dealing with onomastic material of useful proportions. Now, the sailors' names, especially their nomina, present some peculiarities if compared with the names attested in other military formations consisting mainly of soldiers of non-citizen background, and so the names do raise some questions, especially questions concerning their origin. In some cases there seems to be a possibility of finding an explanation for the names. The aim of this paper is in fact to

¹ For the relevant bibliography on various aspects of the Roman navy see the recent paper of A. Parma, 'Classiari, veterani e società cittadina a Misenum', *Ostraka* 3 (1994) 43 (-59), n. 1 and 2.

² Cf. A. Parma, *Ostraka* 3 (1994) 44 n. 7.

present observations on the origins of some of the names attested for sailors, although I must confess that for much of the time we shall not be advancing much above the level of speculation.

The problems with sailors' names come from the fact that sailors serving in the Roman fleets belonged to the lowest social classes, being in the beginning of the imperial period often freedmen.³ Later, when there was (as it seems) some organized recruitment, sailors were recruited mainly in poorly Romanized areas such as Sardinia, Corsica, parts of Africa, Dalmatia, Egypt and Scythia Minor, the last mentioned country furnishing a great number of *Bessi*, no doubt men of great nautical skills, for the two fleets.⁴ Even more important, however, is the fact that the men enlisted for service in the navy were mostly *peregrini*, i.e. men without Roman citizenship, and thus people normally using names of the peregrine type, consisting of one name followed by the filiation, although there were (besides the freedmen of the early empire) always also some recruits in possession of citizenship.⁵

From inscriptions of the first century, and even more clearly from military diplomas from the same century, it appears that peregrine sailors in this period used the single name + filiation-type nomenclature during service and, if awarded diplomas conferring citizenship, were designated by the same nomenclature in the diplomas. (Of course, becoming citizens, they had to find themselves a name of the Roman type, but the new name is not mentioned in the diplomas.) However, at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century the situation changes in that from now on sailors to whom diplomas are awarded regularly appear in the diplomas with a name of the Roman type, but without a tribe, the earliest diploma

³ On the question whether there were also slaves among the sailors in the beginning see S. Panciera, in: *Atti del convegno Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe* (1968) 313-30.

⁴ On all this cf. D. Kienast, *Untersuchungen zu den Kriegsflotten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1966) 9-29; on the *Bessi* see J. Kolendo, *Les Besses dans la flotte romaine de Misène et de Ravenne*, *Puteoli* 12/13 (1988/89) 77-86.

⁵ Kienast, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 25f.; cf. e.g. CIL III 14394 and CIL X 8119, mentioning both a sailor *natione Italicus*; CIL X 3474, an *optio* at Misenum *n(atione) Italus, domu Nol(a)*; cf. CIL XI 96 (add. p. 1228), *Sestiae Fuscinae nat. Italica* (sic) ... *C. Sestius Capito vet. filiae*.

mentioning a recipient with the *tria nomina* being from the year 100.⁶ In the same period peregrine names disappear also from the funerary inscriptions; there is at least one inscription of a sailor with the *tria nomina* which may be as early as Flavian.⁷

It used to be thought that the nomenclature consisting of the *tria nomina* could be explained by assuming that, at some point, it became customary to award Latin Rights to sailors at the time of their enlistment.⁸ But in more recent scholarship this notion has generally - but observe n. 8 - been abandoned, and it is now usually thought that the sailors with the *tria nomina* were in fact *peregrini* who were, as many others in the Roman empire, simply using names of the Roman type without being citizens (but who of course continued to use the same names after having become citizens).⁹ This is no doubt correct, although the reasons adduced in the relevant literature do not all seem very impressive; the best reason for not thinking of Roman sailors as *Latini* is in my view the fact that a Latin personal citizenship most probably did not exist at all.¹⁰

But whatever the status of Roman sailors, this is not a problem that needs to be discussed at length in a paper on nomenclature, for it has already long ago been established that anyone could, if he liked, start to use a name of the Roman type during the Empire; in fact, *peregrini* with the *tria nomina* are attested already during the late Republic.¹¹ Let us thus

⁶ M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas (quoted in the following as 'RMD') 1985-1993 (1994) 142, awarded to *L. Bennius Liccai f. Beuza Delmat(a)*; further diplomas awarded to sailors, all with the *tria nomina*, from the earlier second century are CIL XVI 72 (AD 127), 74 (129), 79 (134), RMD 38 (139), RMD 44 (145), CIL XVI 177 (149).

⁷ CIL XI 3526, cf. M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 524.

⁸ This was the theory notably of Th. Mommsen (*Gesammelte Schriften* 5 [1908] 411ff.). Some scholars still accept this view (see A. Parma, in: *Civiltà dei Campi Flegrei. Atti del Convegno Internazionale* [1992] 216).

⁹ C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy* (1941) 71ff.; D. Kienast, *op. cit.* (n. 4) 26ff.; G. Forni, in: *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe* (1968) 273; *id.*, in: *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* (1986) 310; A. Mócsy, *ibid.* 442f.; M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 526.

¹⁰ Cf. the literature cited in O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 244 n. 250 and by S. Dusanic, in: *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects* (ed. A. Rizakis, Athens 1996 [Meletemata 21]) 33 n. 17.

¹¹ Salomies, *op. cit.* (n. 10) 242 n. 238 (for the Empire, *ibid.* 244 n. 250).

move on to the sailors' names.¹²

It is a general, and no doubt correct, assumption that in the period when all sailors, regardless of their status, seem to have used the *tria nomina* (i.e., from the end of the first century onwards, cf. above), those sailors who did not already have a name of the Roman type took one at the time when they were enlisted. All scholars adduce at this point the famous papyrus letter BGU 423 (dated in the *editio princeps* to the second century), according to which the Egyptian Apion, having been enlisted to the navy at Misenum, now called himself Ἀντώνι(ο)ς Μάξιμος. It is sometimes thought that recruits did not choose the names, or at least the nomen, themselves, but were given new names by navy officials, which is possible, although there seems to be no substantial evidence that could be cited in favour of this view (note Kienast, *op. cit.* [n. 4] 27 n. 74, assuming that Antonius Maximus had been given his name on the basis of the "unpersönliche Form der Mitteilung und die unrichtige [sic] Wiedergabe des Namens Antonius"). The fact that there are, among the sailors at Misenum and Ravenna, brothers with different nomina could be interpreted this way.¹³ However, this presupposes that semibarbarians from the lower Danube or elsewhere would have known that, in the Roman system of names, brothers were supposed to have the same nomen, which is in my view not at all certain. The fact that there are brothers who have identical or almost identical names (e.g. the two M. Aurelii Romani from the fleet at Ravenna, CIL VI 3151; or the two brothers from Syria, G. Iul[ius] Marinus and M. Iulius Marinus, CIL X 3450) may perhaps rather imply that recruits chose their names themselves, because the best explanation seems to be that in these cases two brothers, not familiar with Roman-type names but facing the situation of having to choose one simply could not think of anything else but the same name.¹⁴ Furthermore, there are in fact some other observations pointing in the same direction, which,

¹² Cf. A. Mócsy, in: *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe* (1968) 306ff.; M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 527ff.; A. Parma, *art. cit.* (n. 8) 215ff.; *id.*, *Ostraka* 3 (1994) 47f. n. 24.

¹³ Thus M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 527; A. Parma, *art. cit.* (n. 8) 216. For examples, see M. Bollini, *Antichità classiarie* (1968) 110 (add CIL X 3443; CIL XI 110).

¹⁴ Cf. Salomies, *o. c.* (n. 10) 358ff., with further examples of brothers with identical or almost identical names, all no doubt new citizens, attested in the Roman army. See also G. Forni, in: *Actes du VIIe Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine 1977* (1979) 212. Note also e.g. the brothers C. Seren(i)us Apollinaris and C. Dionysius Apollinaris (CIL XI 94).

however, will be discussed later in this paper.

In any case, from my point of view it is not really important to know who actually chose the names taken into use by peregrine sailors; perhaps it was sometimes the recruit himself, sometimes a navy official. What is more interesting is the origin of the new names. Here, there is something to be said especially on the nomina; but let us start with cognomina, making in passing a quick observation concerning praenomina, namely that the repertoire of praenomina attested among sailors is remarkably varied and offers many points of interest; cf. below n. 29 on the praenomina among the Iulii, and observe moreover for instance that *D(ecimus)*, found both at Misenum and at Ravenna, seems to be more common than one would perhaps expect.¹⁵ (There are also some cases of interesting combinations of cognomina and nomina, but these will be dealt with later in the section on nomina.)

As for the cognomina, a recruit could choose between two possibilities, the first being that of starting to use his original individual name as a cognomen, a practice which both inscriptions and diplomas, which abound with Greek and barbarian cognomina, show to have been common. Thus for instance the Dalmatian sailor known from RMD III 142 (referred to above in n. 6), L. Bennius Liccai f. Beuza, was no doubt originally called Beuza Liccai f.¹⁶ On the other hand, there was also the possibility to choose a new cognomen, which would in most cases have been a respectable Latin one in no way resembling or related to the old individual name (but observe L. Antonius Leo *q(ui) et Neon Zoili f.*

¹⁵ Cf. D. Annius Rufus, *mil. cla. prae. Ravenatis natione Dalmati*. (AE 1988, 1138); D. Arruntius Clemens (CIL X 3535); D. Caesernius Florus (CIL X 3493); D. Iuli[us --] (AE 1985, 401, Ravenna); D. Iulius Doles (CIL X 3409); D. Numitorius Agisini f. Tarammon *Fifens. ex Sar(dinia)* (CIL XVI 79, AD134); D. Publicius Aper (CIL X 3405); D. Tullius Aelianus .. *natio(ne) Bessus* (CIL X 3374). Perhaps D. Annius Rufus chose his praenomen because it began with the same letter as his native country, D. Iulius Doles because it began with the same letter as his cognomen (cf. freedmen choosing their praenomina on the basis of the first letter of their nomina: Salomies, o. c. [n. 10] 236ff.). For variation in the use of praenomina note also for instance that the three Masurii who appear in the list of sailors serving in Ravenna, AE 1985, 401, all have different praenomina (C., M., T.); or that of the two Fabullii of the Misenum fleet - the only Fabullii attested in the Roman empire - one is a Lucius, the other a Gaius (CIL X 3504; CPL 120).

¹⁶ Cf. A. Mócsy, in: Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle (1986) 443.

natio(ne) Cilix in CIL X 3377).¹⁷ This is exactly what we saw the Egyptian Apion doing, when he became Antonius Maximus (cf. above), and the same procedure is attested in many inscriptions either from Misenum or (as CIL VI 3165) from elsewhere referring to sailors from the fleet in Misenum, in which a Roman name is followed by a peregrine name formula introduced by the phrase *qui et*, e.g. C. Ravonius Celer *qui et Bato Scenobarbi (f.) nation(e) Dal[m(ata)]* (CIL X 3618 = ILS 2901).¹⁸ As one would expect, the new Latin cognomina are most often of the usual type, names referring to existing or sought-for moral and physical qualities or other common Roman cognomina; there is thus the usual collection of Valentes, a good number of Celeres,¹⁹ there are Bassi, Firmi, Vitales.²⁰

But there are also some cognomina which make one think that their selection must have been based on some special reason. For instance, there are two sailors at Ravenna who have the cognomen *Seneca*, C. Cassius Seneca (CIL XI 49) and the Dalmatian M. Pompeius Seneca (CIL XI 90). Now, *Seneca* is not that rare,²¹ but the majority of the attestations come from the Celtic regions (so that we are in fact in these cases dealing not with the Latin, but with a local, Latinized, name), and it is in any case not a name which one would *a priori* think of as popular with sailors. And so one starts to think about the prefect of the Ravenna fleet in the time of Hadrian, M. Calpurnius Seneca (PIR² C 318): what if the two sailors had simply chosen the cognomen of the prefect in office?²² Of course this is just a guess, but perhaps it is not such a bad guess, for there might well be a parallel in the cognomen *Albanus*. This, too, is a cognomen which is not

¹⁷ For another Leo at Puteoli cf. L. Acutius Leo *lib(urna) Clementia* (CIL X 3511); on the other hand, M. Lollius Neo from Pamphylia (RMD 38) was content with his original cognomen.

¹⁸ Further instances are quoted by G. Forni, in: Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle (1986) 312 n. 52 (add CIL X 3289 [cf. AE 1990, 150]. 3492. 3593. 3666. 8374a)

¹⁹ CIL VI 3103. 3126; CIL X 3408. 3519. 3557. 3572. 3615. 3618. 3666; CIL XI 135; CIL III 557; EE VIII 711; AE 1912, 184; 1979, 160; 1985, 401 (twice).

²⁰ Cf. on the cognomina of sailors M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 530f.

²¹ See I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 301.

²² The other Seneca commanding in Ravenna, Vibius Seneca in the time of Philip (AE 1968, 189; I. Ephesos 737), seems a bit late.

extremely uncommon,²³ but in spite of that one is surprised to find it used by two sailors in Misenum, one from Corsica (AE 1979, 166), the other from Nicaea in Bithynia, of whom we know for certain that *Albanus* is not his original name (T. Suillius Albanus *qui et Timotheus Menisci f. natione Nicaens.* CIL X 3406; called T. Sullius Albanus in 3553). In AD 127 the fleet at Ravenna was commanded by L. Numerius Albanus (see PIR² N 200); it having been very common for commanders at Ravenna to go on to command the fleet at Misenum,²⁴ one would not be surprised if the man was promoted from Ravenna to Misenum. If this was in fact the case, this prefect could have offered some inspiration when the two sailors were thinking about their future cognomina.

But besides navy prefects there were of course also other high Roman officials whose nomenclature navy recruits could have had in mind when choosing their Roman names, for instance the governors of the sailors' native provinces. The cognomen *Colo* might be an example. There is a note on this most uncommon cognomen by S. Panciera of fairly recent date;²⁵ according to Panciera, this cognomen is attested only four times, twice at Rome (*Colo* AE 1985, 78 = (later, as freedman) *L. Orbius L. l. Colo* *ibid.* 88; *L. Cassius Colo*, CIL VI 32764b) and twice elsewhere (*Camurius Colo*, CIL X 3395; *Q. Numisius C. f. Arn. Colo Helvacianus*, CIL VIII 15472 *cf.* p. 2610). As this was not important from his point of view, Panciera did not point out that, of the total of four *Colones* known throughout the Roman world, two are sailors serving in Misenum, namely *Camurius Colo* and *L. Cassius Colo* attested in the inscription from Rome, but surely this must be regarded as a most singular onomastic coincidence. Now, this brings us back to the attestations of *Colo*; in fact, there is a fifth example of this cognomen: in AD 70, Egypt was governed by the prefect *L. Peducaeus Colo*.²⁶ Combining this with the extreme rarity of *Colo* and the fact that a very large number of sailors were recruited in Egypt, one could arrive at the tentative conclusion that the two sailors were Egyptians and that they had chosen the cognomen of a prefect they happened to

²³ Kajanto, *op. cit.* (n. 21) 181.

²⁴ See H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (1960-61; Supplément 1982) no. 39, 105bis (and no. 211, with addenda, Supplément p. 32f.), 107, 139, 180, 184, 234, 307A.

²⁵ S. Panciera, in: *Studia in honorem I. Kajanto* (Arctos Suppl. II, 1985) 171f. with n. 59.

²⁶ RE Suppl. XV 296 no. 7b; B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum I* (1984) 345 no. 31.

remember.²⁷

But let us now move over from *cognomina* to *nomina*. Studying the *nomina* attested for sailors both at Misenum and at Ravenna (and remembering that they appear mainly in sources later than the first century), and comparing them with the *nomina* of other soldiers of generally non-citizen background, especially the auxiliaries and the *equites singulares*, attested in the same period, one makes some interesting observations. One would expect to find a rather uninteresting repertoire consisting mainly of the imperial and the usual non-imperial *nomina* (such as *Antonius* and *Valerius*), but in fact things are a bit different. Both at Misenum and at Ravenna about 20% of all the *nomina* are imperial ones,²⁸ but in both places about half of those with imperial *nomina* are *Iulii*, who because of chronological reasons should not be connected with the Julio-Claudian emperors - and who in many cases have unexpected *praenomina*.²⁹ Moreover, it is certainly striking that there are almost no *Ulpia* and only a minimal number of *Aelia*.³⁰ As for other common *nomina*, it is true that one finds quite a few *Antonii*, *Cassii*, *Valerii* etc.,³¹ but the overall impression one gets from a look at the *nomina* is that of a striking variety. A student of the material encounters large numbers of different *nomina*, many of them of great rarity and interest. And even in the case of *nomina* which are in general rather common, there are some which are interesting in that they seem to be more common among sailors than one would expect; for instance, there are quite a few *Didii*,³²

²⁷ On the other hand, the possibility that *Peducaeus Colo*, of whose career only the prefecture of Egypt is known, had been prefect of the fleet at Misenum earlier in his career cannot perhaps be excluded.

²⁸ For some observations on the *nomina* see M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 528ff.; A. Parma, in: *Civiltà dei Campi Flegrei. Atti del Convegno internazionale* (1992) 215f. (according to whom about 25% of the *nomina* are imperial).

²⁹ A.: CIL X 8374a; D.: CIL X 3409; AE 1985, 401 (Ravenna); Q.: CIL XI 3533; AE 1939, 220; Sex.: CIL X 3636; T.: CIL X 3579.

³⁰ According to Reddé, o. c. (n. 28) 529, there are two *Ulpia* and five *Aelia* among 113 sailors (both at Misenum and at Ravenna) with an imperial nomen.

³¹ Some calculations are given by Reddé, o. c. (n. 28) 529.

³² Ravenna: CIL XI 55, 85, 135 and three instances in AE 1985, 401; Misenum: CIL XI 3535; RMD 74 (AD 212); and cf. EE VIII 429 and CIL XIII 6830 (a soldier of the *legio I Adiutrix* and thus probably an ex-sailor; cf. A. Mócsy, in: *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* [1986] 299).

surprisingly many Epidii³³ and Laelii,³⁴ a good number of Marii (which is not a typical military name such as *Valerius*) and (but only in Misenum) Naevii.³⁵ However, it is the collection of uncommon or even singular names which is of especial interest. Let us start with a simple list enumerating some of the more striking names, an asterisk being attached to those nomina which are attested only once (at least in that form in which it appears in the nomenclature of a sailor) or (in the case of more than one inscription being cited in the following list) only among sailors: *Acuius* (CIL VI 3148), *Aesius* (CIL X 3512), *Aetatus* (CIL XI 3525 = 7583), *Aeternius* (CIL X 3387), (*H*)*ammonius* (attested many times, although only at Misenum), **Amydius* (CIL VI 3094),³⁶ *Anarius* (C. Franzoni, *Habitus atque habitudo militaris* [1987] 60f. no. 39; Ravenna), *Anteius* (CIL X 3518), *Apollonius* (CIL X 3504), **Archibius* (AE 1988, 312; the reading is not altogether certain), *Arenius* (CIL XI 113), *Arule(nus?)* (CIL X 4322), **Augusius* (CIL X 3351), *Babbius* (CIL X 3546), *Basilius* (CIL X 3645), *Bassius* (CIL X 3548f., AE 1947, 141), **Bifonius* (CIL X 3550), *Bombius* (CIL XI 106), *Braecius* (CIL XI 6736), *Burius* (AE 1985, 401), **Calentius* (CIL VI 32777), *Camurius* (CIL X 3395; AE 1988, 1138), *Casto[---]* (CIL X 3464), *Caltius* (CIL X 3642), *Charius* (AE 1985, 401), *Cogitatus* (CIL X 3569), **Congenius* (CIL XI 7584),³⁷ *Crispius* (CIL X

³³ Misenum: CIL X 3576, 3615, 7592; Ravenna: two in AE 1985, 401; and cf. RIB 486 (with the observation of A. Mócsy, o. c. [n. 32] 299).

³⁴ Misenum: CIL X 3468, 3597; Ravenna: CIL XI 70, 109; two in AE 1985, 401.

³⁵ Naevii in Misenum: CIL X 3036, 3391, 3411, 3478, 3492, 3611, 8119; EE VIII 440; AE 1983, 187; 1990, 153. L. Nevius Nicator, a navy *med(icus) dupl(icarius)* attested in Teate Marrucinatorum (Suppl. It. 2 Teate no. 9 = AE 1984, 337) also no doubt belongs to the Misenum fleet (cf. the almost identical formulations of the inscription of another navy doctor at Misenum, CIL X 3441).

³⁶ *Amudius* or *Ammudius* is also unknown.

³⁷ This is a name patently of Celtic origin; for similar names beginning with *Congen-* cf. A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz I* (1896) 1099f.; W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904) 22. How this can be explained in the case of a sailor who is *natio(ne) Bes(sus)* is not clear to me, although it seems possible that some sailors chose themselves nomina used by fellow sailors coming from other provinces; cf. the *Bessus* with (probably) a Dalmatian nomen (below n. 61), the German sailor T. Tarquinius Iuvenalis (CIL XI 99), whose nomen could be Sardinian (see below n. 64) and the case of the Pannonian sailors called *Cogitatus* and *Superinius* (CIL X 3569; XI 97 = NSA 1908, 164), which are nomina typical of Gaul and Germany, not of Pannonia (cf. A. Mócsy, in: *Atti del convegno Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe* [1968] 307). See also below at n. 70.

3447; CIL XI 52), *Dassius* (CIL X 3661; AE 1992, 136), *Deccius* (AE 1954, 270; 1985, 401 [two instances]; cf. CIL X 3400), *Demetrius* (CIL VI 3153 = AE 1992, 302), *Dinnius* (CIL X 3572f., VI 3164), *Dionysius* (CIL X 3574, XI 94, III 2020), *Eppius* (AE 1968, 457), **Epulanius* (CIL XI 352), **Fabullius* (CIL X 3504; CPL 120; cf. n. 15),³⁸ *Frontinius* (CIL VI 3154), *Furnius* (CIL XI 60), *Fusius* (CIL XVI 72), *Gaius* (CIL XI 352), *Gentius* (AE 1949, 206), *Germanius* (CIL VI 3113), *Iust(i?)us* (CIL X 3577), *Longin(i)us* (many instances), *Maecenius* (CIL X 3664 = AE 1988, 319),³⁹ *Maetilius* (AE 1985, 401), *Masurius* (three times in AE 1985, 401; cf. n. 15), *Matonius* (CIL VI 32761), *Maximius* (CIL X 3518, EE VIII 429, AE 1939, 219), *Mettenius* (CIL X 7595), **Muacidius* (?) (AE 1985, 401), *Mus(s)idius* (CIL X 3387, 3610), **Ottius* (G.A. Mansuelli, *Le stele romane del territorio Ravennate* [1967] no. 67; cf. *Uttius*, CIL X 3667), *Panentius* (CIL X 3486, cf. CIL XI 93), **Penenius* (?) (CIL XI 67), *Pinnius* (CIL XI 340), *Plarentius* (CIL X 3486, VI 3125), *Priscius* (CIL XI 6736), *Ravonius* (CIL X 3618), **Safenius* (?) (CIL X 3626), **Sced[.]ius* (CIL X 3600), *Scentius* (EE VIII 710), **Sedatinus* (CIL VI 32771), *Seisitianus* (?) (AE 1946, 145), *Semonius* (CIL VI 3131 = 7465), *Silanius* (CIL X 3627), **Stlabius* (CIL X 3633),⁴⁰ *Suillius* (CIL X 3406), *Superinius* (CIL XI 97 = NSA 1908, 164), *Sutti(u)s* (CIL X 3372), *Tamudius* (CIL X 3636f.), *Taronius* (CIL XI 98; III 557), *Tarconius* (AE 1916, 52), *Tarcutius* (CIL XVI 127), *Tarquinius* (CIL X 3562; XI 99), **Tarul(l)ius* (CIL X 687, 3387, 3600), *Tarutius* (CIL XI 3535), *Timinius* (CIL X 3603), **Tonatius* (AE 1949, 206), **Urbatius* (CIL XIV 242), *Urbinius* (CIL X 3389; AE 1979, 166), *Ursinius* (CIL XI 113), *Uttius*

³⁸ In the two other possible instances of this nomen the first letter is missing, so that we might in fact be dealing with *Abullii* or *Babullii* or the like: NSA 1913, 243 no. 3 from *Fabrateria Nova*; HAE 1579 = AE 1981, 585 from *Saguntum*, quoted under '*Fabullius*' by J.M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania* (1994) 137; but see the republication by G. Alföldy, ZPE 41 (1981) 234 no. 14 (AE 1981, 585).

³⁹ Many rare nomina being attested both at *Misenum* and at *Ravenna* (cf. below), I must note here the fact that there is one attestation of a nomen spelled *Mecennius*, namely AE 1977, 265B. Now this is an inscription of Diocletianic date registering patrons of some *collegium* from nowhere else but *Ravenna*, and so I think that this *Mecennius* could be a descendant of a sailor serving in *Ravenna*, and that this sailor could have had the same nomen as his colleague in *Misenum* (the difference in spelling does not seem an obstacle).

⁴⁰ However, note the Oscan nomen *slaabiis* (E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte I* [1953] no. 107, *Herculaneum*; transcribed by Vetter as '*Stlabius*') and the nomen *Slavius* (CIL XVI 9); cf. below at n. 68.

(CIL X 3667), *Velonius* (CIL X 3376; VI 3142; IX 3993 = AE 1991, 568), *Vicerius* (CIL XI 109), **Virridius* (CIL X 3666),⁴¹ *Volceius* (CIL X 3472).

Though the above list represents only a selection even of the less common names, it certainly gives a picture of the richness and the variety of the onomastic material offered by the soldiers; one observes for instance that the list presents an interesting mixture of recent nomina of provincial or barbarian origin (cf. n. 37 on *Congenius*, *Cogitatus* and *Superinius*; and note the 'military' nomina such as *Demetrius*, *Dionysius*, *Germanius*)⁴² and old Italian names (such as *Stlabius*, cf. n. 40). Before we go into the question of how sailors could have come to choose, or at least to have, such nomina (the origin of which must in many cases remain a mystery), I would like to point out the observation that also many of the rare nomina are attested both at Misenum and at Ravenna,⁴³ which is a fact that may be of significance, although I find it difficult to interpret; but in any case it is another reminder of the close contacts between Misenum and Ravenna.⁴⁴ In the above list, *Crispius*, *Deccius*, *Dionysius* and *Velonius* belong to this category (and cf. n. 39 on *Maecenius*); other not extremely common nomina which one finds at both places are *Artorius*, *Atinius*, *Caninius*, *Epidius*, *Laelius*, *Mesius*,⁴⁵ *Mucius*, *Novellius*, *Saenius*, *Serenius*, *Sosius*, *Tarquinius*, *Turranius*.

But how did the sailors come to use these nomina? Let us from now on concentrate on this question. Now it has been said that we simply do not know by which criteria the nomina were chosen, and that there is for

⁴¹ But cf. *Virridius* (CIL V 4522 = Inscr. It. X 5, 319 from Brixia; not in CIL XII 5246, cf. *ibid.* p. 855).

⁴² cf. Schulze, *o. c.* (n. 37) 152 n. 3, 294 n. 7, 522 n. 1; and below n. 62 on *Longinus*, n. 63 on *(H)ammonius*.

⁴³ On the other hand, note that there seem to be *(H)ammonii* and *Naevii* only at Misenum.

⁴⁴ There are some interesting similarities between Misenum and Ravenna; for example, the inscriptions have some common features such as the tendency to use unusual abbreviations (*natio(ne)*, the type *Apollinari(s)* etc.), not to mention other details (which would be out of place in this paper; on the other hand note that only inscriptions from Misenum seem to mention earlier peregrine names of sailors). Obviously there was much movement between Misenum and Ravenna, and not only by the prefects (cf. n. 24) but also by other personnel (for sailors of the Ravenna fleet at Misenum see CIL X 3486. 3524. 3527. 3645).

⁴⁵ Misenum: CIL VI 3122; Ravenna: CIL IX 82. To judge from their cognomina (*Mucia(nus)*, *Vitus*), both should be Thracians. The nomen could stand for either *Messius* or *Maesius*.

instance no connection between the nomina of sailors and the navy prefects in office at the time of the enrolment of the sailors.⁴⁶ It is certainly true that in most cases one cannot even guess how sailors have come to use these nomina. On the other hand, it seems that in some cases there is at least something to be said. As for navy prefects, it was suggested above (in the discussion of *Seneca* and *Albanus*) that their cognomina might in some cases have been chosen by sailors, but it is true that a comparison of the nomina of sailors and prefects (and *subpraefecti*) does not lead to much. One might of course for instance think that Artorii⁴⁷ could be connected with L. Artorius [Iu]stus, *praepositus classis Misematium* (CIL III 1919); and many other nomina of navy prefects are attested among sailors, e.g. *Annius*, *Aquilius*, *Calpurnius*, *Cominius*,⁴⁸ *Furius*, *Lucilius*, *Marcus*, *Pontius*. But these are nomina which one would expect to find in any list of names, and one could think of adducing them only if rare nomina of prefects, which could be of some significance, were also to be found among sailors; but no Baieni, Caecii, Cornasidii, Flavidii, Numerii, Plinii or Tutican(i)i seem to have served as sailors in Misenum and Ravenna. It is thus no doubt correct to say that sailors choosing nomina would not generally turn to prefects in search of ideas (perhaps this is in fact not in need of much explanation); on the other hand, it seems that some recruits chose themselves nomina of fellow sailors, coming from other provinces (cf. above n. 37).

But what about other Romans? Now, it was suggested above that two sailors called *Colo* might have chosen the cognomen of a prefect of Egypt, and as for nomina, there seems to be another possible connection between a sailor and a prefect: C. Aeternius Rufus, serving in Misenum (CIL X 3387), has a nomen for which there is, in the whole of the Roman world, only one other attestation, that being C. Aeternius Fronto, prefect of Egypt in AD 70.⁴⁹ I think that it is hard not to postulate a connection, and so we

⁴⁶ S. Panciera, in: Atti del convegno Internazionale di Studi sulle Antichità di Classe (1968) 312. For lists of prefecti and *subpraefecti* see M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* (1986) 673ff.

⁴⁷ CIL X 3462, 8208; CIL XI 3524 (the last two both from Alexandria). In Ravenna: AE 1985, 401.

⁴⁸ CIL X 3576; AE 1985, 401.

⁴⁹ PIR² L 287; B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum I* (1984) 346 no. 35 (for the inscription see now F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale* (1993) no. 16). In the case of *Aeternius miles*, known from a rescript of Gordian (Cod. Iust. 6, 21, 8), we are perhaps not dealing with a nomen.

should perhaps think of the sailor as another recruit from Egypt who had a prefect in mind when choosing his cognomen.

This brings us for a moment to a certain Fronto, governor of Galatia in the time of Tiberius (PIR² F 485). Although the cognomen is not at all uncommon, many scholars have thought that the governor might be identical with the senator [.] Octavius C. f. Ste. Fronto, attested as an ex-praetor in AD 16.⁵⁰ Although I am perhaps exceeding the limits of permissible speculation, I cannot resist adducing here the existence of C. Octavius Fronto from Cilicia, serving in Misenum (CIL X 3443; his brother is called C. Iulius Fabianus). Although the sailor no doubt lived later than the governor, and although it is quite possible that no part of Cilicia belonged to the province of Galatia during the time of the Julio-Claudians, perhaps one could think that the names of the governor had become part of the onomastic repertoire of the area (there are many instances of this in Asia Minor), or that he was otherwise known there even after his departure, and that the sailor had chosen himself a name known to him from home, which, again, would then mean that his nomenclature could perhaps be used to show that the governor was indeed identical with Octavius Fronto.

But among sailors there are also some other combinations of nomina and cognomina which seem to reflect the nomenclature of Roman senators. Observe the following cases:⁵¹ M. Marius Celsus, a *Bessus* serving in Misenum (CIL X 3602) ≈ A. Marius Celsus, consul in 69, legate of Germania inferior and Syria (PIR² M 296); M. Arrius Antoninus, an Egyptian serving in Misenum ≈ Cn. Arrius Antoninus cos. 69 (PIR² A 1086; for the praenomen, see G. Camodeca, *CronErc* 23 [1993] 115-9) and

⁵⁰ Cf. PIR² O 34 and L. Sensi, in: *Tituli* 4 (1982) 516 (with references to predecessors). B. Rémy, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie* (1989) 139f. no. 102 remains unconvinced.

⁵¹ There are also Cassii Longini at Ravenna (AE 1978, 242; 1985, 401; and observe C. Cassius C. f. Cla. Longinus Sav(aria) in CIL XIII 6829, a soldier of the legion I Adiutrix and thus probably an ex-sailor; cf. A. Mócsy, in: *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* [1986] 300), who have a cognomen chosen also by other low-class Cassii in imitation of the senatorial family (CIL IX 2383; IGLS 9176). Note also P. Iuventius Celsus (reminding one of the jurist, cos. II in 129), the son of P. Naevius(?) Asper (EE VIII 440), probably a sailor (thus A. Parma, *Puteoli* 12-13 [1988-89] 226 n. 4). Cf. *Die römischen Vornamen* (1987) 201 with n. 133, with further examples of people imitating Roman nobles (both republican and imperial) in their choice of cognomina.

later Arrii Antonini (PIR² A 1087ff., cf. 1513); C. Domitius Lucanus, an Egyptian veteran at Misenum (CIL X 8374) ≈ Cn. Domitius Lucanus, consul in the time of Vespasian (PIR² D 152); Q. Arruntius Aquila, a *Bessus* serving in Misenum attested at Rome (CIL VI 3163) ≈ M. Arruntius Aquila, consul in the time Vespasian (PIR² A 1139, cf. 1137f. for earlier Arruntii Aquilae); Q. Lus[ius] Quiet[us], a *Bessus* serving in Ravenna (G.A. Mansuelli, *Le stele romane del territorio Ravennate* [1967] no. 107) ≈ Lusius Quietus, an officer of Trajan and later senator (PIR² L 439); Titius Aquilinus, a sailor at Misenum (CIL X 3615) ≈ L. (Epidius) Titius Aquilinus, cos. 125 (RE VIA 1565-7 no. 27; cf. O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature* [1992] 97); Staius Quadratus, a sailor from the Misenum fleet attested at Rome (CIL VI 3094) ≈ L. Staius Quadratus, cos. 142 (RE IIIA 2221-3 no. 21). There are also some other cases which may be relevant, but they can be relegated to a footnote,⁵² for I think that the material presented above speaks for itself and can, as a whole, be taken to show that some sailors kept an eye on well known Roman families when they were choosing their names. Although it is possible that in some cases we may deal simply with coincidences, it seems quite impossible that an Egyptian could have come up with a name such as 'Arrius Antoninus' or 'Domitius Lucanus' just by chance.

But then there is group of nomina for which one can offer the explanation that they are simply (to use a phrase of Quintilian's) 'domo allata', i.e. they are names which the sailors had been using - as peregrines or in some cases as citizens - in their home provinces before they joined the navy, or at least names known to them from home. This is especially

⁵² The Dalmatian Laecanius Largus, serving in Ravenna (CIL XI 69), has an interesting name; it seems to reflect the relations between the Laecanii from Pola and the Caecinae from Volaterrae, which produced the senator C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus (cos. probably in AD 70), a son probably of A. Caecina Paetus cos. 37 adopted by C. Laecanius Bassus cos. 64 (see O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature* [1992] 114ff.). Now the most typical cognomen of the Caecinae was *Largus*, and it seems in fact possible that C. Caecina Largus cos. 42 (PIR² C 101) was A. Caecina Paetus' brother. C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus had a son, C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Flaccus (cf. Salomies, l. 1.); perhaps one could think that there was at some time also a C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Largus, who provided the inspiration needed when the Dalmatian sailor was thinking about his name. Because of his tribe, C. Vettius C. f. Claud. Gratus, *archit. class. pr. Mis.* (CIL X 3392), who makes one think of the Vettii Grati of the 3rd century (the earliest consul being C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus cos. 221, RE VIIIA 1858f. no. 31), should not be thought of as a new citizen imitating in his nomenclature a senatorial family (and the senators are of course much too late).

clear in the case of Africans and Dalmatians. To start with the former, there are sailors called *Gargilius*, *Silicius*, *Surdinius*, *Urbinius*,⁵³ who all mention Africa as their home and happen to have nomina which are especially frequent, or at least well attested, in Africa.⁵⁴ The implication is obviously that these men already had their nomina already before their military service. No doubt there were many similar cases; for instance Bifonius Celestinus *nat. Afer* (CIL X 3550): the man has a nomen which is otherwise absolutely unknown, but which I should think he has brought from home, for Africa is well known for its remarkable collection of rare or unparalleled nomina which reflect early immigration from remote parts of Italy.⁵⁵ And there is also M. Bombius Saturni(nus) at Ravenna (CIL XI 106; the nomen is mishandled by Bormann): though no *patria* is mentioned, this is no doubt an African with a local nomen, because *Bombius* is hardly known outside Africa (and the cognomen also points in that direction).⁵⁶

As for Dalmatians, we find Dalmatian sailors called *Bennius*, *Dasumius*, *Gentius*, *Oculatius*, *Panentius*, *Ravonius*;⁵⁷ these are either

⁵³ *Gargilius*: CIL X 3400a (for another, without a *patria*, see CIL X 3466). *Silicius*: CIL X 3630 (and CIL X 3629, 3631 without a *patria*). *Surdinius*: CIL X 3634. *Urbinius*: CIL X 3389 (and AE 1979, 166).

⁵⁴ *Gargilius*: a nomen typical of Africa (about 120 instances in CIL VIII). *Silicius*: very common in Africa (25 instances in CIL VIII; add ILaAlg. I 404. 2699f. 2960; ILaAfr. 27 i 4, ii 20; S. Gsell, *Rech. archéol. en Algérie* (1893) 176 no. 187; G. Charles Picard, *Castellum Dimmidi* (1944) 202 no. 30; AE 1020, 46; 1962, 184; 1987, 1061; 1989, 893 (cf. X. Dupuis, *ZPE* 93 [1992] 124). *Surdinius*: CIL VIII 5860, 10523; PFOS 748; perhaps PIR S 291 (otherwise there is only CIL V 6104, AE 1985, 485 from Carales, mentioning a centurio *coh. I Sard.* and a *villa Surdinianain* Sinuessa, CIL X 4734). *Urbinius*: of this spelling, there is only one other instance, CIL V 7769; but *Urbinius* seems to be identical with *Urvinius*, a rare nomen of which there are some attestations in Africa: CIL VIII 1440. 4176. 26241. 26388.

⁵⁵ Cf. R. Syme, *Roman Papers* I 275; III 1115. 1132 (with n. 69).

⁵⁶ *Bombii* elsewhere: CIL I² 2246 = *Inscriptions de Délos* 2392; CIL XIV 256, 1. 263 (perhaps also IPO A 310, cf. A. Helttula, *Arctos* 24 (1990) 19 no. 4); in Africa: 12 instances in CIL VIII; ILaAlg. II 961. 2298-2323. And the equestrian M. Bombius Rusticus (PIR² B 143; RIT 156) is no doubt also an African. - *Saturninus*: cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 55, 213.

⁵⁷ L. Bennius Liccai f. Beuza Delmat(a), RMD 142 (AD 100; cf. CIL XI 46; AE 1985, 401). *Dasumius*: CIL XI 53. 54. 3530 (cf. CIL XI 72. 118). *Gentius*: AE 1949, 206. *Oculatius*: AE 1979, 160 (cf. CIL X 3036). *Panentius*: CIL X 3486 (from the Ravenna fleet; cf. CIL XI 93). *Ravonius*: CIL X 3618 (*qui et Bato Scenobarbi (f.) nation. Dal[m.]*).

Illyrian names or nomina attested in Dalmatia⁵⁸ and so it seems that these men might have brought them from home when they came to Misenum or Ravenna (C. Ravonius Celer, it is true, was originally called *Bato Scenobarbi (f.)*, but perhaps he chose a name known to him from home). And note [-]aucius [V]alens *nat. Delmat.* in CIL X 3642: [*Mis]aucius*, a Dalmatian name (CIL III 9740 cf. 13185) is surely a likely restoration of the nomen (Alföldy 100). Furthermore, one finds among sailors not mentioning their *patria* the nomina *Das(s)ius*, *Masurius*, *Plarentius* (in CIL X 3486 a *subheres* of a Dalmatian), *Sced[.]Jius*,⁵⁹ which all either point or at least may point to Dalmatia,⁶⁰ so that one could think of them as another group of sailors equipped with a nomen before entering the navy.⁶¹

There is also a Sardinian who is no doubt using a nomen of Sardinian origin. L. Tarcunius Heraclianus, a Sardinian sailor belonging to the Misenum fleet attested at Rome (AE 1916, 52) has a nomen which is otherwise unknown. Now, names beginning with *Tar-* are in general quite common in Sardinia, but among them one finds *Tarquinus* which so closely resembles the nomen of the sailor that it seems quite certain that he is using a Sardinian nomen.⁶² This makes one think of other sailors'

⁵⁸ *Bennius*: G. Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia (Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Beiheft 4, 1969 [quoted in the following as 'Alföldy'] 67; ILJug. 2098. 2143. *Dasumius*: cf. W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen (1904) 44f.; H. Krahe, Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen (1929; quoted in the following as 'Krahe') 35; id., Die Sprache der Illyrier I (1955) 79; Alföldy 81. *Gentius*: cf. Krahe 53f.; Alföldy 210 (for the Illyrian king, RE VII 1198ff.). *Oc(u)latius*: Alföldy 104; CIL III 3845. 3890; AIJug. 218; ILJug. 1836; N. Cambi, VAHD 86 (1994) 165. *Panentius*: cf. Schulze, o. c. 44; Krahe 84; Alföldy 106. *Ravonius*: Alföldy 115; ILJug. 1895. 2568. 2884 (= CIL III 2951).

⁵⁹ *Das(s)ius*: CIL X 3661 (*Vene[ti f.] Venetus*); AE 1992, 136 (cf. AE 1990, 302). *Masurius*: cf. n. 15. *Plarentius*: CIL X 3486; CIL VI 3125. *Sced[.]Jius*: CIL X 3600.

⁶⁰ *Das(s)ius*: cf. Krahe 37f.; Alföldy 81, 185f.. *Masurius*: Alföldy 98; ILJug. 652. 2733; *Masurianus* in AE 1991, 1289. *Plarentius*: cf. Schulze o. c. (n. 37) 32, 44; Krahe 92; Alföldy 267. As for *Sced[.]Jius*, known from CIL X 3600 (of which I have seen a good photo), the name sounds Illyrian (but may of course be anything).

⁶¹ But observe that L. Scentius Valens, who has a nomen which is almost certainly of Dalmatian origin (cf. Krahe, Lexikon [n. 57] 101; id., Die Sprache der Illyrier I [1955] 59), is in spite of this *nat(ione) Bessus* (EE VIII 710; cf. CIL X 2938. 3368. 8211). Cf. above n. 37.

⁶² For *Tarquinus Fili f. Neroneius* see G. Sotgiu in ANRW II 11, 1 (1988) 569 n. A209. Other Sardinian names beginning with *Tar-*: *Targuro* (CIL X 7874), *Tarammon* and *Tarpalaris* (CIL XVI 79), *Tarcutius* (cf. n. 63) and *Tarsalia* (CIL XVI 127), *Taretius* (Sotgiu, *ibid.* 568 no. A207).

nomina beginning with *Tar-*; *Tarul(l)ius* is a nomen otherwise unknown, but attested for three sailors, one of whom is known to have been a Sardinian (CIL X 687; the others in CIL X 3387. 3600); then there is C. Tarcutius Tarsaliae fil. Hospitalis, no doubt a sailor and from Sardinia (CIL XVI 127 found in Sardinia).⁶³ *Tarutius* (CIL XI 3535) may perhaps also be considered a nomen of Sardinian origin. Finally, *Tarcunius* reminds one of *Tarquinius*, the nomen (in general a rare one) of two sailors, one serving at Misenum, the other at Ravenna (CIL X 3562; CIL XI 99); perhaps this is not the same name as that of the Etruscan kings, but rather a Sardinian name related to *Tarcunius*; however, things are complicated by the fact that the man at Ravenna calls himself a German.⁶⁴

Then there are also quite a few Egyptian sailors who have distinctively Egyptian nomina, and who thus either had a nomen at the time of the enrolment or at least thought of home when choosing a nomen: there are Egyptian sailors called (*H*)*ammonius*, *Longin(i)us* and *Seren(i)us*,⁶⁵ which are all nomina clearly pointing to Egypt.⁶⁶ Further instances of nomina which sailors may have brought with themselves from home are not easy to come by; but it is certainly remarkable that two sailors from Bithynia, one serving at Misenum, the other at Ravenna,

⁶³ It has also been said that this man chose his nomen because it resembled his father's name (A. Mócsy, in: Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle (1986) 443), but it seems more likely that he has simply chosen a Sardinian name. For the date of the diploma (between 192 and 218) see M. Roxan, RMD 1985-1993 (1994) 248 n. 78.

⁶⁴ But one could perhaps think of the possibility that he has chosen himself the nomen of a Sardinian colleague at Ravenna (cf. above n. 37).

⁶⁵ (*H*)*ammonius*: sailors calling themselves Egyptians: CIL X 3381. 3514; CIL VI 3093 = 7463 (Hammonii without a *patria*: CIL X 3467. 3528. 3612). *Longin(i)us*: Egyptians in G.A. Mansuelli, Le stele romane del territorio Ravennate [1967] no. 70 and BGU 326 (others, not mentioning a *patria*: CIL X 3418. 3578. 3589; CIL XI 74. 6738a; note, however, that *Longin(i)us* was a nomen found not only in Egypt, but also among soldiers in general, this explaining the presence of a C. Longinus Maximus from Pamphylia: EE VIII 430). *Seren(i)us*: CIL X 3481; CIL XI 94 (both specifying Egypt as the *patria*).

⁶⁶ *Ammonius*: cf. Schulze, o. c. 121f.; R. Cavenaile, Aegyptus 50 (1970) 218ff. no. 85ff. (used as a nomen 219 no. 104, 106-8). This nomen is often used also by Egyptian soldiers other than sailors. *Longin(i)us*: cf. Schulze, o. c. 59-61; R. Cavenaile, Aegyptus 50 (1970) 271ff. no. 1342, 1359ff. *Seren(i)us*: cf. R. Cavenaile, ibid. 295ff. no. 1930ff. (for a L. Serenus Ammonianus from Alexandria cf. IG X 2, 1, 38, B, 8).

should both have the nomen *Laelius*,⁶⁷ and that two Thracians (to judge from the cognomina), one at Misenum, one at Ravenna, should both have a nomen spelled *Mesius* (cf. n. 45).⁶⁸ And there is also M. Stlabius Felicissimus at Misenum (CIL X 3633); this spelling of his nomen is unparalleled, but *Slavius* may well be the same nomen. The latter name is also attested only once, in the case of a man from Carales (CIL XVI 9 from AD 68, one of the witnesses), so perhaps the sailor is another Sardinian, using a local name. On the other hand, the cognomen *Putiolanus* of the witness of the diploma, and the fact that this is a diploma issued to a soldier of the legion I Adiutrix - and thus an ex-sailor - take us back to the area of Misenum, and this, again, reminds one of the existence of the nomen *slaabiis* in Oscan Herculaneum (cf. n. 40). Could it be after all that the sailor had chosen himself a nomen with which he had become acquainted only after he had arrived at Misenum?

There are in fact some other rare nomina of sailors which happen to be attested among the local population in the neighbourhood of both Misenum and Ravenna and which make one think that some sailors may have chosen names which they learned to know, in some way or other, at Misenum and Ravenna. For instance, one finds *Suttii* and *Tamudii* both among sailors at Misenum (cf. above) and among other people in the area,⁶⁹ and for *Anarius*, the nomen of a sailor at Ravenna, the only other attestations in the Roman world are at Pisaurum and Aquileia, not in the immediate neighbourhood of Ravenna, it is true, but, on the other hand,

⁶⁷ CIL X 3597 (T. Laelius Crispus); CIL XI 70 (Q. Laelius Alexander). I do not seem to be able to find *Laelii* in Bithynian inscriptions, but there are many *Laelii* elsewhere in Asia Minor (not too far from Bithynia e.g. at Cyzicus [CIG 3663, B, 11 cf. AM 6 (1881) 52], at Appia in N. Phrygia [SEG XXVIII 1105] and at Amastris [IGR III 87]).

⁶⁸ Note also the interesting case of the *Velonii*; there are two *Velonii* serving at Misenum, both *Bessi* (CIL X 3376; CIL VI 3142), and one *Velonius* (without a *patria*, but perhaps another *Bessus*) is attested as a sailor serving in the fleet at Ravenna (CIL IX 3993 = AE 1991, 568). Now this is a very rare nomen for which there are attestations, in addition to a *vigil* in the time of Septimius Severus (CIL VI 1057, 3, 66 = 1058, 3, 16) only from Thuburnica in Africa (CIL VIII 25785-88; but the man in 25787 may have come from Bononia); perhaps, one cannot help thinking, the *Velonii* had somehow acquired the nomen at home.

⁶⁹ *Suttius*: Vetter, o. c. (n. 40) no. 8 (Pompeii); CIL X 8059, 388 (signaculum at Naples). Also in CIL X 6184 (Formiae). Otherwise there is not much (CIL XI 1108. 6178; CIL V 1779). *Tamudius*: AE 1951, 217 (Herculaneum); cf. the cognomen *Tamudianus* in CIL IV 1493 (Pompeii). There are more *Tamudii* in Umbria and Picenum (especially at Auximum).

not too far from there.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the fact that there are at Misenum two sailors called *Dinnius*, one from Corsica, the other *natione Bessus* (CIL X 3572f.), and that there are at Ravenna two sailors called *Taronius*, one from Dalmatia, the other another *Bessus* (CIL XI 98; CIL III 557), seems to imply that these sailors may have chosen their nomina from someone they had learnt to know in Misenum and Ravenna, perhaps from someone also serving in the navy (cf. above n. 37). But of course there are also problems; for instance, there are in Misenum sailors called *Deccius* and *Epidius*, which are both names which one finds in the area around Misenum - but also among sailors in Ravenna (cf. above); and if there are two *Lusii* at Misenum, one from Egypt, the other from Dalmatia (CIL XIV 239; AE 1892, 140), there is a *Lusius* also at Ravenna, a *Bessus* (with the cognomen *Quietus*; cf. above). Another problem is that, if one finds the same nomina both among sailors and among civilians in the same area, this may in some cases come from the fact that it was only through the sailors that a nomen was diffused in the region, for funerary inscriptions of sailors at Misenum and Ravenna frequently mention wives, children and freedmen, which shows that many sailors settled in the two cities after their military service. Accordingly, one often finds nomina no doubt imported by sailors among civilians in and around the two naval bases.⁷¹

But let us get back to the subject, and finish it. There is still a smallish group of nomina for which one might find an explanation, namely those nomina which seem to have been formed from, or at least with an eye on, the cognomina of the sailors (or of their fathers). Those of *M. Numisius Saionis f. Nomasius Corsus Vinac.* (CIL XVI 74 of AD 129)⁷² and *C. Terentiu[s] Teres* (AE 1985, 401) seem to be clear cases, and the

⁷⁰ CIL XI 6712, 36 (signaculum at Pisaurum); I. Aquileia 2241. Observe also that *Arenius*, the most uncommon nomen of T. Arenius Cordus of the Ravenna fleet (CIL XI 113) is attested at Pisaurum (CIL XI 6374a and in a votive inscription from a sanctuary of Minerva near Placentia (CIL XI 1293; otherwise there is only CIL IX 4109 [Aequiculi] and a number of attestations in Africa).

⁷¹ For instance, there are civilian (H)ammonii at Puteoli (CIL X 2495. 3013) and a *Panentia Placida* in Ravenna (CIL XI 93), this no doubt somehow connected with the fact that a sailor called *Panentius* is attested in the Ravenna fleet (cf. above n. 57). Furthermore, the existence at Centumcellae of a *Longinia Procla* has no doubt something to do with the fact that Centumcellae was a base used by the Misenum and Ravenna fleets (M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum* [1986] 197ff.). Cf. above n. 39 on *Mecennius* at Ravenna.

⁷² Originally no doubt called *Nomasius Saionis f.* (A. Mócsy, in: Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle (1986) 443).

nomina of L. Geminius Gemellus (AE 1985, 401) and C. Lucilius Lucianus (CIL X 3402, a *Cilix*) may perhaps be explained in the same way.⁷³ M. Lollius Lolli f. Neo *Laerta ex Pamphylia* (RMD 38 of AD 139) no doubt took the (single) name of his (peregrine) father as his nomen; finally, it has also been suggested that Sex. Memmius Clearchi f. Mannis *Oniando ex Lycia* (CIL XVI 177, AD 149) chose his nomen because it resembled his cognomen (this, however, does not seem much more than a guess).⁷⁴

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⁷³ But note that other Gemelli do not have the nomen *Geminius*: there is also a L. Deccius Gemellus (AE 1954, 270) and a C. Iust(i?)us Gemellus (CIL X 3577).

⁷⁴ A. Mócsy, *ibid.* (n. 69) 443 (Lollius; this is a common nomen in Asia Minor) and 443f. n. 31 (Memmius).

DO TIBI ME TOTAM.
LATIN WEDDING POETRY IN FINLAND*

RAIJA SARASTI-WILENIUS

When Professor Olaus Wexionius and Catharina Petraea, a bishop's daughter, got married in Turku, the old capital of Finland, in 1654 the occasion was celebrated by two printed collections of poems, the majority of which are in Latin; some are in Swedish and one each in Greek and Finnish.¹ It was customary to bring out such publications in connection with the weddings of noble, and clerical, bourgeois and learned middle-class families. We know of about two hundred wedding publications which include at least one poem in Latin issued by Finnish printing houses during the years 1640-1713.² Thanks to the impact of Humanism, poems and speeches imitating the classical models and making use of classical mythology were composed for various occasions. The popularity of wedding poetry was not diminished by the fact that the Lutheran Church, which was very powerful in seventeenth century Finland, highly appreciated the marital institution.³ In this article I first intend to connect these poems to the tradition of the literary genre of epithalamium, not by surveying the whole history of the genre but pointing out some

* The first draft of this paper was presented at the Ninth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Bari 29.8.-4.9.1994).

¹T. Melander, *Personskifter hänförande sig till Finland 1542-1713*, 1951, (henceforth TM) 337, 338.

²It is most likely that there were more publications from this period - but they were probably lost in the many fires. The originals of many publications dealt with in this paper have survived in Swedish libraries.

³Cf. G. Castrén, *Stormaktstidens diktning*, 1907, 103; B. Olsson, *Bröllops besvärshugkommelse II*, 1970, 18.

observations relevant to the material discussed here.⁴ Secondly, my purpose is to analyze the general features regarding the contents and the form of the poems while at the same time throwing some light upon the literary conventions prevailing in this period. Thirdly, I plan to survey different aspects of the function of these poems in the contemporary society. The verses I have chosen as examples are not necessarily taken from the best writers; they are purely meant to give a good overview of general features in these poems.

The Greek wedding poem was tied to nuptial rites. Ὑμέναιος, referring to Ὑμῆν, the god of wedding, were songs meant to be performed at a wedding feast whereas the term ἐπιθαλάμιος initially was applied to verses sung on the threshold of the marital chamber (θάλαμος). The distinction of the two Greek terms ὕμέναιος and ἐπιθαλάμιος are discussed by Robert Muth who concludes that already from early times both terms were overlapping.⁵ Epithalamium became the most frequent term, used generally in Roman literature as well as during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance for any kind of wedding poem.⁶ In Greek literature the foremost representative of the genre was Sappho, who was the most important model for Catullus' *Carmina* 61 and 62, the best known pieces of Roman wedding poetry. In the first century B.C. epithalamium had already become a literary genre; it was not necessarily bound to any actual rite of the wedding ceremonies nor sung by a choir.⁷ However, as in Catullus' *Carmina* 61 and 62, there are some direct connections to the wedding ceremonies to be found in epithalamia of all periods. As it developed in Latin literature, the epithalamium lost its lyric quality and became a species of rhetorical panegyric constructed according to the rules

⁴For the genre of epithalamium see Maas, s.v. Hymenaios, RE IX, 1916, 130-134; R. Keydell, s.v. Epithalamium, RLAC V, 1962, 927-943. For ancient wedding poetry see E.A. Mangelsdorff, *Das lyrische Hochzeitslied bei den Griechen und Römern*, 1913. For later Latin wedding poetry see C. Morelli, "L'epitalamio nella tarda poesia latina", SIFC 18 (1910) 319-432. For more comprehensive list of the literature discussing epithalamium see E.F. Wilson, "Pastoral and Epithalamium in Latin Literature", *Speculum* 23 (1948) 36 n. 6.

⁵R. Muth, "Hymenaios" und "Epithalamion", *Wiener Studien* 67 (1954) 5-45.

⁶Muth (n.5) passim; Olsson (n.3) 11.

⁷Muth (n.5) 34.

of Dionysios, Menander and Himerios.⁸ Already by the time of Statius, the founder of the later Latin epithalamium, epithalamium had become more like a laudatory poem addressed to the bride and the bridegroom. Statius was important in the development of the genre; his *Epithalamium in Stellam et Violentillam* (silv. 1,2) served more or less as a model to Claudian, Sidonius Apollinaris, Ennodius, Fortunatus, Dracontius and Luxorius.⁹ From the beginning of its history in Greek and Latin literature, epithalamium has been interwoven with pastoral, retaining ever afterwards some of the characteristics of the eclogue.¹⁰ At Roman weddings of the earlier period, obscene songs, so-called *versus fescennini*, were often sung to the bridegroom. Later also these songs were sometimes recorded in writing; for instance Ausonius' *Cento nuptialis* includes a section headed *imminutio*, regarded as indecent.¹¹

In the Middle Ages the secular epithalamium almost disappears. The last known epithalamium was written by Luxorius in the early sixth century. Instead of epithalamia and other occasional poems celebrating individuals, mystical and Christian hymns and allegorical poems were favoured.¹² In the Renaissance the epithalamium as a genre became popular, an essential accompaniment to any upper-class wedding - a sort of status symbol.¹³ The nature of the genre, celebrating a family occasion, seems to have appealed to the strong family sense of the middle classes. Thus it remained very popular for instance in Holland and in Germany among the learned and literary middle classes from the sixteenth century onwards.¹⁴ The writing of epithalamia was not a field only befitting minor

⁸However, in the East epithalamium continued to be written well down into the Byzantine empire in the Sapphic tradition. Wilson (n.4) 37.

⁹Z. Pavlovskis, "Statius and the late Latin Epithalamia", *Classical Philology* 60 (1965) 164-177. Popularity of both the epithalamium and Statius' *Silvae* came to an end at approximately the same time after late antiquity. In the Renaissance *Silvae* was reintroduced by Poggio Bracciolini. See also F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* 1, 1934, 39.

¹⁰Wilson (n.4) 35. For pastoral as a medium for wedding poem in neo-Latin literature see W.L. Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 1965, 294-305. See also L. Forster, "Conventional Safety Valves. Alba, Pastourelle, and Epithalamium", in: *Lebende Antike. Symposium für Rudolf Sühnel* (hrsg. H. Meller, H.-J. Zimmermann, 1967) 120-138.

¹¹Keydell (n.4) 931.

¹²Forster (n.10) 123; Wilson (n.4) 40-57.

¹³For the epithalamium in the Renaissance see Forster (n.10) 124-129.

¹⁴Forster (n.10) 129.

poets, but also such leading neo-Latin poets as the Italians Giovanni Pontano and Giacompo Sannazaro, the Scots Georg Buchanan and the Dutch Johannes Secundus composed wedding poems which were well-known around Europe including Finland.¹⁵ Large anthologies of neo-Latin poetry published at the beginning of the seventeenth century include also wedding poems by authors well-known in Sweden and Finland, such as Heinsius, Vossius and Grotius.¹⁶ In Sweden after the Reformation learned persons began to celebrate each other's weddings with hand-written poems. The first printed wedding poems in Sweden date from the second half of the sixteenth century. The habit initiated by the learned was then adopted by the nobility and soon after also by the burghers. During the first half of the seventeenth century wedding poems became more and more popular, reaching a peak in the second half of the century.¹⁷

There are altogether nine Latin wedding poems written by Finns before the founding of the Academy of Turku in 1640.¹⁸ After the first Finnish printing-house started to operate in 1642, printed occasional poems constituted a significant part of its production. These poems drew heavily on classical mythology. Although pagan gods were generally used metonymically or as symbols with no religious significance¹⁹, the Lutheran Church seems to have been annoyed at the abundance of pagan references in printed literary works. In most of the European countries, epithalamia were made to order. Students especially availed themselves of an opportunity to earn some extra money by composing Latin and/or vernacular epithalamia. In 1662 the Academic Senate at Turku expressed

¹⁵Olsson (n.3) 18-19.

¹⁶For the list of the anthologies see Olsson (n.3) 19 n.24; see also J. Sparrow, "Renaissance Latin Poetry: Some Sixteenth-Century Italian Anthologies", in: *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance* (ed. C.H. Clough, 1976) 386-405.

¹⁷The beginnings of epithalamium in Sweden are discussed by E. Noreen, "Den svenska bröllopsdiktens äldsta historia", *Saga och sed. Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademiens Årsbok* (1940) 51-54 and by H.-E. Johannesson, "Bröllopsvisa och epithalamium, en genre i förvandling. Om bröllopsdiktningen i Sverige under 1500-talet", in: *Latin & nationalsprog i Norden efter reformationen* (1991) 53-66. See also Castrén (n.3) 100-124; Olsson (n.3) 22-23.

¹⁸For Finnish Latin wedding poems before the year 1640 see T. Pekkanen, "Den latinska poesin i Finland 1500-1600, diktkonst eller versifikation?", in: *Latin & nationalsprog i Norden efter reformationen* (1991) 45-52; T. Pekkanen, "Suomen uuslatinalainen runous ennen Turun akatemian perustamista", in: *Collegium scientiae* (1983) 105-106.

¹⁹See I. Kajanto, *Humanism in Christian Society* 1, 1989, 34-37.

'its dissatisfaction and deep worry about students who against payment composed too many wedding and funeral poems with ostentatious style making wide use of pagan divine names'.²⁰ It was demanded that the flow of poems be brought under some sort of official control and the printing-house of the Academy was warned not to print any wedding or other poems if they were not first approved by the Professor of Poetry.²¹ The effect of the interference of the Academic Senate - if there was any - had obviously more to do with the general quality of the printed poems than with ecclesiastical matters. Classical mythology remained an essential part of the printed neo-Latin poems - at least so far as I have studied the material - to the year 1713.²² The most frequent and in this literary genre the most typical pagan names are Apollo and the Muses with their many appellations, Aphrodite or Venus, Juno, Charites, Cupids, Eros and Hymen or Hymenaeus. If the effect of Lutheran Orthodoxy is not to be seen as an attempt to avoid the use of classical mythology and pagan names in the wedding poems, it is manifested sometimes in direct propaganda against the Pope and Catholicism.²³

When we examine the writers of these poems it seems that in addition to the learned persons, who were the most frequent writers of neo-Latin poems everywhere, also persons who were not directly connected to the Academy of Turku versified more often for weddings than for other occasions. This was not only due to the popularity of wedding poems but also to the appreciation of the marital institution in general. Furthermore, it is conspicuous that especially the brothers of the bridal couple often have felt obliged to versify.²⁴ The frequency of brothers of bridal couples as writers was a consequence of the social expectations which the increasing popularity of occasional literature had created: close friends, relatives, colleagues etc. were supposed to write as an expression of friendship, affinity or respect. Consequently, it was common that writers in some way expressed their relation to the bridal

²⁰Consistorii Academici Aboensis Äldre Protokoller 1, 1884, 362.

²¹I.A. Heikel, *Filologins studium vid Åbo universitet*, 1894, 157.

²²Cf. Kajanto (n.19) 40.

²³E.g. TM 764, A3^v. It was popular to criticize the Pope and Catholicism, particularly in contemporary oratory.

²⁴Cf. C.I. Ståhle, *Vers och språk i Vasatidens och stormaktstidens svenska diktning*, 1975, 293.

couple at the end of the poem. As mentioned above, wedding poems could also be ordered and paid for. In some cases the motive to write in someone's honour might also have arisen from the aspiration for gaining merit or popularity.²⁵

The nuptial publications consist of from one to twenty poems, each poem varying from two to two hundred verses. Usually there are several poems by various authors in Latin and in Swedish, sometimes also in Greek, German and Finnish. In comparison with the other congratulatory, nuptial publications include more poems written in Swedish, which in the eighteenth century surpassed Latin as the language of occasional literature.²⁶ Moreover, vernacular translations or modifications of the Latin poem are sometimes added because the bride was not expected to understand Latin. However, there are several publications written completely in Latin and quite a number of Latin poems addressed directly to the bride with no vernacular translations. The common usage of addressing the bride a Latin poem, which she herself could not understand, was rather a question of style than an intention to address the bride personally: a poem became more coherent when attention was equally focused on both members of the bridal couple. However, I do not want to exclude fully the possibility that some women coming from learned families had some knowledge of Latin, although it is difficult to find any evidence for this.²⁷

The frontispieces of the nuptial publications carry various titles, among which *epithalamium/epithalamia*, *gamelion* (Greek γάμος, γαμήλιον)²⁸, *acclamatio votiva in nuptiis*, *sylvae* are the most frequent. If there are more than one or two contributors - as there were in most cases - the names are not mentioned on the title-pages. Instead, the contributors

²⁵Cf. P. Ridderstad, "Tryckt för tillfället", in: Den svenska boken 500 år (ed. H. Järv, 1983) 239-240.

²⁶P. Lilius, Språkval och ordval i tillfällesdiktningen i Finland 1700-1749, 1994, 85, 91.

²⁷At least one direct allusion can yet be found referring to the daughter to the famous professor and bishop Enevald Svenonius (TM 834, A2^r, a lapidary piece by Sveno Hielmberg): *Est Sponsa, / Qvae vos docta est omni loco venerari / Nata, educata, instituta in vestra schola*. See also Kajanto (n.19) 39 n.75.

²⁸Gamelion is one of the seven forms of epideictic discussed by Dionysius Halicarnassus, who defined it as a speech at a marriage, often discussing the question "Should a man marry?". G. Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World 300 B.C.-A.D.300*, 1972, 635.

are described with some common denominators, such as friends, fellow citizens, supporters, students, colleagues, etc. There is no information about the persons by whom the collections were edited; probably it was done by one of the contributors or in some cases by the bridegroom, who had ordered the publication.²⁹ It is probable that sometimes the only editorial work was carried out by the printer who arranged the poems the way he considered best. Ornamentations are usually simple, due to the modest conditions under which the first printing house began to operate in Turku in 1642. Towards the end of the seventeenth century ornamentations increase, becoming at the same time more elaborate. Most publications carry, at least on the title-page, a vignette where inside a laurel wreath, sometimes held by two angels, there are motifs symbolizing love and marital felicity: date palms, flowers, doves and rings. Vignettes are very often accompanied by one of two phrases: *Quod Deus Conjunxit, (Id) Homo Non Separet*³⁰; *Palma velut palmam ceu casta columba columbu(m) sic vero conjux coniuge(m) amore colat.*

During the first decades of the seventeenth century the special features of mannerism began to be seen in the Latin poetry written by Swedish and Finnish writers whose literary influences were usually brought home from their visits to the German universities.³¹ Anagrams were popular. Based on the idea of *nomen est omen* the letters of the names of the bride and bridegroom were combined so that they form a word or phrase which alludes to a certain moral quality characteristic of the owner of the name. Chronograms were frequent, especially on the title-pages: the numerical values of the Latin numbers can be added up providing the indication of the date of the wedding.³² Acrostics were also popular: the names of the bride and bridegroom may be read in words

²⁹There are, for instance, two publications composed for the wedding of Professor Andreas Thronius and Sara Meisner, which took place in Stockholm in 1657. One was composed by colleagues in Turku but it was evidently Thronius who had it printed in Stockholm. The other one was printed in Turku where Thronius' friends, who had also composed the poems, took care of the printing.

³⁰This text was often used in the Middle Ages in wedding addresses or sermons by priests. Cf. Forster (n.10) 123.

³¹K. Johannesson, *I polstjärnans tecken. Studier i svensk barock*, 1968, 15.

³²B. Dupriez, *A Dictionary of Literary Devices*. Translated and adapted by A.W. Halsall, 1991, 97; I. Kajanto, "Latin Verse Inscriptions in Medieval and Renaissance Rome", *Latomus* 52 (1993) 54-55.

formed by the initial letters of each line.³³ Different kinds of literary games were used: verses were written in columns, which can be read also upside-down when they have either exactly the same or a totally different meaning, one being sometimes pious and the other one more frivolous.³⁴ There are also poems - some of them quite long - in which all the words begin with the same initial letter. Moreover, there are some wedding congratulations composed in lapidary style, which was much more popular for funeral publications but, especially in the 1670s, it was employed in epithalamia as well.³⁵

The most common classical metres in wedding poems were the ones that were most frequent in Finnish neo-Latin poetry on the whole: elegiac couplets and dactylic hexameters. Apart from these, Sapphic verses were particularly popular in wedding poems. In addition, hendecasyllables, Horace's lyric metres and Alcaic stanzas were employed.³⁶

Menander Rhetor's elaborate survey of secular forms of praise includes twenty-three basic topics, among them the epithalamium. The types worked out by Menander and other rhetoricians for epideictic speeches became standard topics for poetry.³⁷ Menander's plan for an epithalamium includes the following five points: 1) proemium, 2) passage on god of marriage and encomium of the institution of marriage, 3) encomium of bride and bridegroom, 4) description of the bridal chamber, 5) prayer.³⁸ In the sixteenth century J.C. Scaliger codified the existing practice of composing epithalamia in his work of literary theory, *Poetices*

³³Johannesson (n.31) 15.

³⁴E.g. TM 1886, A3^v; TM 1985, A2^v.

³⁵E.g. TM 567, A3^v-A4^r; TM 624, A2^r; TM 807; TM 834, A2^r. For the style see J. Sparrow, *Visible Words. A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art*, 1969; P.S. Ridderstad, *Konsten att sätta punkt. Anteckningar om stenstilens historia 1400-1765*, 1975; J. IJsewijn, "Morcelli epigrafista tra erudizione umanistica ed arte neoclassica", in: *Atti del Colloquio su Stefano Antonio Morcelli, Milano - Chiara 2-3 ottobre 1987 (1990)* 13-40; R. Sarasti-Wilenius, "Latin Lapidary Style in Finland", *Arctos* 25 (1991) 121-132.

³⁶Cf. W. Ludwig, "The Catullan Style in Neo-Latin Poetry", in: *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition. Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (ed. P. Godman, O. Murray, 1990) 184; Heikel (n.21) 156.

³⁷E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 1973, 158; O.B. Hardison, *The Enduring Monument. A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary History and Practice*, 1962, 32.

³⁸D.A. Russel - N.G. Wilson (eds.), *Menander Rhetor*, 1981, 134-144.

libri septem (1561), well-known all over Europe. He advised to pay attention to the following six constituents: 1) desires of the bridegroom and bride, 2) encomium of the bride and groom, 3) good wishes, 4) reference to *lascivia lusisque* and expressions of mutual affection, 5) good wishes for future offspring, 6) call to sleep for the guests, call for the bridal pair to *ioci petulantiores*.³⁹ A detailed Finnish handbook of rhetoric, *Institutiones oratoriae* (Aboae 1669), by the Professor of Eloquence, Martin Miltopaeus, which was mostly compiled from various ancient and later rhetoricians, gives us perhaps the best idea of the pattern which was followed among the Finnish writers; at any rate, it reveals the authors and the works considered as the best models within this literary genre. Miltopaeus's structure for epithalamium is: 1) *proemium* (joy and solemnity of the wedding), 2) *laudes sponsi et sponsae*, 3) *conjugij commoda*, 4) *gratulationes*, 5) *vota*.⁴⁰ Miltopaeus' model is similar to that of Menander's, it only does not include a description of the bridal chamber and the god of wedding no longer plays such an important role. Unlike Scaliger, Miltopaeus does not allude explicitly to the sexual life of marriage. At the end of the chapter which deals with *orationes nuptiales et epithalamicae* Miltopaeus recommends among the ancient epithalamia, Catullus' number 64, Claudian's poems on the wedding of the Emperor Honorius with Stilicho's daughter Maria⁴¹, Statius' *Epithalamium in Stellam et Violentillam*, Martial's poem on the wedding of Pudens and Claudia and Buchanan's that of France and Mary Stuart. Among his contemporary epithalamists he recommends Heinsius, Grotius, Baudius, and Barlaeus. Finally he advised the reading of Pliny the Younger ep. 6,26.⁴²

It goes without saying that these topics given in the handbooks are not always to be found in all of the poems, the majority of which are often

³⁹Iulius Caesar Scaliger *Poetices libri septem*, Band III, herausgegeben, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert von Luc Deitz, 1995, 62-99.

⁴⁰Miltopaeus 414-416.

⁴¹There are six poems on the wedding of Honorius (Claud. 9-14), in addition to two poems on the wedding of his friend Palladius with Celerina (30,31).

⁴²Miltopaeus 416-417. It is interesting that Miltopaeus includes Buchanan (1506-1582) in the category of *veteres*, whereas Baudius (1561-1613) and Grotius (1583-1645), who also were born in the sixteenth century are called contemporaries. Heinsius refers to Daniel Heinsius' son Nicolaus (1620-81) who worked in the court of Queen Christina and prepared text editions of Ovid and Claudian.

relatively brief. The simplest type of wedding poem is a short prayer or *votum*, the contents of which will be discussed below (p.00). However, usually some other themes were connected and writers had to be content with *vota* only when they were short of time, a topos which is often mentioned at the end of the poem using such formulae as *Debitae gratulationis, honoris et observantiae declarandae ergo ita rudi et nimis festina manu tumultuarie, ex animo tamen, applaudebat N.N. or non ut voluit sed ut potuit festinus scribebat N.N.*

The poems often begin according to Miltopaeus' advice *a laetitia et festivitate nuptiarum*. Menander's suggestion to begin with a narrative is often observed.⁴³ Poems may have their settings in mythological surroundings or occasions, such as the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne or at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.⁴⁴ Apollo and the Muses are quite often the prime movers in the poems. In the poem to Professor Anders Thuronius and Sara Meisner by Johannes Schäder (1657), the nine Muses are invited to play different instruments. Muses appear bringing presents for the bride and the bridegroom: Calliope grants long life, Clio love, Euterpe children, Terpsichore health, Erato felicity, Melpomene wealth, Thalia joy, Polyhymnia fame and Urania piety and a happy departure from life.⁴⁵ Venus' power over human beings or the might of love is a frequent topic⁴⁶, affirmed sometimes with Virgil's *Amor vincit omnia et nos cedamus amori* (ecl. 10,69) or with thematically similar verses quoted from other ancient poets.⁴⁷ In some poems Venus, at the request of Cupido, brings the couple together, which is a theme originating with Statius.⁴⁸

Themes connected to the praise of the institution of marriage, such as the use and the origin of the marital institution, are frequently utilized.

⁴³Russel-Wilson (n.38) 136-137.

⁴⁴Cf. Catull. 64; R. Reitzenstein, "Die Hochzeit des Peleus und der Thetis", *Hermes* 35 (1900) 73-105. See Kajanto (n.19) 39.

⁴⁵TM 383. In TM 545, B2^v, Andreas Prytz employed a similar kind of motif: Apollo invites the Muses to play different instruments and to form an orchestra in order to celebrate the wedding.

⁴⁶TM 367, A2^v Venus says: *...Nec superos linqvunt; Agamemnon, Nestor, Achilles/ Tela trisulca meis manibus vibrata tremebant*. Cf. *Stat. silv.* 1,2,183-186

⁴⁷E.g.in TM 567, A1^v, there is quotation from Prop. 2,1,57-58. Cf. Castrén (n.3) 119-120.

⁴⁸Cf. Castrén (n.3) 113.

It is universally considered that God has ordered the structure of society to rest upon marriage by joining Adam and Eve as man and wife: *Inde potente manu primum Evam junxit Adamo/ Dicens: Esse homini solum non expedit unquam.*⁴⁹ Advantages and blessings of marriage versus disadvantages are an ancient theme sung by two choirs or debated in dialogues. In the seventeenth century it was popular theme in the Latin as well as in the vernacular wedding poetry. Misogynic motifs, which were more frequent in the vernacular poems, are to be found in few cases but even then they are disproved in the course of the poem and authors always reach the conclusion that the woman is worth marrying.⁵⁰ In *Discursus Deliberativus de conjugio* (1653) the author, Ericus Julinus, undertakes to refute the statement that describes a bachelor as always happier than a married man. First a wife is described with a number of unflattering adjectives:

... nam saepe est uxor demens et litigiosa.
est rixosa domi, morosa et adultera saepe,
difficilis, queribunda, procax, inamabilis, audax,
tristis, inepta, loquax, rugosa, pigra atque superba.⁵¹

The author, however, disagrees and instead praises a wife's fidelity to her husband, which was a topos in wedding poems. Moreover, he lists the good deeds which a wife can perform for a man's welfare: she takes care of him, cheers him when he is sad, relieves oppression and pains, counsels, consoles, helps, advises, makes love and last but not least gives birth to man's children. Julinus admits that a bad wife creates hellish circumstances, but assures that God (*Rector Olympi*) does not allow such a misfortune to befall a devout Christians.⁵² The above-listed good deeds of a wife occur repeatedly in the poems. Besides as the mother of a man's children, a wife is regarded as someone who makes a man's life happy and who gives comfort to a man in the adversities and miseries of earthly

⁴⁹TM 930, A2^r.

⁵⁰E.g. Laurentius Ulm-Grehn, *ZHTHΣΙΣ ΓΑΜΙΚΗ An uxor ducenda in utramque partem, Carmine elegiaco disputata atque decisa in honorem nuptiarum Ambrosii Nidelbergs et Catharina Etholaeniae* 1679 (TM 764). Cf. n.28. Cf. Olsson (n.3) 50-51.

⁵¹TM 306, A1^v.

⁵²TM 306, A2^r: ... *mulier mala quotidiana Gehenna est/ Nil tamen hinc sequitur, nam talem Rector Olympi/ Non dabit assiduo se pectore mente colenti.*

life.⁵³ Moreover, a wife is often considered to be more *fida/fidelis* to her husband than his friends, brothers or even mother.⁵⁴ In the poem addressed to Magister Andreas Indrenius and Elisabeth Teet, daughter of a pastor (1689), Andreas Henricius is not firmly convinced that marriage can bring any good but honour. In the whole corpus of material, Henricius expresses one of the least enthusiastic thoughts about taking a wife by assuring the bridegroom that his liberty is totally lost now.⁵⁵ The theme of man's personal liberty and its loss in marriage recurs particularly in poems addressed to academic persons by their colleagues. Professor Anders Thuronius, who himself had married two years earlier, asks the bridegroom, Magister Claudius Holstius (1659): 'Dear Magister, do you ask why you are taking a wife, who usually increases manifold man's worries? Why do you exchange your liberty with which Nature blessed you for female bonds?' Nevertheless the author continues by giving grave arguments on the advantages of being a married man over being single.⁵⁶ A similar kind of empathy as the regretting of the loss of man's personal liberty is shown to the bride only in few cases. Anders Hestadius addresses a question to Claudius Holstius' bride, Anna Brennera: 'Shall I congratulate or shall I grieve now when you are so early leaving maidenhood?'⁵⁷

In the wedding poems addressed to a person who belonged to the learned circles it is a popular theme to treat the competitive position of personified Wisdom, Sophia, and the actual bride. The poem may be constructed as follows: The bridegroom has chosen earlier to love Sophia or sometimes Sophia is said to have taken the initiative and chosen the man as her own and a problematic situation arises now when the man is taking another wife. The authors state that it is legally forbidden to take two

⁵³E.g. in TM 409, A3^v: "*Sit tibi, quam duxti, virgo decus atque levamen/ Purpureoque malum frangat amore tuum*".

⁵⁴E.g. in TM 394, A2^v: *Fidior est socijs, est fratre fidelior uxor/ et matris vincit candida nupta fidem/ Rara fides socijs, semper fidissima conjunx.*

⁵⁵TM 1156, A1^v-A2^r: *Sic, mihi crede, tibi libertas perdita tota est, / ... Omnis honor onus est, honor uxor namque mariti / Fortiter inde feras, est honor est quoque onus. . Cf. Ov. her. 9,31.*

⁵⁶TM 409, A1^v: *Quaereris? uxorem cur ducas, clare Magister / Quae curas svevit multiplicare Viri? / Cur libertatem qua Te Natura beavit / Vendas foeminea in vincla parata ruens? / Causa Tibi in promptu est. Vacuo nam vivere lecto/ displicet...*

⁵⁷TM 409, A4^r: *Gratulor an doleam? quod tu nunc Anna relinquis/ Tam propere vitae tempora virgineae.*

wives, but the combination of Sophia and a mortal wife can be achieved without any conflicts if the two ladies are taking care of their respective responsibilities. The situation brings a man double pleasure. In the poem composed by Michael Jurvelius to celebrate the wedding of his colleague, Professor Axel Kempe and Agneta Holm, daughter of a pastor (1654), the different positions and the division of the responsibilities and tasks between Sophia and the bride Agneta are clearly shown: `May Sophia cheer you up whenever you want intellectual inspiration, Agneta may cheer up your worldly body. Sophia will be awake with you until nightfall, Agneta will be company for you when you sleep ... So you have company for better for worse, learned virgin out, faithful wife at home'.⁵⁸

The material includes many different kinds of dialogues which was a typical form of a wedding poem. Dialogues between Cupid and Venus were a characteristic of the Roman epithalamium. Also the ancient eclogue, which had much in common with the epithalamium, employed alternately sung dialogues.⁵⁹ The most typical kind of dialogue in the material is a dialogue between bride and bridegroom but also various other types of dialogues can be found.⁶⁰ Those conversing may as well be members of the families of the bridal couple as mythological characters or personified objects. Just to pick out one example representing the last group mentioned, one could choose the idyllic *Dialogus Nuptialis inter Auram flumen et Cupisalem fontem* by Petrus Gyllenius, in which the reader is taken to the surroundings of Turku to listen to how the well of Kupittaa and the river Aura, calling each others sisters, are delightfully chatting about the *Sponsus* and the *Sponsa*, about their families, virtues, etc. The well is asking questions and the river, answering, praises the bridal couple and their families.⁶¹

Many dialogues in my material refer to the moment when a young girl is leaving her parents' house, a motif already familiar from ancient

⁵⁸TM 330, A4^r-A4^v: *Te Sophia oblectat, quotiens vis pascere mentem./ Agneta munditiem corporis usque juvat./ Invigilat tecum Musis, sedet adque lucernam / Illa: Haec te socium, sic ubi dormis, habet./ ... Ergo tibi comes est, jam a dextris jamque sinistris / Docta virago foris, Nupta pudica domi. Cf. TM 338, A4^r: Illa (Sophia) foris praestat doctrinae encomia, famam/ Ista (the bride) domi amplexus, basia blanda, jocos.*

⁵⁹Keydell (n.4) 928; Wilson (n.4) 36-38.

⁶⁰A dialogue between bride and bridegroom was also the most used form in the oldest Swedish wedding poetry. See Castrén (n.3) 104.

⁶¹TM 337, A1^v-A3^v.

epithalamia.⁶² These poems give us a glimpse of the mixed emotions evoked by the occasion which marked a turning point in a girl's life. They are concerned with the social aspect of the wedding: the bride becomes a member of a new family. Dialogues are often set at the bride's home which she must leave now and, like in Catullus (61,81), the bride leaves her parents' home crying. In *Dialogus Neonymphorum* written by Gabriel Hammar to Andreas Heinricius and Catharina Thesleff (1658), the bridegroom asks the bride to say good-bye to her parents and fulfill her duty by following him to his father's house. The bride, fully conscious of her duty, however, cannot move herself for the gnawing grief and for the tears trickling down her cheeks. The bridegroom admits that the parent's love is important but promises to love her and to treat her tenderly, if she behaves well. The bridegroom argues that private homes under a man's dominance promote the well-being of the fatherland, after which the bride - encouraged - is ready to follow him swearing fidelity: *Sum tua teque sequens una tua iussa capesso*.⁶³ This poem affirms the divinely ordered structure of the society, into which the bridal couple enters and moreover, it reflects woman's position in general. According to the laws, all women except widows had to be under a man's guardianship. Marriage meant transition from a father's guardianship to that of a husband's.⁶⁴ The Professor of Ethics and History, Michael Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe, discussed marriage and home life including woman's position in *Oeconomia* (Aboae 1645), a handbook of practical philosophy. According to the *Oeconomia*, a man is the head of the family. He has to treat his wife well, who for her part has to obey, respect and love him. A wife has to be hard-working, humble, helpful, tidy and taciturn. Together they are to be patient, to correct each other's faults and defects and to maintain harmony. The wedding poems reflect very well these ideas and the values presented

⁶²Cf. Catull. 61.

⁶³TM 394, A4^r-A4^v. Cf. Verg. Aen. 1,77.

⁶⁴R. Nilsson, *Kvinnosyn i Sverige. Från drottning Kristina till Anna Maria Lenngren*, 1973, 76.

in Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe's work.⁶⁵

The dialogues between bride and bridegroom repeat the responsibilities of man and wife and mutual promises of love and faithfulness. The most individual and tender expressions can be found in these dialogues. In the chorus of *Blandum Colloquium inter Neonymphos* (1688), an anonymous poem addressed to Jonas Pacchalenius and Catharina Henricia, both of the newly married affirm their love for each other and encourage each other to physical love.⁶⁶ In this poem, as often in dialogues between bride and bridegroom, the bride promises to give herself totally to the bridegroom: *Do tibi me totam, totam me sumque datura/ Spiritus hos artus, dum regit atque fovet.*⁶⁷ The significance of love was, however, in these poems different from what we think of as love between husband and wife today. Love was then considered as a consequence of marriage not a prerequisite for it, and individuals did not play as big part as families when marriages were contracted.⁶⁸

The praise of the bridal couple, one of the primary elements of an epithalamium, is often carried out in dialogues between the bridal couple. In shorter poems the praise may be expressed by naming some single virtues. It is noteworthy that in these shorter poems brides more often than bridegrooms are described with adjectives representing virtues. This reminds us of the fact that all these poems were composed by men and since written in Latin they were also in the first place addressed to other men. Convincing men of women's good qualities would be quite a natural thing in such wedding poems. In the *Blandum Colloquium inter Neonymphos*, quoted above, the bridegroom praises the bride's piety, chastity, modesty and respectability. He considers them to be more

⁶⁵Feminist influences began to be felt in Sweden in the seventeenth century but new attitudes were not to be found in the Latin dissertations concerning marriage before 1680-1730 when ideas of natural law began to spread in Sweden-Finland under the influence of Samuel Pufendorf's work *De jure naturae et gentium*, published in Lund in 1672. In the treatises on marriage written during this period all people are considered equal in nature; man is considered superior in marriage but this right is thought to have originated in the wife's consent. Nilsson (n.64) 139. See also M.J. Heath, "Erasmus and the Laws of Marriage", in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis. Proceedings of the Eight International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (1994) 477-484.

⁶⁶TM 1102, A1^v-A2^r: *Expetis amplexus? amplectere: basia? fige/ In gremio esse? veni: concubuisse? cuba.*

⁶⁷Cf. Verg. Aen. 4,336.

⁶⁸See Castrén (n.3) 26-27; Nilsson (n.64) 173.

important than her good family using thus the ancient topos in which the significance of a person's *virtus* and *genus* are opposed.⁶⁹ The bride names the cases of Jason and Medea, Demophon and Phyllis, Hippolytus and Phaedra as examples of perilous relationships, whereas Penelope's behaviour sets the bride a good example: she was cautious and thus always beloved. In many poems the bride's virtues are described with simple adjectives, such as *pia*, *pulchra*, *casta*, *pudica*, *proba*. These qualities were universally thought appropriate for women and they not only occurred in epithalamia but also in contemporary funerary poems, orations and treatises.⁷⁰

Going to bed was the last act in the series of legal acts which were necessary for the marriage to be sanctioned.⁷¹ Associated with one of the main purposes of the marriage, the marital bed was a central concept of the whole institution. Consequently, in certain cases the expression 'to have a woman in one's bed' was equal 'to be married'.⁷² In wedding poems the erotic side of this juridical act is widely celebrated. According to Scaliger's prescriptions, allusions to sexual intercourse constituted an essential part of wedding poems (*lascivia lususque, ioci petulantiores*).⁷³ Although Miltopaeus does not explicitly refer to this topic in his *Institutiones oratoriae*, the Latin wedding poems by his contemporary Finns are full of allusions to weddings as an erotic event. Authors often congratulate the bride and bridegroom on the new joys of marital bed (*gratulor ex animo vobis nova gaudia lecti*) and on the pleasures of nighttime, or they encourage them to make love: *Ludite! in amplexu blando quin ora ligate/ suavia captantes basia basiolis*.⁷⁴ Even the brevity of a poem is sometimes excused with the desire not to delay these pleasures of marriage.⁷⁵ These types of wordings are perhaps closest to Scaliger's plan in which at the end

⁶⁹This was a frequent topic in contemporary oratory. Cf. Russell-Wilson (n.38) 140-143.

⁷⁰Cf. Kajanto (n.19) 180.

⁷¹L. Carlsson, " 'Jag giver dig min dotter'. Trolovning och äktenskap i den svenska kvinnans historia 1", Rättshistoriskt bibliotek 8 (1965) 137.

⁷²E.g. in TM 764, A4^r-A4^v: *Inque tuo lecto nunc Etholaenia sit;/ Utere jure tuo casta est, quae ducitur uxor/ nunc potens licito laetus amore frui/ Ut leges canonesque jubent usu cape sponsam/ Conspicuum vera cum pietate decus.*

⁷³See Forster (n.10) 132.

⁷⁴TM 314; TM 1688, A2^v.

⁷⁵E.g. TM 1056, A2^v: *Jungat sic vos verus amor, mutua jungat gratia/ Et nectat bina vestra corpora dulci jugo/ Sed non longum carmine remoretur haec nova gaudia.*

of the poem the guests are called upon to go to sleep whereas the nuptial pair is encouraged to start their night together.

The similarity of bride and bridegroom is a popular theme of the wedding poems. In the classical epithalamium love unites two equals, equally distinguished in birth, age and qualities of mind and body.⁷⁶ In the poem written for the wedding of Magister Johan Liljevan and Catharina Murenia, daughter of a pastor (1656), the author, Professor Eric Justander, plays with the words *par - compar - impar*. His message is: 'if you want marry successfully, marry a woman who is your equal, because a dissimilar couple is not a couple at all and will separate'.⁷⁷ In connection with this topic it was popular to employ the rural metaphor originating in Ovid's *Heroides* 9,29-32, quoted by Wexionius-Gyldenstolpe in his *Oeconomia* (p.26).⁷⁸ In Andreas Mathesius' elegiac poem to his brother Josephus and Maria Thorwöst, the main theme of the whole poem is the similarity in origin, faith, fortune and virtues:

*Vir sociam cupiens Thalami, similem sibi quaerat
Nubat virgo pari, nubere quando volet
Pagina sacra monet, pariter monuere priores
Apte conveniunt, namque pares socij.
Ut monuere pij, frater, sic rite secutus
es, sociam similem ducere dum sat agis...
Ambo pares estis vos religione fideque ...
Ambo pares animae, fortunae, et corporis estis
Dotibus eximijs, sitis et una caro.⁷⁹*

He produces evidence for the similarity of the future man and wife from the advice in the Bible and from earlier generations. The frequency of this topic is probably partly due to the seventeenth century interest in

⁷⁶Himerii sophistae Declamationes integrae XXXIV (emendavit Fr. Dübner, MDCCCXLIX) 41-42; Wilson (n.4) 38, 55.

⁷⁷TM 367, A1^v.

⁷⁸TM 367, A1^v: *Quam male inaequales veniunt ad aratra juvenci/ si qua voles apte nubere, nube pari!* is a word-for-word quotation from Ovid. Cf. TM 369, A2^r-A2^v: *Urat amor caste sed non exurat amantes/ Ambo ut amore pares, ambo et honore pares./ Sic pariles parili veniunt aetate jugales/ Parque jugo compar dulce ferendo pari./ Tam bene conveniunt similes ad aratra jugales/ Intemerata fides, intemeratus amor.*

⁷⁹TM 522, A4^r.

maintaining the class society and preventing social mobility.⁸⁰ Although the classes were not totally closed and some kind of social mobility occurred, the class distinction was observed particularly carefully when it concerned marriage. L. Gustafsson considers that the marriages contracted across the social classes actualized the propaganda against mixed marriages which manifested itself e.g. in the wedding poetry of the time.⁸¹ In the Finnish Latin wedding poems the propagandist function is to be seen but it should not be one-sidedly overestimated. It is also a question of an ancient literary topos of the genre.

Considering all the material, it is the contents of the *Votum* that is perhaps the most homogenous feature in these poems.⁸² This is to be seen also in similar kinds of phrases and expressions employed in *Vota*. A *Votum* is either a separate short poem, independent or annexed to a longer poem, or - as in most cases - consists of the last few verses of a poem asking God to bless the bride and the bridegroom with a long and happy life, with a peaceful marriage without major quarrels, with many children and grandchildren and finally with a happy departure from this life and an eternal life in Heaven.⁸³ Authors almost never neglect to point out that the main purpose of marriage is to perpetuate their line and the sooner they have children and grandchildren the better. Such a wish is fairly standard in this genre, it appears in Himerios' plan for a wedding speech but it already is conspicuous in Catullus.⁸⁴ Having early grandchildren is also a topos typical of the genre.⁸⁵ Although the content of the *Votum* is always Christian, expressions usually derive from classical mythology. God is named Jupiter and particularly often *Altitonans*, an epithet of Jupiter. Also

⁸⁰L. Gustafsson, "Litteratur och miljö", in: Kultur och samhälle i stormaktstidens Sverige (ed. Dahlgren, Ellenius, Gustafsson, Larsson, 1967) 115.

⁸¹Gustafsson (n.79) 115-116.

⁸²Miltopaeus 416, advises to compose a *Votum* as follows: *Deinque vota nuncupabimus ut quae praediximus futura, spe majora eveniant omnia, ut divitijs abundantes, liberis felices, concordia et amicitijs laeti, ab adversis immunes, vitam longam et felicem in terris degant, suorum etiam nuptias liberorum videant et tandem in caelis triumphent.*

⁸³E.g. TM 545, B2^v: *Aspiret vobis semper benedictio caeli:/ Atque animos certo firmet amore fides!/ Sint procul infaustae voces et jurgia saeva! Pectora jungat Eros, turpis et absit Eris!/ Jucundam thalamo sobolem producite vestro!/ Ut fructu grato splendeat ipsa domus./ Felices longam laeti traducite vitam/ Vos tandem capiat regia celsa Dei!*

⁸⁴Himerii sophistae Declamationes 43; Catull. 61,204; Stat. silv. 1,2,266.

⁸⁵Cf. Plin. epist. 6,26.

moderator/rector Olympi refers frequently to God.⁸⁶ It is hoped that the bride and bridegroom live *Nestoreos annos*, *Pylios annos* or *Sibyllinos annos*.⁸⁷ Even Heaven is referred to with pagan expressions, for instance, Olympus or *celestia Tempe*. Zacharias Forbus finishes his elegant poem with the prayer full of ancient references:

*Vestros non visitet furiens Bellona penates
Agmina nec Martis, quae rubuere diu
Sed quot sunt Magni rutilantia sidera Olympi
Tot bona, tot vitae fata secunda precor.*⁸⁸

To conclude it can be stated that the Finnish corpus of Latin wedding poems is composed by writers of different abilities. This article describing the material in such general terms hardly does justice to the poems which deserve to be discussed in greater detail for their literary merits. I hope I am able to return to them in the future. The corpus as such bears witness to educated people's facility to versify in Latin in the seventeenth century, thanks to an education which gave instruction in composing Latin verses from the very beginning. Although the publications are usually multilingual, Latin was still the most used language in occasional writings in seventeenth century Finland. The forms and the topics of the poems derive mostly from ancient epithalamia. However, there are to be found some new topics connected particularly to the learned middle-class, the most prominent group of writers and addressees of these poems. Classical mythology, either as a literary ornament or in Christian use, is an essential feature. Secondly, the corpus of printed poems, devoted to a family occasion, are interesting as a cultural and social phenomenon: they were an integral part of weddings of the well-to-do families, a kind of status symbol. In the poems the newly married are entering the divinely ordered structure of society, in which the wife is under the man's guardianship and together they are to fulfill their duties to God and fatherland with love, joy and pleasure. Thus the poems are celebrating three different aspects of the wedding: as a religious, as a social (or juridical) and as an erotic event.

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⁸⁶TM 832, A4^v.

⁸⁷TM 1830, A2^v. Cf. Ov. trist. 5,5,62.

⁸⁸TM 1987, A2^v.

GAIUS RABIRIUS POSTUMUS: A ROMAN FINANCIER AND CAESAR'S POLITICAL ALLY*

MARY SIANI-DAVIES

Gaius Rabirius Postumus is largely known to history because of one speech delivered in his defence by Cicero in 54/53 BC. Within *Pro Rabirio Postumo* rhetorical expediency and political necessity prompt Cicero to cast his client as a man of little more than mediocre attainments, a mere equestrian banker whose only moment of transient glory was as a bit part player in the complicated imbroglios surrounding the Egyptian king Ptolemy XII Auletes.¹ But what is the truth behind this rhetorical and legalistic smokescreen? In this article I would like to suggest that the Gaius Rabirius Postumus of Cicero's speech is also a) the man referred to as Curtius, Postumus or Curtius Postumus in Cicero's correspondence, b) the Postumus mentioned in a newly discovered papyrological fragment, c) the proconsul Gaius Rabirius of the Delos inscription, d) the Postumius of Appian's narrative of the civil war and e) the Rabirius Postumus of Caesar's account of the African war. The aim of this prosopographical exercise is both to pull together facts which have long been established, but are vexingly scattered or unexplored, as well as to present a fresh evaluation of Postumus' career, not only as a remarkably successful Roman entrepreneur, but also as a public figure of considerable standing, and a political ally of Caesar who can be ranked alongside those termed by Gelzer his 'cabinet ministers': Gaius Pansa, Aulus Hirtius, Cornelius Balbus, Gaius Oppius and Gaius Matius.²

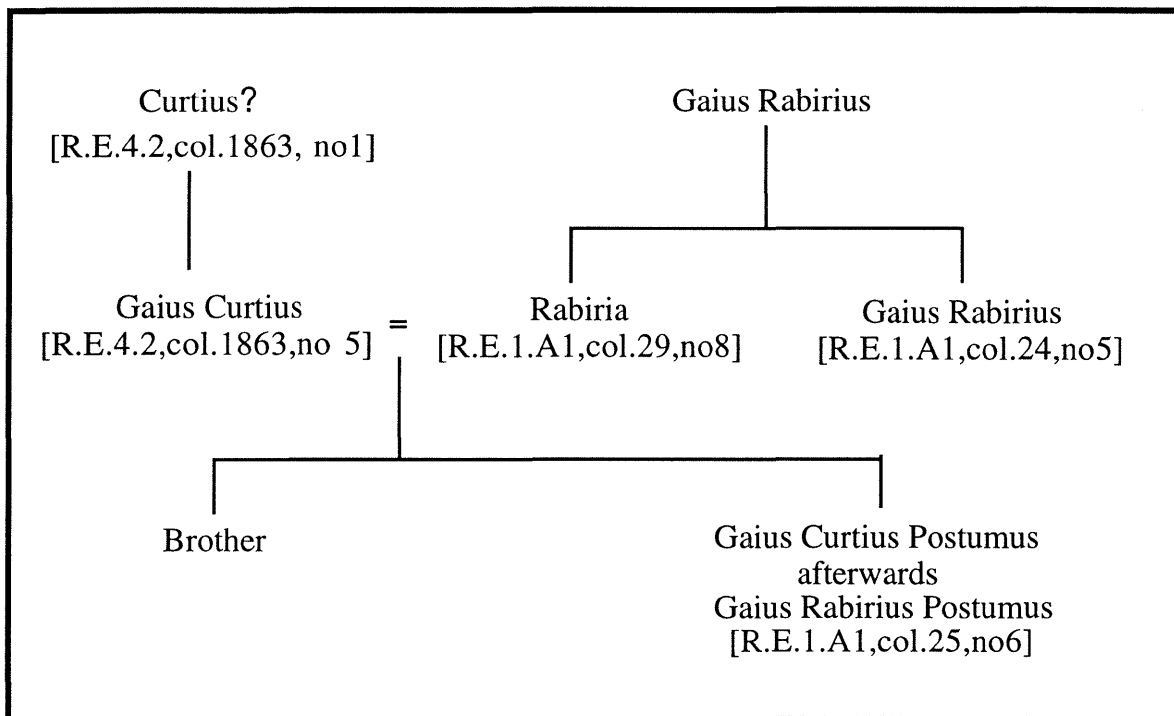
By resolving the onomastic confusion that has surrounded references

* I wish to express my gratitude to Professors Herwig Maehler, Heikki Solin and Olli Salomies and Mr. John Carter for kindly reading drafts of this article and making a number of pertinent suggestions. I am also grateful to the British Council for financing a visit to the "Institutum Classicum" (University of Helsinki) which aided the research for this article.

¹ Cic. Rab. Post. 23.

² M. Gelzer, *Caesar, Politician and Statesman*, Oxford 1968, 273.

to Postumus³ in the sources and re-evaluating old and new epigraphic material this article, in particular, sheds new light on: a) the identity of Postumus' father and his fate together with the implications of this for Postumus' *cognomen*, b) the breadth and scale of Postumus' business activities, both in Italy and abroad, as measured by the geographic distribution of amphoras bearing his stamp and inscriptions referring to his many freedmen and women, c) his activities as *dioecetes* in Alexandria after the restoration of Ptolemy XII Auletes, d) the extent of Caesar's financial involvement in the Egyptian venture and, in particular, his relations with Postumus after the latter's appointment as *dioecetes*, and finally, e) the date of Postumus' proconsulship in Asia.



³ In order to aid comprehension from the outset I would like to make it clear that in all cases, whatever the actual name used in the sources, when I believe that the person in question is C. Rabirius Postumus, I will refer to him simply as Postumus in the text with the name found in the sources being given in brackets in the note.

Gaius Rabirius Postumus was the son of Gaius Curtius and Rabiria and, probably, first bore the name Gaius Curtius [Postumus].⁴ He seems to have had at least one elder brother, who was rumoured to have met an untimely and slightly suspicious end, since during the trial of Postumus' uncle on his mother's side, C. Rabirius, Cicero, who acted for his defence, mentions an old allegation that his client was accused of murdering his nephew—the brother of Postumus.⁵ This charge was levelled at a time when C. Curtius, the father of Postumus, was on trial, with the prosecution claiming that the death in the family had been used as an excuse to postpone legal proceedings, but, as Cicero relates in dismissing the accusation, it is difficult to believe that an uncle would be more attached to his brother-in-law than his nephew.

The family into which Postumus was born was of solid equestrian stock. His father, C. Curtius, is described by Cicero, who avers that he knew him from his youth, as a most valiant leader of the equestrian order and an eminent *publicanus* who engaged in tax-farming and money-lending.⁶ Other members of what appears to have been the same or a related family, the Curtii Postumi, seem to have been of sufficient importance for Verres to have bribed them to gain their political support in his bid for the praetorship, and it would seem possible that C. Curtius, the father of Postumus, was also to be numbered amongst those businessmen powerful enough to influence political decisions.⁷ Little else is known for certain about C. Curtius' career except that at one time he was arraigned for embezzling public funds and burning public archives, and, although the circumstances surrounding this trial remain unclear, from two similar cases involving arson attacks on targets of the same nature, it

⁴ Cic. Rab. Perd. 8; Rab. Post. 45; RE 1A1, col. 25, no 6; H. Dessau, "Gaius Rabirius Postumus", *Hermes* 46 (1911) 613-20; *idem* "Gaius Rabirius Postumus", *Hermes* 47 (1913) 320.

⁵ Cic. Rab. Perd. 8. It is not certain that this brother was older, but given the fact that Postumus was said never to have seen his father's face (Rab. Post. 4) it must be presumed that any other child was born before him.

⁶ Cic. Rab. Post. 3, 45; RE 4.2, cols 1863-1864, nos 5 and 6. Cicero presumably met Postumus' father after his move to Rome in 96, when he was ten years old, see Cic. Leg. 1.13; Brut. 303.

⁷ Cic. 2Ver. 1.100, 102, 158; for details on the exact order of the names see below n. 11, and for the Curtii Postumi being listed amongst other successful businessmen see C.T. Barlow, *Bankers, Moneylenders, and Interest Rates in the Roman Republic*, Diss., Chapel Hill, NC 1978, 208.

seems that such drastic action was usually only taken in a desperate effort to destroy evidence of bad debts or, perhaps, criminal activities such as forgery.⁸ The date of the trial is unknown, although, since it is mentioned during the trial of C. Rabirius in 63, it must have occurred before that date, and Cicero also tells us that C. Curtius was honourably acquitted because of his impeccable character.⁹

It has often been suggested that Postumus was given the *cognomen* 'Postumus' because he was born after his father's death, the evidence coming from a passage in *Pro Rabirio Postumo* in which Cicero states that his client had never seen his father.¹⁰ However, set against this argument there is evidence that 'Postumus' was a name associated with the Curtii family, since two contemporaries of C. Curtius, Q. Curtius Postumus (a juror) and Cn. Curtius Postumus, bore the same appellation, and it would seem likely that these two individuals, as members of the Curtii Postumi family, were probably related to Postumus.¹¹ A careful study of the

⁸ Cic. Rab. Perd. 8. For the trials of an *eques*, Quintus Sossius, who confessed to the crime of burning the *tabularium*, and that of Lucius Alenus, who committed the same act because he forged the handwriting of six senior treasury clerks, see Nat. Deor. 3.74; W.B. Tyrrell, *A Legal and Historical Commentary on Cicero's Oratio Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo*, Amsterdam 1978, 66-67.

⁹ For C. Curtius and his impeccable character see Cic. Rab. Perd. 8; the C. Curtius of the MSS is generally accepted as being C. Curtius.

¹⁰ Cic. Rab. Post. 4. Amongst those who suggest that Postumus was named 'Postumus' on account of his birth are Dessau, "Gaius", 614 (as in n. 4), P. Guiraud, *Études économiques sur l' antiquité*, 2nd ed., Paris 1905, 205, C. Nicolet, *L' ordre équestre à l' époque républicaine (312-43 av. J.-C.)*, 2 vols, Paris 1966-1974, 2.1000 and I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 295. Ancient authors testify to the importance of personal names obtained from the 'circumstances of birth', see Quint. 1.4.25; Varr. L. L. 9.60-62 ' . . . qui post patris mortem, Postumus'; Plin. Nat. 7.150.

¹¹ Cic. 2Ver. 1.100, 102, 158. The standard reading 'cum Q. et Cn. Postumis Curtiis' is in fact an emendation by Ps-Asconius of the original MS which read 'Q. Q. Postumus Curtus', see T. Stangl, *Ciceronis Orationum Scholiastae*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1912, 2.247. The order of the names 'Postumi Curtii' here is rather puzzling, because inversion of a name and a surname was customary only if the *praenomen* was not stated. Here, however, Cicero seems to have inverted them despite the presence of a *praenomen*; for possible interpretations see Nicolet, *L' ordre équestre*, 2.861, 1000 (as in n. 10) and D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Onomasticon to Cicero's Speeches*, Cambridge, Mass. 1988, 43. A recently discovered and as yet unpublished inscription ('Q. CURT. POST. L. NOEUS' and 'CURTIA Q. L. SERAPIAS') also attests to the status of the Curtii Postumi, as two freedmen, a man and a woman, both bear the name of one of the members of the family—I would like to thank Professor Gian Luca Gregori of the University of Rome for drawing my attention to this inscription. 'Postumus' was an ancient *praenomen* which became more

language used by Cicero in *Pro Rabirio Postumo* also raises some doubts as to the fate of Postumus' father. It is striking that Cicero instead of explicitly referring to his death chooses a more equivocal form of words when he declares that the young Postumus had never laid eyes on his father (*quamvis patrem numquam viderat*), with this ambiguity being further accentuated by the rare employment of *quamvis* with the indicative *viderat* conveying hypothetical overtones which would not otherwise be present if the more emphatically objective *quamquam* had been employed.¹² Could it be that the young Postumus did not know his father for reasons other than his death and that he took the *cognomen* 'Postumus' from another prominent branch of his agnatic family, the Curtii Postumi, perhaps in order to shun some dishonour associated with his father's name?¹³ Nothing is known for certain, but a single source provides the grounds for a tentative suggestion that C. Curtius may have been forced into exile at the time of his son's birth or shortly afterwards.

This evidence can be found in correspondence addressed by Cicero in 45 to his staunch friend and at the time legate in Etruria, Q. Valerius Orca, concerning land holdings in Volaterrae.¹⁴ Since the time of Sulla the Volaterrans had been left in a precarious position *vis à vis* their lands, which by law belonged to the state as *ager publicus*.¹⁵ Several times over the intervening years proposals had been made to redistribute the lands, and when in 45 the issue once more came to the fore, Cicero, for political

prominent in the Republican period as a *cognomen*, as in the cases of T. Furfanius Postumus (Cic. Fam. 6.8.3), Q. Seius Postumus (Cic. Dom. 115), L. Servilius Postumus (Cic. Fam. 12.26.1) and many others recorded in CIL I²; see also Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 41, 295 (as in n. 10). On forms of address in the time of Cicero see J.N. Adams, "Conventions of Naming in Cicero", CQ (NS) 28 (1978) 165-66.

¹² Cic. Rab. Post. 4; R. Kühner, F. Holzweissig & C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, 2 vols., Hannover 1912, 2.443 and E. Pasoli, *Saggi di Grammatica Latina*, 2nd ed., Bologna 1966, 71-75.

¹³ A number of probable analogues to Postumus' case can be found in D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*, Atlanta, Georgia 1991, 52.

¹⁴ Cic. Fam. 13.4-5; for Q. Valerius Orca's support for Cicero's recall from exile whilst he was *praetor* in 57 see Cic. Red. Sen. 23.

¹⁵ W.V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, 264, 274. Volaterrae's inhabitants were punished with loss of civil rights (unconstitutionally) and confiscation of property (constitutionally) by Sulla because of their long (two years) resistance to his army, see Cic. Dom. 79 and R. Seager, "Sulla", in J.A. Crook, A. Lintott & E. Rawson (eds.), CAH 9, Cambridge 1994, 203.

friend Valerius Orca, who seems to have been in charge of assigning property in Volaterrae to Caesar's veterans, asking him on behalf of the whole population of the city to exercise restraint.¹⁶ Then, perhaps because his first appeal fell on deaf ears, Cicero persevered in his request with a second more personal epistle in which he vigorously pleads (*vehementer rogo*) with the legate to show his generosity and understanding and spare, in particular, the property of one C. Curtius on the grounds that if his lands were to be seized he would be unable to support his newly acquired status as a senator, recently granted by none other than Caesar himself.¹⁷

From this letter we learn that this C. Curtius, who seems to have been not of local origins, is an old and very close friend of Cicero and a victim of the Sullan proscriptions who was forced into exile. He appears to have lost almost his entire fortune upon proscription and after his rehabilitation, which was secured with Cicero's help, he had subsequently sunk 'the wreck of his estate' into a property in Volaterrae. However, either because the land purchased by C. Curtius had not been accompanied by a clearly specified title of ownership or because the purchaser had failed to pay the full sum due, his holding appears to have been a target of the land redistributions instituted by Caesar in 45.¹⁸ The identity of this C. Curtius has never been established, but he might have been the son of the man attested in another Ciceronian speech, a professional prosecutor who, although he had already withdrawn from the bar because of old age, still fell victim to the Sullan proscriptions, being killed near the Servilian basin

¹⁶ The cities of Italy and especially Volaterrae staunchly supported Cicero's consulship and toiled hard to bring him back from exile, see Cic. Dom. 28, 75; for the letter see Cic. Att. 1.19.4, and for speculations about its date see D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero, Epistulae ad Familiares, 2 vols, Cambridge 1977, 2.459 where he suggests it was written either after Caesar's return from Spain in September 45 or during his third dictatorship between April 46 and April 45.

¹⁷ Cic. Fam. 13.4.1; Att. 1.19.4; P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower, 225 B.C - A.D 14, Oxford 1971, 323 and E. Deniaux, "Les recommandations de Cicéron et la colonisation césarienne: les terres de Volterra", Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz 2 (1991) 226f.

¹⁸ For a possible date for this purchase see Brunt, Italian Manpower, 323-25 (as in n. 17) who suggests that it might have fallen after 59, when Caesar had exempted the *ager Volaterranus* from redistribution. The same land had also been under threat of distribution in 63 (Cic. Fam. 13.4.1-2) and 60 (Cic. Att. 1.19.4).

in Rome where the heads of the slain accused were exposed.¹⁹

No further evidence is available as to the identity of Cicero's friend, C. Curtius, but if the known facts are compared enough evidence emerges to allow for a tentative suggestion to be made that this man could have been the father of our Postumus: a) He went into exile at the time of Sulla which is about the time Postumus should have been born, allowing Cicero to make his remark that Postumus had not seen his father. b) He was then an *eques*, the same rank as Postumus' father.²⁰ c) Within the letter Cicero declares that he was an old and very close friend of C. Curtius (*familiarissimus*), having known him since his youth, when he was evidently older. He makes a similar statement regarding his familiarity with Postumus' father in *Pro Rabirio Postumo (pueris nobis)* suggesting that in both cases the man in question was probably at least ten years older than Cicero being born around 116.²¹ d) Although the length of C. Curtius' exile is unknown Cicero seems to have been working for the rehabilitation of some of those who suffered at this time as late as 63.²² If Postumus' father had suffered exile it might help explain the rather unexpected and puzzling assertion by Cicero in the peroration of *Pro Rabirio Postumo* that his client had been particularly attentive to the cause of exiles assisting morally and financially not only Cicero himself but also many others through his 'generosity'.²³ e) C. Curtius seems to have been raised to the senate at an advanced age (he must have been around 70 years old in 45). Why Caesar should choose to bestow such a status on an old and apparently obscure man is difficult to understand, although it has been suggested that special reward was given to members of the families who

¹⁹ For C. Curtius see D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's letters to his Friends*, Atlanta, Georgia 1988, 482; *idem*, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 2.460 (as in n. 16); RE 4.2, col. 1864, no 6; for the father of C. Curtius see Cic. Rosc. Amer. 90; RE 4.2, col. 1863, no 1; F. Hinard, *Les proscriptions de la Rome républicaine*, Rome 1985, 347-48, no. 21 and T.P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate, 139 B.C. - A.D.14*, London 1971, 228.

²⁰ Cic. Fam. 13.5.2.

²¹ Note the similarity in expression in Cic. Rab. Post. 3 'nobis pueris' and Fam. 13.5.2 'C. Curtio ab ineunte aetate familiarissime sum usus'.

²² It seems that C. Curtius like other victims of the proscriptions remained excluded from his civil rights until Caesar restored them in 49, see RE 4.2, col. 1864, no 6; R. Syme, "Missing Senators", *Historia* 4 (1955) 61; for Cicero's efforts in 63 see Cic. Fam. 13.4.1f; E.S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, Berkeley, Calif. 1974, 276.

²³ Cic. Rab. Post. 47.

had resisted Sulla, and there is no doubt about C. Curtius' impeccable record in this regard. However, added impetus to such a gesture could have been given if C. Curtius was, indeed, the father of a man who by this time was a member of Caesar's inner circle and who himself had recently been raised to the same senatorial status—as is the case with Postumus.²⁴

Whatever the fate of C. Curtius, there is no doubt that Postumus was effectively left fatherless from an early age, and it would seem possible to suggest that he was born sometime in the 80s, giving him an age of around 30 at the time of his trial in 54/53. In the absence of his natural father his mother, Rabiria, may be presumed to have sought the protection of her own family, since Postumus was subsequently to be adopted by her brother—the very uncle, C. Rabirius, who had once been accused of murdering Postumus' brother!²⁵ The date at which Postumus was adopted is unknown, but the trial for *perduellio* of his uncle and adoptive father, C. Rabirius, can serve as a *terminus post quem*. As Cicero makes no reference to the adoption of Postumus in this trial when referring to the allegations of infanticide, which he might have been expected to, if it had occurred, as testimony of the love the uncle felt towards his nephews; it can, therefore, be presumed that the adoption occurred sometime after this trial in 63, but before Postumus' own trial in 54/53, when Cicero explicitly states that Postumus had been adopted.²⁶ Adoption was also an important means of sustaining family networks and preserving family names and, since C. Rabirius seems to have been without an heir, it is likely that he adopted Postumus sometime not long before his death, that is in the years before 54/53, so as to be able to pass to him his estate.²⁷

Upon adoption it was customary for the adoptee to take the names of his adoptive father, and so Postumus took the *praenomem* (although fortuitously this was probably the same as that he had borne since birth,

²⁴ For other examples of the promotion of anti-Sullan campaigners see E. Rawson, "Caesar: Civil War and Dictatorship", in J.A. Crook, A. Lintott & E. Rawson (eds.), CAH 9, Cambridge 1994, 452; Deniaux, 'Les recommandations', 226 (as in n. 17).

²⁵ On C. Rabirius see RE 1A1, col. 24, no 5 and on Rabiria see RE 1A1, col. 29, no 8. Adoption had to be approved and validated by the Pontifices see Cic. Dom. 34-38.

²⁶ Cic. Rab. Perd. 8.

²⁷ Cic Rab. Post. 38, 47.

for both his true and adoptive fathers were called Gaius)²⁸ and the *nomen* of his adoptive father, but as the latter does not seem to have had a *cognomen*, he kept the one associated with his agnatic family.²⁹ Thus, from Gaius Curtius [Postumus] he became Gaius Rabirius Postumus, the name by which he was known at his trial in 54/53. After adoption the adoptee was expected to use his new legal name on formal occasions, such as court-cases and in official documentation, but in everyday life it was common for him to retain his old name, often until he died.³⁰ In the same way, Postumus seems to have continued to use and be addressed by both his old and new adoptive names concurrently—usage being dependent on circumstances. On formal occasions, such as at his trial, his full adoptive name, C. Rabirius Postumus, was used, although even here it is noticeable that Cicero only addresses his client at the beginning of his speech as C. Rabirius and at the very end as C. Rabirius Postumus, but otherwise throughout refers to him twenty other times as Postumus—a clear sign of intimacy. In his political life Postumus seems to have also used the official form of his name as its association with his uncle's name and status—he was a senator—would have been greatly beneficial to his aspirations in this domain. A later inscription bears the name C. Rabirius and contemporary histories also refer to him as C. Rabirius and Rabirius Postumus.³¹ At all other times both in business, where he was perhaps able to employ a family trading name to good advantage, and in informal usage he seems to have retained his old name of C. Curtius Postumus—and it is noticeable that this is also the name carried by all his freedmen and women, bar one, probably on account of the domestic and commercial environments in which they

²⁸ The natural father's *praenomen* was traditionally given to the first born son with later sons receiving different *praenomina*, but as in this case the eldest son had died, Postumus bore the *praenomen* of his father, see O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen, Studien zur römischen Namengebung*, Helsinki 1987, 204f, esp. 209f.

²⁹ R. Syme, "Clues to Testamentary Adoption", *Roman Papers* 4 (1988) 159–60; A. Watson, *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic*, Oxford 1967, 82–88.

³⁰ Cicero after the adoption of his close friend, T. Pomponius Atticus, by his uncle, Q. Caecilius, in 58, continued to address him in his letters by the familiar 'T. Pomponius' rather than by his new name 'Q. Caecilius Atticus', and his freedmen also carried both versions of his name, see *Cic. Att.* 3.20, 22, 23, 7.7, 31, 9.6; *Nep. Att.* 5.2; *Val. Max.* 7.8.5; Dessau, "Gaius", 615 (as in n. 4); Adams, 'Conventions', 159–60 (as in n. 11).

³¹ See below pp. 223, 238.

had served.³² Particularly in his letters, just as in the case of Atticus, Cicero, as would be only natural with an old friend of the family, continued to refer to Postumus as Curtius Postumus, Curtius or sometimes just plain Postumus.³³

Postumus' adoptive father, C. Rabirius, seems to have been active in politics since early youth when he was still an eques. In particular, he seems to have belonged to a group of knights who were known for their fervent hostility to the political demagogue of that time, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, and the reforms he instituted as the tribune of the people in 103 and 100. Saturninus had been brutally slain during his last year of office, and in particularly strange circumstances thirty-seven years later, in 63, C. Rabirius was brought to trial accused of his murder.³⁴ Although C. Rabirius is best known from this trial, *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo*, he, in fact, already seems to have been tried and cleared of the same charge on a previous occasion, and his trial in 63 appears to have been part of an attempt by Caesar, amongst others, to curb the powers of the senate, to

³² A *tessera nummularia* bearing the name of Postumus found in Rome and dating from the consulship of D. Silanus and L. Murena in 62, given our Postumus' age at that time and the usage of the name 'Rabirius' in a commercial context, possibly refers to his uncle and adoptive father C. Rabirius, see CIL I² 911 = ILLRP 1026 'Flaccus/ Rabiri (servus)/ sp(ectavit) K(alendis) Apr(ilibus)/ D. Sil(ano), L. Mur(ena); for Postumus' freedmen see below pp. 220, 225.

³³ Dessau, "Gaius", 616-17 (as in n. 4); for Atticus see O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire*, Helsinki 1992, 9-10. These multiple usages of name have hampered efforts to trace the career of Postumus with references to him within the Ciceronian corpus sometimes being erroneously attributed to a lesser figure, M. Curtius, who makes a brief appearance in two of Cicero's letters asking to be recommended to Caesar for the military tribunate of 54, see Cic. Q.fr. 2.14.3; 3.1.10; RE 4.2, col. 1869, no 26. The principal proponent of this false identification was Frank (T. Frank, "Tulliana", AJP 41 (1920) 278-80) with contrary opinions being voiced by Dessau and Sumner. Shackleton Bailey also now inclines to the latter view. M. Curtius is only known from these two letters from which it becomes clear that Cicero did not know him personally, but was merely responding to a request from his brother, Quintus, who asked him to recommend the young man to Caesar. If this M. Curtius had been a member of the Curtii Postumi family he surely would have written to Cicero directly without recommendation from Quintus since Cicero knew at least one branch of the family very well through Postumus and Postumus' father, see G.V. Sumner, "The 'Lex Annalis' under Caesar", Phoenix 25 (1971) 254; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, "On Cicero, Ad Familiares", Philologus 105 (1961) 81; *idem*, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* (7 vols, Cambridge, 1965-1970), 4.361; *idem*, *Roman Nomenclature*, 21 (as in n. 13).

³⁴ Cic. Rab. Perd. 31; Serv. ad Aen. 1.13; Dio 37.26.3; Aurel. Vict. vir. ill. 73.12; MRR, 2.495.

which C. Rabirius had been raised in the meantime, and particularly the rights conferred on magistrates by a *senatus consultum ultimum*.³⁵ C. Rabirius was defended by Cicero at his trial in 63 and, indeed, the two seem to have been old friends possibly from as early as 89, when they may have served together in Cn. Pompeius Strabo's army, Cicero as a *tiro* and C. Rabirius as a *tribunus militum*.³⁶ From Cicero's speech *Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo* it can be inferred that throughout his life C. Rabirius continued to play an active role in public life, and it might be presumed that his activities impinged on the young Postumus who during his formative years may well have had the opportunity to meet many of the leading political figures of the day. Several times C. Rabirius faced trial in the courts, once in 73, when he was accused by a C. Macer of violating sacred groves and shrines, on which charge he was apparently acquitted, and again when he was arraigned for violating the law of Fabius by detaining another man's slaves and that of Porcius by killing Roman citizens. On this latter occasion Cicero stresses that the people of Campania and Apulia rose to his aid not 'from neighbourly feeling' but out of real 'enthusiasm' and 'goodwill', and this may be taken as some indication that C. Rabirius' estates within these areas were such as to allow him to wield sufficient influence to establish his own *fides*.³⁷ Like many well-to-do Romans C. Rabirius also seems to have owned a house in Naples, because it was presumably his property Cicero was alluding to when he wrote to Atticus in November 68 telling him that C. Rabirius' house in the city, which Atticus had in mind, had unfortunately been sold to somebody else.³⁸

We do not know when C. Rabirius died, but it must have been some

³⁵ The murder of Saturninus was given legal sanction by a *senatus consultum ultimum*, see Cic. Rab. Perd. 18, 31; for more on the legal issues see Cic. Att. 2.1.3; Orat.102; Quint. Inst. 7.1.9, 16; Suet. Jul. 12; on the political implications see Dio 37.26.1-3, 27.2, 37.2; Gruen, Last Generation, 277-79 (as in n. 22). An unknown writer of the fourth century A.D (Aurel. Vict. vir. ill. 73.12) also records that 'a certain senator called Rabirius carried the head of Saturninus round the dinner table as a joke'.

³⁶ For Cicero being a *tiro* and an old friend of C. Rabirius see Cic. Rab. Perd. 2 'amicitiae vetustas'; Phil. 12.27; for C. Rabirius see N. Criniti, L' Epigrafe di Asculum di Gn. Pompeo Strabone, Milan 1970, 116-17; AE, 1912, no. 126 'C. Rabeiri(us) C.f Galer(ia tribu)', MRR, 2.35, 38 n. 15, 495 and Wiseman, New Men, 255, no 353 (as in n. 19).

³⁷ Cic. Rab. Perd. 7-8; for the date of the first trial see RE 1A1, col. 24, no 5 and W. Drumann & P. Groebe, Geschichte Roms, 6 vols, Leipzig 1899-1929, 6.207.

³⁸ Cic. Att. 1.6.1.

time before 54/53, because at the time of his trial Postumus had not only inherited his handsome and profitable estate to put alongside some lands of his father, but had also according to Cicero considerably augmented his fortune. However, Postumus' wealth was not just based on these estates since he seems to have been one of the most prominent merchants and financiers of his day. Cicero's description of his activities in *Pro Rabirio Postumo* reveals an active *publicanus* who 'accomplished much, his business interests were extensive, his shares in public contracts were numerous, he acted as a banker to states, his financial transactions criss-crossed many provinces, he also offered his services to kings.'³⁹ Some evidence of the extent of Postumus' trading interests comes from a number of amphoras found throughout the Mediterranean bearing an abbreviation of the name 'Postumus Curtius' stamped on their handles. These are normally associated with Postumus and given his known trading interests understandably so. The inversion of the order of the *nomen* and *cognomen* in his 'trade mark' (POST CURT) does seem to conform with the growing trend at the time, because, by then, the *cognomen* often took the place the *praenomen*, especially if the latter was not stated, as a means of making the first element in a man's nomenclature as particularly distinctive and significant as the other elements.⁴⁰ It could also be that Postumus chose to continue to trade under an old family logo for purely commercial reasons. The handles are in the style of the Dr(essel) 2-4 amphoras, those called Brindisi, found particularly in Delos and Alexandria. It has also been suggested that these amphoras may have been produced in the workshop of Pullus at Ugentum in the Salentini area of southern Apulia and that their main function was the carrying of wine.⁴¹

³⁹ Cic. Rab. Post. 4, 38, 45; for his wealth see Guiraud, *Études économique*, 204-40 (as in n. 10); Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre*, 860 (as in n. 10); I. Shatzman, "The Egyptian Question in Roman Politics 59-54 BC", *Latomus* 30 (1971) 395; J. Andraeu, *La vie financière dans le monde romain: les métiers de manieurs d'argent (IVe siècle av. J.-C - IIIe siècle ap. J.-C)*, Paris 1987, 33, 38, 41, 250-51, 428 n. 135, 643, 647.

⁴⁰ Adams, 'Conventions', 165-66 (as in n. 11); H.L. Axtell, "Men's Names in the Writing;s of Cicero", *CP* 10 (1915) 392; T.P. Wiseman, "Pulcher Claudius", *HSCPh* 74 (1970) 212 and R. Syme, "Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature", *Historia* 7 (1958) 172-74.

⁴¹ A. Hesnard, "Un dépôt augustéen d' amphores à la Longarina, Ostie", in J.H. D' Arms & E.C. Kopff (eds.), *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome: Studies in Archaeology and History*, Rome 1980, 143-44 and D.P.S. Peacock & D.F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy*, London 1986, 17.

And, indeed, since Postumus had connections with Apulia on both his mother and adoptive father's side, it seems quite likely that he had his amphoras produced and stamped with his own seal at the local kiln at Ugentum.⁴² He appears to have owned his own vineyards and Tchernia in his study of wine production in Italy places his holdings on a par with those of M. Aemilius Lepidus, Pompey, L. Marcius Libo, P. Sestius and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, all of whom held sufficient status and estates producing enough wine to warrant amphoras being produced with their stamp.⁴³ Amphora handles bearing Postumus' stamp have been found in various parts of southern Italy including Syracuse, Paestum and Taranto, but also as far afield as Alexandria and Fayum in Egypt.⁴⁴ The three stamped amphora handles discovered in Egypt are identical to those found in Italy suggesting that they come from the same kiln and were probably used for the transportation of wine. They may either be regarded as further evidence of Postumus' extensive commercial activities or be somehow connected with his presence in that country following the

⁴² Cic. Rab. Perd. 7-8; M.H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae*, London 1965, 214, no. 1371 wrongly attributes them to M. Curtius (see above n. 33), whereas L. Criscuolo, *Bolli di anfora greci e romani*, La collezione dell' Università Cattolica di Milano, Bologna 1982, 131 strongly disagrees with such an identification.

⁴³ For Postumus' wine production see A. Tchernia, *Le vin de l' Italie romaine*, Rome 1986, 117 n. 234, 129; see also D. Manacorda, "Le anfore dell' Italia repubblicana: aspetti economici e sociali", in *Amphores romaines et histoire économique. Dix ans de recherche*, Rome 1989, 451.

⁴⁴ For the handle found in Syracuse with the abbreviation 'POST CURT'—the letters ST and RT forming a monogram—see CIL I² 2340a = ILLRP 1184 = CIL X 8051, 26; for the one found in Paestum with the stamp 'POS CUR' see CIL I² 2340b = CIL X 8042, 130 = Callender, 1965, 214, no. 1371 (as in n. 42); for the double handle found in Taranto, near St. Lucia, with the stamp 'POST CUR' in the middle of the lower part of the handle and 'DI' in the middle of its upper part, see CIL I² 2340c and Criscuolo, *Bolli di anfora*, 131 nos 194 and 199 (as in n. 42). For the suggestion that the monogram 'DI' may be the initials of a slave called Diphilus see Manacorda, "Le anfore", 455-57 (as in n. 43), Callender, *Roman Amphorae*, 214, no. 1371 (as in n. 42) and Andreau, *La vie financière*, 486-506 (as in n. 39). Another handle also found in Taranto bears the same abbreviation 'POST CUR' and the letters Π and A in ligature on its double handle - a possible abbreviation for a slave named Appeles, see Manacorda, "Le anfore", 457 (as in n. 43).

restoration of Ptolemy XII Auletes.⁴⁵

Some indications of the high status of Postumus also come from the large number of freedmen and women who bear his full name with inscriptions found in and around Rome testifying to his manumission of a lady called Helena and a number of men including Phileros, Bello, Hermodorus, Helenus, Dicaeus and M. Hordeonius, the latter apparently being in the service of both Postumus and M. Hordeonius. It has also been suggested that the textual critic, Nicias of Cos, known from Cicero's letters and whom Suetonius called 'Curtius Nicias' might be associated with Postumus who was active in the eastern lands and possibly possessed a property in Cos, where Nicias was either a slave or a freedman's son.⁴⁶ The presence of a freedman of Postumus in Ephesus may also be an indication of the breadth of his commercial (and perhaps political) interests. In a letter dated sometime between 46-44 addressed to the proconsul of the province of Asia, Servilius Isauricus, Cicero asks him for his assistance in the case of a freedman, C. Curtius Mithres, who lives in Ephesus and whose ex-master, Postumus, is an intimate friend of Cicero. The freedman in question seems to have been implicated in a dispute over some property in the country with a certain citizen of Colophon.⁴⁷ Perhaps this freedman assisted Postumus in Asia and was left behind to look after

⁴⁵ For a yellow-reddish single handled amphora with the stamp 'POS CUR' see E. Breccia, *Rapport sur la marche du service du Musée pendant l' exercice 1919-1920*, Alexandria 1921, 53 n. 282, and for a double handled one (P. 11603 Alexandria Museum) see J.-Y. Empereur, "Timbres amphoriques de Crocodilopolis-Arsinoé", *Bulletin. Institut Français d' Archéologie Orientale* 77 (1977) 197-233.

⁴⁶ For Helena see CIL X 1088, 122 and CIL XI 3328 'Curtia Postumi l. / Helena/Theocritae Per Se F/Matri et Patri'; for Phileros see CIL VI 38267(D), 'C. Curtius Postumi l. Phileros'; for Bello see CIL VI 17913 'C. Curtio Postumi l. Belloni'; for Dicaeus see CIL VI 38266 'C. Curtius Post. l. Dicaeus' and Dessau, "Gaius", 618 n. 1 (as in n. 4); for Hordeonius see CIL VI 24896; and for Nicias see Cic. Att. 7.3.10, 12.26.2; Suet. Gramm. 14; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*, London 1985, 71-72; R. Syme, "Who was Vedius Pollio?", *JRS* 51 (1961) 25 and Shackleton Bailey, *Roman Nomenclature*, 35 (as in n. 13); for Hermodorus and Helenus see below pp. 225, 231.

⁴⁷ Cic. Fam. 13.69.1f (name given: Postumus); Χρ. Πελεκίδης, 'Ανέκδοτοι ἐπιγραφαί ἐξ Ἐξ Ἄνδρου καὶ Νάξου', Athens 1969, 13-15 (Naxos) 'Ὁ δῆμος / Γάιον Κύρτιον Μίθρηνα / ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν / καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν.' (I am grateful to Professor Olli Salomies of the Institutum Classicum at the University of Helsinki for this reference); J. Reynolds, "Roman Inscriptions, 1971-1975", *JRS* 66 (1976) 197; Shackleton Bailey, *Roman Nomenclature*, 21, 82 (as in n. 13); *idem*, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 2.450 (as in n. 16).

his business interests in the province.

However, it was as a financier that Postumus was really to make his name, since he was a lender to many of the most prominent figures of his day, including none other than the king of Egypt, Ptolemy XII Auletes. This last relationship was to be particularly significant in Postumus' life, as it marked an important step on his journey from back room financier to the centre of the political stage. The first known dealings between the two men stem from 59, when in search of recognition as a friend and ally of Rome, the king borrowed heavily from a number of Roman financiers, including Postumus, in order to provide the funds needed to secure the senate's decree and pay the 6,000 talents promised to Caesar.⁴⁸ With the king's recognition secured Postumus and the others financiers must have expected to rapidly recoup their money and also make a substantial profit from the interest on the loans, but such hopes were soon to be dashed, when less than a year later, the king was forced to flee his kingdom for Rome, where he arrived in autumn 58.⁴⁹ For the king Rome was a haven of safety and a potential springboard for the reclamation of his throne, but in order to succeed in this objective he had to win over the senate to his cause. To achieve this, he resorted to extensive bribery, raising the money through further heavy borrowing from Postumus and other financiers, with the contracts for these loans being signed at Pompey's Alban villa.⁵⁰ The king had established his headquarters at the villa and it is possible to see Pompey as the main motive force behind the events at this stage, although later from *Pro Rabirio Postumo* it seems that a role can also be ascribed to Caesar, if only as one of the main financial backers.⁵¹ Rather than as an independent actor it is probably best to see Postumus as an agent in the coming drama, and as the chief financier funding Ptolemy XII Auletes it can be assumed that he was at least privy to some of the *triumvirs'* plans. Indeed, given the sums of money needed and the risky nature of the operation it seems likely that they furnished some form of financial or political guarantee which allowed Postumus to set about raising the necessary money with the assurance that repayment would ultimately occur, since it soon became clear that reimbursement could not

⁴⁸ Dio 39.12.1; Suet. Jul. 54.

⁴⁹ Cic. Rab. Post. 7.

⁵⁰ Cic. Rab. Post. 7; Fam. 7.17.1; Dio 39.14.3-4; Strabo 17.1.11 (796).

⁵¹ Cic. Rab. Post. 41f.

be secured unless the king was safely restored to his throne by a military expedition.⁵² For a number of months fierce debate raged in the senate as they searched for a competent and trustworthy individual suitable to mount such a difficult expedition. Indeed, so divisive was the debate with the views being so entrenched on all sides that the situation in Rome eventually reached a stalemate allowing Pompey, more secure in his political position following renewal of the triumviral cooperation at the conference of Luca in April 56, to sponsor the restoration through his protégé, the proconsul of Syria, Aulus Gabinius. The main inducement for the latter, despite Cicero's contention in *Pro Rabirio Postumo* that Gabinius had received legal authorisation for such an operation, was in reality a huge bribe of 10,000 talents promised by the king.

Meanwhile, following the brutal murder of envoys sent to Rome by his opponents in Alexandria, Ptolemy XII Auletes had felt it diplomatic to move to Ephesus and it seems probable that it was to meet him that Postumus hurriedly departed from Rome sometime in summer 56.⁵³ Dio records that it was Ptolemy XII Auletes who handed in person a confidential message from Pompey to Gabinius and, in the absence of any reference to the king returning from Ephesus to Italy during this period, it has been suggested that it might have been Postumus who was entrusted with carrying this missive; he would have met the king somewhere *en route* between Ephesus and Gabinius' camp, which according to the sources at this time lay across the Euphrates, as he was preparing to march on Parthia.⁵⁴ A combination of the king's enticements and perhaps promises of protection from Pompey were sufficient to persuade the proconsul to change his plans and march on Egypt, where he met the Egyptian army in battle at Pelusium in October 56. The usurper Archelaus was killed and by January/February 55 Ptolemy XII Auletes had been restored to his throne

⁵² Cic. Rab. Post. 25, 38, 39; Fam. 7.17.1.

⁵³ For the king's move to Ephesus see Dio 29.16.3, 39.16.3, 55.1; Cic. Fam. 1.1.1; Att. 15.15.2, Har. 28; for the murder of the envoys see Dio 39.13.1; Cic. Cael. 23-24, 51; Har. 34; and for Postumus' departure see Rab. Post. 21.

⁵⁴ Dio 39.56.3; for the suggestion that Postumus acted as a courier see R.S. Williams, "The Role of Amicitia in the Career of A. Gabinius (Cos 58 B.C.)", *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 207 n. 53; for Gabinius' location see Dio 39.56.3-4; Strabo 12.3.34 (558); Jos. A. J. 14.98; B. J. 1.179.

in Alexandria.⁵⁵

With the mission to restore the king successfully accomplished the Roman financiers set about trying to recoup their loans with Postumus arriving in person in Alexandria at the head of a delegation of fellow creditors. Cicero gives a graphic impression of the times when he speaks of other bankers arriving in Alexandria waving contracts in their hands.⁵⁶ The amount of money that they sought was considerable, being at least part of Gabinius' 10,000 talents, the outstanding loans made by Postumus and his banking associates including Caesar and Pompey, and the money invested by the creditors after the *senatus consultum* of 57 on the expectation that Lentulus would restore the king.⁵⁷ It must soon have become clear that the contents of the Egyptian treasury would not be sufficient to meet such demands and that the money gathering operation would be lengthy and complex. To facilitate the process Postumus, as the leading financier with the largest investments at stake in Egypt, was according to Cicero appointed to the official post of *dioecetes*, the chief royal treasurer, a title which, whilst it may have legalised all his money-gathering activities, at the same time was also to render his presence in Alexandria highly precarious.⁵⁸ Whether the post was willingly conceded or not is not clear, but the presence of a contingent of Gabinius' army, which was left behind ostensibly to safeguard the king, would have exerted considerable leverage on the monarch. Once in his new post Postumus seems to have set about his task with a vengeance for, although his appointment is not attested in any extant contemporary account, a recently discovered papyrus describes the rapacious activities of a man named Πόστομος during his time of office - presumably as *dioecetes*.

[Πόστομος· λαβὼν γὰρ

[τὴν ἀρχ]ῆν τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθεσ-

[ταμέ]νους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ πατέρων

... when Postumus was in charge

he replaced the people who had usually been

appointed and had traditionally succeeded their

⁵⁵ For the date of Ptolemy XII Auletes' restoration see my forthcoming article in *Historia*, 'Ptolemy XII Auletes and the Romans'.

⁵⁶ Cic. Rab. Post. 39; Fam. 7.17.1.

⁵⁷ Cic. Rab. Post. 21, 22, 24, 29, 41; Pis. 49; Plut. Ant. 3.2, 4; Appian Syr. 51; Dio 39.55-56; Schol. Bob. Arch. 9 (177) and Pl. 86 (168); Jos. A. J. 14.98-99; B. J. 1.175.

⁵⁸ Cic. Rab. Post. 22, 39.

[καὶ π]άππων διαδεδεγμένους τὰς	fathers and grandfathers in the office.
[τάξ]εις μετέστησεν, κατέστησεν	Instead, he appointed
[δὲ ἄ]νεπιτηδείους καὶ ἀπεγνωσμέ-	unsuitable and boorish men
[νου]ς, πωλήσας τὰ πάντα τὸν χρό-	after he had sold everything
νον [δια]π[ε]φυλαγμένα· ἐγ δὲ τούτοις,	saved over the years; and among these measures,
συντά[ξας] τοὺς μὲν χρησίμους καὶ ὠφελι-	he ordered that the most useful and efficient
μωτ[άτου]ς τῶν διοι[κη]τῶν μετασταθῆναι,	of dioecetes should be replaced,
ἐφ' ἄρπαγῆν....vacat	with the intention of plunder...

(*P. Med. Inv.* 68.53)

This fragment would seem to be the first confirmation of Postumus' presence as *dioecetes* in Alexandria, independent of Cicero's assertion in *Pro Rabirio Postumo* because, although his name is not given in full, the content and spirit of the document, which is heavily critical of his activities, strongly points to Postumus' period of office in Alexandria.⁵⁹ Written in Greek the fragment tells the story from a purely Egyptian perspective, but the exact nature of the document from which it derives remains unidentified. Could it come from a general history of the period or it is perhaps a *libellus* in the *Acta Alexandrinorum* condemning Postumus' behaviour in Alexandria? Or, was Postumus perhaps implicated in a legal action and this tirade constitutes part of the prosecution speech?⁶⁰

Presumably much of the money owed was seized from the royal treasury and other crown holdings but intriguingly there is also a reference to objects saved over the years being sold (πωλήσας), which suggests an operation of considerable complexity, fully in keeping with Postumus' mercantile background. What was sold is not specified, but

⁵⁹ The content and spirit of this document would make it extremely unlikely that it refers to C. Julius Postumus (AD 45-47), the prefect of Egypt, during Claudius' reign, who is primarily known from the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander; for the career of C. Julius Postumus see R. Bennet, *The prefects of Roman Egypt: 30 B.C - A.D 69*, Michigan 1971, 86-89; P.J. Sijpesteijn, "SB I 5802: A Reedition", *ZPE* 82 (1990) 102.

⁶⁰ C. Balconi, "Rabirio Postumo dioecetes d' Egitto in *P. Med. Inv.* 68.53?", *Aegyptus* 73 (1993) 1-20; this papyrus can be dated to sometime between the middle of the first century BC and first century AD, and, although its place of origin is uncertain, it is attested that it was found amongst a mixed group of papyri which related to the *nomoi* of Arsinoe and Oxyrynchus. The text of a possible edict containing a list of transfers drawn up by a *strategos* and a royal scribe, which appears on the *verso* of the document, is of a later date and has no relevance to Postumus' case.

Cicero in *Pro Rabirio Postumo* notes rumours of Postumus' ships arriving back in Puteoli laden with papyrus, glass and linen, and so it seems not impossible that this reference may imply stocks of royal monopolies. Slaves also seem to have been seized by the Romans at this time, including Timagenes who was taken as captive by Gabinius but was later freed and achieved some renown as a rhetorician and a man of letters.⁶¹ One of Postumus' freedman, Hermodorus, whose fine tombstone on the Via Appia in Rome dates from 13 BC - 5 AD, also bears a Greek name common in Egypt at the time suggesting that he too may have been enslaved during this period. This conjecture is further supported by the fact that his daughter, Usia Prima, was a priestess of Isis who carried the Sistrum.⁶² The papyrus also laments Postumus' lack of respect for traditional institutions and, particularly, his replacement of the regular office holders who had 'succeeded their fathers and grandfathers' by new boorish and uncouth men. In fact, rather than being purely the work of Postumus, these actions would seem to reflect wholesale changes occurring within the Egyptian élite at this time, because on his restoration Ptolemy XII Auletes seems to have moved with a vengeance against his foes, having his daughter Berenice and many of the most powerful and wealthy members of Alexandrian society killed and removing many others from office and confiscating their estates, presumably to satisfy the requirements of the Romans.⁶³

The success of Postumus' mission is difficult to gauge. The picture of extortionate practices and rapacious behaviour painted in the papyrus

⁶¹ Cic. Rab. Post. 40; for Timagenes, see Suda s.v Timagenes; Plut. Ant. 72.2; Sen. Contr. 10.5.22; Ira 3.23.4f; S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*, Oxford 1969, 123, 223, 246.

⁶² CIL VI 2246 S = ILS 4404 a) 'C. Rabirius Post. l. Hermodorus' b) 'Rabiria Demaris' c) 'Usia Prima sac. Isis', with the annotation 'Sistrum patera'. A photograph of this particularly fine tombstone can be found in D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture*, London 1977, 231-32 no. 63 and fig. 63 a, b and c where the bust of a man, a woman and a child—presumably the daughter of the couple—is depicted (for this reference I am indebted to Dr. Susan Walker, Curator of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum).

⁶³ Strabo 17.1.11 (796); for the seizure of the wealth of courtiers see Dio 39.58.3; for the heavy taxation imposed on the Egyptians see Cic. Rab. Post. 31; D.R. Walker & C.E. King, *The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage*, 3 vols., Oxford 1976-1978, 1.150f; O. Mørkholm, "Ptolemaic Coins and Chronology: the Dated Silver Coinage of Alexandria", *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 20 (1975) 7.

suggests extreme methods and certainly raising such a huge amount can have been no easy task. Undoubtedly, Postumus' actions might be expected to alienate the Egyptians, and Cicero during his trial tells us that he was in fact thrown in jail for his pains. Cicero's plea is clearly intended to elicit the jurors' sympathy by presenting Postumus' treatment at the hands of the Egyptian king as being akin to martyrdom, and even if such a statement held any grain of truth, it would seem more probable that it was due to the extractive nature of his task rather than the king's whims that his life was placed in jeopardy.⁶⁴ It seems quite likely that his activities would have fermented popular discontent, because taxes were already high in Egypt, and a further tribute imposed by the Romans could be expected to be profoundly resented. In the face of this, the king may have been forced to restrain Postumus in some form—even if this was only a temporary prohibition on leaving his place of residence. Subsequently, according to Cicero, Postumus was forced to flee the country arriving back in Italy sometime in summer 54, having spent just over a year in Alexandria.⁶⁵ It seems likely that the king would have shed few tears at the departure of his leading creditor whose activities in Alexandria would not have contributed to the stability of his throne, and when Gabinius' money had been raised, the king, who presumably was closely tied to him for reasons of security (note the presence of the supportive Alexandrian witnesses at Gabinius' trial), would have been more reluctant to accept Postumus' presence in Alexandria.⁶⁶

Once Postumus was back in Rome, he soon found himself on trial charged with extortion under the clause of the Julian law ' *Quo ea pecunia pervenerit* ' as a consequence of his involvement in the Egyptian venture. In fact, his case formed an appendage to Gabinius' earlier trial for

⁶⁴ Cic. Rab. Post. 39, 40; E. Bloedow, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ptolemaios XII, Diss. Würzburg 1963, 74-79; H. Heinen, Rom und Ägypten von 51 bis 47 v.Chr.: Untersuchungen zur Regierungszeit der 7. Kleopatra und des 13. Ptolemäers., Diss., Tübingen 1966, 39 n. 2.

⁶⁵ Cicero, Rab. Post. 40, states that the gossip about Postumus' supposedly richly laden ships berthed in Puteoli lasted only one summer, implying that he had arrived back from Egypt earlier in that season. Given the fact that the journey from Alexandria to Italy, which was often troublesome, could last at least sixty days, then Postumus' reportedly heavily loaded ships must have left Egypt in late spring, see Cic. Att. 5.12.1f; L. Casson, "Speed under Sail of Ancient Ships", TAPA 82 (1951) 139, 145 n. 38.

⁶⁶ Cic Rab. Post. 34-35

extortion in which he was found guilty and liable to pay 10,000 talents—a sum matching that allegedly promised by the king for his military services. However, as Gabinius sought the refuge of exile instead of paying this exorbitant fine, the political opponents of the triumvirs with M. Porcius Cato as their main advocate called Postumus to justice in the hope of making him responsible for Gabinius' unpaid fine, if it could be proved that he had received some of the money which had illegally passed to the absconder Gabinius from Ptolemy XII Auletes.⁶⁷ The main charges of the prosecution were: that Postumus' various financial dealings should be seen as a general incitement to corruption in public life, that Postumus had personally goaded Gabinius into restoring Ptolemy XII Auletes and, finally, that he had secured money for himself over and above the original loan.⁶⁸ Within his defence speech, *Pro Rabirio Postumo*, Cicero deliberately plays down Postumus' role in the events trying to distance his trial from that of Gabinius, and, instead, focuses his line of argument on a succession of legal technicalities before resting his peroration on a rather blatant invocation of his client's powerful connections and, particularly, his close relationship with Caesar.⁶⁹ Whether Cicero was successful in his defence is unknown, but, on balance, despite the earlier conviction of Gabinius it would seem most likely that Postumus was acquitted. Such was the difficulty of securing convictions for extortion at that time that Cicero himself exclaimed that nothing less than murder was punishable⁷⁰ and, as Postumus' was a subsidiary trial, it may be that, as was often the case, the jurors, although they were the same as had passed verdict on Gabinius, were more lax after having shown greater severity in the principal trial. However, the trump card in securing an acquittal must have been Cicero's

⁶⁷ Cic. Q.fr. 3.1.15, Att. 4.17.4, Rab. Post. 30-31.

⁶⁸ Cic. Rab. Post. 6, 19, 30-31.

⁶⁹ M.D. Siani, Commentary on Cicero's *Pro Rabirio Postumo*, Ph.D. Diss., London 1991, 7-9.

⁷⁰ For Cicero's statement see Cic. Att. 4.18.3; for the result see Dessau, "Gaius", 613, 617 (as in n. 4); E. Ciaceri, *Cicerone e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols., Milan 1926-1930, 2.134-37 who prefer acquittal, whereas Drumann & Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*, 6.70 (as in n. 37) and Gruen, *Last Generation*, 336 (as in n. 22) favour conviction; for a detailed account of the trials between 55 and 53 see Gruen, *Last Generation*, 312-37 (as in n. 22). The comparison in Suetonius (Suet. Claud. 16.2) between Postumus' case and another, which is sometimes held up as proof of conviction, would seem to be completely without foundation, as his trial has obviously been confused with that of Gabinius' *de maiestate*.

heavy and prolonged emphasis on his client's close links with Caesar.⁷¹ Finally, the subsequent career of Postumus, who not long after the trial seems to have been elevated to the senate, as outlined below, hardly matches that of a man who bore the stigma of conviction.

The financial consequences of the Egyptian escapade are also far from clear. Cicero is adamant in his defence speech that Postumus returned from the enterprise impoverished, although it is difficult to believe that so experienced a businessman supported by such powerful figures would lose heavily on this type of deal, and certainly rumours were sweeping Puteoli that Postumus enriched himself materially from the Egyptian venture.⁷² However, that not all the money was collected is also explicitly stated within the elaborate panegyric to Caesar at the end of *Pro Rabirio Postumo*, where there is a forceful suggestion as to the fate of any remaining debts owed to the circle of financiers surrounding Postumus. In the speech Cicero speaks of Caesar 'who shouldered the burdens of many of Postumus' friends', with the implication being that he underwrote all the pecuniary obligations that Postumus had to his fellow financiers, thereby effectively consolidating all the outstanding debts under his name, and, in the process, becoming Postumus' largest 'creditor', although it is unlikely that he ever forced repayment.⁷³

⁷¹ For the attitude of jurors in subsidiary trials see Cic. Clu. 116; for Caesar's involvement see Rab. Post. 44f; for the very survival of the speech as being a telling argument for acquittal see A.E. Douglas, "Review of J.W Crawford, 'The Lost and Unpublished Orations'", JRS 76 (1986) 334.

⁷² Regarding the losses sustained by those financiers who invested in the project after the *senatus consultum* of 57 on the expectation that Lentulus would restore the king and, who, obviously, were outside the bounds of the group of businessmen aligned with the *triumvirs*, see Cic. Fam. 7.17.1, 1.5a.3-4; Plut. Caes. 48.4. There are also indications that even Gabinius, the chief financial beneficiary, did not receive all that he was due, see Cic. Att. 4.18.3.

⁷³ Cic. Rab. Post. 41; when Caesar arrived in Alexandria in 48 in pursuit of Pompey he presented a claim for 17,500,000 *denarii* to the heirs of Ptolemy XII Auletes for a debt owed by their father—from which Caesar waived 7,500,000, but demanded the balance of 10,000,000—equivalent to 3,000 talents—for his military expenses, see Plut. Caes. 48. Since we have no evidence of any involvement by Caesar postdating Postumus' stay in Egypt, this amount could refer to a part of the loans raised by Postumus in Rome to finance the restoration of the king which remained unpaid—although the orthodoxy among scholars is to suppose that the debt to which Caesar was laying claim resulted from payments made in 59, see Gelzer, Caesar, 247 (as in n. 2); R.D. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome, 100—30 BC*, Toronto 1990, 244.

The extent of Caesar's role in financing the operation is difficult to gauge, but it would seem likely that given the high risk of the project in order to raise the initial money Postumus would have had to make some assurances to his fellow investors. Guaranteeing such a large sum may well have been beyond his means and, anyhow, given the political sensibilities of the matter the presence of a strong backer from the beginning would seem to have been almost inevitable. Although, the indications here are that Caesar eventually fulfilled that role, it might be that he was merely exploiting a situation in which Pompey was unable or unwilling to meet his original commitments. If there is some truth in Cicero's lengthy assertions of Postumus' poverty it may be that, given the support that Caesar was evidently willing to provide him financially, C. Memmius, the prosecutor, by bringing Postumus to trial, hoped that Caesar might eventually foot the bill, if the defendant was found guilty and ordered to pay. If this was the case, Cicero in his stirring eulogy to Caesar at the end of *Pro Rabirio Postumo* would seem to be firing a warning shot across Memmius' bows as to the folly and danger of such a course of action.⁷⁴

That Caesar did give Postumus his backing at this time is borne out by the financier's subsequent career in which, with his fortune apparently still intact, he binds himself ever closer to his political patron. Cicero may have successfully defended Postumus at his trial in 54/53, but differing political allegiances were to place strains on their relationship, and by 49, when we hear of their paths crossing again, the orator expresses considerable irritation at the constant pestering of his friend, who had obviously been raised to the senate in the meantime. And, indeed, these were the times when the senate was composed of men of non-consular lineage, like Postumus, due to the disappearance of many noble lines because of war or proscription and the exclusion of others for favouring the losing side during the civil war. Following Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in January 49, Cicero was particularly preoccupied as to whether he should join Pompey and wrestling with this dilemma in a series of almost daily letters during March, April and May 49 he turned to his dearest friend Atticus for advice and succour, especially since he was being constantly pestered by an unwanted visitor, none other than Postumus. The close sequence of these letters indicate that Cicero is referring to the same person throughout even though, in naming him, he freely interchanges the

⁷⁴ Cic. Rab. Post. 41-42.

appellations Curtius and Postumus and, at one point, calls his tiresome guest Curtius Postumus. Writing from his villa at Formiae Cicero in a letter dated 8th March 49 states that his old friend and former client (presumably an allusion to the trial of 54/53) has come to pay him a visit, but talked incessantly of nothing else but fleets and armies and Caesar's plans to pursue Pompey in Greece.⁷⁵ Perhaps Postumus, who by now was obviously a fervent Caesarian, had sought to sway Cicero's opinion in his patron's favour, but, instead, his constant visits only seem to have aroused his old friend's ire. On the next day Postumus is reported as calling for a second time with further news about Caesar's military progress and acquisition of ships, and on the 10 March 49 he was yet again in Cicero's house tiresomely boasting about Caesar.⁷⁶ By now, Cicero was extremely upset with himself for having received Postumus in the first place and obviously vexed by his constant pestering Cicero wonders how he is going to endure his attacks in the senate, if he is not able to deal with him in his own house.⁷⁷

Since 54 Postumus had, therefore, cemented his alliance with Caesar and, presumably, as some type of reward, been upgraded to the senate.⁷⁸ Once raised to this body he seems to have actively sought magisterial office, since on 3rd May 49 Cicero writes from his villa at Cumae to his friend Caelius Rufus about how his friend Postumus has been promised a high priestly office by Caesar.⁷⁹ In this letter Postumus is also for the first time mentioned alongside L. Oppius, an *eques*, who was a friend and financial agent of Caesar. Oppius is usually associated with Cornelius Balbus, another financier, close to Caesar and, it seems, that this was the circle in which Postumus now moved, because three years later in

⁷⁵ Cic. Att. 9.2a.3 (name given: Postumus Curtius).

⁷⁶ Cic. Att. 9.3.2 (name given: Postumus), and Att. 9.5.1 where Cicero freely interchanges the appellations Postumus and Curtius.

⁷⁷ Cic. Att. 9.6.2 (name given: Curtius); Att. 10.13.3 (name given: Curtius); Att. 9.5.1.

⁷⁸ The exact date and the circumstances of his promotion as a senator are unknown but by 10 March 49 Postumus seems to have been an active member of the senate, see Cic. Att. 9.5.1 and Dessau, "Gaius", 617 (as in n. 4).

⁷⁹ Cic. Fam. 2.16.7 (name given: Curtius); on the political value of the priesthoods see M. Beard "Priesthoods in the Roman Republic", in M. Beard & J. North (eds.), *Pagan Priests, Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, London 1990, 17-48.

September 46, he is still mentioned in conjunction with these men.⁸⁰ At that time Cicero writing to his Pompeian friend, Ampius Balbus, to reassure him that he has numerous friends close to Caesar who could grant him a passport and let him return to Italy, cites amongst his Caesarian acquaintances C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus, A. Hirtius, L. Cornelius Balbus, C. Oppius, C. Matius and Postumus.⁸¹

Postumus was thus not only a successful financier with growing political influence but was also moving in the select circle of those who were closest to Caesar, and a further indication of these links may be discerned in the career of one of his many freedmen. An inscription from Rome, which was later transferred to Sicily, records that one of these, Gaius Curtius Helenus, served as a priest in the College of the *Luperci*.⁸² By the time of Cicero minor religious boards, such as that of *Luperci*, were in decline and considered somewhat *louche*, but in 46 Caesar made a concerted attempt to improve their status by allotting them extra funds and incorporating new members by placing his own freedmen in the College.⁸³ Caesar's efforts were apparently to be of no avail since the College remained the place for raffish aristocrats and freedmen but it seems quite possible that the elevation of one of Postumus' freedmen to the office of the *Lupercus* owes much to Caesar's attempts to upgrade the institution since he also encouraged his powerful friends to enroll their freedmen within the College at this time.

The only extant evidence suggesting that Postumus attained high political office during his life are two sources which attest that he served as a proconsul. The first of these is a bilingual inscription found in Delos on a

⁸⁰ Att. 15.2.3 (name given: Postumus), Fam. 6.12.2 (name given: Postumius) and Fam. 2.16.7 (name given: Curtius), because they also contain references to the other financiers close to Caesar, it has been commonly accepted that these letters all refer to Postumus; see Shackleton Bailey, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 1.495, 2.392 (as in n. 16); *idem*, *Roman Nomenclature*, 82 (as in n. 13) and Dessau, "Gaius", 617 (as in n. 4); for the enrichment of all those who enlisted in Caesar's service such as Labienus, Balbus and Oppius, see Cic. Q.fr. 3.1.8, 10, 13, 18.

⁸¹ Cic. Fam. 6.12.2; for Pansa see MRR, 2.325, for Hirtius see MRR, 2.295, 309, for Balbus see MRR, 2.433 and Broughton, Supplement, 33, for Oppius see RE 18.1, cols 729-736, no 9 and for Matius see RE 14, cols 2206-2210, no 1.

⁸² CIL VI 32437 = ILS 4945 'C. Curtius / Post. l. Helenus / lupercus'.

⁸³ Treggiari, *Freedmen*, 195-96 (as in n. 61); for examples of the freedmen of Caesar and his friends enrolled in the College of the *Luperci* at this time see CIL XIV 2105 (C. Julius Caesaris l. Salvius) and CIL VI 1933 (Q. Considius Q. l. Eros).

square based grey-blue marble, situated in the North-West portico identified as that of Philippus V, near the western side of the road leading to the southern entrance of the Sanctuary of Apollo. The inscription on this marble attests that 'C. Rabirius the son of Gaius'—the formal version of Postumus' name being adopted for a public inscription—was a proconsul, but it does not state which was the province in question nor the time of his period of office.⁸⁴ It seems likely that this square base formed the pedestal of a statue of Postumus, but this has not so far been found or identified. Indeed, Delos seems to have positively bristled with such statues and close to the portico of Philippus V, in the Italian agora, a number of Roman and Italian dignitaries, such as another proconsul of Asia of uncertain date, C. Cluvius L. f., and powerful political figures of the stature of A. and P. Gabinius A. f., ancestors of Gabinius, Postumus' partner in the restoration of the Egyptian king, were honoured by having their effigies housed in private statue niches beneath the ground floor portico.⁸⁵ It was also customary for influential figures of the commercial and financial world of the time, including representatives of the powerful Delian business community, to be commemorated in a similar fashion, and so on account of both his political and commercial interests it would have been quite in keeping for a man such as Postumus to have had a statue erected in such a location.

This epigraphical source for Postumus' proconsulship is confirmed and expanded by literary evidence from Josephus who also provides enough clues to suggest that Postumus was a proconsul of Asia.⁸⁶ Josephus

⁸⁴ CIL I² 773 = CIL 7239 = ILLRP 399 = ID 1859 '[C. Rabirium C.f.]/ pro. cos/ Γάϊον 'Ραβήριον Γάϊου / υἱὸν ἀνθύπατον/ 'Ρωμαίων; see F. Durrbach, *Choix d' inscriptions de Délos avec traduction et commentaire*, Paris 1921, 167; P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l' époque hellénistique et à l' époque impériale*, Paris 1970, 553.

⁸⁵ For an extensive account of such luminaries see N.K. Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, Amsterdam 1993, 9, 296, 298 n. 19 and 20; for promagisterial visits to Delos and their purpose see Athen. 5.212 a-b, 213 c-d; Appian *Mith.* 6.39; ILLRP 343; R. Étienne, *Ténos II. Ténos et les Cyclades du milieu du IVe siècle av. J.-C. au milieu du IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.*, Paris 1990, 127-34 and J.-L. Ferrary, "Délos vers 58 av. J.-C" in J.-C. Dumont, J.-L. Ferrary, P. Moreau, et al. (eds.), *Insula Sacra. La loi Gabinia Calpurnia de Délos (58 av. J.-C)*, Rome 1980, 35-61.

⁸⁶ Jos. A. J. 14.241 'Λαοδικαίων ἄρχοντες Γαίῳ Ραβηρίῳ Γαίῳ υἱῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ χαίρειν'. The MSS read 'ὑπάτῳ' which T. Homolle, "Le Proconsul Rabirius", *BCH* 6 (1882) 608-12 on the basis of the inscription found at Delos emended to 'ἀνθυπάτῳ' and 'Ραβελλίῳ' to 'Ραβηρίῳ'.

recorded that the magistrates of Laodicea, a town in that province, acknowledged receiving instructions from 'Gaius Rabirius, the son of Gaius, proconsul' concerning the status of the Jewish population of their town.⁸⁷ This letter largely reports on the substance of a correspondence between Postumus and Hyrcanus II, the high priest of the Jews.⁸⁸ It appears that instructions, apparently emanating from Rome, to grant free religious rights to the Jews had met with some local opposition, especially from the town of Tralles, also in Asia, and the magistrates of Laodicea were writing to Postumus to assure him that they will comply with his instructions and that the documents would be lodged in the public archive. The letter indicates that Postumus had himself received instructions to issue these decrees regarding the Jews and, although they may not have been directly the work of Caesar, they were perhaps issued at his suggestion, since they fall within his policy of meeting the demands of the provincials so as to consolidate the empire, and also reflect his general policy towards the Jewish communities which were not to be hindered in their religious practices.⁸⁹

The date of Postumus' proconsulship is a matter of some scholarly debate, but considering that he was still an *equus* at the time of his trial in 54/53 and that, whatever the result of the proceedings, it presumably took

⁸⁷ Between 62-56 the three districts of Cilicia, Laodicea, and Apamea with Synnada were joined to the province of Asia, see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2 vols., Princeton 1950, 1.384, 402, 2.1245 n. 18, 1256 n. 77. In 56 they were detached from Asia and assigned back to Cilicia (Cic. Fam. 3.7.5, 1.3.2; Att. 5.21.8), but this arrangement did not last long for in 49 they were given back to Asia, as is indicated by the *cistophori* of C. Fannius, governor of Asia of that year, minted in Ephesus, Tralles, Laodicea and Apamea; see CIL I² 763, no. 376; R. Syme, "Observations on the Province of Cilicia", *Roman Papers*, 1 (1979) 1.141-44.

⁸⁸ E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC - AD 135)*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1973-1987, 1.275 suggests that this Hyrcanus must be Hyrcanus II (63-40); see also, J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l' Empire romain*, Paris 1914, 1.146 n. 7 who dates the document to 45. For an opposite point of view see T. Reinach, "Antiochus Cyzicène et les Juifs", *Revue des Etudes Juifs*, XX (1899) 161-71.

⁸⁹ This decree concerning the toleration of the Jews is one of four official documents which may constitute part of a single legislative act emanating from Rome, see Jos. A. J. 14.241-243, 244-246, 256-258, 259-261. Postumus' adoptive father, C. Rabirius, could be another possible candidate for this post, but he is ruled out not only because he is not recorded as ever having held such an office but, more tellingly, because the identity of the proconsuls of Asia is known for each of the years between the ascension of Hyrcanus II to his priesthood in 63 and the trial of Postumus in 54/53, in which it is revealed that C. Rabirius was dead, leaving no time for him to have held the proconsulship.

him some time to cross the threshold of the senate, let alone to achieve one of the major magistracies that would have ultimately paved the way to this more elevated post, then it can be safely suggested that he only ascended to the office sometime after 50. Since there is no evidence that Postumus ever achieved the office of consul, although he does, at one point, seem to have considered standing for the office, solely on the basis that Postumus rose to be a proconsul, Broughton suggested that he was a *praetor* in either 48 or 47.⁹⁰ However, since no evidence exists for him ever achieving this office or any of the minor qualifying magistracies, any dates ascribed to his period of office must remain purely speculative.⁹¹ The possible dates for Postumus' period of office as proconsul of Asia can be further narrowed down through reference to the other holders of the post at this time. Until summer 48, the cities of Asia had been loyal to Pompey, but the depredations of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica, proconsul of Syria, Imperator and father-in-law of Pompey, who during 49-48 had bled the population white with his heavy taxation, caused them to switch their sympathies towards Caesar, who arrived in Asia in August 48, and it seems likely that this date can serve as a *terminus post quem* for Postumus' period of office.⁹² During his short visit —three to four weeks—on his journey to Egypt (where he stayed until June 47), Caesar assigned the general control of the Roman provinces of the Eastern Mediterranean to Cn. Domitius Calvinus. However, his exact status remains unclear, as according to the testimony of Suetonius he was one of Caesar's legates, and his sphere of operations seems to have been considerable, stretching well beyond Asia ('...Asiam finitimasque provincias administrandas tradiderat ... ') to include neighbouring provinces, most likely Bithynia-Pontus and

⁹⁰ For Postumus considering to become a consul see Cic. Att. 12.49.2, 13.9.1; for Broughton's dates see MRR, 2.273, but later Broughton, Supplement, 181 cautions that perhaps Postumus need not have been a *praetor* in 48 as Sumner, "Lex Annalis", 254 (as in n. 33) had suggested.

⁹¹ C. Rabirius Postumus should not be confused with a Postumus mentioned in Cic. Mur. 54, 56, 57, 69 who was a candidate for the praetorship in 63, since the senatorial career of C. Rabirius Postumus began later around 49 (Cic. Fam. 2.16.7).

⁹² Dio 42.2.1.

Cilicia but, perhaps even, Syria.⁹³ During his period in office Calvinus seems to have been constantly engaged in military endeavours even marching as far as Comana and Nicopolis on the Armenian border in an unsuccessful war against Pharnakes, the king of Pontus. The ambiguity of his status and his ceaseless warmaking combine to suggest that he may not have been formally enrolled as proconsul of any of the provinces and that, instead, he enjoyed some supra-governorial role with perhaps no promagistrates being appointed in the individual provinces—given the chaos prevailing in the Roman world during the civil war. On the other hand, it might also be that official promagistrates were appointed at this time, and it is just possible that Postumus' period of office could date from this period, although the balance of probability points to a date postdating Calvinus' period in office. The latter seems to have left Asia during the late summer of 47 as by September he was back in Rome ready to take part in Caesar's African campaign.⁹⁴

Appian's account of the civil war provides evidence that during 48 Postumus had played a key role in Caesar's campaign against Pompey in Greece. Although in the history his name is inaccurately recorded as 'Postumius', a number of reasons would justify an identification with Postumus—a view strongly supported by Shackleton Bailey who harbours no doubts about Postumus being the 'Caesarian Postumius'.⁹⁵ Firstly, it would not be surprising to find Postumus in Caesar's camp during the civil war given the latter's unstinted support when Postumus was on trial in Rome in 54/53 and the evidence from Cicero's correspondence of 49 which directly links Postumus with the logistics of this campaign.⁹⁶ Secondly, the environment Postumus is reported to be moving in is somewhat familiar, as he is mentioned in conjunction with Gabinius, his old partner from the 'Egyptian venture' undertaken to restore Ptolemy XII Auletes to his throne, and Mark Antony, who participated as a cavalry

⁹³ For the time Caesar spent in Asia see Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1.405f, 2.1258 n. 2-3 (as in n. 87). On his lenient taxation programme for Asia see *Caes. B. C.* 3.105; Appian *B. C.* 2.89, 5.4; Dio 42.6.3. On Calvinus' identity and career see Suet. *Jul.* 36; *Caes. B. Al.* 34; *Bell. Afr.* 86.

⁹⁴ *Caes. Bell. Afr.* 86, 93; *Cic. Deiot.* 25; Caesar in his *lex de provinciis* prescribed two years as the normal tenure for a governor of consular rank, see Dio 43.25.3.

⁹⁵ Appian *B. C.* 2.56-59; Shackleton Bailey, *Roman Nomenclature*, 38 (as in n. 13).

⁹⁶ See above p. 229.

officer in the same campaign.⁹⁷ Thirdly, Postumus, a man accustomed to dealing with exceptional tasks given his background as *dioecetes* in Egypt, appears now to be entrusted with an errand crucial for Caesar's success in his campaign against Pompey, as he is recorded sailing Caesar's ships under adverse winds across the Adriatic sea—a skill expected of an experienced and well-known merchant who in the past was said to have transported by ships quantities of merchandise from Alexandria to Puteoli—and swaying Caesar's uncooperative military forces stationed at Brundisium into action through his skills of persuasion and diplomacy.⁹⁸ In his campaign against Pompey Caesar had pitched his camp at Dyrrachium but much of his army was stuck in Brundisium across the Adriatic sea which was seething with Pompeian vessels. Having failed once personally and a second time with messengers to communicate his orders to this waiting army Caesar in desperation turned to Postumus, who seems to have been something of a right-hand man, for the accomplishment of this by all accounts seemingly impossible mission —although Appian puts it slightly different '...Καίσαρ ἐπεποίθει τη τύχη.' In effect, Postumus appears to have held *carte blanche* as to the organisation of the operation, since Caesar's letter, which was read to the army at Brundisium, clearly states that 'they should follow Postumius on shipboard and sail to any place the wind might carry them.' Gabinius failed to respond, leading instead his army to disaster in Illyria, but Antony complied with Caesar's instructions, successfully crossing the sea with his men to Nymphaeum, and presumably he was accompanied by Postumus.⁹⁹

Since the last act of the civil war was to be played in Egypt, where Pompey met his untimely death, and Caesar presented a bill for what it was earlier suggested were the outstanding debts from 55, it is tempting to think that the financier, Postumus, remained part of the Caesarian entourage throughout this period. Certainly, he is recorded as being part of his retinue not only before but also after the Alexandrian war with the sources relating that during the African war of 46 he was entrusted, once again, with ensuring the transport of reinforcements and supplies.¹⁰⁰ It would seem quite likely that Postumus' unique experience of Egyptian

⁹⁷ Plut. Ant. 3.2-4; Cic. Pis. 49.

⁹⁸ Cic. Rab. Post. 40.

⁹⁹ Appian B. C. 2.58-59.

¹⁰⁰ See below p. 238.

conditions prompted Caesar to consign to him similar duties during the Alexandrian campaign. Indeed, whilst in Egypt, the Romans engaged in tasks which would have been particularly suitable to the Roman financier's talents, because Dio states that Caesar delayed his return to Rome after the defeat of Pompey in order to levy money from the Egyptians. The money was collected with such vigour that they indignantly complained that not even their temples were left untouched.¹⁰¹

In July 47, Caesar was urgently recalled from Alexandria by Calvinus on account of the threat of an imminent invasion by Pharnakes. The treacherous king of Pontus was, subsequently, defeated by Caesar at Zela in August and his army completely destroyed by Calvinus at Sinope.¹⁰² On his march north to Pontus Caesar placed new governors in the various provinces he visited with Syria being assigned to Sex. Julius Caesar, Cilicia falling under the control of Q. Marcius Philippus and, after the battle at Zela, Bithynia being allocated to C. Vibius Pansa.¹⁰³ Although it is unrecorded in the sources, it would seem most likely that it was at this juncture that Asia was placed in the hands of Postumus as a reward for his services. Dio describing the euphoric atmosphere that prevailed in Rome with the return of Caesar, in autumn 47, states that the victorious general rewarded all those who had supported his cause during the civil war by freely bestowing offices that were to last either for the rest of the year or, in some cases, for the following year, and this would suggest that Postumus' proconsulship can most probably be dated from July/August 47 until the end of that year or possibly the beginning of 46.¹⁰⁴ The proconsulship of P. Servilius Isauricus, who served for two years in the province and ascended to office in the summer of 46, would seem to serve

¹⁰¹ Dio 42.34.1, 42. 49. 1-5.

¹⁰² For Calvinus' unsuccessful campaign against Pharnakes see *Caes. B. Al.* 34-40; for Pharnakes' defeat at Sinope see *Appian Mith.* 120; *Caes. B. Al.* 70-76; Dio 42.47.5; see also MRR, 2.289 who speculates that Calvinus' sphere of control might have been only Asia.

¹⁰³ For Sex. Julius Caesar see *Caes. B. Al.* 66; Dio 47.26.3; for Quintus Philippus, who married Caesar's niece, and C. Vibius Pansa see *Cic. Fam.* 13.73-74; Syme, "Province of Cilicia", 1.127-28 (as in n. 87); Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1.413 (as in n. 87) suggests that Pontus was entrusted to Calvinus after Zela, but given the fact that Calvinus was present in Rome by September 47, this seems highly unlikely, see *Caes. Bell. Afr.* 86, 93; *Cic. Deiot.* 25.

¹⁰⁴ Dio 42.51.3; R.P. Saller, "Promotion and Patronage in Equestrian Careers", *JRS* 70 (1980) 44-63.

as a likely *terminus ante quem* for Postumus' period of office, and, certainly, on the basis of the letter recorded by Josephus he cannot have held office after the death of Hyrcanus II in 40.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, by early 46 Postumus seems to have joined Caesar in Africa during his campaign against the last Pompeian remnants, since in the history of the war, the *Bellum Africum*, a formal source in which he appears under the official name of Rabirius Postumus, it is mentioned that he is despatched to Sicily with some of Caesar's warships to secure a second convoy of reinforcements and food-supplies—a particularly suitable mission for a trader of his stature.¹⁰⁶

Following the African war, it is to Cicero we once more turn for the last known details of Postumus' career. The picture that emerges from the letters is of a man with fervent Caesarian sympathies, who frequently causes Cicero exasperation, but still remains his friend and a regular visitor to his house. In a letter dated 19 May 45, in which writing from Tusculum he tells Atticus about his decision to defend Gaius Marius, a relative of Caesar, Cicero with dismay exclaims 'what times we live in if Postumus is thinking of standing for the consulship !'. From the context and the highly ironic tone of the letters it becomes apparent that Cicero is referring to his old 'annoying' friend,¹⁰⁷ and it seems quite plausible that Postumus may have tested his chances—and these were extremely high under the circumstances—of rising to the consulship during that year. However, he is never recorded as achieving the office, and, in the next year, 44, his political ambitions were dealt a crushing and apparently irrevocable blow with the death of Caesar.¹⁰⁸ Postumus seems to have remained faithful to his great patron until the end, for when Cicero writes to Atticus bewailing the unsettling political climate after Caesar's death, he remarks that the staunch Caesarians, such as Postumus, would rightly point to the dangers that the murder of their patron has unleashed and criticises

¹⁰⁵ For suggestions on the date of Postumus' proconsulship see Broughton, Supplement, 181; H.J. Masson, *Greek Terms from Roman Institutions: a Lexicon and Analysis*, Toronto 1974, 160-61; G.V. Sumner, "Cicero, Pompeius, and Rullus", *TAPA* 97 (1966) 254-55 and *ILLRP* 399.

¹⁰⁶ The first convoy had been led by Alienus, see *Caes. Bell. Afr.* 8, 26, 44; *Dio* 43.6.3; *MRR*, 2.273, 302.

¹⁰⁷ *Cic. Att.* 12.49.2, 13.9.1; *Fam.* 2.16.7 (name given Curtius), see also Dessau, "Gaius", 617f (as in n. 4) and Shackleton Bailey, *Letters to Atticus*, 5.362 (as in n. 11).

¹⁰⁸ P.A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays*, Oxford 1988, 5.

the anti-Caesarians for retaining and fulfilling Caesar's *acta* after his death.¹⁰⁹ In the same month from Puteoli in another letter to Atticus, dated 19 April 44, Postumus is also placed in the company of other Caesarians such as Censorinus, Messalla and Plancus whom Cicero calls 'a gang of brigands' (*latrocinii auctores*) who 'if they had been bolder after Caesar's death could have prevailed'.¹¹⁰

Following the death of his great patron, Postumus along with the other band of financiers who had supported Caesar, the inseparable Oppius, Balbus and Matius, seems to have readily transferred his allegiance to Caesar's adoptive son, Octavian. This relationship was probably fully reciprocated by the young Octavian, who upon his arrival in Rome might be expected to have contacted the friends and financiers of his adoptive father, especially after his fruitless efforts to convince Antony to release Caesar's money. It was Octavian who had to pay the unpaid legacies of Caesar to the plebs, and he could not have done this unless he sold his own property and resorted to the aid of the closest Caesarian financiers. That Postumus had entered the Octavian camp is shown by a letter of May/June 44 in which Cicero, writing to Atticus about his impressions of Octavian's speech, notes that he has been assisted in his preparations for the games (*ludi Victoriae*), commemorating Caesar's victory at Pharsalus, through the resources offered by Caesar's old friends—and now Octavian's financial agents—Matius—referred to before—and Postumus.¹¹¹ With the death of his friend, Cicero, in 43 Postumus fades from history. He is mentioned in no further sources, but it may be presumed that Octavian would have wished to continue to show favour to such an important financier. We do not know when Postumus died, but he would only have been around 40 to 45 years old at the death of Cicero, and it may be

¹⁰⁹ Cic. Att. 14.9.2 (name given Curtius), see also Shackleton Bailey, *Roman Nomenclature*, 21 (as in n. 13).

¹¹⁰ Cic. Att. 14.10.2 (name employed Postumus). The supposition that this is Postumus is further substantiated by the reference in the same letter to his fellow financier and staunch Caesarian, Balbus, who received Octavian in his house in Naples.

¹¹¹ Cic. Att. 15.2.3 (name given Postumus); for Matius see Att. 14.1.1 and Fam. 11.28.6-8; Suet. Aug. 10.1; Obsequens 128; Plin. Nat. 11.93; Dio 45.6.4; A. Alföldi, *Octavians Aufstieg zur Macht*, Bonn 1976, 31.

presumed that he lived for some time longer.¹¹²

The biography presented here is in many ways no more than a sketch of what was an active and busy life. But although many questions remain to be answered, this brief outline is a start, and it is to be hoped new material may yet shed further light on the career of a man who, as one of Caesar's most trusted confidants, was present at the heart of Roman politics during the last years of the Republic.

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¹¹² Some members of the group met untimely deaths, Hirtius at the hands of his own soldiers, who were acting at Octavian's instigation, and Pansa of poison sprinkled on his wounds, see Tac. Ann. 1.10; Suet. Aug. 11.1.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CLXIV. VERKANNTEN NAMEN

Hymnicus. ICUR 5353 aus alten Gewährsleuten beginnt *Innico fra[tri bene] merenti*. Der merkwürdige Name *Innicus* bereitet Schwierigkeiten. Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 327 vermutet eine aus dem Tiernamen *hinnus* abgeleitete Bildung *Hinnicus*, was recht unwahrscheinlich ist. Kürzlich hat Ferrua, *RPAA* 62 (1989-1990 [1992]) 200 *Innoci* als Dativ aus *innox* vorgeschlagen, auch sehr unwahrscheinlich. Ich frage mich, ob hier *Hymnicus* vorliegen könnte. Ein solcher Name ist freilich, soweit ich sehe, nicht bezeugt, kann aber als eine plausible Bildung angesetzt werden. *Hymnus* und *Hymnis* sind überaus beliebte Namen in Rom, und *-icus* ist ein übliches Suffix von griechischen Anthroponyma in römischer Zeit; ausserdem existiert im Griechischen das Adjektiv ὑμνικός, zu dem der Name gebildet werden konnte. Es sei noch notiert, dass es in Rom viele okkasionelle Namenbildungen auf *-icus* gibt, und ein *Hymnicus* würde sich zu diesen zwanglos gesellen.

Fronto. In *CIL* X 5905 (Anagnia) liest Mommsen (er hat den Text selbst gesehen) den Namen des Stifters *C. Luccius Eros / actor v.s.*, das Wort *actor* freilich mit Vorbehalt. Zu lesen ist *C. Luccius Fro/nto v(otum) s(olvit)*. In der letzten Zeile findet sich zwischen NTO und V ein hedera-artiger Trennpunkt, den Mommsen versehentlich als Buchstaben deutete.

In der von C. Ricci, *Prosopographica*, Poznań 1993, 204 Nr.5 herausgegebenen Grabinschrift eines aus Savaria gebürtigen Soldaten muss der Name des Errichters statt *Uluzanus* ohne weiteres *[A]uluzanus* heissen. Zu diesem Namen vgl. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* 35ff.

In der von V. Bracco kürzlich in *Epigraphica* 57 (1995) 199-201 Nr. 1 herausgegebenen Inschrift aus dem Territorium von Volcei ist statt *Quintus Redemtus* ohne weiteres *Q. Vinius Redemtus* zu verstehen und

wohl auch zu lesen, wie man dem beigefügten Photo entnehmen kann. Ein Vinnius Amiantus und eine Vinnia Amiantis in dem benachbarten Paestum: CIL X 500 = I.Paestum 210.

Pecuensis. In Epigraphica 32 (1970) 112 Nr. 177 lesen wir die folgende stadtrömische Inschrift: *d.m.s. Picuensis Lascivi fil(ius) pius* usw. *Picuensis* (ich habe keine Gelegenheit gehabt, die Richtigkeit der Lesung zu kontrollieren) muss für *Pecuensis* stehen, wie auch der Editor Ferrua vermutet. Was aber den Namen interessant macht, ist die Suffixbildung. *-ensis* steht in Cognomina nur als Ableitung aus Ortsnamen, und auch die Adjektive auf *-ensis* gehören alle zu einer speziellen Ortsbezeichnung (H. Gähwiler, Das lateinische Suffix *-ensis*, Diss. Zürich 1962, 29). Wir müssen also annehmen, dass unser Cognomen aus einer unbelegten speziellen Ortsbezeichnung gebildet ist etwa nach dem Vorbild von *piscis - piscina - piscinensis* : *pecu - x - pecuensis*. Wenn zwei Iuventii das Cognomen *Laterensis* führen (RE X 1365 Nr. 15f), so werden sie vermutlich ursprünglich in der Nähe eines Ziegelhaufens gewohnt haben (anders freilich Kajanto, Latin Cognomina 309). In der späteren Zeit ist allerdings die Anknüpfung an die Bedeutung bei der Bildung von Cognomina verblasst, und verschiedenste Gedankenassoziationen haben das Cognomen *Pecuensis* hervorrufen können.

CLXV. FALSCHER NAMEN

In der akephalen Inschrift CIL X 5939 aus Anagnia, die Mommsen aus der Abschrift von Stevenson publizierte, las er den Namen *Camuriusnia (?) Roffina*. Die Inschrift wurde kürzlich von M. G. Granino Cecere, Dives Anagnia, Roma 1993, 122 mit gutem Photo neu herausgegeben (ihr ist es auch gelungen, dem Text ein neues Fragment hinzuzufügen). Die neue Editorin versucht, die Mommsensche Lesung weiter zu untermauern, der Name bleibt aber nach wie vor problematisch. Nun ist bei der Erklärung davon auszugehen, dass sich zwischen den zwei Zeilen, auf die der Name verteilt sein soll, ein langes *vacat* findet. Wahrscheinlich gehören die Elemente auf den zwei Zeilen nicht zu demselben Namen. Ich lese *Camurius Niarc[hus]* und *[--- Ru]fina*. Ich habe den Text im Mai 1996 mit Mika Kajava und Kalle Korhonen aufgenommen und genau überprüft und glaube versichern zu können, dass der letzte Buchstabe der ersteren

Zeile eher ein C als ein O ist (ausserdem wäre eine Graphie *Rofina* für *Rufina* recht merkwürdig). Warum ein Teil der Oberfläche unbeschriftet blieb, steht dahin; vielleicht hat der Steinmetz einige Zeilen des Konzepts übersprungen, weil er sie nicht deuten konnte, hat aber einen entsprechenden Raum auf dem Stein leer gelassen. Auch der Textbefund befürwortet meine Interpretation. Die Inschrift ist zunächst einem Anonymen (dessen Name in dem verloren gegangenen oberen Teil stand) gewidmet, von dem gesagt wird *ex quo nati* (NATI ist sicher, nicht NAI mit Mommsen zu lesen) *sun(t) vigintiunu(s)*; dass unmittelbar danach noch eine *Camuriusnia Rofina filia ipsuius* folgen würde, wäre etwas sonderbar. *Camurius* ist ein gut bekannter Gentilname, auch in der regio I belegt (s. ThLL Onom. II 130). *Niarchus* steht für *Nearchus*, der im griechischen Bereich ein überaus häufiges Anthroponym darstellt und auch in der römischen Onomastik belegt ist (CIL VI 9106. XV 1270).

Craesconius. Dieser Name soll in der von A. Ferrua, RAC 69 (1993) 140 Nr. 36 publizierten, wohl heidnischen Inschrift vorliegen, wobei *Craesc-* für *Cresc-* stehen soll. Das ist nicht glaubwürdig. *Cresconius* ist ein ausschliesslich christlicher Name, zudem typisch afrikanisch, in Rom weniger verbreitet (und ausserdem kann davor nicht ein Cognomen *Libertinius* vorliegen: darauf habe ich in dem vorigen Band des *Arctos* 182 hingewiesen). Die Inschrift ist einer Frau *Hygia* gewidmet; zu verstehen etwa *[St]ertinius / [---]aes coniu[gi]*. Die griechische Anthroponymie kennt mehrere in Rom belegte Bildungen mit dem zweiten Glied *-paes*; etwa *Eupaes* lässt sich einige Male belegen (s. mein Namenbuch 956); dieser Name stünde auch raummässig gut.

Caelius. In dem bedeutsamen abellatischen Munizipaldekret CIL X 1208 = Sherk 28 wird der Name des Geehrten seit jeher *Caelius* gelesen; Mommsen, der den Stein in Avella selbst gesehen hat, hat die frühere Lesart wahrscheinlich gedankenlos übernommen, ohne sie auf ihre Richtigkeit hin zu prüfen. Die Inschrift findet sich heute im Archäologischen Museum in Neapel. Der Geehrte heisst *C. Caesius C. fil. Pal. Verus*. Ein warnendes Beispiel dafür, dass auch die Mommsenschen Lesungen nie ohne kritische Prüfung übernommen werden sollten.

CLXVI. VARIA URBANA

1. CIL VI 21213, von Marangoni einmal im Zisterzienserkloster in Anagni gesehen, dort aber nicht mehr vorhanden, ist Fragment eines Laterculus, der Namen von Sklaven auf drei Kolumnen verzeichnet. Aus der Wiedergabe von Marangoni zu schliessen, war die Tafel auf allen Seiten gebrochen. Die Namen sind von Marangoni teilweise korrupt wiedergegeben. Einiges wurde von Henzen verbessert, ein paar Stellen lassen sich aber weiter heilen. I 1: überliefert ist LICYNIANVS, Henzen vermutet *Licinianus* oder *Licymnianus*. Die zweite Alternative ist praktisch ausgeschlossen, denn das zum mythischen Namen gebildete Anthroponym *Licymnius* (Bechtel HPN 574) ist recht selten belegt, weswegen eine Ableitung davon noch unwahrscheinlicher anmutet. Y für *i* ist eine alltägliche Erscheinung (also keine Verlesung von seiten Marangonis); I 4: PALMA S ist vielleicht in *Palmes* zu verbessern, kaum *Palma* mit einem unetymologischen griechisch beeinflussten *s* (H.S., *Arctos* 7 (1972) 199; zum Namen ferner H.S., *Zu lukanischen Inschriften*, 1981, 58). I 7 *Asture(n)sis* ist ein Hapax (fehlt bei Kajanto *Latin Cognomina*), doch vollends glaubwürdig. I 8 TEIANAX ist heilbar: Unter Annahme einer leichten Verlesung der ersten drei Buchstaben (markante Serifen werden mit dem Querstrich des T verwechselt) erhält man den guten Namen *Ifianax*, der in derselben Schreibung mit *-f-* in CIL VI 1056 c III, 17 belegt ist. I 9 PHILNVS ist natürlich *Philinus*. II 1 THIESAEVS soll Henzen zufolge korrupt sein; es liegt aber keine Korruptel vor, sondern einfach eine abweichende Schreibung für *Theseus*. II 7 MAMETINVS ist *Mamertinus*. II 8 EVGRAMNVS ist in *Eugrammus* zu verbessern. III 6: statt dem überlieferten HERN liegt wohl ein Name auf *Herm[---]* vor; ein zu dem Ethnikon gebildetes Anthroponym *Hernicus* ist mir unbekannt (spasshaft sei angedeutet, dass Anagnia im Hernikergebiet liegt). III 7: in AIRG[---] ist vielleicht das nicht unübliche Cognomen *Atrox* zu erblicken. III 8: die Deutung von AGNAT[---] bleibt unsicher; *agnatus* hat keine Eigennamen erzeugt.

2. Der Name der Verstorbenen in ICUR 15755 ist bisher auf kontroverse Weise erklärt worden. Überliefert ist MOΥΣΕΝΑ·ΙΡΗΝΗ. Normalerweise hat man dort den Namen Μοῦσα, gefolgt von dem Wort εἰρήνη, gesehen (so Ferrua in ICUR und Wessel 801, die durch die Annahme einer Art Metathese von εν und α Μοῦσα ἐν εἰρήνῃ verstehen.

Andere wiederum haben in dem Namen eine kleinasiatische Bildung gesehen (so Jalabert - Mouterde, in DACL VII 1, 640). Beides befriedigt nicht sonderlich. Zuletzt zur Inschrift s. P.W.van der Horst-G.Mussies, ZPE 110,1996,285-289, die aber für den Namen keine eigene Erklärung bringen, und anscheinend auch nicht verstanden haben, dass hier einfach allem Anschein nach ein zweiteiliger Name, bestehend aus Nomen und Cognomen, vorliegt: Μουσηνα Ἰρήνη. *Mussenus* ist als Gentilname belegt: CIL IX 5612 (vgl. Schulze ZGLE 197) und konnte jederzeit auch mit einem *s* geschrieben werden; wohlgemerkt gibt es *Musienus* (CIL V 5160) neben *Mussienus* (CIL IX 146), *Musetius* neben *Mussetius*, *Musidius* neben *Mussidius* usw.

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A READING IN CONSENTIUS RECONSIDERED

A case of palatalization

RAIJA VAINIO

The *ars de barbarismis et metaplasms* of the grammarian Consentius, who lived in Gaul in the fifth century,¹ is the largest discourse on barbarisms written by the Romans—it could even be regarded as a monograph. Usually the treatise on barbarisms and solecisms is part of the chapter *de vitiis et virtutibus* in a Roman *ars grammatica* following the discussion of *partes orationis*. Barbarism, defined by Roman grammarians as 'a mistake made in a single word', involves mistakes in spelling and in pronunciation, and in this way the examples which grammarians use can reflect linguistic changes in these areas. Grammatical texts were particularly prone to changes in the copying tradition which continued through centuries. Their specific language was not automatically understood by the copyists and therefore the possibility of omissions and interpolations is greater than in literary texts. This concerns especially the grammatical examples, which however cannot be revised without difficulty. The following passage² of Consentius has not, in my opinion, been correctly edited, although the right proposition regarding the text has been made.

Consentius' text has survived in two manuscripts. The only ms. available to H. Keil (in *Grammatici Latini* 5 of the year 1868) was the *codex Monacensis*, because the other one, the *codex Basileensis*, was not found until the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore only M. Niedermann's edition of the year 1937 is based on both the manuscripts. It is generally acknowledged that *B* is earlier; according to Niedermann it dates back to the

¹ Cf. R.A. Kaster, *Guardians of language: the grammarian and society in late Antiquity*, 1988, 396-397.

² I discussed the passage preliminarily in a seminar organized by Classical Philology at Helsinki University, in Tvärminne in March 1996. I am grateful to all who offered me valuable opinions there. Special thanks are due to Prof. Toivo Viljamaa and Dr.Ph. Anne Helttula.

end of the 8th century or to the beginning of the 9th, whereas *M* is probably from the 9th (being previously dated to the 10th century). Niedermann prefers *B* to *M* because of its obvious superiority in many passages (praef. xiv, xix, xxxiv). Already E.O. Winstedt³ paid attention to many readings which are better preserved in *B*.

Before the passage in question, Consentius deals with iotacisms, mytacisms and lambdacisms, considering them especially from the point of view of different nations: what kind of iotacisms Gauls commit etc. The following passage seems also to have something to do with the pronunciation of *i* but Consentius does not regard the case as a iotacism. The text runs as follows in *M*. Niedermann's edition (Consent. gramm. 17,1-6):

sed et in aliis litteris sunt gentilia quaedam quorundam uitia. ecce ut <in t> Itali ita pingue nescio quid sonant, ut cum dicunt 'etiam', nihil de media syllaba infringant. Graeci contra, ubi non debent infringere, de sono eius litterae infringunt, ut, cum dicunt 'optimus', mediam syllabam ita sonent, quasi post t z Graecum admisceant.

However, we would get a better reading also in this passage if we followed *B* more closely. Niedermann indeed has adopted *Itali* from *B* (*ecce ut itali ita pingue nescio quid sonant ut cum dicit ita etiam*), while *M* reads *ecce ut in tali uerbo ita pingue nescio quid sonat ut dicunt etiam*. Keil emends *ecce in littera t aliqui ita pingue nescio quid sonant, ut dicunt etiam* (GL 5,395,3-7). Consequently, neither of the manuscripts has *in t*, but its omission is easy to understand since it would have been followed by two words with almost identical beginnings. At first I had some doubts whether it would have been better not to add it into the text, because—as I said above—the passage does not concern *t* in general but only in connexion with *i*. Consentius however gives a specification *in aliis litteris* which means other letters than *i*, *l* and *m* because they have already been dealt with. The correction *in t* is defended also by the fact that the succeeding text discusses other letters (*c*, *s*, *u*) which find their expression in respective characters.

One problem here is caused by the verb *infringere* because of its uncommonness in the grammarians;⁴ thus as a technical term, as Consentius seems to use it, its specific sense remains uncertain. The two main meanings of *infringere* are 'to break, shatter' and 'to reduce, weaken'. J.B. Hofmann

³ "A Bâle MS of Consentius", *AJPh* 26 (1905) 22-31.

⁴ In addition to this Consentius' passage it occurs only twice (besides Priscian who discusses its conjugation), but the connexion is totally different: in *Char. gramm.* 134,5-8 and *Mar.Victor.* GL 6,94,26.

explains it in this passage as approximately identical to *demere*.⁵ But whenever Consentius uses a verb in this meaning, his choice is *subtrahere* (passim) or *detrahere* (e.g. 13,19). Isidore of Seville (at the turn of the 6th c.) may give us further information. He describes different nations and their way of pronunciation:⁶ *Omnes mediterraneae gentes in palato sermones ferunt, sicut Graeci et Asiani. Omnes Occidentis gentes verba in dentibus frangunt, sicut Itali et Hispani.* The meaning of *infringere* by Consentius could be roughly the same as *in dentibus frangere*, 'to break, to cause a friction in the teeth'.⁷ This sense fits well the subject, which is generally interpreted as the palatalization of *ti*.

The articulation which Consentius seems to consider correct is rather */etʃam/* than */et^siam/*.⁸ He would then be describing the intermediate stage of this phenomenon; in between */ti/* and */t^si/* there is precisely */tʃ/*.⁹ It may be that a word like *etiam*, which actually is a compound, preserved the */j/*-sound longer than a word with an original */ti/*-sound. This would explain the reason for Consentius' rather peculiar choice of example. As far as I know, *etiam* is not met with in other grammarians, not even as an example involving the semivowel.¹⁰

Consentius does not connect the case, which evidently is one of some kind of palatalization, with iotacisms, as Servius and Pompeius do (cf. below). In fact Consentius is the only grammarian who seems to mention

⁵ *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* s.v. 1494,14. The verb is used of voice in the meaning *abscidere, abrumpere* 'to break, interrupt'.

⁶ Isid. orig. 9,1,8. Isidore's characterization is very general, and it does not go into separate sounds.

⁷ In glosses both these verbs are explained by κλω, κατεάσσω and other verbs signifying 'breaking' (ThLL s.v.).

⁸ To make it more clear, I use two ways in describing the palatalization phonemically. Both */tʃ/* and */t^s/* refer to an affricated plosive, but the difference lies in the way it has been interpreted by the grammarians. Consequently, if a grammarian speaks about *sibilus*, */t^s/* is used.

⁹ Cf. for instance F. Sommer & R. Pfister, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre I*, 1977⁴, §126c.

¹⁰ Quint. inst. 1,4,10 is in dispute. Grammarians discuss it only as a conjunction.

both the iotacism and the palatalization, but separates them.¹¹ The mistake made by *Itali*—*cum dicunt 'etiam', nihil de media syllaba infringant*—would be "they do not break anything from/in the middle syllable". This implies the pronunciation /*etiam*/, preserving the /*i*/, or even /*etijam*/, because Consentius obviously alludes to a trisyllabic pronunciation. The *pingue nescio quid* would refer to a too open /*i*/,¹² or—if the sound is attached to /*t*/ (as the emendation *in t* made by Niedermann suggests)—to the impression caused by the close front unrounded /*i*/ which follows: as if the production of an extra syllable made /*t*/ more forceful.¹³ In any case the mistake is the preservation of the vowel /*i*/, and the impression of 'too long' a word.

The explanation offered by W.M. Lindsay is somewhat inadequate.¹⁴ He too seems to suggest that the mistake made by *Itali* was the non-palatalization of *ti* whereas the correct pronunciation according to Consentius would be a kind of palatalization. This corresponds to my interpretation fairly well, and all the more because Lindsay defines the palatalization as "not necessarily an *s*-sound".¹⁵ But he does not explain what the *pingue nescio quid* is which sounds in *t*. In the case of *optimus* he actually had only one choice because at that time he had no knowledge of

¹¹ By iotacism Consentius understands a mispronunciation in which *i* is produced too openly or too closely (15,14). Diomedes seems to connect it with an abnormal extension of this vowel (GL 1,453,6-7). Another typical determination involves the semivowel (Mart.Cap. 33,514; Isid. orig. 1,32,7; Iulian.Tolet. gramm. 1,24 Lindsay). See L. Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical*, 1981, 160; M. Niedermann, "Iotacismus, labdacismus, mytacismus", RPh 74 (1948) 5-15.

¹² Quintilian (inst. 1,4,8 and 1,7,22) speaks about a sound which is intermediate between /*i*/ and /*e*/ (*heri*—*here*).—A late commentator of Donatus discusses the pronunciation of the syllables *ti* and *ci*; according to him, *i* has a different sound after *t* (GL 5,327): *per immutationem syllabae, ut pernitias pro perniciis. ... ad quod respondendum immutationem esse syllabae veraciter, quia immutatur t cum suo i in locum c et i. alterum namque sonum habet i post t et alterum post c. nam post c habet pinguem sonum, post t gracilem.*

¹³ An inscription from northern Italy (CIL V 6205,5 from Milan) presents a reading *ettiam*, which probably reflects the palatalization. On the other hand, Consentius cannot mean a strong reduplication of /*t*/, because he could easily have explained it in this very way, with two characters.—As an example of *adiectio litterae* he gives among others *tottum pro toto, cottidie pro cotidie* (gramm. 11,3-7).

¹⁴ *The Latin language: an historical account of Latin sounds, stems, and flexions*, 1894, II §90, cf. also II §85.

¹⁵ He describes, however, the palatalization with /*s*/, and he seems to mean pronunciations /*et^sam*/ or /*et^siam*/.

the other manuscript.

I am inclined to think, agreeing with Winstedt, that we get a better reading if we follow *B* also in this latter part of the text: *cum dicunt 'optimus', mediam syllabam ita sonent, quasi post t y Graecum admisceant*. Niedermann does not accept the *ypsilon*, explaining that Romans themselves pronounced neither /i/ nor /u/ in that position; why would Consentius reproach Greeks for this? What Niedermann is arguing against, is that this passage cannot pertain to the intermediate vowel, the one which is between /i/ and /u/ and which occurs before a labial.¹⁶ It causes confusion in writing, and its stock example (found since Varro) is exactly the one offered here, *optimus—optumus*.¹⁷ It may be of some importance that the example given in *M* is in the form of *optumus*, which would be readily understandable if the text contained *ypsilon*.

But Niedermann fails to keep in mind that the actual issue is not the intermediate vowel but the pronunciation of *t*. The Greeks "break the sound of *t*" or "diminish the sound of *t* by breaking it", *infringunt de sono eius litterae*. The result is described by Consentius as *optimus*, preserving the /i/; he says that *y* is mixed in after *t*, not that it replaces *i*. This means that the pronunciation would be something like /optⁱimus/ which is quite near to Consentius' description. For the Greek *ypsilon* as a close front rounded vowel, together with *i* and pronounced very closely, develops into a sound which is not very far from /j/. It sounds as if /t/ were broken and produced more like /tⁱ/; the friction which is naturally produced after a dental stop seems to be somewhat strengthened. There was no written equivalent for /j/, so Consentius' way of describing it is as good as any. So the mistake made by Greeks is the faint palatalization of *ti* in a wrong place, before a consonant, as has been explained by Lindsay and Niedermann and will be seen below, but not such a strong one as a *z* in the text would imply. Respectively, if Consentius had accepted the pronunciation with a sibilant, it would have been easier for him to explain it by *ut 'etiam' sine z sonant* or

¹⁶ Emperor Claudius introduced for this vowel a symbol (þ) which occurs in inscriptions of the Claudian era but is hardly used afterwards (Suet. Claud. 41; Vel. GL 7,75,17-18 = Claudius frg. 4 Mazzarino).

¹⁷ Varro frg. 269 Funaioli = Cornutus in Cassiod. GL 7,150,10-17; Quint. inst. 1,4,8 and 1,7,21; Vel. GL 7,49,19-20; Scaur. GL 7,24,14; Don. mai. 604,3 Holtz; Char. gramm. 98,15 Barwick; Serv. GL 4,421,31-33; Serg. GL 4,476,2-6; Diom. GL 1,422,17-19; Cledon. GL 5,27,9-12; Mart.Cap. 3,293; Pomp. GL 5,195,1; Prisc. GL 2,7,15-16; Iulian.Tolet. gramm. 19,4 Lindsay; comm.Eins. GL 8,223,15-18.

sine sibilo instead of *nihil infringunt* etc. It may be that in a word like *optimus* this faint palatalization caught special attention, because actually the correct pronunciation was /opt̪imus/, in which /t̪/ represents the intermediate vowel;¹⁸ the contrast to /opt̪imus/ with a clear *i*-sound is even greater.

If we apply Consentius' information about "Italian" pronunciation (*Itali nihil infringunt*) to the other example, we may find /optimus/ best preserved in Italian *ottimo*: *t* has not been "broken" but on the contrary strengthened by the assimilation of /pt/. Could it be that in cases in which these consonants have not been assimilated (cf. Spanish and Portuguese *óptimo*), this kind of slight friction would have taken effect?

Consentius' description *opt̪imus* brings to mind his characterization of iotacisms, and particularly again the one committed by Greeks. According to him, they pronounce a certain part of *i* in initial position too closely, so that they seem to make a double sound of it (vowel + semivowel instead of a semivowel). As a result a monosyllabic word *ius* /jūs/ becomes disyllabic /ijūs/.¹⁹ Apparently the Greeks (whether they are Greeks living in Gaul or newcomers from Greece who try to speak Latin, is not certain) had difficulties with the pronunciation of palatal /j/ in Latin. It is also interesting that Isidore above characterized the articulation of Greeks as palatalizing.

Niedermann (xxxiv) prefers the *zeta* in *M* to the *ypsilon* in *B*, basing his decision on other grammarians. He brings forward primarily Papirianus (GL 7,216):

Iustitia cum scribitur, tertia syllaba sic sonat, quasi constet ex tribus litteris t z et i, cum habeat duas, t et i. sed notandum quia in his syllabis iste sonus litterae z inmixtus inveniri tantum potest, quae constant ex t et i et eas sequitur vocalis quaelibet, ut Tatius et otia iustitia et talia. excipiuntur quaedam nomina propria, quae peregrina sunt. sed ab his syllabis excluditur sonus z litterae, quas sequitur littera i, ut otii iustitii. item non sonat z, cum syllabam ti antecedit littera s, ut iustius castius.

It is worth noticing that *optimus*, or any word like it in which *ti* is followed by a consonant, is not discussed in the quotation above. According to Niedermann, the mistake mentioned by Consentius in *optimus* is the addition of a sibilant in a syllable which is not followed by a vowel. But

¹⁸ Cf. W.S. Allen (*Vox Latina: a guide to the pronunciation of classical Latin*, 1965, 56-59) who to my mind is right in interpreting the intermediate vowel as a central one; i.e. not identical to the Greek /i/, which is a front vowel, although it is by some later grammarians symbolized by the Greek letter *y*.

¹⁹ Consent. gramm. 15,17-19.

would not this kind of wrong use rather occur in a word like *otii*, given as an example by Papirianus? According to him the palatalization should not arise there because *ti* is followed by *i*. Yet the sibilant is pronounced in other forms of the same word (like */ot^sium/*). The restriction, which to my knowledge is met with only here, is possibly due to the fact that such a word in the genitive is likely to lose a syllable (*/ōt^siī/ > /ōt^sjī/*), or perhaps even two in the intermediate stage of the palatalization (*/ōt^jiī/ > /ōt^jj/*). Gradually, under the pressure from other inflexions the palatalization spread into these forms too.

In view of Greek phonology and misspellings with S or Z in Latin inscriptions */opt^simus/* or */opt^smus/* hardly finds support.²⁰ The inscriptions show the palatalized *ti* usually after a vowel or N or R, less commonly after a plosive (CIL XII 2086 *sepsies*), and even after S, which is forbidden by grammarians (CIL IX 4028 *Ametyssianus* beside *Ametyste*), but not once before a consonant. Although both the examples, *etiam* and *optimus*, do not have to concern exactly the same sound, the way in which Consentius poses the problem (e.g. use of verb *infringere*) would rather suggest it. Because the alternative */opt^simus/* hardly is probable, this too would speak on behalf of excluding */et^siam/*, and of the variation between */tj/*—*/ti/* being discussed.

It seems that the main error, which scholars tend to make as they try to interpret Consentius' passage, is the presumption that the grammarians must always explain the phenomena in exactly the same way. Papirianus describes the palatalization of *ti* with help of *z* but presumably he, as well as other grammarians who use it, are later than Consentius.²¹ Servius (before Consentius) and Pompeius only speak about *sibilus*; this word is not even used by Consentius.

Servius, who in the late fourth century commented on Donatus, still tries to stick to the grammatical tradition defining the palatalization as incorrect; he specifies it as an instance of iotacism. His explanation is not very convincing but fairly transparently reveals the actual pronunciation of his time (GL 4,445,8-12):

iotacismi sunt, quotiens post ti vel di syllabam sequitur vocalis, et plerumque

²⁰ As I have been informed by Finnish experts on Greek.—For material see V. Väänänen (Introduction au latin vulgaire, 1967, §95-99), Sommer & Pfister (§126b) and M. Leumann (Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre I, 1977, §139b and §161b).

²¹ Kaster (421-422) dates Papirianus in the late 5th century or in the early 6th, or after the mid 4th century. The first estimate appears to be more plausible.—Prisc. GL 2,24,5-7; Isid. orig. 1,27,28 and 20,9,4.

supra dictae syllabae in sibilum transeunt, tunc scilicet, quando medium locum tenent, ut merities. quando autem primum locum tenent, etiam sic positae, sicut dicuntur, ita etiam sonandae sunt, ut dies tiaras.

But in the commentary on Virgil's *Georgica* (2,126) he inadvertently gives the impression as if the palatalized pronunciation were generally acceptable: '*Media fert tristes sucos*'. '*di sine sibilo proferenda est: graecum enim nomen est, et Media provincia est.*' This implies that the Latin adjective '*media*' should be pronounced *cum sibilo*. Accordingly, Servius is the first to approve of a sibilant in general, which had through the ages been a despised sound both in Greek and Latin.²²

As seen above, Consentius seems to find the palatalization acceptable, but Pompeius²³ is the first grammarian who explicitly declares it correct; he considers the missing palatalization as a case of iotacism. The main information we get from his text is: whenever the syllable *ti* or *di* is in medial position followed by a vowel, this syllable must turn into a sibilant; it is incorrect to pronounce these syllables as they are written. The only exception is when there already is a sibilant at the beginning of the syllable (*ca-sti-us*). This specification makes it clear that in Pompeius the *sibilus* refers to a sibilant, but at first sight the reader may be confused by the fact that the examples are written in exactly the same form, without any *s* or *z*. I quote only a few sentences from his thorough explanation:²⁴

iotacismi sunt, qui fiunt per i litteram, siqui ita dicat, Titius pro eo quod est Titius, Aventius pro eo quod est Aventius, Amantius pro eo quod est Amantius. [...] fit hoc vitium, quotiens post ti vel di syllabam sequitur vocalis, si non sibilus sit. quotienscumque enim post ti vel di syllabam sequitur vocalis, illud ti vel di in sibilum vertendum est. [...] si autem prima fuerit [...], etiamsi sequatur vocalis, non illam vertit in sibilum. ecce dies habet post se vocalem; debemus dicere dies, sed non dicimus. [...] sed hoc servare debemus, etiam quando praecedunt duae consonantes, castius. [...] ubi s littera est, ibi non possumus sibilum in ipsa i littera facere, quoniam ipsa syllaba a litteris accepit sibilum.

It is generally understood that the three examples given by Pompeius should be pronounced /*tit*^s*ius*, /*avent*^s*ius*, /*amant*^s*ius*/.²⁵ Yet Pompeius' explanation

²² "The ban on /s/ was finally lifted", to quote Prof. Viljamaa's words.

²³ See Kaster 139 and 343-344: Pompeius is to be placed in the late fifth or perhaps early sixth century.

²⁴ Pomp. GL 5,286,7-33. Keil says in his critical apparatus: *grammaticus sibilum, qui fit pronuntiatione, scribendo non videtur expressisse.*

²⁵ Lately e.g. Kaster 157-158.

does not exclude the pronunciation without /i/: /tit^sus/ etc. respectively.²⁶ Unfortunately he does not use as examples words like *pretium*, *medius*, which would make the latter interpretation more probable (cf. Italian *prezzo*, *mezzo*).²⁷ But in another passage, which concerns vowels, he seems to make it more clear (Pomp. GL 5,104,5-7): *similiter [sc. atque u] et i sic patitur. itur, ecce tenuius sonat; si dicas Titius, pinguius sonat et perdit sonum suum et accipit sibilum*. Lindsay suggests the same, relying also on the evidence of inscriptions,²⁸ in which the *i* is often missing.²⁹

If the information given by Pompeius is to be interpreted as I have stated above, i.e. *Titius* was pronounced /tit^sus/, it would perhaps at first appear to support the alternative that Consentius would find /et^sam/ as the correct pronunciation (instead of /etⁱam/ which I prefer). But according to Pompeius /etiam/ would then be a iotacism which it is not by Consentius. Consentius too finds it incorrect; he does not however connect the issue with *i*, but instead with the whole syllable *ti* and more closely with *t*. These two grammarians are probably speaking about the same situation but from a different point of view, and therefore it is quite natural that Consentius describes it in a different way.

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²⁶ Similarly Lindsay 1894, II §48, and K. Mras, "Assibilierung und Palatalisierung im späteren Latein", WS 63 (1948) 86-101.

²⁷ I have had long discussions upon this subject with Prof. Viljamaa.—It only makes one wonder whether the original manuscript contained an *i longa* or similar (i.e. *Titius pro eo quod est Titlus*), which was later copied as *i*. As a matter of fact, *il* is sometimes, at least in later half-uncial script, used to represent the palatalized *ti* (cf. E.A. Lowe 1910, "Studia palaeographica: a contribution to the history of early Latin minuscule and to the dating of Visigothic manuscripts" in: Palaeographical papers 1907-1965, I 2-65, Oxford 1972). According to B. Bischoff this script was of African origin, and it is attested from roughly the early fifth century (Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters, 1986², 105 and 238; the English translation of 1990, Latin palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 76 and 183, with plates). Since Pompeius lived in Africa, he could have used this kind of script.

²⁸ Handbook of Latin inscriptions: illustrating the history of the language, 1897, 116. He gives as examples *nuntius* and *uncia* which have been pronounced as disyllables.

²⁹ E.g. VINCENTZVS (Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* 253); CIL VIII 16208 VINCENTZA, 9927 TERENSVS, 9942 MARSALIS; 8424 OZE (= *hodie*), XIV 1137 ZEBVS (= *diebus*). All these are from Africa except the last one which is from Ostia.—For further material see e.g. Väänänen and other references given in footnote 20.

POSSIBLE ONE-VERSE ADDITIONS BEFORE EUR. *SUPPLICES* 263

ROLF WESTMAN

The entreaty of Adrastus on behalf of the Argive mothers (vv. 163-192) has been flatly refused by King Theseus (195-249). Adrastus gives up and tells the mothers to withdraw from the Eleusinian altar of Demeter (258-262). From the Argive point of view, all seems lost.

At this critical moment, the Chorus take action for a last passionate plea. First the Coryphaeus appeals to Theseus, invoking the blood relationship between the mothers and Theseus himself. Then the chorus members continue in lyrics, forming two hemichoria. Their moving appeal awakens compassion in Theseus' mother Aethra, whose words (297-331) bring about a change of heart in the King, allowing the play to continue.

Already Melanchthon and Xylander, in their Latin translation published in Basle 1558, saw that something had been lost before 263. W. Canter in 1571 was more explicit¹: as Gilbert Murray states in his critical apparatus *ad loc.* (Eur. *Fabulae* II, third ed., Oxford 1913), Canter expressed the missing thought by the words "O Rex, tu filius filiae es Pitthei". This appears to supply the necessary information. As far as I know, J. Barnes in his Cambridge edition of Euripides (1694) was the first to suggest a Greek verse here. Barnes's note, as quoted by F. A. Paley (Vol. I of his three-volume edition of Euripides, London 1857, p. 389), runs: "Tale quid addendum credo, ἡ σὴ δὲ μήτηρ Πιτθέως ἔφυσ τέκνον &c."² Paley goes on: "But he (sc. Barnes) thought it was part of the ῥῆσις of Adrastus." Again, according to Paley (*l.c.*), G. Hermann in his edition of the *Supplices* (Leipzig 1811) was the first to assign the missing verse to

¹ Whether in his Euripides edition or in his *Novarum lectionum libri octo*, I am not in a position to tell.

² Reiterated with sympathy in Euripide, *Supplici*. Introduzione, testo e commento di G. Ammendola. A cura di Vittorio D'Agostino. Torino 1964 (seconda edizione), *ad loc.* (p. 33).

the Chorus, not to Adrastus. Paley states at the beginning of his note "There is here a lacuna of several verses" and, having mentioned the well-known genealogy (cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 207-209) running from Pelops down to Theseus, is then bold enough to suggest the Greek of these "several verses", when he writes "The missing lines probably ran after this fashion:-

ἄναξ, τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς σέβου,
 ἡμῖν δ' ὀφείλεις μητρόθεν τιμωρίαν·
 ἢ Πιτθέως γάρ ἐστιν ἢ σ' ἐγείνατο,
 ὃς Πέλοπος ἦν παῖς κτλ."

A.Nauck in his Teubner Euripides (vol.I, third ed. 1871) does not give any Greek suggestion, but prints two lines of asterisks above verse 263.³ After him, it seems to be usual to indicate only one missing line: see Murray 1913, Grégoire 1924, Collard (with comm.) 1975, Diggle 1981 and Collard in his Teubner edition 1984.⁴

In fact, I firmly believe, *pace* Paley and, in a way, Collard 1975 (v. *infra*) that only one line has been lost. My argument is the economy of the play. Things are on the razor's edge: Theseus is already on the point of leaving and the Chorus must voice a quick, forceful appeal to catch his attention. Thus, the situation calls for a strong apostrophe, like "O Rex" in Canter; however, βασιλεῦ seems unlikely, Θεσεῦ is more probable. As Collard thinks (II 178): "The line or lines missing before 263 contained Th.s name (voc.) and a statement of his descent through his mother from her father Pittheus ... , whose name provided the antecedent to ὃς Πέλοπος ἦν παῖς" (again, cf. Canter, *supra*).

This is all true, but it is not an exhaustive account of what is needed for the verse we are looking for. Three further requirements must be met:

1. The verse 262a (as I call it for convenience) must be a principal clause, for 263 contains a subordinate clause (ὃς ... παῖς) and the rest of 263 forms with 264 an independent principal clause which continues 262a.
2. In the required principal clause, 262a, there must be a finite verb (or

³ In his *Adnotatio critica*, p. LXXXIV, Nauck makes no mention of our passage.

⁴ I have not seen G.Fucarino's edition, Palermo 1985, nor that by D.Ebener, Berlin 1990, see *L'Année philologique* D E for 1985 n.1594 and for 1990 n.1426, respectively.

possibly there could have been an ellipsis).

3. It would be natural if 262a contained the particle μέν, corresponding to δέ in the following principal clause, 263-264. This requirement, however, is not an absolute one.

It must now be shown how Collard's requirements and my three additional ones can be met in the compass of a single verse. To concretize: in addition to Θησεῦ, we need the name of his maternal grandfather. Then it would be natural to expect "you are", and probably the emphatic σὺ. Here we have already quite a number of syllables, and therefore we must look for a succinct way to express Th.s relationship to Pittheus. I suggest μητρόθεν "from mother's side" combined with the genitive of the maternal grandfather's name, Πιτθέως⁵.

Let us assume that we now have all the elements needed to construct the missing verse. The "easiest" way would be to write simply

* Θησεῦ, σὺ μητρόθεν μέν ἔσσι Πιτθέως,

which (though presenting a mid-caesura) certainly has the merit of placing the required antecedent of the following ὅς as near to it as is possible (as Canter has already done). But the suggestion fails on the grounds that the form ἔσσί is not found in extant tragedy.⁶

Therefore we have to put in εἶ, the normal Attic form. One could think of

Θησεῦ, σὺ Πιτθέως μέν εἶ τὰ μητρόθεν

or, with ellipsis,

⁵ Paley (v. *supra*) had μητρόθεν in his supplied verses, but I had thought of it before I saw his edition. I suggest it together with Πιτθέως as a kind of extended "Genitiv der Abstammung" (Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* II, München 1950, 124, γ).

⁶ If ἔσσί were admissible, one could even think of Θησεῦ, σὺ μέν παῖς παιδός ἔσσι Πιτθέως.

Θησεῦ, σὺ μὲν τοῦ Πιτθέως τὰ μητρόθεν

or perhaps in both cases τὸ μητρόθεν.

There is also the possibility

Θησεῦ, σέ γ' ἴσμεν Πιτθέως τὸ μητρόθεν

explicitly involving the Chorus as informed (and pleading) persons.

In all three cases (the first, again, has medial caesura), the name of Theseus' maternal grandfather, though not at the end of the verse, seems to carry enough weight to be readily felt as the antecedent of the immediately following relative clause.

Some readers may feel that there is little point in putting forward textual guesses that can never be proved. But, in my opinion, it is not without interest to imagine what words Euripides could have used at a critical moment of his play.

Let me conclude - remembering that Aethra is present and remembering *Med.* 683 - with the suggestion

Θησεῦ, πατὴρ σῆς μητρὸς ἦν Πιτθεὺς ἄναξ,

a powerful possibility.

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DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

Epistula Zimbabweana XXV (1991). Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy, University of Zimbabwe, Harare 1991. 19 p.

The present *Epistula* contains three papers and a review of a recently published Introduction and Translation of Plato's *Theaetetus* by M. Burnyeat. Dr. M. Waegemann writes on the *Cyranides*, a Medico-magical Prescription Book, N. Chirwa publishes a talk on Agrippina the Younger originally given at the Latin evening held at Arundel School, and A.J. Callinicos presents a note on Aeschylus. The portrait of the "merciless" Agrippina given by Ms. Chirwa is a delightful example of the standard achieved by a pupil in the second term of Form III (pupils at Arundel begin Latin in Form II).

Mika Kajava

CIRO MONTELEONE: *Stratigrafie esegetiche*. Scrinia, Collana di studi classici diretta da Paolo Fedeli e Giovanni Cipriani, 5. Edipuglia, Pisa 1992. ISBN 88-7228-105-9. 195 p. ITL 30.000 (paperback).

MONICA VISINTIN: *La vergine e l'eroe*. Temesa e la leggenda di Euthymos di Locri. Scrinia, Collana di studi classici diretta da Paolo Fedeli e Giovanni Cipriani, 4. Edipuglia, Bari 1992. ISBN 88-7228-101-6. 195 p. ITL 25.000 (paperback).

Nella collana diretta dai nostri colleghi baresi Paolo Fedeli e Giovanni Cipriani sono usciti due volumi intelligenti e interessanti. La Visintin prende le mosse da un passo pausaniano (6,6,4-11) sull'eroe olimpico Euthymos - vincitore in ben tre Olimpiadi Euthymos di Locri che cacciava un mostro che Terrorizzava gli abitanti di Temesa, una città del Bruzio di cui si è lungamente discussa la collocazione (su ciò vedi l'importante volume collettivo "Temesa e il suo territorio" segnalato anche in questa rivista vol. XIX. Oltre ad offrire un'analisi di questo e di altri passi antichi che si riferiscono a tale racconto, l'autrice presenta interessanti prospettive riguardo a sacrifici umani e simili, non senza influenza della scuola di Vernant. Anche se le sue considerazioni a talvolta appaiono un po' lunghe e teoriche, non mancano di originalità ed interesse.

Il volumetto del Monteleone raccoglie tre saggi, di cui uno solo è inedito, su tre brevi testi latini: Hor. sat. 1,8; Prop.1, 20; Tac. ann. 14, 1-13. Il titolo del libro è stato preso dall'archeologia. L'autore vuol far riemergere 'presenze' nascoste o dissimulate dei testi antichi che il coevo 'lettore modello' era in grado di cogliere e interpretare adeguatamente. Anche se il volumetto consta di tre saggi scritti in tempi diversi, esso risulta omogeneo; inoltre spicca per originalità di impostazione e di osservazioni, per cui l'utilità della sua lettura è innegabile.

Heikki Solin

Wie die Blätter am Baum, so wechseln die Wörter. 100 Jahre Thesaurus linguae Latinae. Vorträge der Veranstaltung am 29. und 30. Juni 1994 in München, hg. Dietfried Krömer. Mit einem Anhang: Materialien zur Geschichte des Thesaurus linguae Latinae, Teubner Stuttgart und Leipzig 1995. ISBN 3-8154-7100-1. x, 238 S. DEM 56.

Das 100. Jubiläum muß gefeiert werden, und wie es dem Jubiläum eines wissenschaftlichen Werkes gebührt mit einem Kolloquium. So ist es nur recht, daß zum Jubiläum des Thesaurus ein Rückblick und eine Standortbestimmung gehalten wird. Mit einem Ausflug durch die Jahrtausende der Sprachbetrachtung von Herodot bis Dante, gestützt auf Horazens *ut silvae foliis ...mutantur* (Ars poet. 60 f.) schafft J. Delz den Rahmen für die Würdigung des Werkes, das über Zeit und Raum erhaben ist

Nicht nur das "schwierige Jahrhundert", das nach D. Krömer das Wachsen des Thesaurus vor allem in seinem universalen Anspruch durch wechselnde Bündnisse und Kriege immer wieder behinderte, auch nicht nur die rasante Entwicklung der technischen Möglichkeiten "vom Tintenfaß zum Computer", die Peter Flury beschreibt, sondern ebenso die Dokumente im Anhang, angefangen von Reden, Gutachten und zwei lexikographischen Betrachtungen aus der Entstehungszeit und den ersten fünfzig Jahren zeigen die beträchtliche Dimension des Thesaurus in historischer Sicht auf.

Die ganze Bandbreite der in den Seiten des Thesaurus verborgenen Wirkkraft wird in den weiteren Aufsätzen deutlich: H. Solin führt die wechselseitigen Ergänzungs- und Verbesserungsmöglichkeiten, aber auch auftretende Reibungen zwischen Epigraphik und Thesaurus vor Augen. R. Wittmann beschreibt den großen Wert des Thesaurus für die Erforschung des Römischen Rechtes, denn er ermöglicht es auf eine direkte Weise, den breiten allgemeinen Assoziationszusammenhang juristischer Fachtermini zu erfassen, ohne den eine korrekte Beurteilung der Situation nicht möglich wäre. Für die Romanistik stellt der Thesaurus seit seinen ersten Anfängen einen wichtigen Bezugspunkt dar, die sich in ihm in gewisser Weise ihren Wurzeln zuwenden kann, wie A. Steffenelli aufzeigt, aber gleichzeitig ermöglichen die romanistischen Hinweise auch dem Latinisten Rückschlüsse auf den Stellenwert eines Wortes, v.a. wenn es nicht in den romanischen Sprachen weiterlebt. Aber auch "ein Gräzist benutzt den Thesaurus" bemerkt E. Vogt und erläutert - gemessen an der Vielzahl von Verknüpfungen der griechisch-römischen Welten - an einigen wenigen Beispielen die Einsichten, die ein Gräzist im Thesaurus gewinnen kann.

Auch heute noch gelten die Worte K. Halms bei seiner Rede vor der Philologen-Versammlung in Wien 1858: "Doch es ist Zeit zum Schluss zu eilen. Unsere Hoffnungen sind hoch gespannt; sie werden nicht alle, aber sicherlich viele in Erfüllung gehen" (121).

Uta-Maria Liertz

GERHARD BINDER, BERND EFFE (Hg.): *Tod und Jenseits im Altertum.* Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium. Band 6. 247 p. Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier 1991. ISBN 3-922 031-89-7. 247 S. DEM 36.

Das Buch enthält die Vorträge der 3. altertumswissenschaftlichen Ringvorlesung an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum 1990. Die elf Beiträge des Bandes behandeln das Thema

"Tod und Jenseits im Altertum" nicht nur in der griechischen und römischen Kultur, sondern auch in der jüdischen (H. Graf Reventlow und D. Vetter), ägyptischen (H.-P. Hasenfratz) und islamischen Tradition (H. H. Biesterfeldt). Die Verfasser analysieren sowohl den Begriff des Todes in der antiken Philosophie (R. Rehn, R. F. Gleis und Th. Kobusch) und Literatur (S. Döpp und G. Binder) als auch die verschiedenen Formen der Totenehrung in Griechenland und Rom (K.-W. Welwei und W. Kierdorf). Das Thema des Bandes wird vielseitig und interdisziplinär behandelt, was besonders zu begrüßen ist.

Marja-Leena Hänninen

M. ROSTOWZEW: *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, Band II. *Wiederentdeckte Kapitel und Verwandtes*. Übers. u. herausgeg. v. H. Heinen. In Verbindung m. G.M. Bongard-Levin u. Ju. Vinogradov. Historia Einzelschriften 83. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1993. VIII + 263 S. 36 Taf. ISBN 3-515-06399-4. Kartoniert DEM 84.

Das Ende der Sowjetunion, das neue politische Klima in Rußland, und die Entstehung neuer Staaten im ehemaligen Gebiet der UDSSR hat zweifellos dazu beigetragen, daß der Schwarzmeerraum in den letzten Jahren sich zu einem neuen Schwerpunkt der Altertumswissenschaft entwickelt hat. Dies geschieht gewiß zurecht, denn obwohl das Gebiet von Westeuropa aus gesehen eher am Rande der Alten Welt lag, spielte es eine wichtige Rolle sowohl in der griechischen als auch in der römischen Geschichte, ganz davon abgesehen, daß gerade jener Raum denjenigen besonders viel zu bieten hat, die sich für die Beziehungen zwischen der graecorömischen Antike und den "barbarischen" Völkern der Steppe interessieren, auch dies heutzutage ein beliebtes Thema.

Der große Vorläufer jener interdisziplinären Forschungen war M. I. Rostowzew (1870-1952), der bisher größte russische Altertumswissenschaftler, und einer der einflußreichsten Forscher überhaupt seiner Disziplin in unserem Jahrhundert (s. K. Christ, *Von Gibbon zu Rostovzeff*, Darmstadt 1972, 334-349). Es war das Schicksal Rostowzews (heute nach englischer Schreibweise normalerweise Rostovzeff; die alte deutsche Namenform Rostowzew wurde im Titel aus Konformitätsgründen beibehalten), seine groß angelegte Arbeit zur Geschichte Südrußlands im Altertum vom Weltkrieg und von zwei Revolutionen unterbrochen zu sehen, wie er im Vorwort zum Werk *Skythien und der Bosphorus I. Kritische Übersicht der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen*, Berlin 1931, feststellt. Die Grundlagen für jenes Buch waren durch archäologische Forschungen am Ort und zahlreiche kleinere Veröffentlichungen gelegt, aber zur Zeit seiner Emigration im 1918 fehlte noch die große Synthese. 1922 publizierte er auf Englisch *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*; auf Russisch erschien *Skifija i Bospor* (1925), und letztlich folgte das soeben genannte Werk, eine "neu bearbeitete Übersetzung aus dem Russischen". *Iranians and Greeks* entstand unter schwierigen Umständen und wurde, genau wie das russische Werk, von Rostovzeff selbst ein "Entwurf", "beinahe ohne Belege" genannt (Zitat S. 3). Die deutsche Arbeit erhielt nie ihren zweiten Teil. So blieb bisher vieles offen.

Es ist der große Verdienst einiger russischer Wissenschaftler sowie Professor Heinen, daß zu dieser Frage jetzt neue Einsichten zu gewinnen sind. 1986 wurde vom Petersburger Archäologen V. Zuev ein Manuskript Rostovzeffs gefunden, das in den Jahrgängen 1989-90 des *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* veröffentlicht wurde. Es stellte sich

heraus, daß das Manuskript den zweiten Teil zur Arbeit über Skythien und dem Bosphorus enthielt, eine Arbeit auf Russisch, die Rostovzeff offenbar während des Krieges begonnen hatte, aber weder fertigstellen noch in seinen Exil mitnehmen konnte.

Das ursprüngliche Manuskript umfaßte über 400 Seiten; davon sind 273 erhalten. Es gliedert sich folgenderweise: Kap. I. (nicht aufgefunden); Kap. II. Die vorhistorischen Denkmäler (etwa einhundert Seiten Text, erhalten, aber noch nicht publiziert); Kap. III-IV. Politische Geschichte Skythiens und des Bosphorus (etwa einhundert Seiten, nicht aufgefunden); Kap. V. Staat, Religion und Kultur der Skythen und Sarmaten (etwa 30 Seiten; einige geplante Abschnitte nicht abgeschlossen); Kap. VI. Staat und Kultur des Bosporanischen Reiches (etwa 130 Seiten). Das letzte Kapitel ist demnach das umfangreichste und gliedert sich in zwei chronologischen Teilen, welche die Epoche der Spartokiden bzw. des römischen Protektorats umfassen.

Im vorliegenden Werk wird der Text von Rostovzeff auf den Seiten 29-48 und 70-134 voröffentlicht. Dazu kommt eine ausführliche mehrteilige Einleitung, und vor allem ausführliche Kommentare zum Text. Rund 20 Seiten Kommentare von D.S. Raevskij folgen auf Kap. V, während Ju. Vinogradov die Anmerkungen zum VI. Kapitel verfaßt hat (S. 135-152).

Am Ende des Bandes folgen, nach einem kurzen Aufsatz von Rostovzeff über den "Iranischen Reitergott", drei einsichtsvolle Aufsätze zum Leben und Wirken des großen russischen Gelehrten: "Der Schaffensweg M.I. Rostovzeffs. Zur Entstehung der 'Untersuchung zur Geschichte Skythiens und des Bosporanischen Reiches'" (V.Ju. Zuev); "The South Russia of Rostovzeff: Between Leningrad and New Haven" (G.W. Bowersock); und "Schicksal eines Gelehrten: M.I. Rostovzeff und sein Platz in der russischen Altertumswissenschaft" (E.D. Frolov).

Es handelt sich demnach um ein Werk, das sowohl für die Geschichte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste als auch für die russische Wissenschaftsgeschichte wichtige Einsichten bringt. Eben wegen diesem letztgenannten Aspekt fordert das Buch von seinem Benutzer eine gewisse Konzentration. Auch nachdem man sich in der umfassenden Einleitung die Vorgeschichte der Veröffentlichung zueigen gemacht hat, steht kein besonders leichtes Lese-erlebnis bevor, falls man auch die im Anschluß an Text folgenden umfangreichen Anmerkungen beachten möchte. Aber das muß halt in Kauf genommen werden; anders hätte man wohl kaum bei dieser, es sei nochmals hervorgehoben, zu begrüßenden Veröffentlichung vorgehen können.

Christer Bruun

JERZY LINDERSKI: *Roman Questions. Selected Papers*. Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien Band 20. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1995. ISBN 3-515-06677-2. 746 p. DEM 196.

Differing in this respect from *Festschriften* and other miscellaneous collections of articles (the "obscure media", as defined by the editors of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*), collections of papers written by a single scholar belong to a most useful *genre*, at least if they are equipped with adequate indices (which is not always the case). However, it only rarely that one encounters a collection of the importance and quality of

this one; because of Professor Linderski's wide interests and spectacular erudition, emerging in a great number of articles, a need for their collection and publication has been felt for a long time, and making them appear in the Heidelberg series is a great credit to its editor, Professor Géza Alföldy (who also wrote a "Vorwort").

The collection contains 65 papers, some very substantial, some rather short, written between 1958 (no. 36) and 1993 (no. 64); for the gap of the years 1966 to 1971 cf. the note of Alföldy, p. xi. In the beginning, there is much on questions connected with *comitia* (on which there is a monograph of 1961 by Linderski in Polish, referred to e.g. on p. 194 n. 14); later, the focus is often on divination and augural law. The whole, however, is interspersed with - in addition to much use of Varro (the only Roman author mentioned in the preface on p. xv) - a profound knowledge of various aspects of, and all the sources on, Roman history and social life, especially in the late Republican period, and of the Latin language (note how a problem is disposed of simply by the correct interpretation of a Latin passage on p. 321).

Saying that one rarely finds a collection of papers of this quality is, however, saying the obvious, and Prof. Linderski's work is hardly in need of my recommendation (in spite of this, I would mention paper no. 22 on the mother of Livia as an extraordinary example of the ease with which Linderski sets things straight on a matter which has troubled scholars for centuries). But Linderski's work is notable not only for its quality, but also for the manner in which it is written (I am now mainly thinking of his American period). First, the style. It is really extraordinary that an author who was born and raised in Poland should be writing an English prose which has so many qualities which seem to belong to the best Anglo-Saxon tradition: there is the ever-present wittiness and dryish humour, and the ability to put things well (perhaps I may quote two definitions of "history": p. 8, "the flow of history, as we know it, flows from the ordering mind of the historian, ancient or modern. The tools of order are unexpressed philosophy and assumed terminology"; p. 36, "but "facts" never speak for themselves; it is the historian who weaves happenings into history"). This is all the more remarkable if one considers that Linderski's style does not seem to have been much influenced by Syme, whose inspiration is so obvious in many scholars with English as a native tongue.

Secondly, the composition of Linderski's articles presents interesting features. The papers usually begin with a problem which is then followed by a self-admonition to have a look at the sources (cf. Alföldy, p. xiii). Then, however, they seem to drift into other subjects, only to come back in the end to the initial problem; that is, the papers often seem to be characterised by a sort of a "ring composition". Now this is not saying that Professor Linderski has problems in keeping to his subject proper; the explanation for this method of composition seems rather to be that Linderski's wide erudition, and his wish of setting things straight in a definitive manner simply make this composition necessary. At first, there is a problem; then follows a look at the sources. The sources, however, often present new problems (not unusually problems not thought of by earlier scholars), and they have to be solved before it is possible to come back to deal with the original problem. Of course, after all this, it is not only the original problem which is solved but in many cases the reader finds that also a string of secondary problems surrounding the original one have found their solution as an extra bonus. Moreover, since all possible sources are adduced and all the erudition of the author is applied to their study, the original question often

changes its nature, the outcome being something rather different from what the reader expected at the beginning (note e.g. no. 30, drifting from the interpretation of a passage in Valerius Maximus to much wider issues). When all this is combined with the fact that Linderski's footnotes are often mines of information, the result is that constant attention is required of the reader and that quite a lot of time must usually be spent on one article; however, the charm of Linderski's style certainly makes this worthwhile.

Olli Salomies

DIETER TIMPE: *Romano-Germanica*. Gesammelte Studien zur Germania des Tacitus. Teubner Stuttgart und Leipzig 1995. ISBN 3-519-07428-1. 228 S. DEM 58.

Der vorliegende Band vereint sechs ausführliche Aufsätze zu verschiedenen Problemkreisen in der taciteischen Germania und versteht sich als "Bausteine zu einer Monographie" über die Schrift. Alle, neu durchgesehenen Aufsätze sind zwischen 1979 und 1993 an verschiedenen Stellen - ihre ursprünglichen Paginierungen sind hier dankenswerterweise mit verzeichnet - erschienen, geben aber in der vorliegenden Zusammenstellung ein abgerundetes Bild von der Forschungslage bezüglich der Germania zum heutigen Zeitpunkt. Ausgehend von der Frage der Genealogie der Germanen (Germ 2, 2) und dem berühmten Namensatz (Germ 2, 3) zeigt Timpe nicht nur die Wege und Irrwege in der Forschung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, vor allem vielleicht in der deutschen Forschung, die sich gewissermaßen als späte "Abkömmlinge" der von Tacitus beschriebenen Verhältnisse empfand, auf, sondern er ebnet durch seine Analyse, die den Schlüssel zum Verständnis in der Einbettung von Text und Autor in ihre konkrete Lebenswelt und -situation sieht, neue Wege zur Erfassung von Tacitus' Idee und den zugrunde liegenden Tatsachen. Mit derselben sachlichen Annäherungsweise bewertet Timpe auch den religionsgeschichtlichen Quellenwert der Germania, nämlich zum einen für den religionsinterpretatorischen Hintergrund von Tacitus' eigener Zeit und andererseits für die von Tacitus unbewußt, nicht in die intendierte Konstruktion eingepaßten

Einzeldaten. Zur Erhellung des "politischen Charakters der Germanen", so im Titel des vierten Aufsatzes, dagegen dient die Germania wegen der bewußten, künstlerischen Gestaltung der betreffenden Kapitel (7-15) durch Tacitus nicht. Die Studie zur germanischen Agrarverfassung nach Caesar und Tacitus setzt sich zum Ziel, die entsprechenden Aussagen der beiden Autoren in ihren Möglichkeiten zu skizzieren und für den Dialog mit anderen Forschungsrichtungen zu präparieren, wobei deutlich wird, daß Tacitus selbst eigentlich schon am Anfang der Reihe von Erforschern der germanischen Agrarstruktur steht. Im letzten Artikel faßt Timpe eines der "heißesten Eisen" in der Forschungsdiskussion dieses Jahrhunderts an, nämlich *urgentibus imperii fatis* (Germ. 33, 2) - und kommt zu dem Ergebnis, daß diesen Worten unter einer "kontrastiv-ideologischen Verklärung" (227) im 20. Jahrhundert eine Bedeutung zugemessen wurde, die durch den Kontext bei Tacitus in keiner Weise begründet ist.

Uta-Maria Liertz

ANDRÉ CHASTAGNOL: *Aspects de l'antiquité tardive*. Saggi di storia antica 6. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1994. ISBN 88-7062-862-0. 395 p. ITL 350.000.

André Chastagnol is well known for his studies on the social, economic and administrative history of the late Roman Empire, especially of the fourth century. *Aspects de l'antiquité tardive* is a collection of his twenty articles published between 1955 and 1989. Eleven are from the eighties. Chastagnol's articles on Roman Gallia are absent from this publication; they will be published elsewhere. These articles have been organized into four sections. The papers of the first and the largest part discuss the administration of provinces in the late Roman Empire, particularly in Spain and North Africa, often in the light of inscriptions and legislation. The article on the sacerdoties in North Africa is an illustrative study of the development of the pagan provincial priesthood in the Christianized empire.

Chastagnol has also distinguished himself as a scholar of the *Historia Augusta*. Some of his articles on the problems of the *Historia Augusta* have been published in the second section of *Aspects de l'antiquité tardive*. Chastagnol has compared the *Historia Augusta* with late Latin writers like Claudian, Aurelius Victor, and Polemius Silvius. He has also revealed anachronisms in the *Historia Augusta*. The article on Roman imperialism in the second and third centuries discusses the attitudes to invasion and defence in the light of the *Historia Augusta* compared with other sources. The third part contains two articles on Rome: one is on Maximianus' visits to Rome, and the other discusses the chronological problems of dating S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome. The three articles of the fourth section consider taxes and prices. In 'Problèmes fiscaux du Bas-Empire' Chastagnol participates in the discussion on the fiscal system of the late Roman Empire.

Maijastina Kahlos

Il Lazio di Thomas Ashby 1891-1930. Vol. I. British School at Rome Archive 4. Palombi Editori, Roma 1994. ISBN 88-7621-798-3. 260 p. ITL 105.000.

Esce il terzo volume della serie dedicata alle fotografie scattate da Thomas Ashby (1874-1931), il grande archeologo e studioso della topografia romana e laziale. Lo scopo principale del volume è di pubblicare le fotografie più interessanti o più significative, e dare un'elenco (nelle pp. 219-255) di tutte le fotografie – che sono più di duemila – con brevi notizie sul contenuto di ciascuna. Il catalogo stesso (pp. 39-192) è diviso secondo le vie principali; vi è anche una breve notizia di ciascuna città o paese in cui sono state scattate le fotografie. La qualità delle fotografie, di cui molte costituiscono l'unica testimonianza degli edifici e luoghi adesso scomparsi, risulta ottima; nei saggi è stata utilizzata anche la letteratura più recente. L'opera viene completata dai saggi sull'Ashby e sulla sua collezione fotografica che illustrano anche la storia del collezionismo nel Settecento e Ottocento. Molto utile per uno studioso è anche la bibliografia dei suoi scritti sul Lazio (p. 35), poiché i suoi saggi non sono sempre facili da reperire; ad esempio, lo Ashby non pubblicò il suo grande lavoro *The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna* in forma di libro, ma solamente in alcuni dei primi volumi dei *Papers of the British School in Rome*.

Kalle Korhonen

STEPHANIE A. NATZEL: Κλέα γυναικῶν. *Frauen in den "Argonautika" des Apollonios Rhodios*. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium. Band 9. Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier 1992. ISBN 3-88476-029-7. 243 p. DEM 41.

Die Verfasserin analysiert in ihrer im Jahre 1991 der Fakultät für Philologie der Ruhr-Universität Bochum vorgelegten Dissertation die Frauengestalten in den *Argonautika* des Apollonios Rhodios. Sie möchte die Frauengestalten im Spannungsfeld von gesellschaftlicher Realität einerseits und literarischer Tradition andererseits untersuchen. Sie geht von der Hypothese aus, daß in der *Argonautika* die soziale Situation der Frauen im zeitgenössischen Griechenland auf irgendeine Weise reflektiert wird. Doch berücksichtigt sie auch den Einfluß des homerischen Epos und der euripideischen Tragödie.

Die Verfasserin will ihr Thema nicht unter einem feministischen Gesichtswinkel betrachten. Statt dessen ist ihre Absicht, an der Diskussion über einen der wichtigsten hellenistischen Autoren teilzunehmen. Das Frauenthema stamme von dem Werk her, von der Wichtigkeit der Frauengestalten im Epos, nicht von einem ideologischen Erkenntnisinteresse. Obwohl die Verfasserin keinen neuen feministischen methodischen Zugriff favorisiert, benutzt sie Ergebnisse und Begriffe der feministischen Forschung (z.B. Pomeroy) in ihrer Überblick über die Entwicklung der Stellung der griechischen Frauen bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v.Chr. So spricht die Verf. z.B. über "die patriarchalischen Strukturen" (S. 68) in der Welt des Apollonios. Die gesellschaftliche Situation der griechischen Frauen in der Zeit des Apollonios scheint der Verf. ein unproblematisches Faktum zu sein, das man unmittelbar mit dem literarischen Frauenbild vergleichen kann.

Der größte Teil der Untersuchung handelt von der Gestalt der Medea im dritten und vierten Buch der *Argonautika*. Nach Auffassung der Verfasserin ist die Liebe der Medea zu Jason das ausschliessliche Thema des dritten Buches. Apollonios stelle Medea nicht nur in den Mittelpunkt der Erzählung, sondern beschreibe auch die Ereignisse aus der Perspektive der Medea. Er beschreibe Medea als eine sehr sympathische junge Frau, nicht als eine dämonische Mörderin. Die Leiden und das Unglück der Medea seien nicht ihre eigene Schuld, sondern folgen aus den äusseren Umständen. Nach der durchgreifenden Analyse der Medea des Apollonios vergleicht die Verf. sie mit den Frauengestalten (Medea, Phaidra) des Euripides. Apollonios habe deutliche Anregungen von Euripides empfangen, vielleicht auch gesellschaftskritischer Natur. Die Verf. analysiert auch die anderen Frauengestalten der *Argonautika*. Die anderen Frauen des Epos passen sich in ihre untergeordnete Situation. Medea sei die einzige, die die Konventionen zubrechen versuche.

Im letzten - und vielleicht interessantesten - Teil ihres Buches betrachtet die Verf. die Konzeption des Heldentums in den *Argonautika* des Apollonios. Der Jason des Apollonios sei ein komplexer Held: unter Männern und in Männergesellschaft sei er eine sympathische und positive Gestalt, im Umgang mit Frauen aber unsympathisch und negativ. Neu in den *Argonautika* sei eine modernisierte Konzeption des Heldentums, das jetzt auch Frauen zeigen könnten. Das neue Heldentum würde im Epos mit dem weiblichen Geschlecht konfrontiert und sein Wert am Verhalten der Helden gegenüber den Frauen gemessen. Die Verf. will aus Apollonios jedoch nicht einen Feministen machen, sondern sie will zeigen, daß er auch das weibliche Publikum berücksichtigt.

Das Verhältnis der *Argonautika* des Apollonios Rhodios mit der zeitgenössischer

Gesellschaft wird in einer nicht gänzlich begründeten Weise verhandelt. Der größte Verdienst der Untersuchung liegt in der sorgfältigen Analyse der Frauengestalten des Werkes. Besonders interessant ist, daß die Verf. das Heldentum in Beziehung zu Frauen setzt. Dadurch daß die Verfasserin das Epos unter dem Gesichtswinkel der Frauengestalten des Werkes betrachtet, gelingt es ihr, die *Argonautika* in ein wirklich neues Licht zustellen.

Marja-Leena Hänninen

M. TULLI CICERONIS *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*. Fasc. 23. Orationes in P. Vatinius testem, pro M. Caelio. Edidit T. Maslowski. Stutgardiae et Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. 1995. ISBN 3-8154-1195-5. cxxi, 56 S. DEM 89.

It is a great pleasure to be able to announce the publication of a new volume in the Teubner series of Cicero's works. Here we have now a new edition of two speeches delivered in the spring of 56, the third volume of Cicero's speeches published by T. Maslowski after the *post reditum* - volume of 1981 and the *Sestiana* of 1986. I am not sure what to think of the *in Vatinius* as an oratorical achievement, but the *pro Caelio* certainly shows Cicero in very good form, and this speech has always been spoken of with approval. There are, in fact, some marvelously witty things to be found here, for in instance some of the comments made in reference to Clodia (e.g. *muliere non solum nobili verum etiam nota* § 31; *nec enim muliebres umquam inimicitias mihi gerendas putavi, praesertim cum ea quam omnes semper amicam omnium potius quam cuiusquam inimicam putaverunt* § 32); moreover, the merits of the structure and the contents of the speech in general can be discerned much more clearly now after the important study of W. Stroh (*Taxis und Taktik. Die advokatische Dispositionskunst in Ciceros Gerichtsreden* [1975] 243ff., duly referred to by Maslowski, p. xi f.).

The manuscript tradition especially of the Caeliana is somewhat complicated, and there is a long *praefatio* of more than 100 pages. The principles on which the edition is based are given in a condensed form on p. cv f.: in both speeches, Maslowski has been trying to find out the reading of the archetype of the family ω , using in addition in the *Vatiniana* the testimony of the Bobbio scholiast, in the *Caeliana* what can be reconstructed of the lost Cluny ms. C (on which see p. xliii ff.) and fragmentary sources (two palimpsests and a papyrus). In practice this means that Maslowski relies heavily on the readings of the *Parisinus* 14749 (v), copied from a manuscript of the ω family by Nicolaus de Clemangiis († 1437) who also had the Cluny ms. at his disposal for corrections (cf. p. xlv f.; the combination is referred to as C^v); thus e.g. in § 8, 9, 19, 20, 21, 24, 30, 34, 57. In many cases this produces good results if compared with the edition of J. Cousin (Budé 1962). Note e.g. § 9, *togam virilem dedit* (*virilem togam* Cousin; this gives "numeros potiores"); § 19 *iaciebant* (interesting and plausible); § 24 ... *Dionis* ...; *habitabat apud Titum, ut audistis, Dio* (*habitabat is apud Titum ... Dio* Cousin). On the other hand, relying on C^v in § 57 leads to the text *in qua inusitatae libidines, luxuries, omnia denique inaudita vitia ac flagitia* as against *in qua lustra, libidines, luxuries, omnia denique inaudita vitia ac flagitia* in the text of Cousin. At first sight *inusitatae libidines* may seem attractive, but in fact there are things which speak for Cousin's text: with the reading *lustra*, there is the forceful alliteration, and the "law of increasing members" is followed, or

at least not disobeyed; moreover, plain *luxuries* sounds rather lame and out of place after *inusitatae libidines* (*inusitatae* cannot, for more than one reason, refer also to *luxuries*, which is used by Cicero only in the singular; cf. Verr. 2, 5, 80). So I think that Cousin's text is to be preferred here. (The same view is advocated also in TLL VII 2, 1885.)

To go on to some passages in which the text is not constituted mainly according to **CV**, there are some attractive or at least commendable innovations as compared to Cousin. In § 4, there are no longer brackets around *quam cernitis*, and in § 5, *Praetuttiani* is at last read without hesitation. In § 10, *id* in *id hoc loco defendo* (*[id]* Cousin following Havet) is perfectly all right, and in § 12, *at* in *at studuit Catilinae* (*studuit Catilinae* Cousin) is needed, as a possible criticism of Caelius' behaviour is introduced. In § 14, Maslowski reads *facilitatis* with the mss., whereas Cousin had introduced the unnecessary *facultatis* proposed by Madvig; in § 25, Maslowski rightly follows the mss. in reading *accederet* (*accideret* Cousin). However, there are also details of which I am not so sure. In § 10, the addition of <quo> after *annus* is surely more than useful (*secutus est tum annus, causam ... Catilina dixit* Maslowski); in § 27, *scilicet* in *scilicet si fas est defendi a me eum* (Cousin with some mss.) seems to me to be much more in keeping with the tone of the passage than Maslowski's *si licet, si fas est* (there is some ms. authority for this, too). In the same paragraph, I think that Cousin was right in deleting *in hortis fuerit* (note that this produces a series of three objections introduced by *qui*, which seems to be enough). In § 31, where some emendation is needed in the passage beginning with *necare eandem*, the constitution of the text does not yet seem satisfactory in all respects; *quodam modo* (*quam CV*) in *sollicitavit quos potuit, paravit quodam modo, locum constituit* at least sounds a bit awkward.

Recent Teubner volumes regularly include sections on *testimonia* which are very useful for those wishing to study the fortunes of a certain text. In this edition some *testimonia* referring to the Vatiniiana in general are quoted on p. 2f., whereas no *testimonia* referring to individual passages are given under the text - for the simple reason that passages of the *in Vatinius* are never quoted or imitated by later authors (except of course the Bobbio scholiast). As for the Caeliana, now and then quoted by later authors, quite a few *testimonia* appear under the text, but, on the other hand, there is no section on general *testimonia*, which seems a bit surprising, since at least both Quintilian and the *Rhetores minores* have some more general references to the speech, and it could have been useful to have them collected as well. As for the *testimonia* given below the text, they certainly constitute a most valuable tool for future research, having been collected with great care. Of course there is in some cases the question of what should be regarded as a *testimonium* and what simply as a coincidence (for instance, I am not sure whether the passages in Minucius Felix and Augustine, quoted at § 6 and 8 really have been formulated with Cicero's text in mind). Moreover, the collection is not entirely complete (although, Cicero having been quoted so often, it is of course hard to imagine a complete collection of *testimonia*): for instance, the words *ut eum paeniteat non deformem esse natum* are quoted from § 6, and commented upon, by Servius on Vergil's *Bucolics* 2, 25; parts of § 8 and § 13 are quoted by Augustine (cf. H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* [1967] I p. 43); from § 22 and § 67, there are quotations by Ennodius, adduced only in § 6 (see MGH, *Auctores antiquissimi* VII p. 10 and 21). Finally, it is perhaps a bit misleading to mention Orosius 1, 12, 10 at § 18, for Orosius is quoting a famous passage from Ennius

which he has no doubt picked up somewhere else than from Cicero.

To get to the end at last: although there are some minor details in the text on which there could be some disagreement, and although there are some omissions in the *testimonia*, the overall picture one gets from this edition is that of quality and reliability. The author has done a good and useful job, and all interested in Cicero should be thankful. It is only to be hoped that he is going to continue with his work on Cicero.

Olli Salomies

BARBARA STRÄTERHOFF: *Kolometrie und Prosarhythmus bei Cicero und Livius. De imperio Cn. Pompei und Livius 1, 1 - 26, 8 kolometrisch ediert, kommentiert und statistisch analysiert. I-II. Druckerei R. Festge, Oelde 1995. ISBN 3-00-000383-5. 938 S. DEM 115.*

Ausgangspunkt zu diesem in vieler Hinsicht interessanten und nützlichen Buch - die gekürzte Fassung einer Münsteraner Dissertation - sind die kolometrischen Arbeiten Eduard Fraenkels ('Kolon und Satz' I und II; 'Nachträge zu Kolon und Satz II'; 'Noch einmal Kolon und Satz'; nähere Nachweise hier S. 928f.) aus den Jahren 1932 bis 1965 und die darauf basierende Monographie 'Leseproben aus Reden Ciceros und Catos' (1968). Wie die Verfasserin betont, hat man in der Forschung die Arbeiten Fraenkels "zu wenig berücksichtigt" (S. 23; vgl. T. N. Habinek, *The Colometry of Latin Prose* [1985] 9 über die "lukewarm reception" der "Leseproben"). Ihre Absicht ist, "nach den objektiven Kriterien, die Fraenkel erarbeitet hat, die kolometrische Gestalt dieser Texte zu erfassen", diese Texte ferner dann "im Hinblick auf Klauseln und ihre Anläufe zu untersuchen", um damit schließlich zu einer "genauere(n) Bestimmung des stilistischen Verhältnisses des Livius zu Cicero im Bereich des Periodenbaus und der Rhythmisierung" zu gelangen (S. 1); die hier vorliegende Arbeit "soll die Methode Fraenkels vertiefen und erweitern", um "die Richtigkeit der Art und Weise, in der Fraenkel Stellen aus Ciceros Reden kolometrisch und rhythmisch interpretierte, aufzuzeigen" (S. 52); ein Ergebnis ist "die Bestätigung der Methode Fraenkels" (S. 923).

Es war nun ohne Zweifel angebracht, den Themenkreis wieder einmal aufzugreifen, da auf dem Gebiet der Kolometrie und der damit zusammenhängenden Fragen der Klauseltechnik noch einiges unklar ist. An dem Begriff 'Kolon' (sowie auch an dem Begriff 'Komma'; vgl. u.) ist auffallend, daß es sich einerseits um einen in der Forschung ganz geläufigen Begriff handelt, andererseits aber um etwas, wessen Existenz normalerweise nur vorausgesetzt wird, ohne daß man sich dabei über die Notwendigkeit einer Definition Gedanken macht. Bezeichnend ist etwa, daß in dem (von Sträterhoff nicht zitierten) Buch von H. u. K. Vretska, *Marcus Tullius Cicero, Pro Archia poeta. Ein Zeugnis für den Kampf des Geistes um seine Anerkennung* (1979), das insofern dem vorliegenden Buch ähnlich ist, als auch hier eine Rede Ciceros kolometrisch analysiert (sehr anschaulich!) vorgelegt wird, zwar öfters von Kola und Kommata die Rede ist, diese Begriffe aber nirgendwo näher definiert werden (nur soviel lernt man auf S. IX, daß ein Kolon länger ist als ein Komma; auf Arbeiten Fraenkels wird nicht verwiesen). Die allgemein zu beobachtende Abgeneigtheit, die Begriffe zu definieren, wäre verständlich, wenn hier alles klar wäre, aber so ist es ja ganz offensichtlich nicht (und das ist gewiß

nicht nur mein Eindruck).

Ein Problem wird in dem hier anzuzeigenden Buch abgetan, und zwar das, wie ein Kolon von einem Komma zu unterscheiden wäre; denn in der Folge von Fraenkel wird "zwischen Kola und Kommata ... nicht unterschieden" (S. 11, vgl. 14), ein Vorgehen, das im übrigen auch von Habinek, a.a.O. 40, akzeptiert wird. Vielleicht ist dies in der Tat die richtige oder zumindest die einzige mögliche Lösung - nur, das Problem bleibt: denn die antiken Quellen machen jedenfalls einen Unterschied zwischen Kola (*membra*) und Kommata (*incisa*) (vgl. Habinek, a.a.O. 27ff.), und irgendwie müßte dies doch berücksichtigt werden; leider lassen uns aber Darlegungen wie etwa die von Cicero, Orator 211ff. mehr oder minder im Stich (*domus tibi deerat?* ist ein *incisum*, Or. 223; *o callidos homines!* wiederum ist ein *membrum*, ebd. 225). Das Problem wird nicht unbedingt dadurch erleichtert, daß auch Forscher, die eine Identifizierung von 'Kolon' und 'Komma' im Prinzip nicht ablehnen, dennoch einen Platz in der gängigen Terminologie auch für den Begriff 'Komma' finden (so Habinek, a.a.O. 40: "the term *comma* should be reserved for the units in a succession of short independent sentences or for items in enumeration").

Aber zum Thema. Wie gesagt, ist die Absicht der Verf., die Klauseln zweier Texte, von Cicero und Livius, nach einer kolometrischen Analyse zu untersuchen, um so einen Aspekt des stilistischen Verhältnisses zwischen Cicero und Livius in ein klareres Licht zu stellen. Das ganze ist wie folgt dargestellt worden: nach einer kurzen Einleitung (S. 1) folgt (2) eine Auswahl von Äußerungen moderner Forscher zum Verhältnis zwischen Livius und Cicero, mit der Absicht, Livius' "Ciceronianismus" dem Leser einzuschärfen; darauf folgen (3) Zitate über den Stil von Livius (dazu kommen auf S. 387 "Antike Aussagen über Livius") und (4) einige allgemeine Angaben zur Rede De imperio Cn. Pompei; alles dies macht einen etwas elementaren und wenig differenzierten Eindruck (so auch die in S. 5 Anm. 1 genannte Bibliographie zur Rede; hier hätte man doch auch auf Arbeiten wie die von C.J. Classen, *Recht - Rhetorik - Politik. Untersuchungen zu Ciceros rhetorischer Strategie* [1985] 268ff. verweisen können). Darauf folgt (S. 6-12) eine Zusammenfassung der Resultate Fraenkels; die verschiedenen von Fraenkel identifizierten Kolotypen werden einzeln numeriert auf S. 7 (Nr. 1-9), 8 (Nr. 10-14), 10 (Nr. 15-7), 11 (Nr. 18), 12 (Nr. 19-25) vorgestellt. Dann folgt die Besprechung moderner Literatur zur Kolometrie (S. 13-23: besonders Habinek) und zur Klauselforschung (S. 27-48: Primmer, Janson, Aili; die Beurteilung des Buches von Aili scheint eher negativ auszufallen, obwohl die Verf. auch Positives verzeichnen kann, z. B. S. 920); dazwischen bietet die Verf. (S. 23-6) ihre eigene "Stellungnahme zu Fraenkel".

Nach einigen einleitenden Bemerkungen ("Unterteilung in Kola und Bestimmung der Klauseln", S. 49-52) folgt der Hauptteil der Arbeit, zunächst auf S. 53-138 eine in Kola eingeteilte Transskription des De imp. Cn Pompei, wobei jedem Kolon rechts eine metrische Analyse beigegeben wird; darauf folgt (S. 139-386) eine sehr eingehende Besprechung derselben Rede (mit stilistischen Erwägungen usw.). Dem Liviusauszug wird eine ähnliche Behandlung zuteil (Analyse S. 388-499, Besprechung S. 500-698).

Aufgrund des bis zu diesem Punkt vorgelegten Materials kann die Verf. jetzt zu "Statistischen Untersuchungen" zu den zwei Texten übergehen (699-885, mit einer Übersicht S. 699f.); auf fast 200 Seiten werden das Vorkommen einzelner Klauseln und zahlreicher anderer Details (Reim und Responion, durchschnittliche Anzahl der Silben im Kolon usw.) zunächst bei Cicero, dann bei Livius statistisch dargestellt. Diese Statistiken

werden wiederum S. 886-926 ausgewertet; hier lernt man z. B. (S. 894), daß die Klausel "III" (-v-v) in De imperio die häufigste ist (333x) und daß das Endwort dabei zumeist viersilbig ist. - Eine Zusammenfassung folgt unter dem Namen "Allgemeine Beobachtungen" auf S. 919-26. Hier wird der Leser zunächst auf viele Unterschiede zwischen der Praxis des Cicero und der des Livius aufmerksam gemacht; aufgrund des Vorkommens besonders einiger bestimmten Klauseln, die bei Cicero und Livius ähnlich verteilt sind, lautet das Endergebnis der Verf. trotzdem, daß Livius seinen Klauselrhythmus vielmehr auf Cicero als auf Sallust (so Primmer und Aili) basiert hat; Unterschiede zwischen den beiden (etwa das Vermeiden des Typus *esse videatur* bei Livius: S. 926) könne man mit der Annahme erklären, Livius habe den Rhythmus Ciceros "selbständig weiterentwickelt, wobei in manchen Fällen die Praxis des Sallust anregend gewesen sein könnte" (S. 924, vgl. 925: "das ciceronische Vorbild und seine - d.h. des Livius - Eigenständigkeit"). Im ganzen gesehen klingt das schon plausibel genug; nur darf man das nicht so sehen, als ob die Abhängigkeit des Livius von Cicero wieder einmal aus einem neuen Blickwinkel erwiesen worden wäre; denn obwohl einerseits feststeht, daß es manches gibt, was Cicero und Livius verbindet, so ist es doch andererseits klar, daß wir es mit im Grunde genommen in vieler Hinsicht andersartigen Schriftstellern zu tun haben; denn schließlich findet sich ja bei Livius kaum ein Satz, der von Cicero hätte geschrieben werden können.

Man kann sich nun natürlich fragen, ob für die hier erreichten Resultate eine monographische Behandlung von fast 1000 Seiten wirklich nötig waren. Ich würde die Frage im Prinzip bejahen; um überhaupt verwertbar zu sein, mußte das Material nun einmal analysiert und kommentiert vorlegt werden, und außerdem kann man viele der von der Verf. gemachten Beobachtungen auch zu weiteren und weiterführenden Untersuchungen verwenden. (Allerdings muß zugegeben werden, daß die Darstellung des öfteren etwas unökonomisch scheint.) Auch in Einzelheiten, etwa in den Bemerkungen zu stilistischen Details, findet man viel gut Überdachtes und Nützliches. Hier und da sind die Interpretationen der Verf. allerdings vielleicht etwas zu scharfsinnig, aber das ist bei einem Thema, wo nicht alles einfach "bewiesen" werden kann, sondern vieles bloß von persönlichen, von Betrachter zu Betrachter wechselnden Eindrücken abhängt (vgl. den Verweis auf S. 17 auf mögliche "eigene Wege" des Betrachters und S. 922 auf den "Eindruck" der Verf.), nicht verwunderlich. Als ein besonderes Verdienst der Verf. möchte ich zum Schluß die Wiederaufnahme des von Fraenkel eingeführten Begriffs "Auftakt" hervorheben (vgl. S. 9f., 25f.: z. B. *at in at in rebus tristissimis* Cic. Phil. 3, 21; *tamen profecto in tamen profecto nemo tam esse amens* Cic. dom. 88), dessen Gebrauch mir bei der Interpretation von Kola einleuchtend und nützlich erscheint. - Im Ganzen gesehen handelt es sich also um ein nützliches und willkommenes Buch.

Olli Salomies

IULIUS VALERIUS: *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis*. Translatae ex Aesopo Graeco. Edidit M. Rossellini. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgartiae et Lipsiae in aedibus B.G. Teubneri 1993. ISBN 3-8154-1369-9. 1, 220 S. DEM 89. Gebunden

Es war schon an der Zeit, eine neue Edition der vom Anfang des 3. Jh. stammenden als Zeugnis des Lateins jener Zeit wertvollen Übersetzung des griechischen Alexanderromans herzustellen. Die letzte Ausgabe, auch sie eine Teubneriana, wurde im Jahre 1888 von B. Kübler besorgt. Über die schwierige Überlieferungslage wird in der Einleitung ausreichend Rechenschaft gegeben. Der wichtigste Kodex, der im Brand 1904 verlorengegangene Taurinensis (ein Palimpsest) aus dem 8. Jh. wird besonders gründlich gewürdigt, sowie die übrigen Hauptzeugen. Zum ersten Mal wird dem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der verschiedenen Zeugen nachgegangen; Kübler hatte dies fast gänzlich vernachlässigt. Schon diese Tatsache macht die neue Edition besonders wertvoll. Der Text selbst scheint vorzüglich zu sein; jedenfalls bedeutet er einen grossen Fortschritt. - Ich habe nur wenig zu beanstanden. Die Bibliographie der Sekundärliteratur ist etwas nachlässig zusammengeworfen; es fehlen dort wichtige Beiträge, von denen auf einige in der Einleitung selbst hingewiesen wird, vor allem Cilliés Dissertation vom Jahre 1905; ferner sucht man im bibliographischen Verzeichnis vergebens zwei Beiträge von D.J.A. Ross.

Heikki Solin

IORDANIS de origine actibusque Getarum. A cura di Francesco Giunta & Antonino Grillone. *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* pubblicate dall'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo 117. Roma 1991.

Theodor Mommsen published his remarkable edition of Jordanes' Roman and Gothic histories over a hundred years ago in 1882. Fortunately the new editors of this interesting and underestimated author did not let themselves be intimidated by the prestige of the formidable name. Since Mommsen's edition an important new manuscript has been discovered, which makes possible a more reliable appreciation of the text. *De origine actibusque Getarum*, generally known by the name *Getica*, is an abbreviated version of Cassiodorus' much more extensive history, which is lost, and Jordanes has the reputation of an incompetent barbarian playing havoc with the original. I welcomed with satisfaction the editors' claim to "rehabilitate" Jordanes as an acceptable writer of Latin prose quite up to the level of his task. It is true that Mommsen's text form and especially his very thorough grammatical indices may have given a casual reader the impression of faulty and barbarous Latin. But anyone who will give Jordanes' text more than casual attention will notice that the impression is misleading. Jordanes wrote in the middle of the 6th century and used the literary Latin of his own day. In its essential characteristics his diction is much closer to Cassiodorus than e.g. to his slightly later colleague Gregory of Tours.

The edition has been prepared with great care, and the editors discuss thoroughly both the manuscript tradition and their own textual criteria and applications. A bibliography and indices of personal and geographical names complete this useful and most welcome publication.

Anne Helttula

CHRISTOPH KUGELMEIER: *Reflexe früher und zeitgenössischer Lyrik in der Alten attischen Komödie*. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, Bd. 80. B.G. Teubner, Stuttgart und Leipzig 1996. ISBN 3-519-07629-2. 379 S. DEM 136.

This study deals with a subject which naturally has been touched upon in many earlier treatises and commentaries, but definitely deserves a thorough new discussion, which takes into account the modern views of the spreading and transmission of literature in the society of classical Athens, where both orality (or aurality) and literacy had their important roles. By “reflections”, more or less direct quotations as well as free stylistic imitation are meant, “lyric” includes melic as well as choral lyric (with the exception of tragedy), elegy, iambic poetry and the new dithyramb, and “Old Comedy” is understandably almost totally centred upon Aristophanes.

The main interest of the author is perhaps reflected in the great amount of pages (110) dedicated to the new dithyramb (ch. vi); this part, as also the chapter on iambography (ch. v), contains many illuminating discussions both of particular passages and of general issues connected with comedy. It would probably have been better to treat the other poetic genres in the same way, discussing genre by genre the famous passages especially loved by the comedians and the ways they used these reminiscences in their own work. Now, melos, choros and elegy are dealt together in ch. iv, divided into sections according to the appearance of the quotations in different parts of the comedy (lyric parts of parabasis, non-lyric parts of parabasis, other choral parts, agon etc.). In this way, the discussion remains somewhat disjointed. There are, moreover, some inconsistencies in this arrangement; Ar. Ach. 636-638 (parabasis) and Equ. 1323 and 1329 (dialogue with the chorus-leader) are treated together with Nub. 299ff. (parodos) in the section “other (sc. than parabasis) choral parts” - naturally enough since all of them reflect the same Pindaric passage (fr. 76 Snell), but against the disposition of the author; in the same section one finds also Av. 904ff. (dialogue in an episode) and Av. 1337ff. (an actor’s lyrics); in the section of agon one finds Av. 1362f. (dialogue in an episode). Reflections of scolia, again, are discussed in an introductory chapter (iii) “Schulunterricht und Symposion als Überlieferungsträger” regardless of in which part of comedy they appear. Another introductory chapter (ii) “Die Überlieferung der alten Poesie in den Komödientexten” deals mainly with the difficulties connected with the transmission of dialectal features of the texts; this discussion is preceded by a short and rather superficial survey of the development of “Buchkultur” in Athens, where one misses some references to literature - in connection with descriptions of book rolls on vases, the articles by H.R. Immerwahr (1964, 1973) are not mentioned, and the informative book by H. Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike* (1992) is ignored.

In spite of these critical remarks, Kugelmeier’s book is well worth consulting. The discussions of individual passages are often very informative, and in the final chapter (vii), some interesting lines are drawn. Personally, I would have liked to read more e.g. on the question how the quotations found in comedy reflect the acquaintance of the general public with the poets of the past. The author takes up the theme occasionally, but mainly he seems to be more interested in the skilful way Aristophanes plays with the poets. And this is of course an interesting issue, too.

Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, begründet von Friedrich Ueberweg. Völlig neubearbeitete Ausgabe. Die Philosophie der Antike, Band 4: *Die hellenistische Philosophie*. Von Michael Erler, Hellmut Flashar, Günter Gawlick, Woldemar Görler, Peter Steinmetz. Herausgegeben von Hellmut Flashar. Schwabe & Co. A6 Verlag, Basel 1994. Erster Halbband, S. 1 -490, Zweiter Halbband, S. 491 - 1272. ISBN 3-7965-0930-4 (dieselbe Nummer für beide Halbbände). DEM 348.

Das Standardwerk Ueberweg-Praechter (Die Philosophie des Altertums, 12. Aufl. 1926) behandelte auf 80 Seiten denjenigen Stoff, dem in dem vorliegenden Doppelband des "neuen Ueberweg" 1272 Seiten gewidmet werden. Diese Rezension befasst sich mit dem ersten Halbband (Einleitung und Epikureismus).

Knapp, aber klar wird die hellenistische Philosophie allgemein charakterisiert von H.Flashar und W.Görler, die auch über die Quellenlage und einige Sekundärliteratur berichten, alles auf 28 Seiten. Michael Erler, der hauptsächliche Verfasser des Halbbandes, behandelt Epikur (S. 35 - 202), dessen Schüler (205 - 288), insbesondere Philodem (289 - 362), den Epikureismus in Rom (363 - 380) und schliesslich Lukrez (383 - 490) - in allen Abschnitten mit ausführlichen Bibliographien (allein diejenige zu Philodem umfasst mehr als 600 Titel). Man sieht deutlich, dass wir einen sehr grossen Teil der Epikurforschung Italienern verdanken, sowohl Männern als auch Frauen.

Erlers Darstellung der epikureischen Lehre (126 - 187) ist klar und informativ; sie steht den Quellentexten recht nahe und ist an der neuesten Forschung orientiert, ohne vorhandene Schwierigkeiten zu verschweigen. Wie zu erwarten, wird sie durchaus von dem Bestreben getragen, die Philosophie Epikurs in allen ihren Teilen zu verstehen. Gewissenhaft behandelt Erler dann die Schüler Epikurs (nach einem Abschnitt über die Organisation des Kepos) und kann dabei oft auf modernen Fragment- oder Testimonien-Editionen fussen: so Polystratos 1978 (Capasso), Zenon aus Sidon 1979 (Angeli und Colaizzo), Idomeneus 1981 (Angeli), Hermarchos 1988 (Longo Auricchio), Karneiskos 1988 (Capasso) und Polyainos 1991 (Tepedino Guerra). Die Reihe der Epikureer gipfelt in Philodem, von dem ja viel erhalten ist und dem hier geradezu eine kleine, recht detaillierte Monographie gewidmet wird. Sie trägt gewiss dazu bei, den als schwierig betrachteten Philosophen in ein klareres Licht zu rücken.

Das Buch schliesst mit einer ebenfalls monographischen Behandlung des Lukrez, die allen Freunden des grossen römischen Dichters von Nutzen sein wird. Übersetzungen in viele Sprachen werden verzeichnet, man vermisst aber diejenige ins Schwedische von Bertil Cavallin (mit Komm.), Uddevalla 1972.

Beachtenswert sind die ausführlichen Register. Sie stehen zwar auf Seiten 1168 - 1272, also im zweiten Halbband, beziehen sich aber gleichmässig auch auf den ersten Halbband.

Mit dem Epikureismus hat sich bekanntlich in den letzten 60 Jahren eine überaus rege Forschung beschäftigt. Eine gründliche Darstellung dieser Philosophie im Rahmen des "neuen Ueberweg" war deshalb eine Riesenaufgabe. Michael Erler hat sie in etwa sieben Jahren bewältigt und für Philosophen wie Philologen ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel geschaffen.

Rolf Westman

PH.J. VAN DER EIJK, H.F.J. HORSTMANSHOFF, P.H. SCHRIJVERS (Edited by). *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-Cultural Context*. Papers read at the congress held at Leiden University 13-15 April 1992. Volume I & II. The Wellcome Institute Series in the History of Medicine, *Clio Medica* 27 & 28. Rodopi, Amsterdam - Atlanta 1995. ISBN 90-5183-525-6 and 90-5183-535-3. 637 pages.

The two volumes consist of 36 papers presented at Leiden in 1992 by the leading European and North American researchers of ancient medicine. The papers present an extensive survey of the studies of ancient medicine in progress. For the interested reader, every study has a short bibliography but there is no general bibliography for both volumes. There is, however, a general index and index locorum for literary sources and inscriptions and papyri at the end of the second volume. The papers are grouped in six parts: Part 1: Social, institutional and geographical aspects of medical practice, 14 papers. Part 2: Women, children and sexuality, 5 papers. Part 3: Religious and magic attitudes towards disease and healing, 5 papers. Part 4: Medicine as a science and its relation to philosophy, 7 papers. Part 5: Linguistic and literary aspects of medical texts, 4 papers. Part 6: The role of medical themes in literature, 1 paper. Twenty-two of the articles are published in English, nine in French and five in German. Every article has a short English summary.

Most of the papers deal with the "school medicine" as presented by the literary and archaeological sources. The index locorum of the literary sources clearly shows that Galenos is the most prominent source and the Hippocratic Corpus and Celsus have been referred to much less, and references to other ancient medical authors are quite few or nonexistent. Although most of the articles use the literary sources, there are studies using inscriptions (e.g. Heikki Solin, Jukka Korpela and Angelos Chaniotis), archaeological finds of surgical tools (Ralph Jackson, Lawrence Bliquez and Ernst Kunzl), funerary monuments (Nancy Demand) or a combination of several archaeological sources (e.g. Juliane Wilmanns). The main focus is first on classical Greece and secondly on the first centuries A.D. Only two studies deal with Hellenistic medicine or medicine in late antiquity. Almost all the papers deal with different aspects of healing as practiced in the core areas of the Greco-Roman culture.

Vivian Nutton in the opening essay of these volumes states " ... the ready availability of healers of all sorts - doctors, surgeons, crowd-pullers, *pharmacopolae*, *manteis*, bone-setters, *keromatitai* and so on." (p. 13). Taken all together it may be assumed that during antiquity most of the time and/or in most places, the majority of people turned to healing practitioners other than *medici* or *iatroi* (or helped themselves) for the cure or care of their afflictions. Papers dealing with several aspects of popular medicine are widely scattered over both volumes. The available sources are clearly scanty for studying this sphere of healing activity. However, several studies in these volumes show that the shrewd use of several types of sources (literature, inscriptions and other archaeological material) and different theoretical frameworks (e.g. anthropology) makes it possible to shed light on surprisingly many features of the socio-cultural context of popular medicine during antiquity.

The articles deal with a great variety of socio-cultural aspects of ancient curative medicine. However, one central domain of ancient medicine is curiously missing. This is hygiene, the preservation of health and the prevention of diseases, which on the individual level formed well-established part of medicine and is well presented e.g. in the Hippocratic

Corpus and the writings of Celsus, Soranos and Galenos. Different aspects of public health (e.g. water and waste management, nutrition and health of populations) which formed a fundamental socio-cultural background for the working of healing practitioners during antiquity, is also missing. In spite of these minor shortcomings these volumes can be warmly recommended for those interested in ancient medicine.

Heikki S. Vuorinen

MARIO SEGRE: *Iscrizioni di Cos*. Vol. 1 testo, vol. 2 tavole. Monografie della scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in oriente VI. Redazione di Dina Peppas Delmousou e Maria Antonietta Rizzo. Curatore dell' edizione: Lucy Braggiotti. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider 1993. 291 p. + 152 tavole. ISBN 88-7062-830-2. ITL 485.000.

Mario Segre aveva dedicato intenso studio alle epigrafi greche del Dodecanneso tra il 1934 e il 1938, ed un importante frutto di questo studio è il Catalogo delle iscrizioni conservate nel Castello dei Cavalieri Gerosolimitani di Cos, dove furono raccolte da Amedeo Maiuri e da Luciano Laurenzi. Riordinò pure le iscrizioni venute alla luce dall'Asclepieion tra il 1903 e il 1907 da Rudolf Herzog e negli anni '20 e '30 da Maiuri, Laurenzi e Luigi Morricone. La seconda guerra mondiale segnò però un brusco arresto dello studio di Segre. Mario Segre, ebreo, fuggì i nazisti all'Istituto Svedese in Roma, dove il direttore Eric Sjöqvist gli diede ospizio insieme alla moglie e al bambino. Un giorno, nell'aprile del 1944, fu però tradito dalla polizia romana e catturato con la famiglia in una via di Roma. I nazisti l'avviarono ad Auschwitz dove scomparì tragicamente nel maggio del 1944.

Dopo la sua morte le schede sarebbero rimaste inedite, se Doro Levi non le avesse trovate in una valigia lasciata da Segre nell'Istituto Svedese. Alle schede del Segre si sono poi aggiunte quelle dello Herzog depositate presso l'Accademia di Berlino. Tutte le schede furono poi lasciate a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, che aveva già formato il disegno di coordinare il materiale con quello da lui raccolto in Cos. Non potendo comunque concludere quel progetto, per vari motivi, egli decise infine di provvedere alla pubblicazione delle schede di Segre redatte con il minimo di commenti e annotazioni oltre a quelli fatti da Segre stesso. La sola appendice moderna è il "Supplemento bibliografico", non molto completo, alla fine del libro (p. 291). Il risultato è naturalmente problematico, ma sono certo che tutti gli studiosi saranno tuttavia lieti di poter finalmente disporre di questo volume di iscrizioni di Cos, anche se un vero e proprio *corpus* manca ancora.

Il corpus di Segre contiene 590 iscrizioni, fra cui 272 fra decreti e altri testi di carattere pubblico, segnati con la sigla ED da Segre, e 374 fra epigrafi votive e altri testi che in generale hanno a che fare col culto, da lui segnato EV. Di questi, 424 sono nuovi. La sistemazione delle schede segue quella di Segre. Questo non mi sembra essere una buona soluzione. Il maggior problema è che i testi non sono ordinati in un modo logico, cioè non si può vedere né un ordinamento cronologico né un ordinamento secondo il soggetto. Inoltre, la mancanza degli indici rende l'uso del corpus abbastanza disagiata e sarebbe estremamente importante che fossero pubblicati nel prossimo futuro.

Le epigrafi forniscono anche documentazione onomastica che non si è inclusa nel LGPN I di Fraser e Matthews (Oxford 1987), dove sono però messi i nomi dalle altre

pubblicazioni delle iscrizioni di Cos. Queste comunque non hanno sempre i nomi nella forma corretta, per esempio LGPN ha il nome Ἐμπρέπων secondo Paton e Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos* (Oxford 1891), ma nel Segre lo abbiamo come Πρέπων (EV 375). Scrive Segre "non vi è spazio in principio di riga". Purtroppo non ci è fornita una fotografia di quel testo, anche se fotografie di quasi tutte le pietre sono incluse nelle tavole. Si deve comunque dire che quelle fornite da Segre non sono sempre di ottima qualità.

In alcuni casi c'è una migliore fotografia nel libro di Kerstin Höghammar, *Sculpture and Society* (Uppsala 1993) chi vi pubblicò, col permesso di G. Pugliese Carratelli, dodici iscrizioni allora inedite, nn. 3 (EV 204), 4, 9, 13 (247B), 17 (EV 19), 21 (EV 247A), 26 (EV 372), 33 (EV 227), 55, 56, 62 e 63. Come si vede ce ne sono sei che non sono comprese nel corpus di Segre. Alcune hanno varietà di lettura. Per esempio in n. 33 di Höghammar (fig. 14, che è migliore che in Segre) la lettura nella seconda riga [Διοκ]λής Σωσανδρίδα sembra essere più opportuna di quello di Segre chi scrive]κλής Σωσ[ικ]λείδα (EV 227). Questi pochi esempi non sono unici, ce ne sono altri uguali. Qui però sono sufficienti per mostrare i problemi che incontra lo studioso con questo libro, soprattutto perché i commenti per i singoli testi sono assai ridotti.

Il corpus di Segre è certamente un libro di importanza rilevante, ma purtroppo nella sua attuale composizione non offre ottime possibilità per la ricerca.

Martti Leiwo

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum CIL II² 14: *Conventus Tarraconensis*, fasc. 1, pars meridionalis *Conventus Tarraconensis*, ed. G. Alföldy, M. Clauss, M. Mayer Olivé (adiuvantibus J. Corell Vincent, F. Beltrán Lloris, G. Fabre, F. Marco Simón, I. Rodà de Llaza) 1995. ISBN 3-11-014304-6.xxx, 167 S. Broschiert DEM 518.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum CIL II² 7: *Conventus Cordubensis*, ed. A. U. Stylow (adiuvantibus C. González Román, G. Alföldy) 1995. ISBN 3-11-014515-4. xxxvii, 261 S. Broschiert DEM 780.

Zwei weitere Faszikel des Jahrhundertwerkes der Neuedition des *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* liegen vor! Es handelt sich um die Inschriften des südlichen Teiles des *Conventus Tarraconensis* u.a. mit den Städten Valencia, Sagunt und Tortosa und um die des *Conventus Cordubensis*. Beiden geht außer einer umfassenden Einleitung zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und den Editions-kriterien eine ausführliche Bibliographie sowie Abkürzungs- und Zeichenerklärung voraus. Einleitend werden auch die Geschichte, Bevölkerung und alle mit Inschriften in Verbindung stehenden Probleme kurz erörtert. Ausführlicher und mehr auf Einzelfragen eingehend werden dagegen die Vorbemerkungen zu den einzelnen Orten ausgeführt. Beide Bände weisen auch synoptische Tabellen zu der ersten CIL II-Ausgabe und anderen wichtigeren Inschrifteneditionen auf sowie eine Landkarte und die Stadtpläne der bedeutenderen Städte. Für einen Teil der Inschriften findet man gute Photographien, alle übrigen sind als Photos auf beigefügten Microfiche-Karten überprüfbar. Für den *Conventus Cordubensis* liegen außerdem umfassende Indices vor, lediglich der grammatische Index und die sog. notabilia varia sind dem Gesamtindex des CIL II² vorbehalten. Für den *Conventus Tarraconensis* dagegen muß man sich bis zur Herausgabe des zweiten Faszikels gedulden, für das wohl die Indices des ganzen

Conventus vorgesehen sind.

Bei den Inschriften selber findet man außer einem Hinweis auf die Nr. im alten CIL II Typ, Beschreibung sowie Fundstätte und Aufbewahrungsort. An den eigentlichen Inschriftentext schließen sich ein Hinweis auf Photographie oder Mikrofiche, Kommentar, Datierung und die Kürzel des jeweiligen Autors an. Der Inschriftentext ist kursiv, der originalen Zeileneinteilung folgend mit den üblichen Zeichen und Abkürzungsaufösungen geschrieben, wobei nur Eigennamen mit Großbuchstaben anfangen. Entgegen der heute üblichen Handhabung allerdings wird auf moderne Interpunktion verzichtet, und statt dessen werden die antiken Worttrenner wiedergegeben. Dies erschwert bisweilen die Benutzung unnötigerweise, etwa bei Namenlisten wie in 7, 547 oder bei verschachtelten Konstruktionen wie in 7, 250 oder in 14, 89, einer sehr ausführlichen christlichen Inschrift. Bei einer Reihe von Inschriften würde man sich einen etwas ausführlicheren Kommentar wünschen: In 7, 8a beispielsweise ist *C(ornelia)* ergänzt ohne Begründung, dafür aber mit einer alternativen Auflösung, in 14, 337 a treten in Bezug auf die Namen Unstimmigkeiten auf.

Abgesehen von diesen kleineren Mängeln - bei einem Werk dieses Umfanges lassen sich wohl kaum alle Unvollkommenheiten ausmerzen - haben wir aber unbestritten ein fundiertes Arbeitsmaterial in der Hand, und man kann nur hoffen, daß die Neueditionen aller weiteren Teile des CIL ebenso schnell und zuverlässig erscheinen.

Uta-Maria Liertz

Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 1: Index inscriptionum Musei Vaticani: 1. Ambulacrum Iulianum sive "Galleria Lapidaria". Composuit Ivan Di Stefano Manzella. Ex Officina Libraria Pontificia, in Civitate Vaticana 1995. 272 p.

In Museo Vaticano plurimi adservantur tituli tam Latini quam Graeci, qui non solum propter numerum et argumenti varietatem excellent sed etiam eo nobiles sunt, quod iam dudum diligenter collecti et dispositi sunt eoque ipso rei epigraphicae et scientiae antiquitatis valde profuerunt. Celeberrimi sunt tituli quos iuxta septentrionem Ambulacri q. d. Iuliani (sic primum a Iulio II dicti, qui id anno 1504 "Pontificum commoditati" aedificandum curaverat) Caietanus Marinius, indefessus studiosus rei epigraphicae, XVIII saeculo exeunte disponere coepit. Formam ferme hodiernam haec collectio anno iam 1805 habuit, postquam cura et studio eiusdem Marini omnes tituli ex diversis locis in parietibus Ambulacri translati sunt. Marinio ex Roma anno 1808 expulso, quod valde dolendum est, alii collectionem curae habuerunt. Postea collectio sensim aucta est ita, ut tituli in 35 parietibus divisi hodie sint numero 3414, maxima ex parte urbani, quamquam haud pauci sunt tituli, qui in Latio tam vetere quam adiecto aliisque regionibus innotuerunt (CIL IX, X, XI, XIV). Numeri inventarii medio fere saeculo nostro demum ad titulos adscripti sunt. Nuper marmora quaedam locum in *Galleria Lapidaria* (ut Ambulacrum nunc generatim appellatur) mutaverunt aut in alias collectiones translata sunt. Praeter permultos auctores Lapidarium Vaticanum memorantes fontes varii generis ad historiam collectionis pertinentes in tabulariis codicibusque Vaticanis exstant (vide praefationem pp. 11 sq.).

Insunt his indicibus partes hae: 1. Index topographicus, in quo proponuntur tituli omnes pagani et Christiani, et Latini et Graeci, secundum dispositionem eorundem in

parietibus (vide etiam quae de parietibus numerandis titulisque in eis collocandis auctor p. 12 exposuit); 2. Index inventarii, ubi tituli secundum numerum inv. enumerantur; 3. Index bibliographicus, qui titulos per corpora editiones operaque recentiora congregat. In hoc indice etiam tituli falsi, exempla novicia tam in eodem Museo Vaticano quam extra Vaticanum servata atque tituli fortasse genuini vel novicii vel errore falsi iudicati in tabulas referuntur. Notandum tamen est auctori in animo non fuisse supplementum bibliographicum conscribere (quod ei "in alio volumine, Deo adiuvante, componendum est", p. 12).

Tabulae imagines photographicas summae laudis continentes indicem concludunt. De his animadvertendum est litteras titulorum anno iam 1806 a pictore quodam pennicillo rubro colore pictas esse. Cum tamen pictorem illum ut Latini sermonis imperitum formas litterarum evanidas et incertas saepius perperam pinxisse appareat, caute et prudenter imagines inspiciendae sunt. Quoquo modo res se habet, manifestum est has imagines omnibus rerum epigraphicarum studiosis utilitatem haud exiguam allaturas esse.

Caietanus Marinius utinam hoc opus aspiciere manuque tenere potuisset! Tam magni enim momenti est tantaque virtute, ut ille vir doctus laudibus a nostris vix differentibus id extulisset. Post hoc opus felicissime confectum nihil aliud restat, nisi ut speremus alterum quoque volumen eiusdem auctoris spectans ad titulos antiquos antea in *Museo Laterano* nunc in Vaticano adservatos mox publici iuris fieri.

Mika Kajava

MATTEO MASSARO: *Epigrafia metrica latina di età repubblicana*. Quaderni di "Invigilata Lucernis" Istituto di Latino - Università di Bari 1, 1992

Un libro simpatico del giovane latinista barese, già noto dalle *Concordanze dei Carmina Latina epigraphica*. Esso contiene molte considerazioni interessanti, anche se la dimostrazione qua e là è si dilunge un po' troppo. Apre con considerazioni generali sulla metrica; n 5 l'autore discute per es. sulle ragioni della scelta per es. della diffusione epigrafica del senario giambico e delle ragioni della sua scelta (tradizione letteraria e tradizione epigrafica hanno seguita prassi diverse). La parte principale del volume è occupata dall'interpretazione di tre carmi epigrafici, tutti e tre di Roma. L'autore offre, oltre al testo e alla traduzione di ciascuna delle tre iscrizioni, una presentazione generale e un'analisi delle particolarità (orto)grafiche e morfologiche, un esame metrico nonché un diffuso (a volte forse anche troppo) commento prevalentemente letterario e lessicale. Insomma un libro interessante ed utile.

Heikki Solin

FRANCES VAN KEUREN: *The Coinage of Heraclea Lucaniae*. Archaeologica 110. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1994. 100 p., xxv pl. ITL 250.000.

This book fills up a considerable gap in modern studies on the coinage of Heraclea in South Italy (now Policoro). Van Keuren's *Coinage* is in fact the first attempt to provide a complete catalogue of all known coin types of the various denominations from the city.

Furthermore, it is here for the first time that a general chronological scheme is suggested for all these types. The chronological framework presented in this accurate and well-balanced work should not be affected very much by future finds and the discovery of old coin types with firmly-dated material.

Mika Kajava

Les tablettes astrologiques de Grand (Vosges) et l'astrologie en Gaule Romaine. Actes de la Table-Ronde du 18 mars 1992, ed. J.-H. Abry et A. Buisson, Collection du Centre d'Études Romaines et Gallo-Romaines, Nouvelle Série n° 12, 177 p., 15 pl., Lyon-Grand 1993. ISBN 2-904974-11-3 / ISSN 0298. 500 S. FRF 145.

Fast 30 Jahre nach ihrem Fund in einem Brunnen des in römischer Zeit wohlbekannten Heiligtum und "Kurzentrums" des Apollo Grannus in Grand finden hier zwei astrologische Täfelchen aus Elfenbein und Holz eine erste ausführlichere Beschreibung. Das Besondere dieses Fundes, in dem in konzentrischen Kreisen innen Sol und Luna, dann die Sternzeichen und schließlich ihre Dekane einschließlich Namen dargestellt sind, ist abgesehen von seiner Einzigartigkeit als archäologisches Zeugnis für die literarisch mehrfach belegten astrologischen Scheiben - vor allem die Rezeption der wissenschaftsmäßigen Medizin aus Ägypten in Nordgallien.

Das Kolloquium und die Veröffentlichung seiner Akten entspricht daher völlig dem nur interdisziplinär zu bewältigendem Anspruch. Das Thema wird zum einen von der historisch-archäologischen Situation in Gallien (J.-P. Martin) und Grand (C. Bertaux) über die genaueren Fund- und Restitutionsgegebenheiten (J.-R. Bertaux und J.-C. Béal) angegangen, auf der anderen Seite nähert man sich über ägyptologische Untersuchungen(J.-C. Goyon) und solchen der Ikonographie(J.-H. Abry, F. Gury) den beiden Täfelchen, um schließlich zu der Vermutung zu gelangen, daß uns in ihnen das "Handwerkszeug" eines Astrologen vorliegt, der mit Hilfe seiner Kenntnisse Aussagen über die Zukunft und angesichts des Charakters von Grand als Ort, wo Heilung gesucht wurde, Heilmittel für die jeweiligen Gebrechen verordnen konnte (J.-H. Abry). In einer letzten Studie philosophischer Art (J.-P. Mahé) über die astrologischen Elemente bei Hermes Trismegistos zeigt sich dagegen bereits die fortdauernde Nützlichkeit des Fundes in Grand bis in unsere Zeit.

Uta-Maria Liertz

MARIA MUSIELAK: *Miasto-państwo Delfy w IVw. p.n.e. Studium z historii społeczeństwa greckiego.* Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Seria historia nr 145, Poznań 1989. ISBN 83-232-0065-3. 145 p.

This book treats in a concise way the formation of the political system in Delphi. After a survey of the existing sources, the development of the Delphian society is analysed until the Antalcidas peace. Next follows a discussion of the city's political structure between 380 and 280 B.C. Despite the wars and political upheavals of this period, the old system appears to have endured as is illustrated by a set of important epigraphic

documents. Regarding the institutions related to the Pythian sanctuary, Musielak argues that representatives of the Delphian polis entered the Amphictionia for the first time under the Theban rule, perhaps in 353 B.C. As for the city's socio-political structure on a larger scale, the privileged position of the Delphians was always connected with the god Apollo and his famous sanctuary which, of course, was a useful shield in difficult periods.

Mika Kajava

NICOLA CUSUMANO: *Una terra splendida e facile da possedere: I Greci e la Sicilia*. Supplementi a *Κώκαλος*, vol. 10. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1994. ISBN 88-7689-115-3. 186 p. ITL 230.000.

Κώκαλος XXXVI-XXXVII (1990-1991). Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma. ISSN 0392-0887. 408 p. ITL 330.000.

Il decimo supplemento di *Κώκαλος* è una monografia di Nicola Cusumano, uno specialista della storia delle religioni della Sicilia antica. Nei sei capitoli, seguiti da due appendici, viene sviluppato il tema del contatto tra i Greci colonizzatori e gli abitanti indigeni della Sicilia. Nel primo capitolo l'autore espone la storia della ricerca dal punto di vista dei contatti tra gli indigeni ed i Greci. Nell'ultimo, prende in considerazione l'apporto delle scienze meno utilizzate nella ricerca, l'antropologia e la sociologia, facendo notare come la più recente ricerca sia meno tendenziosa nel caratterizzare i rapporti tra questi due gruppi. Contributo dell'antropologia è anche che "pacificità" o "aggressività" non sono considerate come caratteristiche etniche, finalmente, ma sono messe in rapporto piuttosto con altre basi.

Nel capitolo II l'autore si concentra sul concetto di acculturazione. Qui vengono trattati anche gli aspetti linguistici dei contatti. Negli ultimi decenni il metodo etimologico ha dato via ai metodi sociolinguistici che possono aiutare a dare un'immagine più completa delle realtà linguistiche indigene. Ma così, come il metodo etimologico, anche il metodo sociolinguistico è difficilmente utilizzabile nel contesto delle lingue indigene della Sicilia, le cui testimonianze sono scarsissime. Non so, per esempio, se potranno mai essere verificate ipotesi come quella di L. Agostiniani (p. 59), secondo la quale si sarebbe realizzata una situazione di diglossia, in cui l'elimo avrebbe occupato i livelli alti e il sicano i livelli bassi nell'uso della lingua. Utilizzando i metodi della sociolinguistica le ipotesi basate su materiale insufficiente sono, ovviamente, pericolose perché tolgono attendibilità. Anche nel capitolo V si tratta dell'acculturazione, specialmente del modo in cui Diodoro Siculo sottolinea l'incivilimento degli indigeni e il vantaggio che è stato offerto loro dalla colonizzazione greca. La cultura greca viene sovrapposta alla cultura indigena, e tutto il processo può chiamarsi deculturazione. Nel capitolo terzo l'autore prende in considerazione alcuni casi della storia della colonizzazione testimoniati dagli autori. Studia i concetti opposti che gli scrittori usano per riferire agli indigeni e i colonizzatori, come, ad es., l'ἑρῆμος χώρα degli indigeni e il πλῆθος dei colonizzatori. In questi casi la colonizzazione si avvicina molto al concetto moderno di "colonialismo". Interessante è la storia raccontata da Polieno (5,5) e Tucidide (6,4,1): un gruppo di megaresi viene ridotto in una posizione simile a quella degli indigeni: alla fine accettano l'offerta di un re

indigeno, Iblone, nella cui terra fondano una nuova città (Megara Iblea), comandati da Iblone stesso.

Il ruolo delle donne indigene nella colonizzazione è trattato nei capitoli IV e VI. L'autore parte da un problema trattato anche da altri negli ultimi anni: qual'era il ruolo delle donne greche e quello delle donne indigene nella colonizzazione? Non arriva a nuove conclusioni, ma si interessa in modo particolare alla presenza delle donne indigene nelle prime generazioni di coloni, attestata in alcuni luoghi. Il lettore, però, ogni tanto resta in attesa del contributo nuovo delle scienze sociali. Nell'ultimo capitolo viene preso specialmente in considerazione il contatto tra Eracle e le donne. L'autore paragona la relazione maschile / femminile espressa dalle tradizioni mitiche su Eracle in Sicilia e il rapporto colonizzatori / indigeni. La trattazione è interessante, non troppo tortuosa, anche se l'autore la definisce così a p. 137. Il volume conclude con uno sguardo molto utile allo stato attuale degli studi sui popoli che precedettero i Greci in Sicilia, e con una storia della ricerca dei culti indigeni. Tutto sommato, si tratta di un volume con nuove idee, in cui anche la storia della ricerca viene presa in considerazione.

Qui è anche opportuno segnalare il volume 36-37 di *Κώκαλος*, la cui prima parte è dedicata al processo storico e metodologico del grande storico palermitano Eugenio Manni. Le altre due parti tematiche hanno per titolo "Eparchia punica in Sicilia" e "Cataclismi e calamità naturali nella vita socio-economica e politica della Sicilia tardo-antica".

Kalle Korhonen

FLAVIO RAVIOLA: *Napoli Origini*, Hesperìa, 6. Studi sulla grecità di occidente a cura di Lorenzo Braccisi. "L' Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1995. ISBN 88-7062-913-2. 272 p., 2 tav. ITL 160.000.

Il presente volume è ultimo risultato di ricerca di F. Raviola pressoché sulla stessa materia. L'autore ha già pubblicato due articoli sullo stesso tema in Hesperìa 1, 1990 con il titolo *La tradizione letteraria su Parthenope* (19-60) e in Hesperìa 2, 1991 con il titolo *La tradizione letteraria sulla fondazione di Neapolis* (19-40). Anche se il presente volume ha alcuni cambiamenti nella forma e nel contenuto rispetto a questi due precedenti articoli, ci si deve chiedere perché scrivere tre studi diversi se ne basterebbe uno solo effettuato dopo un'indagine esatta e completa su questo argomento non molto vasto, anche se assai problematico. Che alla base di ciò sia il celebre principio americano *publish or perish*?

Il volume è diviso in tre capitoli: 1. La città di Parthenope nella tradizione letteraria (13-62), 2. La fondazione di Neapolis nella tradizione letteraria (63-91), e 3. La nascita di Neapolis fra Cuma e Siracusa (93-207). Segue poi un epilogo, L'*epoikia* attico-calcedese a Neapolis e tre appendici A) Strabone, il *nostos* di Tlepolemo e la tradizione sulla talassocrazia rodia (209-217), B) Per una verifica delle fonti letterarie: l'affiorare di tradizioni locali? (219-228) e C) Ai margini del territorio neapolitano: i confini terrestri, le frontiere marittime (229-250).

L'autore, evidentemente, conosce benissimo i dati letterari che però molte volte sono modesti e sporadici. Spesso cerca di elaborare ogni minimo dettaglio in un modo che diventa non solo fastidioso, ma anche tautologico, in ogni caso molto verboso. Il libro non procede, perché l'argomento, anche se generalmente valido, soffre delle frequenti

regressioni, del linguaggio astratto e retorico, di periodi lunghissimi. Non sono rari periodi di quindici o più righe (per esempio a p. 20). Perciò non è sempre facile capire ciò che vuol dire l'autore, che sembra nascondersi dietro un linguaggio quasi incomprensibile. Per esempio: "Non è mia intenzione discutere qui a fondo la spinosa questione delle tradizioni ecistiche rodie, spesso così marginali nella loro presentazione spaziale e temporale e nella qualità della letteratura che le veicola: per il fine che mi propongo è indifferente stabilire la reale consistenza (a mio avviso peraltro fumosa) dei presupposti storici o archeologici di età arcaica (o preolimpiadica, come vorrebbero le *historiai* note a Strabone) che sorreggerebbero tale serie di notizie, nonché, nel caso che quei presupposti si rivelassero inconsistenti, i meccanismi che avrebbero presieduto alla selezione dei luoghi interessati, e infine gli eventuali significati ideologici o strumentali che una simile ed eventuale elaborazione a posteriori avrebbe implicato" (p. 40–41). Ci si può chiedere a quali meccanismi l'autore si riferisca? Saranno di origine umana oppure divina? Quali potrebbero essere, poi, gli eventuali significati ideologici o strumentali? Che potrebbe essere una eventuale elaborazione a posteriori? A mio avviso, espressioni come queste, esprimendo chiaramente l'ideologia scientifica dell'autore, mistificano le fonti senza offrire un'analisi comprensibile.

Ciò che ho potuto interpretare nel libro, suggerisce che il nome di Parthenope per la città precedente Neapolis è invenzione romana. In ogni caso, non è tipico nome di una *polis* greca. Ciononostante già prima di Neapolis v'era stato un'insediamento il cui nome però non conosciamo.

Martti Leiwo

WOLFGANG LESCHHORN: *Antike Ären. Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nördlich des Tauros*. Historia-Einzelschrift 81. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1993. ISBN 3-515-06018-9. 576 S. und 10 Taf. DEM 168.

Wenn der Verf. sagt, ein "umfangreicher Beitrag zum Thema Ära" sei längst fällig gewesen (S. 5), so hat er ohne Zweifel recht; zum Glück hat er dies nicht nur festgestellt, sondern auch einen sehr beachtenswerten Beitrag zu eben diesem Thema geliefert. Das Buch, die erweiterte Fassung einer Saarbrückener Habilitationsschrift, klar gegliedert und von bewundernswerter Belesenheit zeugend, müßte als eine handbuchartige definitive Behandlung des Themas in jeder seriösen Bibliothek seinen Platz finden.

Das Buch ist wie folgt aufgebaut: nach den "Vorbemerkungen", wo man z.B. die interessante Feststellung findet, daß die Einführung einer neuen Ära nirgendwo den Gang des lokalen traditionellen Jahreskalenders beeinflußte (S. 6), und nach einem Überblick über die Seleukidenära in Kleinasien (Kap. II.) werden zunächst die Ären in den Städten der Nordküste des Schwarzen Meeres (III.), in Pontos (IV.), Paphlagonien (V.) und Bithynen (VI.) besprochen; dann folgt (VII.) eine Behandlung des westlichen Kleinasien mit seinen verschiedenen Ären; besonders interessant sind hier die "überregionalen Ären", und zwar die sullanische (Ausgangspunkt 85/4 v. Chr.: 219f.), die pharsalische und die aktische Ära (ab 31/0: 227), die zunächst (216ff.) einzeln und dann zusammen nach ihrer Verbreitung von Stadt zu Stadt (228ff.) dargestellt werden (zur sullanischen Ära s. auch 420ff.). Pisidien und Galatien werden im VIII. Kapitel behandelt, dann folgen

zusammenfassende Bemerkungen über "politisch-historische Aspekte der Ära" (IX, S. 417-32); hier lernt man z.B., daß der Terminus "Provinzialära" nicht ganz korrekt ist (nur in Galatien gab es eine Ära, die diese Benennung verdienen könnte: 419), und daß bei der Einführung verschiedener Ären nirgendwo eine römische Initiative festzustellen sei (418). Zum Schluß kommen ein über 100 Seiten langer Katalog der relevanten Zeugnisse (436-541), eine Bibliographie und Indizes.

Die Darstellung erfolgt in diesem Buch normalerweise so, daß die Zeugnisse von Stadt zu Stadt einzeln besprochen werden, oft ziemlich ausführlich, was eben auch zum handbuchartigen Charakter des Buches beiträgt; das genaue Eingehen auf die Quellen ist dadurch begründet, daß die Interpretation des Materials des öfteren problematisch ist; so findet man z. B., daß für die Besprechung der Ären in Sinope zwölf Seiten (150-62) nötig sind (vgl. auch 234ff. zu der Aizanitis, 348ff. zu Kibyra). Das Quellenmaterial besteht zum Teil aus Inschriften, zum Teil (wie es bei einer Saarbrückener Habilitationsschrift zu erwarten war) aus Münzen; der Verf. verfügt über eine bewundernswerte Beherrschung sowohl des epigraphischen als auch des numismatischen Materials. - Um auf ein Detail kurz einzugehen: nach dem Verf. datierte man in Iasos wohl nach der sullanischen Ära (346-8, vgl. 421). Nun habe ich einmal (in einem Zusammenhang, in dem es um etwas ganz anderes ging) vorgeschlagen, daß in Iasos die aktische Ära in Gebrauch war, und habe dies mit Beobachtungen onomastischer Natur begründet (Die römischen Vornamen [1987] 235 Anm. 222, mit einigen Ungenauigkeiten). Besonders störend finde ich bei der Annahme, daß man in Iasos sullanisch datierte, daß in einer Inschrift (I. Iasos 270) aus dem Jahr "89", die dann in die spätaugusteische Zeit zu datieren wäre, ein römischer Bürger Σαμῖάριος Σατορνεῖλος genannt wird, also ohne Pränomen und mit einer vulgären Orthographie des Cognomens Saturninus, die normalerweise nicht vor dem 2. Jh. bezeugt zu sein scheint. Vielleicht sollte man auf die Frage doch noch einmal eingehen.

Daß sich das Buch vor allem an solche Forscher wendet, die sich über die Kleinasien gebräuchlichen Ären informieren wollen, etwa um eine Inschrift datieren zu können, ist klar; doch kann die Bestimmung von jeweils gültigen Ären auch zu weiteren wichtigen Folgerungen führen. So folgt z.B. daraus, daß die Ära von Apollonia Mordiaion die sullanische sein muß, daß die Stadt zur Provinz Asia (und nicht zu Galatien) gehörte, was nicht unwichtig ist (274-6). Andererseits muß betont werden, daß das Buch auch für solche Forscher von großem Nutzen sein wird, die sich nicht in erster Linie für Ären interessieren; kann doch das Buch überhaupt als die modernste, mit nützlichen bibliographischen Angaben versehene Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten Örtlichkeiten Kleinasiens gebraucht werden. Dazu kommt, daß sehr häufig auf moderne Ortsnamen verwiesen wird, die auch in den Indizes verzeichnet sind, so daß Forscher das Buch auch zur Entschlüsselung von ihnen unbekanntem Ortsnamen heranziehen können.

Olli Salomies

Die römische Feldmesskunst. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu ihrer Bedeutung für die Zivilisationsgeschichte Roms. Herausgegeben von Okko Behrends und Luigi Capogrossi Colognesi. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1992. ISBN 3-525-82480-7. 452 S. DEM 260.

Die römische Feldmesskunst stellt einen der schwierigsten Fragenkomplexe der Altertumswissenschaft dar. Wir besitzen nicht einmal einen zuverlässigen Text des *Corpus agrimensorum*, von einer kommentierten Ausgabe ganz zu schweigen. Ferner liegen die Anfänge der Zenturiationinstitution im Dunkeln (die Kontroverse in der heutigen Forschung kommt auch in diesem Bande zum Vorschein). Dazu kommt noch, dass während der letzten Jahrzehnte auf dem Gebiet einige problematische Werke erschienen sind, die die Forschungslage nur noch unüberschaubarer machen; hierbei könnte man etwa die in manchem problematischen Monographien von Hinrichs und Flach nennen. Es sei auch nicht verschwiegen, dass die Ergebnisse des Teams von Forschern aus Besanson (in dem vorliegenden Band durch M. ClavelLévêque und F. Favory vertreten), deren Verdienste unbestreitbar sind, nicht immer in Einklang mit den puren Fakten auf italischem Boden stehen; auch sind sie nicht immer gut bewandert mit der institutionalen Geschichte italischer Städte.

In einer solchen Situation ist der vorliegende Band sehr willkommen. Er besteht aus den Akten eines in Wolfenbüttel und Göttingen im Jahre 1988 gehaltenen internationalen Symposions und enthält insgesamt 14 Vorträge; als solcher vermittelt er ein anschauliches Bild vom Stand der Forschung auf dem Gebiet und bringt auch viele der schwierigen Probleme gut zum Vorschein. Die schon erwähnte Streitfrage zur Entstehung der Zenturiation wird von O. Behrends und R. Knütel (beide Rechtshistoriker) beleuchtet; sie gelangen zu einer Frühdatierung, anders als E. Gabba und H. Galsterer, die Verfechter einer Spätdatierung sind. Ansonsten sei auf den interdisziplinären Charakter des Bandes hingewiesen, der ihn zu einem wichtigen Hilfsmittel macht. Gerade deswegen wird er der Forschung neue Impulse geben. Wenn nicht alle Beiträge von derselben Qualität und Aktualität sind, so zeugt doch der Band im ganzen, wie fruchtbar eine interdisziplinäre Diskussion um diese schwierigen Probleme sein kann.

Heikki Solin

ULRIKE HAHN: *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina*. Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und alten Geschichte 8. Saarbrücken 1994. 447 p. DEM 88.

The original scope of this study, a slightly enlarged version of a Saarbrücken dissertation from 1992, was to collect numismatic evidence on the cult of the Roman empresses and other female members of the Imperial House from a period of more than 150 years, extending from Livia to Sabina, Hadrian's wife. However, it gradually became obvious that an overall evaluation of the development of the Imperial cult in the Greek East would be possible only if all the relevant sources were considered. Accordingly, Hahn has studied not only coins and medallions but also inscriptions as well as literary and archaeological evidence.

The list of altogether 24 Imperial ladies concludes with Sabina which is understandable because this empress was the last one honoured abundantly with various honorific and theophoric epithets. After Hadrian's reign, the women of the Imperial House were in general not placed on a par with so many deities as was Sabina and her

predecessors, especially Livia, the first empress. The deification of these women in the Greek East is certainly comparable to that of their husbands. Note further that it was only from Caligula's time that Imperial women began to be associated with personifications such as Fortuna/Tyche, Securitas, Concordia/Homonoia, Nike, Eirene, Elpis and Eusebeia.

In the introductory section ('Das Erbe des Hellenismus') Hahn analyses the historical and ideological background of the ruler cult, in particular as it manifested itself in the Hellenistic period. Next follows a detailed treatment of the evidence arranged in chronological order. The varying forms of honours bestowed on Imperial women are dealt with on pp. 304-311 (naming of cities, months, demes, buildings, festivities, etc. after women). Finally, the evidence is also collected in a synoptic catalogue which is followed by four appendices listing the local cults of deities associated with Imperial women, the cities where empresses were honoured as well as all the honorific epithets attested so far. The bibliography and the indices are abundant and well-organized.

The theme is undoubtedly important and the relevant problems involved are well illustrated. So here it may suffice to make a couple of minor observations. P. 24: besides M'. Aquillius cf. also the quaestor M. Annius (Macedonia, 117 B.C.). One should note that the monument with the names of M. Antonius and Octavia (AE 1952, 199 = M. Kajava, Roman Senatorial Women, etc. 71 f., cf. below) is not a statue base, but the earliest "Imperial" altar at Athens (as D. Geagan informs me in a letter from 1991). For Fulvia and Eumeneia cf. also Chr. Habicht, JRS 65 (1975) 85. Perhaps something could also have been said on the ban imposed by Augustus in A.D. 11 on the honours for Roman governors in the provinces during their term of office and the following sixty days (Dio 56,25,6, cf. e.g. J. Nicols, ZPE 80 (1990) 81 ff. and the recent work of C. Eilers). This naturally coincides with the fact that the emperor together with his family was becoming the object par excellence of provincial cults. - P. 25: one should not perhaps omit the traditional view that after her marriage with C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes, the last "king" of Commagene, the βασιλίσσα Claudia Capitolina married M. Iunius Rufus, the prefect of Egypt (cf. PIR² C 1086). So the title 'basilissa' is here proper for the wife (or rather ex-wife) of a King. Note, by the way, that Capitolina is duly called *regina* on the water pipe stamp CIL XV 7520. - P. 34: See now C.-M. Perkournig: Livia Drusilla - Iulia Augusta. Das politische Porträt der ersten Kaiserin Roms (1995). - P. 59: for a better interpretation of the epigraphic evidence on the Statilii Tauri at Thespieae, cf. M. Kajava, ZPE 79 (1989) 139 ff. - P. 68 (n. 31): as for the Samian dedication MDAI(A) 75 [1960] 105 no. 12 (the name *Drusilla* also appears in no. 11), it does not give the title *Sebastos* and so the dating should be modified (correctly on p. 40). - P. 126: "Livia Iulia (= Livilla; Livia minor)", granddaughter of the empress Livia, wife of Drusus Iulius Caesar, Tiberius' son. Livia's nomenclature is here misunderstood, as it is in many other studies. A comment like "Ihr Praenomen lautete wahrscheinlich Claudia" is inapposite. There is no doubt that Livia's full nomenclature was *Claudia Livia*, where *Livia* was her personal cognomen by which she was regularly called, and it is normal also that writers sometimes used diminutive forms in place of official cognomina. As for the name *Iulia* in Zonar. 11,2, this author has clearly confused the evidence. Admittedly, there is one epitaph of a slave whose mistress was *Iulia Drusi Caesaris* (VI 5198 = ILS 1752: *Antiochus Iuliae Drusi Caesaris supra lecticarius*). This text has always been attributed to Livia, as it would

indeed seem natural that the woman was the wife of a Drusus Caesar (and also because it has generally been thought that Livia also bore the name *Iulia*). There seem to be two possibilities for solving the problem: either the *Iulia* of the inscription is the daughter of Livia (i.e. PFOS 422) and so the word *filia* was for some reason dropped (cf. VI 4119: *Elate Iuliae Drusi Caesaris filiae liberta*), or she was another *Iulia* from the Julio-Claudian House, who was married to a Drusus Caesar. Since, however, nothing is known about such a marriage, the former alternative seems to me preferable. For Livia's relation to Sejanus, cf. now J. Bellemore, ZPE 109 (1995) 255 ff., arguing that she had become Sejanus' wife, and that her name, replacing that of Apicata, should be restored in the Ostian Fasti. So she would have committed suicide close in time to the death of her husband. - P. 130: For the appearance of Agrippina the Elder in epigraphic and numismatic sources cf. now R. Tansini, I ritratti di Agrippina Maggiore (RdA Suppl. 15, 1995), 19 ff. - P. 178: Messalina's nomen also appears in CIL VI 28132. - P. 183 n. 1: for the nomen *Claudia*, cf. also ILS 4992, 7466 (ex-slaves of Antonia). As for VI 31728a from the so-called *sepulcrum Liciniorum et Calpurniorum* on the Via Salaria (--- / *Cla*[---] / *M*[---] / *uxo*[*ri* ---] / *ac*+ [---]), P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, MNR I,7, IV, 20, referring to a suggestion by S. Priuli, did not exclude the possibility that the text commemorated Claudius' daughter. - P. 186: Cf. now A.A. Barrett: Agrippina (1996), providing an appendix of inscriptions and coins. - P. 211 n. 3: the full style *Claudia Octavia* also occurs in IGR IV 969 (Samos); cf. further VI 9015 = 29847a = ILS 8120 (*Claudia Octaviae divi Claudi f. lib. Peloris*). The nomen *Claudia* alone is found in Octavia 671, 789, 803. - P. 223: For Messalina's nomen, cf. also VI 9842 = ILS 7411: *Statilia Tauri f. Messalina*; moreover, it can be restored in a fragmentary inscription from Athens, BCH 51 (1927) 261 f. no. 24. Note further that the possibility exists that Messalina's father was Taurus Statilius Corvinus (cos. 45), though his brother, the consul of 44, is a better candidate. - P. 255 n. 44: for Plancia Magna, cf. further M.T. Boatwright, in: S. Pomeroy (ed.), Women's History and Ancient History (1991), 249 ff.

Finally, though not the object of cultic worship, it could have been noted also that Marcia, wife of Paullus Fabius Maximus (proconsul of Asia in 10/9 B.C.), is referred to in an inscription from Paphos as cousin to Caesar Augustus (ILS 8811) and that Atia, Caesar Augustus' mother, was honoured by the people of Aphrodisias long after her death, evidently as a token of gratitude towards Augustus for his personal patronage of the town since the Triumviral period (SEG XXX 1247).

The bibliography is very representative as it is now, but the reader might be interested in consulting some further reading on the subject (if not directly concerning the theme of Hahn's book, the following studies in any case illustrate the background of the Imperial cult by providing new insights into the cult of Romans in the Greek East): C.J. Classen, *Gymnasium* 70 (1963) 312-338 (deification during the Republic); H. von Kaenel, *SchNR* 63 (1984) 127 ff. (Agrippina the Younger in Thrace); F.G.B. Millar, in: *Caesar Augustus. Seven Aspects* (Oxford 1984), 37 ff. (the impact of monarchy); E.S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome I* (1984), 166 ff. (honours bestowed upon Romans and their connection with the Greek shrines in the second century B.C.); F.W. Walbank, *Chiron* 17 (1987) 382 (cults for Romans in general); P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (1987), 52 ff. (Octavianus-Apollo, Antonius-Dionysus); M. Kajava, *Roman Senatorial Women and the Greek East. Epigraphic*

Evidence from the Republican and Augustan Period, in: Roman Eastern Policy, etc. (Helsinki 1990), 59 ff. (the beginning of the Imperial Cult in the East).

This is an ambitious and meticulous study where the evidence is analysed and arranged with care and reflection. Hahn is well acquainted with the material and the problems involved. No doubt her book will become a most useful companion to everyone interested in the Imperial ideology and its appearances in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire.

Mika Kajava

LOTHAR WIERSCHOWSKI: *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Quantitative Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches. Historia Einzelschriften 91, Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart 1995, 400 S. ISBN 3-515-06720-5. DEM 114.

Das Imperium Romanum als großer, zusammenhängender Wirtschaftsraum mit seinen entsprechenden ökonomischen und kulturellen Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten hat in der letzten Zeit vermehrt das Interesse der Forschung auf sich gezogen und neue Wege zur Untersuchung eröffnet. Wierschowski nimmt sich in seiner Arbeit vor, den gallischen Raum, der als relativ geschlossenes Wirtschaftsgebiet angesehen werden kann, im Hinblick auf Zu-, Ab- und Binnenwanderung zwischen den einzelnen Provinzen und ihren städtischen Zentren zu untersuchen, und zwar auf der Grundlage von entsprechenden Erwähnungen in Inschriften. Eine wichtige Prämisse für die Gültigkeit der Schlußfolgerungen bildet die Aussage Strabons, daß der Warenumsatz immer im Zusammenhang mit Ortsfremden, die in der Antike ihre Ware notwendigerweise begleiteten, steht. Andersherum ist also die Anzahl an Fremden Indiz für Warenaustausch an einem Ort ist. Als weiteres Motiv für Ortswechsel sind beruflich gebundene Wechsel von Soldaten, hohen Beamten oder Gesandtschaften anzusehen, Tourismus hat dagegen eine äußerst geringe Rolle gespielt.

Die Untersuchung geht provinzmäßig vor, und innerhalb der Provinzen nach Einwanderung, Binnenwanderung und Abwanderung, wobei eine Vielzahl von Tabellen und Graphiken einen schnellen Überblick über die jeweilige Situation erlauben. Dabei kommt auch die zeitliche Komponente zum Ausdruck: Während die Narbonensis und v.a. Narbonne und Nîmes ihre Blüte im ersten Jahrhundert erlebt, verschiebt sich der Schwerpunkt im 2. Jahrhundert weitgehend nach Norden. Als neue Drehscheibe tritt Lyon in den Vordergrund, und die Wanderung bewegt sich hauptsächlich innerhalb des gallischen Raumes. Zu Beginn dagegen handelte es sich um Bewegungen von Italikern und Hispanikern in die Narbonensis und umgekehrt. Nach der Behandlung der Narbonensis, Aquitaniens, der Lugdunensis und der Belgica - die germanischen Provinzen, deren Einschluß mit wenig mehr Aufwand ein abgerundeteres Bild gegeben hätte, werden nicht behandelt - untersucht der Autor den sozialen Status der Ortswechsler sowie in zwei Exkursen ihre ethnische Zusammensetzung und die Mobilität von Frauen.

Zusammenfassend warnt er vor einer globalen Nivellierung der zeitlichen und geographischen Aspekte. Er weist auf die eindeutig schichtenspezifische Differenziertheit der Mobilität hin und zeigt auf, daß die Konfrontation der Ergebnisse mit statistischen

Untersuchungen anderer Aspekte sich gegenseitig bestätigen können. Drei Anhänge mit der Auflistung der Mobilitätsfälle nach Provinzen und Großräumen, der Mobilitätsfälle der Frauen und einer Liste der sicher bezeugten Freigelassenen, sowie eine umfassende Bibliographie und die Indices ermöglichen einen raschen Zugang zu dem behandelten Material und seinen Ergebnissen. Das Buch stellt somit ein wertvolles, nützliches Werkzeug für die Forschung in und über Gallien dar.

Uta-Maria Liertz

GUDRUN BÜHL: *Constantinopolis und Roma*. Stadtpersonifikationen der Spätantike. Akanthus, Verlag für Archäologie, Zürich 1995. ISBN 3-905083-10-8. 334 p.

Gudrun Bühl has studied the personifications of Rome and Constantinople in the late Roman Empire. The personifications of Rome, Constantinople and other cities of the Empire flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries. Bühl, a specialist in Christian archaeology and Byzantine art, has gone through a vast material of the representations of Rome and Constantinople and a wide comparative material of different other personifications. She has analyzed personifications of Rome and Constantinople in coins, imperial and consular diptychs, reliefs, missoria, mosaics, and Christian art. Bühl tries to find out what these city personifications stand for. Their figures clearly came from Graeco-Roman pagan art but what happened to their meaning? Did their meaning remain the same or were the old forms filled with a new late antique Christian meaning? Was a personification a symbol of citizenship, an expression of the political ambitions of a city, or an expression of imperial ideology? Bühl shows that the continuation of city personifications in late antique art cannot be understood just as a passive preservation of Graeco-Roman pagan forms.

The personification of Constantinople adopted the form of Rome but also general forms of city personifications and developed its own attributes. According to Bühl the figures of Rome and Constantinople e.g. on coins in the mid-fourth century appear as guarantees of imperial promises. She studies the city statuettes of the Esquiline treasure with a special interest and discusses their probable function. She points out that city personifications cannot be identified simply through their external attributes but through different facts, the context, the purpose, and the historical background of the monument. On imperial and consular diptychs city personifications appear with emperors and consuls: personifications give them supermundane legitimization of political power. Bühl calls personifications the new lictors of the consul. In addition to their function as protectors of political power, personifications also appear as expressions of the loyalty to emperors. Figures of cities or provinces are depicted bringing gifts (in reality taxes) to emperors in various reliefs, manuscripts, diptychs, and mosaics.

Maijastina Kahlos

Attila Flagellum Dei? Convegno internazionale di studi storici sulla figura di Attila e sulla discesa degli Unni in Italia nel 452 d.C. Gruppo archeologico aquileiese. *Studia historica* 129. A cura di Silvia Blason Scarel. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider Roma 1994. ISBN 88-

7062-860-4. 241 p. ITL 250.000.

Attila e gli Unni. Mostra itinerante. Gruppo archeologico aquileiese. Catalogo a cura di Silvia Blason Scarel. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider Roma 1995. ISBN 88-7062-874-4. 149 p. ITL 150.000.

The Gruppo archeologico aquileiese has produced two remarkable books on Attila and the Huns. *Attila Flagellum Dei?* is a collection of the papers given at the international meeting held in Aquileia in September 1990. *Attila e gli unni* was published for the Attila exhibition in Aquileia in 1991. Its purpose was to popularize the results of the international meeting for a wider public and to correct the conventional picture of the Huns in popular histories and school books. *Attila Flagellum Dei?* is an excellent survey of the present state of the Hunnic studies. The fifteen articles in the book raise many important questions. Can we speak of the Huns as a certain people? Did the Huns ever exist as a nation? Were they a bundle of different nomadic tribes rather than a nation? Was Huns a general label used for several nomadic invaders that disturbed the "civilized" peoples of the late Roman Empire? The western ideas of Attila and the Huns from antiquity onwards seem to be more illustrative of the European peoples themselves than the Huns. The terrifying stories about the cruelties of the Huns and Attila's bestial appearance reveal more about western anxieties and attitudes towards the Other, the different and the strange. The Huns were described as wild and ferocious beasts in the same way as enemies have always and everwhere been made inhuman.

Paolo Daffinà's survey of the history and the present state of the Hunnic studies shows that the same basic problems remain unsolved: scholars do not really know where the Huns came from, or what their language and ethnic composition was like. Several articles in *Attila Flagellum Dei?* discuss the material aspects Hunnic history. The archaeological evidence is important because archaeology seems to be the only way of *audiat aut altera pars*. All the literary sources on the Huns were written by their enemies. Péter Tomka's article deals with the Hunnic archaeological material in Hungary, Timotej Knific surveys the traces of the Huns found in Slovenia, in literature, in folk tradition and in archaeology, and Katalin Bíró-Sey has studied the circulation of money in the Hunnic period in Pannonia and Dacia.

Walter Pohl analyses the dynamics of Attila's kingdom and questions the previous clichés about irrational and uncontrolled barbarians. He stresses that the Roman historians like Ammianus Marcellinus who wrote descriptions of the Huns had hardly ever seen them; they simply used the topoi of classical ethnographies in describing them. Ferruccio Bertini's article about the image of Attila and his Huns in medieval Latin chronicles and historiography is very fascinating. Bertini shows how Attila became a symbol of the ferocious wild pagan and the Flagellum Dei through whom the Christian god punished sinful mankind. Attila's invasion of Italy and the situation in northern Italy are strongly represented in the articles in *Attila Flagellum Dei?*. Giuseppe Zecchini discusses the possible political and ideological reasons for the invasion. Mauro Calzolari has studied Attila's campaign in the valley of Po and has tried to identify the historical place where Leo I met Attila. Franca Maselli Scotti's article deals with the defence of Aquileia in the light of the latest excavations at Aquileia and the surrounding region. Mario Mirabella Roberti has analyzed the traces of Attila's invasion in two Aquileian buildings. Renato Iacumin discusses the problems of the church of Aquileia in the military, political and social crisis

of the fifth century. Giuseppe Cuscito studies Leo I's letter (PL 54, coll. 1135-1140) as a source on the sacking of Aquileia. Sergio Roda discusses the ideology of the western aristocracy in the fifth century, clearly manifested in Rutilius Namatianus' *De reditu*. Danilo Mazzoleni surveys Christian epigraphy in Venetia et Histria in the fifth century.

Attila e gli unni is divided into four sections. The historical section concentrated on the history on the Huns and on the Northern Italian towns in late antiquity. The archaeological section is based on the discoveries made in the latest excavations. The section on literature and popular tradition is perhaps the most interesting part of *Attila e gli unni* because of fascinating examples of the human imagination. Attila appears in the works of late antique historians, in Germanic poems, in medieval chronicles and in folk tradition throughout Europe. Attila and the Huns in medals, graphic art, book illustrations and paintings are considered in the section on art.

Maijastina Kahlos

ANNA ESPOSITO: *Un'altra Roma. Minoranze nazionali e comunità ebraiche tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*. Editrice "il Calamo", Roma 1995. ISBN 88-86148-15-1. 345 p. ITL 40.000.

La Roma antica ebbe una fiorente comunità ebraica. Si può dire che la vita degli Ebrei romani si svolse senza interruzioni dal 49 al 1943. Nessuna meraviglia che nel Medio Evo alcune famiglie ebraiche si vantassero di discendere dei prigionieri di Tito. In questo libro si parla molto degli Ebrei romani nel Medio Evo, ma presenta anche di altri saggi di carattere demografico. Si tratta infatti di una raccolta di contributi già apparsi altrove, contributi miranti ad illuminare soprattutto problemi demografici della Roma medievale. Tra essi si trovano saggi molto interessanti anche per un antichista. Già il primo dei contributi qui ristampati che tratta della popolazione romana dalla fine del secolo XIV al Sacco di Roma, mi ha fatto riflettere ancora una volta su simili questioni riguardanti la Roma antica ed ha, nel contempo, messo in rilievo quanto sia disperata la Quellenlage per risolvere simili questioni riferentisi a periodi anteriori. La popolazione di Roma è oggetto anche di in quattro altri contributi; poi si passa a trattare degli Ebrei, cominciando con un saggio notevole sui rapporti tra ebrei e cristiani nella Roma del Rinascimento. Particolarmente prezioso è il lungo contributo sugli ebrei romani alla fine del Medioevo.

Heikki Solin

CARLA FAYER: *La familia romana. Aspetti giuridici ed antiquari. Parte Prima. Problemi e ricerche di storia antica 16. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider*, Roma 1994. ISBN 88-7062-875-2. 782 p. ITL 450.000.

Questo volume, la prima parte di un immenso lavoro, tratta la struttura giuridica della *familia* romana: la *patria potestas*, l'*adoptio*, la *tutela* e la *cura*. Un secondo volume avrà per oggetto il fidanzamento, il matrimonio, l'adulterio e il divorzio. L'autrice vuole presentare lo stato attuale della ricerca sul suo tema, tenendo conto soprattutto degli aspetti giuridici ma anche antiquari, mentre non sembra aver prestato particolare attenzione a quelli

sociali. La sua vastissima bibliografia contiene anche recenti lavori di vari studiosi di storia sociale, dei quali, tuttavia, non si é sempre approfittata nell'esame stesso (p.es. gli studi di Saller non utilizzati per la discussione dell'età matrimoniale dei maschi, p. 54-5). Il libro è ampiamente documentato e, benché non offra molte novità, sarà utilissimo per chi desideri trovare raccolti in un unico luogo i più importanti risultati dei vecchi maestri romanisti.

Antti Arjava

LUCIA FANIZZA: *L'assenza dell'accusato nei processi di età imperiale*. Studia Juridica LXXXV. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1992. ISBN 88-7062-790-X. ITL 130.000.

La monografia si divide in quattro sezioni. Nella prima si discute un passo nel settimo libro de officio proconsulis di Ulpiano (dig. 48, 19, 5 pr.) e le ragioni che l'accusato poteva porre per una sua assenza nella repressione penale. Le rimanenti sezioni sono dedicate all'analisi di altri passi nel 48. libro dei Digesta: la procedibilità in assenza; la disciplina della contumacia; e testi al di fuori dei Digesta i quali chiariscono come la questione dell'assenza fu trattata in prassi (sono riportati per es. papiri che includono editti di Claudio e Nerone). Alla fine la Fanizzi ritorna ancora sui concetti di latitatio e contumacia già sopra trattati.

Heikki Solin

Libya antiqua. Annual of the Department of antiquities of Libya. New series 1, 1995. Great socialist people's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1996. ISBN 88-7062-934-1. 304 p., lxxxiv pl. ITL 300.000.

The reader is pleased to note that the publication of this important series has been resumed after a pause of many years. The co-operation between Italian and Libyan scholars has produced a handy volume with much interesting to read, but the present reviewer was especially impressed by the article of R. Rebuffat (p. 79 ff.) on a most interesting metrical inscription in 33 verses found in the baths of a Roman military camp in 1970. Having suffered from erasure several times in the first half of the third century, the text was partly re-written in A.D. 253 and was later re-used as building material. The poem is an acrostic and so the initial letters of each verse reveal the author's name (cf. line 33: *capita versorum relegens adgnosce curantem*): *Porcius Iasucthan, cent(urio) leg(ionis) f(ecit) c(urante?) mac(istro)*. The text itself, one of the very rarely attested cases of poems composed by Roman centurions, provides a great number of interesting features, lexical as well as stylistic; cf. e.g. some interesting technical expressions (*lapides de longe adtractos chamulco* in line 11, *sub arcatam* and *funibus cannabinis strictis* in line 12), a few lexical points (the adjective *aeternalis*; *castra*, -ae in the feminine; the word *dictator* with a rare significance). Besides many syntactic peculiarities the reader will surely note the metre used by the centurion poet, which was apparently intended to be dactylic but which according to the classical rules is not correct in any of the more than thirty verses of the poem (in an appendix Rebuffat has collected further poems from Africa showing various types of metrical slips). Furthermore, the poem provides us a few glimpses of the centurion's

childhood and education (note, by the way, two possible reminiscences from Vergil in lines 8 and 28) and it also throws light on some aspects of the cultural life and the values prevailing in a Roman military camp.

Mika Kajava

ANNE WEIS: *The Hanging Marsyas and its Copies*. Archaeologica 103. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1992. ISBN 88-7689-072-6. 243 p., LII pl. ITL 680.000.

Few examples of ancient statuary, and particularly the Hellenistic ones of a "baroque" style, have been preserved in as many copies as the hanging Marsyas, an impressive motif known in about 60 copies in museums throughout the world. Yet there is the question of when and where the originals stood in antiquity: W. Amelung observed long ago that there are in fact two sets of replicas deriving not from the same statue but instead from two completely separate originals. In her study Weis attempts to deal with the relationship between the originals and the extant copies, to establish the chronology of the two types as well as to analyse the composition and the original location of the group to which the originals belonged. The analysis of the stylistic, statistical and circumstantial evidence shows that the "red" original should be dated to the early first century B.C. (late Hellenistic "baroque" style), whereas the "white" one is of early Imperial date ("baroque classicism"). Moreover, Weis also draws attention to a third Marsyas statue, a Severan torso from the Palatine in Rome (now in Berlin, Catalogue no. 5), which is sufficiently independent to be considered an original in its own right. What is remarkable is that the Marsyas statues provide invaluable insights into the continuity of a particular statuary motif and the development of the "baroque" style between the late Republic and the later Empire. The volume concludes with excellent photographs.

Mika Kajava

GUSTAVO TRAVERSARI: *La Tyche da Prusias ad Hypium e la "scuola" microasiatica di Nicomedia*. Rivista di archeologia, Suppl. 11. ISBN 88-7689-119-6. 43 p. 68 fig. ITL 280.000. - ASHER OVADIAH - YEHUDIT TURNHEIM: *"Peopled" Scrolls in Roman Architectural Decoration in Israel. The Roman Theatre at Beth Shean / Scythopolis*. Rivista di archeologia, Suppl. 12. ISBN 88-7689-104-8. 183 p. 283 fig. IV plates. ITL 750.000. - ANNA SADURSKA - ADNAN BOUNNI: *Les sculptures funéraires de Palmyre*. Rivista di archeologia, Suppl. 13. ISBN 88-7689-103-x. 213 p. 255 fig. XIV plans. ITL 730.000. - RAFFAELLA TANSINI: *I ritratti di Agrippina Maggiore*. Rivista di archeologia, Suppl. 15. 109 p. ISBN 88-7689-104-8. 59 fig. ITL 350.000. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1993, 1994, 1994, 1995.

I Supplementi della attiva rivista diretta da Gustavo Traversari continuano ad essere pubblicati a buon ritmo. I quattro volumi qui presentati trattano della scultura plastica, di un motivo particolare della decorazione architettonica in Israele, della scultura funeraria di Palmira nonché della ritrattistica imperiale.

Lo studio dello stesso Traversari mette a fuoco una statua di Tyche, uno splendido

esempio del "barocco" microasiatico, rinvenuto in Bitinia nel 1931 e oggi custodito nel Museo Archeologico di Istanbul. Dall'analisi della scultura nasce uno studio approfondito e complessivo della figura di Tyche nell'arte greco-romana. Con l'aiuto di numerosi confronti iconografici, l'autore riesce a stabilire l'età dell'originale che fa capo ad una lunga serie di statue simili, cioè la seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. (o forse intorno all'ultimo trentennio del secolo), mentre l'archetipo del tipo in questione va collocato nell'ambito artistico di Fidia. Particolarmente interessante risulta l'analisi del rapporto che si è supposto esistente tra la statua ed un'iscrizione pressappoco severiana da Prusias, che ricorda la dedica di un 'agalma' alla città natale da parte di Calpurnia Domitia Marciana, un'esponente dell'aristocrazia locale: i dati tecnico-strutturali sembrerebbero far cadere l'ipotesi di una parentela fra la base e la statua (originariamente avanzata da Fr. Dörner, Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien, 1952, 19 sg. e seguita da L. Robert, A travers l'Asie Mineure, ecc., 1980, 117 nt. 7). Lo studio conclude con una esegesi sulle caratteristiche della "scuola" di Nicomedia, un problema per cui sono ancora necessarie ulteriori conferme archeologiche al fine di poter creare una sintesi della sua produzione. Comunque sia, con questo lavoro la statua di Tyche, un unicum nella storia dell'arte microasiatica, ha trovato un trattamento degno del suo altissimo livello artistico.

Lo studio israeliano su "peopled scrolls" risale all'anno 1963, quando in occasione degli scavi nel teatro romano di Beth Shean vennero alla luce un grande numero di frammenti architettonici. I due autori, allora partecipanti agli scavi, entusiasti dai reperti, decisero di studiare più dettagliatamente un particolare motivo decorativo sui fregi del teatro, i cd. "peopled (oppure "inhabited") scrolls" (i motivi includono animali, putti, fiori, teste, maschere, etc.). Questo motivo, risalente al periodo ellenistico (come già sappiamo dallo studio classico di J.M.C. Toynbee e J.B. Ward-Perkins, PBSR 1950), è ampiamente attestato dopo l'età romana, sia nell'oriente sia nell'occidente, il che prova la sopravvivenza del gusto classico nella scelta dei motivi ornamentali anche dopo il declino del paganesimo.

Delle numerose sculture funerarie palmirene, un gruppo molto omogeneo nell'arte orientale romana, Sadurska e Bounni prendono in esame quelle rinvenute negli ipogei e oggi custodite nel Museo di Palmira. Il nucleo del materiale è costituito dai reperti venuti alla luce nel territorio palmireno negli ultimi decenni durante le missioni siriano-polacche. La scelta degli ipogei, motivata dal fatto che questi fossero ancora intatti al momento del ritrovamento, ha reso possibile un'analisi complessiva delle sepolture nel loro sito originale, cosa che naturalmente facilita lo studio sia dell'aspetto esterno della tomba (iconografia, stile) sia del contesto archeologico ed epigrafico. Questo metodo risulta molto utile soprattutto per quanto riguarda la datazione dei monumenti. Le iscrizioni, infatti, restituendoci un grande numero di nomi e genealogie delle famiglie palmirene, spesso aiutano a proporre una datazione, se non assoluta almeno relativa, del contesto artistico (il materiale è databile nell'arco cronologico compreso tra la fine del I sec. e la prima metà del III sec. d.C.). Il Catalogo di 238 numeri è seguito da una sintesi dei risultati, le solite concordanze, la bibliografia (dove non vedo citata l'analisi dei gioielli sui rilievi palmireni di D. Mackay (Iraq 11 [1940] 160 sgg.; cfr. anche J. El-Chehadeh, Untersuchungen zum antiken Schmuck in Syrien, 1972, 75 sgg.) nonché le illustrazioni fotografiche.

Nonostante i recenti lavori sul tema da parte di P. Zanker e W. Trillmich, il presente studio della ritrattistica di Agrippina Maggiore, madre di Caligola, è benvenuto, perchè mancava a tutt'oggi una trattazione organica, che prevedesse una documentazione

completa dei diversi ritratti di Agrippina. In uno studio del genere non poteva mancare l'analisi del materiale epigrafico e numismatico (dove è da aggiungere il lavoro di U. Hahn, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina*, 1994, 130 sgg.). Riconosciuto il volto di Agrippina sulla base dei tratti fisionomici e della pettinatura, si procede all'esame dei singoli ritratti plastici e così si giunge ad una classificazione tipologica e cronologica. Alla fine del volume vengono presentate le schede relative ai ritratti di dubbia attribuzione nonché a quelli espunti dalla serie di Agrippina Maggiore. Il libro è ornato da una serie di ottime illustrazioni.

Mika Kajava

MARTIN ROBERTSON: *The art of vase-painting in classical Athens*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1992. ISBN 0-521-33881-6. 350 p. GBP 27,95 (paperback).

The last decades of this millennium have witnessed an ever increasing speed to publish books on ancient pottery with new angles, with newly published collections and old theories revised. Cambridge University Press, renowned for its excellent monographs on different aspects and areas of Greek and Roman art, has now published a volume of Athenian vase-painting in the classical era. The author, Professor Martin Robertson, has dedicated a lifetime to studies on Greek art, and wants by this book to create a general presentation of red-figure vases, corresponding to Sir John Beazley's 'Development of Attic black-figure'. The classical period is thus expanded to the last third of the sixth century including red-figure technique from its very beginning. This is not of course completely virgin territory as Athenian red-figure vases have already been studied by John Boardman in two handbooks, the archaic and classical periods, 1975 and 1989. The author, however, emphasizes two points, his desire to write essentially about drawing, and to reconsider the Beazlean method of distinguishing the hands of individual vase-painters on stylistic grounds, lately so heavily criticized.

The material includes also other techniques than red-figure and is divided into groups by shapes and painters. The illustration is scarce, varies in quality, the choice being quite conventional. It is the author's wish that his book should be used together with Boardman's handbooks with more numerous illustrations. He also gives references to other publications with better pictures. The lack of a sufficient number of photos is the usual handicap of these kinds of books, more so with a book treating the delicate features of the styles of several painters. For less advanced readers Prof. Robertson kindly offers in his text clear explanations of basic terms and techniques making his book interesting reading for larger groups of readers. He also points out new theories analysing their weak and less weak points. The notes are seldom used for further discussion, the large bibliography gives a reader a good view of older and current publications. A book on such a heterogeneous subject as hundreds and hundreds of vase painters during almost two hundred years is bound to remain less compact than a book for instance of Roman painting. All in all, this volume is a good contribution to the Cambridge University Press series of ancient art.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

SHIRLEY J. SCHWARZ: *Greek Vases in the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution Washington, D.C.* Bibliotheca archaeologica 17. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1996. ISBN 88-7062-928-7. 96 p., 87 pl. ITL 200.000.

The Smithsonian Institution, the caretaker of the National Collections of the United States, though not ranking among the great collections of the country, is nonetheless an important holder of antiquities. The collection of classical pottery, showing more than 550 whole and fragmentary pieces, has not been well known to scholars since very few individual pieces have been published. This new volume contains all of the painted Attic vases, a Laconian cup and an East Greek cup as well as two vases in the National Museum of American History. This volume continues the high standard of current studies developed by the CVA Committee through the past decades. Schwarz's long-drawn-out work has turned out to be most rewarding for example by the fact that she has been able to identify fragments scattered in collections around the world that join fragments in the Smithsonian Institution.

Mika Kajava

Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae, vol. II (D-G). A cura di Eva Margareta Steinby. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 1995. ISBN 88-7140-073-9. 500 p. ITL 240.000.

Il secondo volume del tanto atteso Lessico topografico si presenta più monotono del primo per il fatto che due gruppi di voci, quelle sotto *domus* e quelle sotto *forum*, ne occupano ben più di due terzi del totale. Ciò vale specialmente per le case private la cui grande maggioranza è nota soltanto dalle fonti letterarie (o, in alcune casi, dalle *fistulae aquariae*), senza contesto archeologico più specifico. Emanuele Papi, Werner Eck, Domenico Palombi e pochi altri nel compilare queste voci hanno indubbiamente svolto un lavoro ingrato ma lodevole.

Può sorprendere il sistema adottato dalla redazione per identificare le case private: per il periodo repubblicano e dell'alto impero si è usato il *gentilicium* del proprietario, mentre per la tarda antichità si è preferito invece citare il suo *cognomen*. No so se potrei raccomandare un modo migliore ma, come già ammette la direttrice nella sua breve nota introduttiva, quello adottato esige una certa conoscenza del sistema onomastico romano, per di più molto complicato. Tutti sappiamo come sia talvolta difficile ritrovare nella *Real-Encyclopädie Pauly-Wissowa* il nome di qualsiasi imperatore sotto un *gentilicium* che non abbiamo mai visto usato per il personaggio in questione. Un'altra difficoltà può essere il fatto che durante il tardo impero molti portavano più *cognomina*. Certo, i rimandi aiutano molto, ma in alcuni casi soltanto gli indici dell'ultimo volume saranno decisivi.

Le informazioni, aggiornatissime, sui palazzi imperiali, dalla *Domus Augusti* sul Palatino alla *Domus August(i)ana* con le sue diverse fasi, sono utilissime per ogni studioso delle antichità romane. Forse sarebbe stato utile aggiungere qualche rimando per le parti più conosciute (come ad es. per la Domus Flavia che viene descritta sotto Domus Augustana).

I lunghi articoli, forniti di ampie e aggiornate bibliografie, sulle diverse fasi del Foro Romano, Foro Boario e sui Fori imperiali occupano la massima parte delle pagine riservate a *forum*. Alcuni di questi articoli sono veri capolavori.

Per quanto riguarda la parte illustrativa, alcuni monumenti sono illustrati molto

abbondantemente (ad es. per il *Forum Augustum*, otto illustrazioni o piante su otto pagine; per il *Forum Iulium*, 18 piante o illustrazioni su nove pagine), altri lo sono meno (ad es. per la *Domus Augusti*, pur interessantissima, una moneta quasi nera e una piccola pianta). La qualità della carta non sembra molto adatta per le fotografie.

Concludendo, c'è da congratularsi ancora una volta con la Direttrice e i suoi collaboratori per questo lavoro felice ed accurato.

Paavo Castrén

Museo Chiaramonti 1-3. Bildkatalog der Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums I. Herausgeg. v. Bernard Andreae. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. de Gruyter, Berlin 1994. ISBN 3-11-013899-9. xii, 1106, 146* S. DEM 840.

Habent sua fata libelli. Wir Altertumswissenschaftler lieben τόποι. Es gibt kaum andere in letzter Zeit erschienene Publikationen aus unserem Gebiet, denen der anfangs stehende τόπος besser zu Gesicht stehe als dem prachtvollen hier anzuzeigenden dreibändigen Werk. In den Jahren 1903-1908 erschien W. Amelungs Katalog der "Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums". Dieses unersetzliche und grundlegende Werk mußte aus Gründen der Ökonomie ohne einen erschöpfenden Abbildungsteil bleiben. Der Tafelteil dieses Katalogs war nicht mehr als eine Bestandsaufnahme, die in kaum einem Fall genügte, die Eigenart des Kunstwerks zu erkennen. Eine minutiöse Beschreibung mußte ersetzen, was man bei guten Photos auf einen Blick hätte erfassen können.

Die Entscheidung, dem beschreibenden Katalog einen Bildkatalog folgen zu lassen, scheint spät getroffen zu sein. Doch besser spät als nie. Jetzt stehen die unersetzlichen Schätze des Museo Chiaramonti in den drei glänzenden Bänden der Forschung zur Verfügung. Der neue Katalog ist nach wissenschaftlichen Kriterien geordnet, folgt also nicht der Ordnung auf den Wänden selbst. Das Gliederungsprinzip geht zunächst nach Gattungen: Idealplastik, Bildnisse, Altäre/Basen, Reliefs, Bauornamentik; die einzelnen Stücke innerhalb einer Gattung werden dann chronologisch zugeordnet.

Der Rez. fühlt sich nicht imstande, andere Aspekte als die epigraphischen voll zu würdigen. Er kann mit Genugtuung feststellen, daß die Behandlung epigraphischer Denkmäler, die aus der kundigen Hand von M. G. Granino Cecere stammt, im ganzen zufriedenstellend ist. Wenn gelegentlich bei Datierungen einiges zu wünschen bleibt, mindert das nicht im geringsten die hohe Qualität, die das Werk durchgehend auszeichnet. - Hier nur noch ein paar kleinere Bemerkungen zu Inschriften. Tafel 97: Die Inschriften sind vielleicht erst aus der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh., wie man dem für den Sesterz gebrauchten Zeichen entnehmen kann. - Tafel 404 T 52 ist wahrscheinlich claudisch-neronisch. - Steht die Datierung des Grabaltars des P. Calvius Iustus ins 1. Jh. durch kunsthistorische Kriterien fest? Der epigraphische Befund würde eher auf eine spätere Datierung, etwa ins 2. Jh., hinweisen. - S. 70*: Die CIL-Nummern sind bei Tafel 808 verwechselt. - Die bibliographischen Angaben zu einzelnen Inschriften enthalten zuweilen unnötigen Ballast.

Heikki Solin

GIANLUCA TAGLIAMONTE: *I figli di Marte. Mobilità, mercenari e mercenariato italici in Magna Grecia e Sicilia*. Tyrrhenica. Studi archeologici sull'Italia antica, collana diretta da Giovanni Colonna, III. Archaeologica 105. Giorgio Bretschneider editore, Roma 1994. ISSN 0391-9293, ISBN 88-7689-118-8. 294 p.e 25 tavole di foto. ITL 600.000.

L'assenza di uno specifico studio sulla storia e funzione dei mercenari italici è stata sentita negli anni passati. Il libro di G. Tagliamonte, fornito di una ampia bibliografia, è scritto per ovviare a questa mancanza. L'autore ha cercato di mettere insieme tutti i tipi di fonti, in particolare letterarie, greche e latine, epigrafiche greche e italiche, numismatiche e archeologiche.

Con il termine 'italico' l'autore fa riferimento a tutte le genti parlanti l'osco-umbro e i dialetti a esso collegati. Anche un'altra questione terminologica merita di essere chiarita. Una distinzione diacronica è fatta tra la nozione di 'mercenari' e quella di 'mercenariato'. Il primo termine rimanda all'età arcaica e tardo arcaica, mentre con il secondo l'autore ha voluto sottolineare la dimensione sociale e istituzionale del fenomeno nel periodo successivo alla fine del V sec. a. C. A nostro avviso questa distinzione ha buone ragioni.

Il volume è composto di cinque capitoli sostanziali: 1. Introduzione, 2. Gli Italici tra il VII e il VI sec. a. C., 3. Gli Italici tra il V e il IV sec. a. C., 4. Gli Italici nel III sec. a. C. e 5. Epilogo. Seguono poi le appendici: le fonti letterarie, la monetazione dei mercenari italici di Sicilia e la documentazione epigrafica italica. Il libro si conclude, per fortuna, con gli indici delle fonti e indici generali.

La ricerca di Tagliamonte è senza dubbio utile, ma ogni tanto è scritta con uno stile assai astratto e si vede, inoltre, che è diretta al pubblico italiano (vedi per esempio p. 32 n. 4). Talvolta l'autore sembra tirare conclusioni da un materiale molto magro. A nostro parere non possiamo parlare di ideologia delle 'nuove élites' (p. 40) se non sappiamo quasi niente dell'ideologia di un qualsiasi gruppo sociale nel mondo antico. Si dovrebbe mostrare molta cautela quando si fanno ipotesi sulla ideologia di persone o gruppi di persone italiche, soprattutto quando la nozione stessa di 'ideologia' è piuttosto moderna. Quando l'autore può tirare deduzioni dalle fonti più concrete e ampie, anche il testo diviene più esatto (p. 46-47). Comunque, il riferimento agli Spartani come gente bellicosa, proprio perché la natura della loro terra sarebbe montuosa e selvaggia, è privo di ogni sostanza. Invece Sparta era, ed è ancor oggi, circondata da orti fertilissimi. La crudeltà della natura spartana è un vecchio mito da buttare via.

Un'altra cosa che ci lascia perplessi è che l'autore sembra prendere assai sul serio tutte le leggende romane e ci fornisce con una cronologia molto accurata, anche se questa sia soltanto ipotetica (p. 52-59). Basterà un esempio tra molti simili: possiamo veramente dire che Attus (non Atta come dice l'autore (p. 41, 52 e 59) a torto seguendo Suetonius, vedi Salomies, *Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 68) Clausus emigrò a Roma nell'anno 504 a. C. (p. 41)? Nonostante tutto questo, il libro contiene materiale di grande interesse e importanza.

Martti Leiwo

LAWRENCE J. BLIQUEZ. *Roman Surgical Instruments and Other Minor Objects in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples*. With a Catalogue of the Surgical Instruments in the "Antiquarium" at Pompeii by Ralph Jackson. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 1994. ISBN 3-8053-1677-1. 238 pages, XXVII plates. DEM 135.

Lawrence Bliquez has studied the collection of Greco-Roman surgical instruments in the Naples Museum. He has used this material also in his other studies e.g. on gynecology in Pompeii. The value of this book for further studies on the Roman surgical instruments is great, because no earlier catalogue of this rich and unreplaceable material has been published. Most of the material originates from the Vesuvian area and especially from Pompeii. Therefore it can be dated to before A.D. 79. This is a remarkable advantage, which can be used, for instance, for comparison with instruments from other sites. Bliquez presents a comprehensive catalogue of the material in Naples museum. The catalogue includes physical description, measurements, inventory number(s), provenience, condition, photograph (or a drawing) and reference to literary or photographic documents of every item. There are a total of 323 items included in the catalogue. In the catalogue of the "Antiquarium" there are a total of 59 items. Ralph Jackson from the British Museum, who is also a well known author of several studies on the instrumentaria of Roman doctors, expresses succinctly the basic reason why this type of richly documented catalogue is so valuable: it is because of "The frightening rate of decay ..." (p. 200). In the book there is also an interesting essay concerning the Hercules/Aesculapius motif appearing on surgical tools (pp. 99-106).

The main aim in the study of the material is to have as exact a provenience for each item as possible. This is valuable, for instance, in studies concerning the number, "specialty" and various activities of medical practitioners in Pompeii. The instrumentarium found in the Casa del Medico Nuovo (II) is especially valuable because, as Bliquez states, "The Casa del Medico Nuovo (II) thus represents not only the most valuable surgical site find in the city of Pompeii but, to the best of my knowledge, in the entire Roman Empire." (p. 95). Unfortunately there are many problems in evaluating the value of different places where surgical instruments have been found e.g. missing or migrating inventory numbers. Therefore the best one can conclude is that there were several physicians (two of whom might have been veterinarians) practicing in Pompeii at the moment of the eruption of Vesuvius (pp. 78-98). Gynecology seems to have been one clearly established "specialty" among these practitioners. Considering the long duration (over 250 years) of the excavations in the Vesuvian area it is perhaps not surprising that so few of the items in the catalogue can surely or probably be given a definite, exact place of discovery.

Heikki S. Vuorinen

JEAN CHARLES BALTY: *Porträt und Gesellschaft in der römischen Welt*. Trierer Winkelmannsprogramme, 11 (1991). Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1993. ISBN: 3-8053-1622-4. VII, 36 p., 20 pls. DEM 78.

J. C. Balty in this publication has gathered some facts and viewpoints concerning the relationship of Roman portraits to the contemporary society. The basis for this book

was provided by the "Winckelmannsvortrag" that Balty gave in December 1991 at the University of Trier.

The book is divided into 16 chapters where different aspects of Roman portraiture are presented. At the beginning, Balty criticizes the often occurring use of photos with incorrect identifications as book illustrations. The reason for this practice is the antiquated publications that the photo archives use as sources of information.

The author thinks that it is a too simple view to look for the origins of the realistic Roman portraits in the patriciate. He believes that the practice of representation was dependent on the structure of the contemporary society. Balty is also against the practice of placing the realistic Roman portraits as a counterpart to the idealistic Greek portraits. He discerns three groups in the portraits of the *nobilitas*. First, the strictly realistic portraits; second, the portraits of *virii triumphales*, which imitated the Hellenistic portraits of rulers; third, the so-called 'bourgeois type' which is moderately natural, like Hellenistic portraits. The patrician portraits were used as models for the provincial honorary portraits of freedmen. However, the 'bourgeois type' became more popular with the freedmen as a proof of the social status and was in use until the second century A.D.

During the Augustan period, the 'Hellenistic ruler type' was abandoned for a classicizing statue with a heroizing head. The honorific statues of the emperor and his family were placed everywhere and became models for private portraits. These private portraits that resemble imperial portraits became more usual over time, in all social classes and in all provinces. The hairstyle of the emperor or the empress was especially imitated in private portraits. Another new practice was to combine a portrait head with a Greek idealistic body of a hero or a god.

Balty believes that the realistic representation stayed constantly as a genre in Roman art. Balty criticizes the suggestion of K. Fittschen that the realistic representation in the Roman Empire would have been reduced to two social classes, to the followers of Greek philosophy and to the Roman officers. Balty points out that this phenomenon is much more complicated.

Chapter 13 includes discussion about realism and portraits of foreigners that Balty calls of 'ethnic' realism. These portraits include representations of Africans, Syrians, Iberians etc. In chapter 15, useful comparisons are given with the portraits from Palmyra, which preserved local features in the portraits of women and priests. A reason for this could have been that priests were considered preservers of religion and women preservers of the values that they transmitted to their children. Balty also draws our attention to the fact that spindles and spinning wheels can be seen in the Palmyrean portraits of women as well as sometimes in the characteristic portraits of women from Noricum and Pannonia. In addition, local Celtic features were added to the portraits of the Roman period in Gaul and Germany.

Balty's book provides many new ideas and points of view. It includes a good summary of the latest studies on Roman portraiture. But, of course, it cannot be a complete review of the earlier publications on this subject, and, therefore, basic knowledge of Roman sculpture and portraiture is required for the reader to be able to make the most of Balty's study.

VALENTIN KOCKEL: *Porträtsreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten*. Ein Beiträge zur Geschichte und zum Verständnis des spätereublikanisch-frühkaiserzeitlichen Privatporträts, beiträge zur Erschliessung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur, Band 12. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 1993. XI, 264 S. 138 Tafeln. DEM 258.

In der von Klaus Fittschen und Paul Zanker herausgegebene Reihe ist ein weiterer Band von gleicher Aktualität und Wichtigkeit wie die früheren erschienen. In ihm legt V. Kockel einen nach Vollständigkeit strebend Katalog spätrepublikanischer und frühkaiserzeitlicher Privatporträts aus stadtrömischen Grabbauten mit ausführlichen Prolegomena vor. Man wird in ihm vor allem die große Präzision in der Darbietung des Materials hervorheben, ohne zu vergessen, daß der Verfasser auch den sozialhistorischen und epigraphischen Befund gebührend berücksichtigt. Besonders begrüßt der Historiker die neue vom Verfasser ausgearbeitete Chronologie, die in vielen Einzelheiten von der früheren abweicht. Den Hauptgegenstand des Buches bilden die Grabreliefs, auf denen meist mehrere Tote als Halbfiguren oder Büsten frontal dargestellt sind. Für diese in sich formal geschlossene Gattung hatte P. Zanker eine einheitliche Auftraggeberschicht nachgewiesen (meistens Freigelassenenfamilien), auf die die Ikonographie der Reliefs abgestimmt war. Diese Gruppe hat nun Kockel meisterhaft erschlossen, und die Vertreter der römischen Altertumskunde müssen ihm dankbar dafür sein, dass er diese Gruppe von Denkmälern auf eine so vorbildliche Weise der Forschung vorgelegt hat. Wenn seine archäologisch-kunsthistorischen Kommentare zu den einzelnen Stücken kaum Anlaß zu irgendwelcher Kritik geben, ist er in epigraphischen Gegebenheiten nicht immer auf festem Boden. Er beruft sich des öfteren auf die Lesungen seines epigraphischen Gewährsmannes P. Castrén, auch in Fällen, in denen er sich von diesen, aufgrund von neueren Editionen, etwa dem letzten Supplement zu CIL I², hätte loslösen sollen. Als Beispiel diene A 5 (S. 87), wo Kockel als Cognomen des M. Perelius das unverständliche *Ioco* (?) abdruckt, obwohl im CIL die zweifellos vorzuziehende Lesung *Isoc[r(ates)]* festgelegt war. Ein zweites Beispiel: In A 6 will Kockel *[A.(?) B]laesius* verstehen, aber ein L ist nicht da, und zudem gibt es keinen Raum für A BLAESIVS; hinzu kommt, daß der Mann und die Frau nicht von demselben Herrn freigelassen worden sind. Ohne weiteres ist *Degrassis [-] Aesius* vorzuziehen. - Der knappe von der Arctos-Redaktion mir gegebene Raum verbietet eine ausführlichere kritische Auseinandersetzung mit den von Kockel vorgebrachten Lesungen. Ich werde sein Werk aber aus sozialhistorischer und epigraphischer Sicht andernorts näher würdigen. Hier zum Schluß nun eine Bemerkung, die zugleich zeigt, wie die Durchsicht des von Kockel präsentierten Materials zu neuen Erkenntnissen führen kann. Die Namen in A 1 sind bisher von allen Editoren falsch gedeutet worden. Das Cognomen des N. Clodius wird hier als *Armitrupho* (dieses Cognomen nimmt auch, mit vielen anderen, H. S., GPN 1311 an) gedeutet (noch schlimmer machen Lommatzsch und Degrassi *Armitrupho* zum Cognomen des L. Marcius). Das ist jedoch ein Monstrum. Aus dem bei Nash publizierten Photo geht hervor, daß vor TRVPHO ein Trennpunkt steht und daß die Existenz eines I nach ARM höchst zweifelhaft ist. Des N. Clodius N.l. Cognomen ist *Trupho*. ARM gehört dem L. Marcius L.f. Pal. und stellt wohl eine Amtsbezeichnung dar, etwa *arm(entarius)* oder *arm(iger)*.

TOMASZ MIKOCKI: *Sub Specie Deae. Les impératrices et princesses romaines assimilées à des déesses, Étude iconologique*. Supplementi alla RdA, 14. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 1995. ISBN 88-7689-111-0. 311 p., 37 pls. ITL 750.000.

The dissertation of Tomasz Mikocki was chosen to be Volume 14 in the series of supplementary volumes to *Rivista di archeologia*. This impressive book was presented as a thesis at the University of Warsaw in 1989. Mikocki's book is a study of objects, e.g. inscriptions, coins, statues, cameos, where Roman empresses and princesses are assimilated with the goddesses, where the person has received the name of a divinity, epithets of this divinity, and is regarded as an incarnation of this divinity.

Assimilation was more popular in Antiquity than the deification of a person, but at the same time, it is the deification *in formam deorum*. Assimilation with the gods was especially popular within the royal families, and it was used for the empresses, mothers, sisters and daughters of the rulers. These representations of women in sculpture, coins and minor arts imitate mythological iconography with attributes of the goddesses, and therefore, they can provide much information concerning the culture, religion and politics of a certain period. Mikocki has also studied inscriptions and literary sources of each period to be able to reconstruct the function and significance of these objects.

An important source for the author has been the publication of F. Riewald from 1912, *De imperatorum Romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione*, mostly concentrated on philological and numismatic sources. Mikocki has also profited from J. Tondriau's and P. Hertz' bibliographies for the imperial cult. Mikocki has further completed these bibliographies for epigraphy, numismatics and especially for Roman art, and created thus an indispensable source-book for the iconography of the Roman empresses and princesses from the end of the Republic to the reign of Constantine the Great.

The first part of the book presents the women of the imperial families assimilated with divinities and personifications in chronological order, where the monuments representing a certain person are grouped together. In the second part, the chosen divinities are discussed in alphabetical order, which allows a chronological study of the variation of the role of the female divinities in imperial propaganda. The third part analyses the traditions, the determining factors, the aims and the forms of assimilation in a comprehensive manner, including historical, geographical and social factors. The third part also includes a table where the 37 empresses and princesses assimilated with divinities and personifications, listed in chronological order, are confronted with the 39 divinities and personifications in question, listed in relation to their popularity. This table is informative when used in connection with the material and interpretations presented in the book. However, it should be emphasized that many of the identifications of the portraits and statues are uncertain or debatable, and some of the attributes can be connected with several divinities or personifications.

The third part is followed by the catalogue, where the objects have been arranged chronologically in accordance with dynasties, and the objects assimilating a person with a divinity or a personification are arranged in alphabetical order following the Latin names of the divinities. The revision of the catalogue has not been complete, since nine of the objects in the catalogue are not illustrated in the plates, in contrast to the information given in the catalogue (cat. nos. 35, 138, 250, 273, 288, 382, 402, 403, 412). Cat. no. 297 is

illustrated in pl. V, not in pl. IV. The overall view of cat. no. 51 in pl. XI has received an inaccurate number, no. 516.

The catalogue is followed by the bibliography, notes, plates of illustrations, and indices of literary and epigraphical sources, indices of museums and objects mentioned in the text, as well as a list of sources of illustrations.

Despite the minor flaws mentioned above, this book is an excellent source for everyone interested in Roman art, as well as for specialists studying Roman portraits. The publication is also a valuable chronological study on the development of the imperial cult.

Arja Karivieri

COLIN O'CONNOR: *Roman Bridges*. With photographs, sketches and diagrams by the author. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993. ISBN 0-521-39326-4. xvii, 235 p. GBP 65.

This handsome book on Roman bridges is written by an engineer who has himself worked on bridge design over many decades and who has since the 1970s done extensive research on the history of bridges. It was then that he began to collect material for a systematic study of historic bridges, and where else could one start but with Roman bridges? The project was, however, considerably delayed because in the 1980s the author was invited to study and record Australia's historic bridges. A further reason for O'Connor to have written this book is his personal experience. As a pious Christian he became thoroughly impressed by the idea that Paul on his way from Jerusalem to Rome had used the existing Roman road system which, of course, included bridges as well. Thus O'Connor takes a study of Roman roads as a part of the background of Christian church history.

After a general history of Roman bridges, the study focuses on the builders of bridges, building technology, masonry bridges, timber bridges, aqueducts, design and construction of Roman arches. A thorough listing and description of all known bridges includes some 330 stone arch bridges, 34 timber bridges and 94 aqueducts. The final chapters are important as they examine the proportion of the stone arches and subject the rules that emerge to modern structural analysis. The work concludes with useful appendices including a glossary of technical terms and three tables which survey a great number of various types of bridges with detailed technical data. The index of place-names from all over the Roman empire is particularly impressive, considering that the author himself is responsible for most of the photographs printed in the book. The frontispiece of the book is decorated by a beautiful reconstruction of the Ponte d'Augusto at Narni, drawn by the author himself. Anyone who has personally seen the remains of this bridge on the Via Flaminia will surely be impressed by the elegant touch of O'Connor's pencil.

Mika Kajava

Il metallo: mito e fortuna nel mondo antico: Il bronzo dei romani. Arredo e supellettile, a cura di Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli. xii, 299 p., 273 ill., 3 pt. ITL 200.000. - LUCIA PIRZIO BIROLI STEFANELLI: *L'argento dei romani. Vasellame da tavola e d'apparato*, con contributi di Maria Elisa Micheli e Barbara Pettinau, 329 p., 309 ill. ITL 200.000. - LUCIA PIRZIO BIROLI STEFANELLI: *L'oro dei romani. Gioielli di età imperiale*, con un contributo di Barbara Pettinau. 294 p., 309 ill. ITL 200.000. - JOHN F. HEALY: *Miniere e metallurgica nel mondo greco e romano*. Edizione italiana a cura di Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, 322 p., xii, 119 ill. ITL 150.000. - "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993.

Ecco qui una bella trilogia dei metalli di pregio, diligentemente curata da Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli (con la collaborazione di Barbara Pettinau), che si completa con l'opera 'Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World' (1978) di John F. Healy, qui proposta in edizione italiana riveduta e aggiornata. Quest'ultima sarà ottima lettura per chi desideri approfondire gli argomenti già trattati nei volumi precedenti.

Con questi volumi si propone una sintesi della produzione dei metalli di pregio, della loro diffusione sia nell'Impero Romano in generale sia nell'arredo di una casa romana. Riguardo al bronzo, il primo volume è dedicato soprattutto al bronzo dei romani, e specificamente agli arredi: forzieri e seggi, tavoli e letti, lucerne e candelabri, servizi da tavola e da toeletta. Viene qui riconosciuta, analogamente alla molteplicità dei possibili impieghi del bronzo, non solo la funzionalità e robustezza ma anche il pregio e la lucentezza del metallo. Una parte cospicua dei gioielli presentati nei volumi proviene dalle case sepolte per l'eruzione del Vesuvio, ma una fonte altrettanto importante, soprattutto per quanto riguarda l'argenteria e l'oreficeria, è costituita dai "tesori" originariamente sepolti in circostanze drammatiche (guerre, invasioni, etc.), poi rinvenuti in varie parti del mondo romano dal '700 fino ai nostri giorni (cfr. il tesoro di Seuso, uno straordinario complesso di argenterie comparso recentemente sul mercato antiquario, forse di provenienza panonica). Oltre ai gioielli recuperati negli originali occorre ricordarsi di quelli riprodotti sulle sculture e sulle pitture dell'epoca. Un caso interessante è costituito da un ampio numero di stele funerarie da Palmira, su cui sono rappresentati, fotograficamente, per così dire, i defunti con una grande varietà di gioielli.

I volumi di questa collana organica mettono a fuoco l'attenzione sulla civiltà romana, rivissuta attraverso l'analisi dettagliata di un aspetto particolare del gusto, della ricchezza. Il discorso, attraente e affascinante, caratterizzato dalla equilibrata connessione tra sintesi e analisi, scorre tale da poter essere letto dagli studiosi e dagli appassionati con pari interesse. I volumi, corredati da splendide immagini, concludono con un catalogo approfondito, in cui ogni reperto viene dettagliatamente documentato e aggiornato, spesso per la prima volta.

Mika Kajava

Ercolano 1738-1988. 250 Anni di ricerca archeologica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ravello-Ercolano-Napoli-Pompei 30 ottobre - 5 novembre 1988. A cura di Luisa Franchi dell'Orto. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1993. ISBN 88-7062-807-8. 692 p. ITL 700.000.

Era una felice intuizione, da parte della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, di organizzare un colloquio internazionale a commemorare 250 anni di ricerca archeologica di Ercolano. Il volume, diventato assai cospicuo è articolato in sette sezioni e contiene - se ho contato bene - 67 contributi, eccetto quelli introduttivi. Esso è ricco di articoli di grande interesse scientifico. Molti sono ottima qualità, altri meno bene concepiti - cosa inevitabile in colloqui del genere. In ogni caso si legge tutto con interesse, a cominciare dalla prima sezione dedicata alla storia delle scoperte e degli studi. Seguono articoli sulla topografia e architettura; sui papiri della Villa dei Pisoni (che poi non è dei Pisoni); sulle arti figurative; sulle scienze naturali; su arti minori, culti, storia, società. Chiudono il volume segnalazioni sull'attività archeologica nell'ambito della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei. Da tale ricchezza non è facile scegliere contributi individuali. Molti mi sono piaciuti. Nella sezione sulla storia e società spicca quello di Camodeca per la sua qualità o quello di Sironen per il suo interesse. Tutta la sezione papirologica si rivela molto stimolante, merito certamente del grande maestro della papirologia ercolanese Marcello Gigante. Quasi sensazionale direi la pubblicazione di due iscrizioni ebraiche (in greco) di Nocera, ad opera di De' Spagnolis, stranamente esiliata nella sezione topografica. Tutto sommato, quindi, un ottimo volume. Chiudo con l'augurio di una fertile ulteriore attività nel rendere accessibile a noi tutti le infinite documentazione archeologica che ci sta offrendo la città vesuviana.

Heikki Solin

STEFANO DE CARO: *La villa rustica in località Villa Regina a Boscoreale.* Pubblicazioni scientifiche del Centro di studi della Magna Grecia dell'Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II. Terza serie, volume I. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1994. ISBN 88-7689-117-x. 242 p., 58 ill., 20 tav. ITL 135.000.

REINHARD FÖRTSCH: *Archäologischer Kommentar zu den Villenbriefen des jüngeren Plinius.* Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlichen Skulptur und Architektur. Band 13. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Main am Rhein 1993. xi, 202 S., 86 Tafeln. DEM 180.

At first these books seem to be on the same subject, Roman villas in Italy, but in reality they have very little in common. De Caro's book is a primary publication of an archaeological excavation and Förtsch's book is a literary and archaeological study on two letters by Pliny the Younger.

De Caro's volume begins with an introduction by Fausto Zevi (the Director of the Centro di studi della Magna Grecia and the editor of the series) on the pre-Roman land division around Pompei. After that the results of the excavation are presented in a familiar manner: excavation technique, stratigraphy, different rooms and their contents, catalogue of pottery and other materials. The excavations of the immediate surroundings of the building are presented by Wilhelmina F. Jashemski at the end of the book.

This particular villa was first discovered in 1977 and the excavations ended in

1980. The building itself is a modest farm house with very few luxuries. It consists of some storage rooms, the wine press (torcularium), a kitchen, a possible triclinium and living quarters arranged around a small peristyle courtyard. Other production facilities are a cella vinaria for wine storage - large underground dolii, a threshing floor (aia) and barn. It is a typical villa rustica of the area which started out probably as a Samnite settlement before the 2nd century BC and continued being inhabited until AD 79.

If the house itself is not very extraordinary, then the results of digging its surroundings are quite wonderful. Careful digging revealed cavities in the fossil soil which could be recognized as holes of roots. And based on the shape of the roots and sometimes on carbonized cell tissue different plant species could be recognized. The villa was surrounded by a vineyard with grapevines supported by poles. There were fruit trees and other trees as well. Pollen analysis of soil samples added to the picture grasses, weeds and flowers. The environment of the villa could be reconstructed almost in all its details.

The book is a delightful read with plenty of drawings and photographs to clarify the text. As this is the primary publication I would have expected to see the results of the scientific work published in greater detail - for example some tables on the results of paleobotanical and osteological research would have been very useful and interesting. The results of this excavation are a wonderful reminder of the possibilities offered by the area of the bay of Naples to Roman archaeology. In archaeology one can rarely study a frozen moment in time, but the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 offers us a good chance of doing so. Modern archaeology with detailed excavation and with some help from science offers us information that the generations before us could not even imagine and this book is proof of that.

Reinhard Förtsch's book is whole different story. He takes two letters by Pliny the Younger (2,17 and 5,6) that describe two of his villas: Laurentinum (near Vicus Augustanus on the coast South of Rome) and Tusci (at Tifernum Tiberinum in the Tiber valley North of Rome). Förtsch gives the texts with some commentary and then sets out to break down the villas into their component parts. Basically he tries to find archaeological parallels for the elements described by Pliny. He is also interested in the arrangement of spaces, their decoration, the architectural development of different elements and their meaning in the otium life at a Roman villa.

The end result is a curious blend of things. Sometimes Förtsch is satisfied to find parallels, sometimes he constructs elaborate typologies (as with turris), sometimes he describes the history and development of elements (usually from hellenistic models), but usually the presentation seems to lack an inner coherence. And when the text part finishes with the description of why Pliny did not find it necessary to describe a vestibulum in his letters, the reader is left a little confused - is this it? After the break down Förtsch does not attempt to make a synthesis of his materials. He does not even create his own reconstruction of the villas, but accepts E. Salza Prina Ricotti's and H. Winnefeld's reconstructions almost unmodified.

As an archaeological commentary to a literary source, the book is relatively good, but Förtsch has obviously higher ambitions than that. Maybe he should have forgotten his main focus on Pliny and made a typological and chronological study on the architecture of luxury villas in Italy during the Empire. He certainly has done most of the work required for such a study; the catalogue of the villas and other sources at the end of the volume is

detailed and comprehensive and he has some great typological series of villa elements. That kind of study would also have been extremely interesting and useful as most of the works on villas of that period are far too general or focused only on one detail or simply too old. Now it seems as though like the author has done a lot of work which, at least partially, is wasted.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Gervasiana. Collana di studi e testi diretta da Angelo Russi. Gerni Editori. Vol. 1 (1993, ISBN 88-85077-27-7, ITL 25.000), Vol. 2 (1993, ISBN 88-85077-30-7, ITL 40.000), Vol. 4 (1994, ISBN 88-85077-34-x, ITL 30.000), Vol. 5 (1995, ISBN 88-85077-37-4, ITL 30.000), Vol. 6.

Angelo Russi, professore all'Università dell'Aquila, ma ardente amatore della terra calabrese, ha fondato nel 1993 una serie intitolata "Gervasiana" che mira ad iniziare una collana di studi e testi di storia meridionale - e non solo quella antica. Un'idea felice, senz'altro, questa lanciata dal nostro vecchio amico dei comuni tempi romani. La collana viene aperta da un saggio su Bartolommeo Capasso (1815-1900), il noto antichista napoletano. Il secondo volume è costituito dalla ristampa del saggio giovanile su Sorrento di Karl Julius Beloch, seguito da una traduzione italiana, da alcuni articoli del Beloch apparsi nel 1873-1874, dalla recensione di A. Holm di "Surrentum" belochiano, nonché dalla ristampa della parte dedicata a Sorrento nel libro classico "Campanien", anche questa con traduzione italiana. Il terzo volume contiene gli Atti di un colloquio tenuto a Roma per festeggiare i trent'anni degli scavi di Ortona. Nel quarto, il Russi ci dà un profilo storico-istituzionale della Lucania romana; e il quinto è una Festschrift a Giovanni Garuti, piena di articoli interessanti.

Tutto sommato, una bella testimonianza dell'attività della cattedra di storia romana all'Ateneo aquilano. Ci auguriamo alla nuova collana un fecondo proseguimento.

Heikki Solin

ANTONIETTA VIACAVA: *L'Atleta di Fano*. Studia Archaeologia 74. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1994. ISBN 88-7062-868-x. 154 p. 116 fig. ITL 200.000.

Si segnalano qui due ulteriori volumi della serie pubblicata dal benemerito editore Giorgio Bretschneider. Nel primo Maurizia Vecchi ci regala uno splendido catalogo delle sculture tardo-antiche e alto-medievali di Murano. La scultura del periodo che ci riguarda è stata tra le arti nel Veneto quella più trascurata dagli studiosi che si sono occupati di archeologia e storia dell'arte medievale. Già per questo bisogna salutare la pubblicazione del presente catalogo con grande soddisfazione. Il volume si apre con una breve - forse anche troppo - introduzione, a cui segue il catalogo stesso, corredato da splendide fotografie. Ai lettori di questa rivista interesseranno soprattutto i pezzi accompagnati da iscrizioni, non sempre trattate con la dovuta perizia.

Fecciamo un esempio. Il n. 118 (pp. 77 sg.) è una vesca bettesimale che reca un'iscrizione romana; il monumento proviene probabilmente da Altino. Non solo l'autrice

ha malamente frainteso l'andamento del testo, ma tace anche completamente il fatto che l'iscrizione è molto antica, dell'inizio dell'età imperiale se non repubblicana. E l'epitaffio di un P. Acilius P.f. Sca(ptia) decurio (CIL questo rinvio manca nella bibliografia). Nonostante tali aberrazioni si saluta con piacere l'apparizione del volume accompagnato da così buone fotografie che permettono facilmente di correggere le false letture.

Il secondo volume è collettivo. Fa seguito a tre precedenti volumi, usciti nella stessa serie, sulla stessa collezione Chini, ed è stato realizzato con l'intervento finanziario della Regione Veneto e del Comune di Bassano del Grappa. Si tratta di una collezione superba, per cui gli studiosi devono essere molto grati per l'iniziativa di rendere di pubblico dominio questo patrimonio; un merito speciale va al coordinatore del lavoro, G. Andreassi, a cui spetta anche, credo, l'alto livello professionale che caratterizza il volume, corredato per di più da ottime fotografie.

Heikki Solin

MARIA GRAZIA MAIOLI, ATTILIO MASTROCINQUE: *La stipe di Villa di Villa e i culti degli antichi Veneti*. Con un contributo di G. Leonardi. Archaeologica 102. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore 1992. ISBN 88-7689-026-2. 176 p., 19 fig., 25 tav. ITL 520 000.

Procede la pubblicazione del Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia. Tra i resti materiali della cultura atestina o paleoveneta, un posto speciale è occupato dalle testimonianze della vita religiosa degli abitanti preromani della regione. Era quindi una necessità urgente rendere ancora più accessibile il presente materiale, finora pubblicato solo parzialmente, trattandosi di una fonte primaria per lo studio dei culti paleoveneti nell'ambito delle religioni dell'Italia antica.

I due autori hanno fatto un ottimo lavoro e hanno potuto completarsi l'un l'altro, una come archeologa, l'altro come storico. Il volume si apre con una lunga introduzione sui principali depositi di votivi nell'area paleoveneta; il catalogo stesso offre una minuziosa descrizione dei materiali di Villa di Villa. Il catalogo stesso contiene oggetti di vario genere ed epoche - non mancano rinvenimenti di età romana. In somma, un volume ben riuscito.

Heikki Solin

Atlante dei siti archeologici della Toscana. Redatto sotto la direzione scientifica di Mario Torelli e con il coordinamento di Concetta Masseria, Mauro Menichetti e Marco Fabbri. Biblioteca di Studi e Materiali 1. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1992. xxvii, 590 p., 28 tav., 2 vol. ITL 380.000.

Già il primo sguardo a questo volume, accompagnato da carte archeologiche 1:100.000 (o 1:25.000 per le grandi città antiche), rivela di che cosa si tratta: è una mappa di insieme delle conoscenze archeologiche del territorio toscano, un lavoro immenso per la gestione delle molte decine di migliaia di dati topografici e bibliografici (questi ultimi si completano fino al 1985). Tutti noi sappiamo, per il grave problema della dispersione delle informazioni, come sia importante avere notizie il più precise possibili sui luoghi di ritrovamento di oggetti da tempo andati perduti. Un qualsiasi monumento, se non se ne

conosce la provenienza, rimane un pezzo senza contesto e origine e quindi difficilmente utilizzabile per la ricostruzione storica. Il presente lavoro sarà sicuramente un ottimo strumento per chiunque intenda definire l'andamento dei confini amministrativi delle singole città antiche comprese nella regione Toscana. Non c'è dubbio che tutti gli archeologi, epigrafisti, storici dell'arte e studiosi di topografia saranno estremamente soddisfatti per la pubblicazione di questo atlante.

Mika Kajava

E. MARIANNE STERN: *The Toledo Museum of Art. Roman Mold-blown Glass. The first through sixth centuries.* "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, in association with the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio. Roma 1995. 388 p., 30 tav. ISBN 88-7062-916-3. ITL 160.000.

László Barkóczy: *Antike Gläser.* Monumenta antiquitatis extra fines Hungariae reperta quae in Museo artium Hungarico aliisque museis et collectionibus Hungaricis conservantur, vol. V. Bibliotheca archaeologica 19. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1996. ISBN 88-7062-931-7. 124 p., 82 tav. ITL 350.000.

The publication of the first volume is certainly justified, considering that the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio, has one of the largest and most varied collections of Roman glass vessels and objects from the eastern Mediterranean housed in any museum. The collection is also unique because of the great number of intact examples, demonstrating the diversity and longevity of forms as well as the numerous manufacturing techniques and decorative types. The present catalogue includes 193 objects of full-size mold-blown glass from the early first to the early seventh century A.D. In her exhaustive analysis the author has been able to present many new interpretations of ancient glass technology and dating. She also provides a welcome further insight into the vessels by asking what they contained and who originally bought them. The book is a first-class study which undoubtedly deserved to be honoured with the 1991 "L'Erma" di Bretschneider publication award.

The Hungarian series 'Monumenta antiquitatis' continues with a handy volume listing all the glass objects of foreign origin preserved in Hungarian collections, especially in the Museum of Arts. It is a pity, however, that obviously more is known about the collectors of Roman glass than about the origin of the objects themselves. One of the rare exceptions is a group of Roman glass vessels, once in the possession of a Hungarian count, which were found in the 1870s during an excavation on Cyprus. The other group whose origin may be detected with some probability is constituted of beautiful glass ware from (so it has been reported) Cumae, Capua and Puteoli, and was formerly owned by a general and diplomat in Russia's service.

Mika Kajava

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ISSN 0570-734X
Helsinki 1997
Yliopistopaino